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WILLEY REVELEY'S ALL SAINTS', SOUTHAMPTON

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All Saints' (1790–95), destroyed in German air raids during the last days of November 1940, was the only notable new church built in Southampton in the eighteenth century and the major work of Willey Reveley (1760–99), 'The Athenian Reveley', an important but now largely forgotten architect of the Greek revival.¹ With Nicholas Revett's Ayot St Lawrence in Hertfordshire (1778–9) and James 'Athenian' Stuart and William Newton's Greenwich Hospital Chapel (1779–90), it represented the most complete expression of the style in church architecture.² Far from being a provincial phenomenon, All Saints' is one of only four British churches illustrated in *Plans Et Elevations Tirés De La Belle Architecture*, C.L. Stieglitz's magisterial survey of contemporary European architecture, published in Paris and Leipzig in 1800 (Figs. 1–2).³ Praised in *The Southampton Guide* of 1804 as 'an elegant modern structure, executed ... on a plan of chaste and noble simplicity ... which does honour to the genius of its architect,⁴ the building is described in unusual detail:

This edifice is sixty-six feet wide in the front ... adorned with four three-quarter columns of the Ionic order, each thirty-six feet in height ... crowned with an ample pediment. The angles ... are finished with ... Grecian pilasters. Between the Ionic columns ... are three large folding doors, which open into the vestibule; and on each side ... is a window which lights the gallery staircase. Five plain niches occupy the second range. Around the church runs an entablature, supported on each flank by the same kind of pilasters ... These stand on a plain basement, without any projection, and greatly strengthen the walls ... exactly where the bearings of the roof rest. The south flank ... is lighted by sixteen windows, in two ranges [with]

plain neat sashes. The north flank, being hidden by the houses to which it adjoins, has no windows, and the church is very sufficiently lighted without them. The turret, which is at the east end, is upheld by an arch that covers the altar. It consists of six Corinthian columns, each fifteen feet high ... These support a circular entablature ... A dome and a small Attic order, crowned with a gilt pine-apple and a vane, complete the turret.⁵

Reveley submitted his first design for All Saints' on 30 March 1790, eighteen months after returning from a momentous three-year study tour in Italy and Greece (1785–88), which transformed him from an adherent of Franco-Italian neoclassicism – he had been a pupil of Sir William Chambers (1777), then his assistant clerk of works at Somerset House (1781–82) – to an advanced Greek Revivalist.⁶ The nature of this commitment is demonstrated in Reveley's manuscript 'Observations made on the spot' in Italy. St Peter's at Rome, for example, is a long catalogue of architectural misdemeanours:

I never was in my life struck at the first entrance of any building ... The great pilasters are certainly very clumsy ... lightness & elegance should be aimed at ... The prodigious quantity of gilding with the variety of marbles of different colours, raise in the mind all those ideas which are produced by richness & grand confusion, which is quite different from the effect of simple grandeur, produced by great unity & real fine architecture.

He found the front elevation

too full of breaks & littlenesses & void of unity & grandeur ... contains no less than 19 different sorts & sizes of windows, doors & arches ... nobody can ...

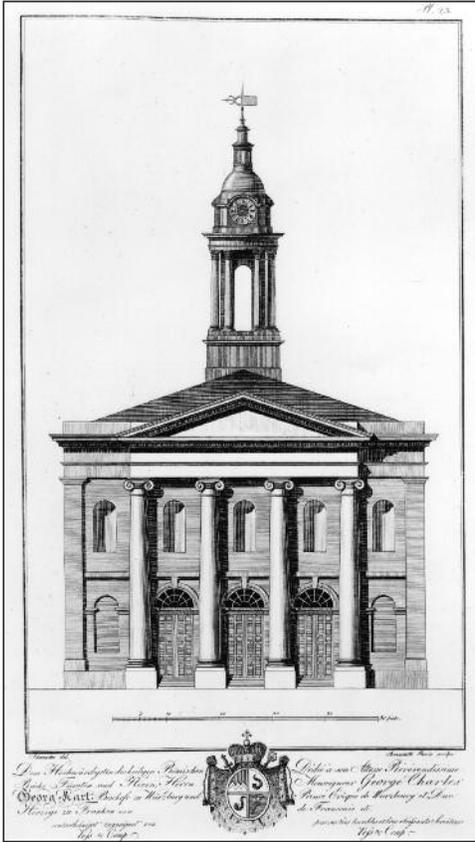


Fig. 1. All Saints', Southampton, Hampshire, west front, engraving of the 'first' design in C.L. Stieglitz, *Plans et Elevations Tirés De La Belle Architecture*, Paris, 1800, pl. 23. RIBA Library.

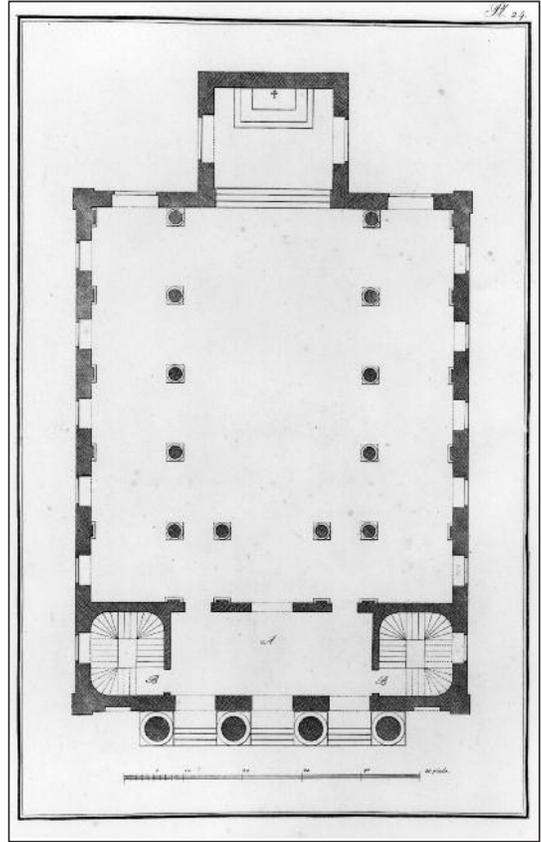


Fig. 2. All Saints', ground plan, engraving of the 'first' design in Stieglitz, pl. 24. RIBA Library.

be struck with an effect of grandeur by such trivial & ill contrived attempts at novelty & variety, and so on.⁷ The portico of Sainte-Geneviève (the Pantheon) in Paris (1755–91), which Reveley saw first-hand in 1788, was as harshly judged:

so far as it approaches to the antique is grand, but many french ornaments &c destroy a good deal the effect of it ... The flanks are almost Gothick or so far from the Greek & Roman as to seem composed by their excessive ugliness on purpose to serve as a foil to the Portico. The inside is wonderfully neat but very much complicated.⁸

His interpretations of Greek architecture were later formulated in print in his capacity as editor of the third volume of Stuart and Revett's *The Antiquities of Athens*, published in 1794, the year prior to All Saints' completion.⁹

Reveley's obituary in *The Gentleman's Magazine* claimed that the new church 'possessed great merit as it is; and would have been a very distinguished monument of his talents if his original design have been completed, and he had not been curbed and controuled in the progress of it by his employers'.¹⁰ The architect himself complained that some

resolutions of the building committee (made up of well-meaning but sorely inexperienced laymen, in a town which had seen no new church work to speak of for nearly sixty years) 'are so opposite in their tendencies that they thwart each other', and he feared 'having to be drawn into a long train of disputes'.¹¹ The protracted struggle to bring his design to fruition, however, is only one aspect of an unusually complex and mercurial building history revealed in the extensive and hitherto unpublished papers preserved in the Southampton Archives.¹² These also offer special insights into the impact of building materials and technology on design; into the organization of architectural competitions and their sometimes acrimonious aftermath, including public attack by 'insidious Hand Bill'; into contracting and regulating the workforce, particularly the thorny problems of 'task work' and unpaid fees, which, in a peak of frustration, Reveley likened to the game of 'battledore & shuttle cock'. Here, then, is a microcosm of church building activity at the close of the eighteenth century.

The medieval church on the same site, on the east side of High Street at the junction with East Street, was by 1790 'much too small ... in a very ... decayed Condition' and needed rebuilding.¹³ The text and date of the initial call for designs and estimates is unrecorded¹⁴ but from the proposals submitted in the spring of that year it is evident that the specifications centred on the need to accommodate up to 1,200 persons on the floor and in the galleries, and a choice of 'using all the old Materials of the present Edifice that are good and servicable'¹⁵ to a combination of new Portland stone, white brick and stucco.

No less than seven architects responded with designs and estimates by 30 March 1790. Except for Reveley's, all the rival designs were subsequently returned to their respective authors, and have since vanished.¹⁶ Two competitors entered under pseudonyms and their identities, alas, remain a mystery. 'Spes et Labor' offered estimates ranging

from £3,700 to £4,650.¹⁷ 'Domus Dei', with estimates of £4,900 to include a subterranean vault, and £4,500 without one, introduced himself to the committee in a truly pathetic letter as

a London Artist in confinement for Debt [who] transmitted the Sketches of a Design for the Church ... numbered in the order he wishes examined from No.1 to No.7 with the above Motto annexed to each. he had no time to make finished Drawings ... It is not in his power wholly to comply with the Terms of the Advertisement, his situation precluding him from engaging as a Builder. The Estimate therefore can be considered only as some Guide to the Committee in their Engagements – If the Design should be approved of the Author apprehends a very moderate Profit only will be gained by a Contractor for the Sum named, however possibly a considerable less sum may be agreed for. If the whole, or the greatest part of the Design should be adopted the author (as he hopes to be soon liberated) shall be happy to serve the Committee in his Professional Capacity by giving full Instructions to the Builder and Surveying the Execution of the Works – if this should not be consistent with their Engagements, [the builder] must leave it to ... the Gentlemen ... to make him such a recompense as they please. If the Plan should not be approved of the author shall esteem it a favour if they will return the *numbered* Papers in a Deal Case to London ... to address a Line for D.D. at the Kings Bench Prison Southwark.¹⁸

G. Mundy, also otherwise unrecorded, estimated £4,180, seating 1,100.¹⁹ George Byfield (c1756–1813), giving his address as Manchester Buildings, Westminster, submitted schemes which, as we shall see, had unexpected repercussions.²⁰ John Thomas Groves Jr. (c1761–1811), 6 New Palace Yard, Westminster, just returned from ten years in Italy (1780–90), offered 'Plans Elevations and Sections' for a church estimated between £3,500 and £6,000 depending on materials and accommodation, included a specification for seating 1,500 'allowing 22 Inches to each person'.²¹ He wrote to the committee of 'the polite manner' it conveyed 'the Opinion of the Gentlemen with respect to my Drawings. I did not expect my Estimate would prove the lowest, having

therein provided for the unavoidable Expence of a substantial Building'.²² William Tayler, or Taylor, of Newport, Isle of Wight, estimated £5,000, exclusive of old materials, with the west and south elevations in white brick. He wrote on 31 August acknowledging that the committee had not adopted his designs, though 'you do me the Honour to say *you are very sensible of their Merits*', while adding that if he were to be appointed surveyor 'I would permit them to be publicly Tendered for [since] my Ambition in this Business would be to get my Plan adopted which to me is of more consequence than Building it'.²³ Otherwise unrecorded as an architect, he was presumably related to John Taylor, who exhibited a design for 'all Saints' Church, Southampton' at the Royal Academy in 1797.²⁴ Finally, Reveley, leaving his calling card which recorded an address at 75 Great Titchfield Street, Portland Place, London, submitted two schemes, one to cost £6,000, allowing £400 for old materials and seating 1,400, the other £4,500 and seating 1,200, permitting 'to each person 1 foot nine inches'.²⁵ In addition, George Goldwyer Hookey, a local stonemason, submitted only building estimates, ranging from £3,000 to £4,000.²⁶

An Act of Parliament for rebuilding the church passed on 13 May 1791 established a new eighteen-man committee of trustees to oversee the operation.²⁷ On 8 June eleven members voted in favour of Reveley's design, with Tayler receiving four votes, Byfield three and Groves none.²⁸ Byfield particularly felt aggrieved. His original proposal at first had been well received but later was dismissed because the 'Plan has not all the Convenience & Size which the Committee ... thought it had'.²⁹ Since it also proved 'the dearest of Any One Plan ... recd. from Each of the different Architects', he then offered to build a church 'upon the exact dimensions of Mr. Reveleys Plan, (The Body of which has been already approved by the Trustees) ... without either A Cupola & Portico & without Architects' Comm[issio]n' for only £600 above his own lowest estimate of £3,000, compared to Reveley's estimate of £5,558 8s *od.*

Byfield believed that the committee 'surely will not refuse accepting so apparent an Advan[ta]geous Offer – provided He builds under the directions of [the] Architect & Clerk of the Works', but the proposal was ridiculed as one of 'Mr Byfield's Cheap Churches' and condemned as 'impossible – without Bad Materials & Bad Work ... put in the room of the very best Materials & best Work'.³⁰ To make matters worse, two days after the vote Byfield requested 'Compensation for ye. Plans &c' but was turned down by the committee because such was 'not in their Power', though it did offer three guineas as payment for 'Attendance at the House of Commons'.³¹

Shortly after an unidentified 'Old Parishioner' issued two printed handbills alerting readers to 'the approaching scene of Masonic Buffoonery':

I have observed with astonishment that the rebuilding of our church has been, from the origin of the idea, entrusted solely to the wild imagination of an Old Mummy [presumably Sir Yelverton Peyton, President of the committee], whose Plans, Catacombs, and illusive Calculations, have been religiously adopted by you without investigation. We have supinely given up our right of opinion upon the subject, and, without one struggle, submitted to have the Millstone of exorbitant Expence fixed by a Gordian Knot to our necks. I am more astonished that you should have rejected a Plan which, for the beauty of its architecture, and the moderation of its estimate, was highly deserving of preference. Who could have imagined that the independent parishioners of All Saints would have tamely complied with the extravagant views of a grey headed bigot, who has not scrupled to sacrifice the property of the parishioners for the choice of a favorite architect, and to dig up the bones of our dead fathers, to raise a sandy uncemented pile of his own decrepitude? ... Is it not the grossest iniquity to extort a Pound where a Penny will suffice? ... Is the Temple of the Almighty to be erected with the bread of the poor and hungry? To complete the wickedness, we are told that we have nothing to do with the building of this church; then, Why are our pockets to be drained of, perhaps, 10,000l.? This is insult added to injury. Can the idle, puerile, and ridiculous procession of Modern Masonic Ass-s hush the murmurs or stifle the wrongs of the deluded parish?³²

The author further claimed that

Had Mr Byefield's Plan been originally adopted, as in justice it ought to have been, the infirmities of this deluded being might have sunk with him to the grave unattended by the curse of an injured Parish. Mr. B had confessedly the superiority of experience to recommend him, and no one ever disputed his equality of skill: Why then was the preference given to Mr. Reveley? Because Mr. B's Plan was superior to Mr. R.'s in symmetry, proportion, and elegant simplicity, adapted to hold the same number of people, more consonant with the property of sound, and 3000 less expensive! Surely the faculties of the trustees must have been benumb'd by the tongue of the old Egyptian when they assented to so egregious a delusion ... The commonest understanding now ... sees with sorrow that those numerous and ingenious calculations which originated th[e] work were but one great volume of treachery and deceit ... The present plan of building the church is either the chimera of an infatuated brain, or the design of a wicked heart conscious of its own depravity.³³

The committee vindicated their actions on the grounds that it was 'in no shape bound' to the 'premature' resolutions of their predecessors (the pre-Act committee), and far from preferring Byfield's scheme had 'only set [it] aside for Consideration' and then by 'the great Majority' concluded that it was 'a very bad one'. The handbills were 'for Scurrility & Personal Abuse ... scarcely ever equalled [and] nothing but a violent illiberal Attack on the Majority of the Trustees done with a View to harass & vex them & will serve only to cause Animosities & Disturbance in the Parish'.³⁴ The matter was then laid to rest and Byfield bowed out of the project.

However, disagreements between Reveley and the committee continued for another two years in a see-saw of proposals and counter-proposals which confuse the modern reader already disadvantaged by the disappearance of all but a single preliminary study (Fig. 7) and the plan and elevation published by Stieglitz (Figs. 1–2), among the dozens of recorded presentation and working drawings prepared between 1790 and 1795, some of which were returned to Reveley and later included among 'His Elegant

Collection of Architectural Designs and Plans' sold at Christie's in 1801.³⁵ Friction centred on the choice of materials, the desirability or otherwise of having a monumental west portico and its precise form, the desirability of having a bell turret and its location on the building, and the architectural treatment of the north and south elevations.

Reveley's '1st. Estimate' for building the 'Whole of the Church ... in every respect agreeable to the Drawings', presumably those submitted by 30 March 1790, specified a 'Stone Portico and ... Stone Front behind', '4 Artificial Ston Capitals', '8 2fac'd Pilasters', 'Turret' and 'Brick Work on the Outside [of the south and north elevations] to be faced, with Lymington White Brick, with Stone Pilasters and Entablature', altogether requiring 13,163 feet of Portland stone costing £1,530 17s 0d³⁶ This corresponds more or less to the Stieglitz plan and elevation for a five by six bay rectangle measuring 113 by 67 feet, composed of a tetrastyle Ionic temple portico (but standing prouder of the wall than shown in the engravings), Doric pilasters isolated at the four corners of the body, each measuring half the width of those behind the columns (the '8 2fac'd Pilasters'), a turret which rises over the vestibule, as indicated by the provision of flanking staircases (but rendered in the engraving in its final position attached to the east end of the body) and a galleried interior with a square, projecting chancel.³⁷ The juxtaposition of Ionic portico and Doric corner pilasters is a feature of such Greek temples as the Athena Nike on the Acropolis, which Reveley would have seen on his visit to Athens during 1785–86.³⁸ This ideal design, however, began to change within a few months of Reveley's appointment as architect in June 1791.

On 26 August the committee approved 'the present Ground Plan produced by Mr. Reveley independent of the Portico & Turret', at the same time instructing him

to reduce the other Parts of the Plan in the Inside as much as he can, & give in an Estimate of a Front made of Portland Stone & a Front of Brick with Stone

Ornaments with a Tower of Brick & Stone Turret ... an Estimate of the Front sketched out & now produced & give a Drawing of it; & also a Drawf & Estimate of a Front which will be entirely plain.³⁹

The committee's principal concern at this stage was cost, reflected in the variety of conflicting estimates. A Mr Smallbone, 'Public Measurer to Many Architects', calculated £5,558 8s *od* for a body without portico or cupola.⁴⁰ Samuel Blount, the committee treasurer, suggested £7,400, with an additional £1,200 'If ... One of Mr. Reveleys Porticos should be thought proper to be added', together with a cupola,⁴¹ reduced to £5,800 without portico but 'Provided the Catacombs sell for 600£'.⁴² These 'mansions of the silent dead'⁴³ are discussed by Blount in a memorandum concerning raising building funds from annual burial fees, which he reckoned would produce 'much more than 30 Guineas p an', from which, together with sales to 'Private Families ... a very considerable Sum of Money may be obtain'd'.⁴⁴

On 19 October 1791 a new and unorthodox architectural idea came to the fore when Reveley was directed 'to finish his Plan making the Front [either] of Stone with Stone Pilaster [or] of white Bricks with Stone Pilasters', in both cases 'Allowing for a Portico to be added at any future time'.⁴⁵ Describing Reveley as 'An Architect Whose sole View is to build a Church, without faults, And As Cheap, As Good Materials & good work will allow' and 'convinced the Plan ... can receive many improvements', Blount advised the committee to tell him whether it

will have a Portland Stone or White Brick Front – to be so contrived that One of the Portico's may be added to it or left out say Only this – And He will be able to finish the Plans as soon as can be expected ... In short – Only consider the Body ... at present ... A Portico – or a Turret & Steeple – or Only a Cupola of Stone as ordered in Mr. Reveley's Instructions – may be considered hereafter.⁴⁶

From these bewildering choices the committee opted for all stone on 22 October.⁴⁷

Meanwhile, it had successfully negotiated the purchase of a narrow strip of private property immediately to the north of the site and on 12 November 1791 instructed Reveley to 'Shorten [the length of] his Plan as he shall think necessary and to increase the width to the Extent of the Ground'.⁴⁸ Then, on 16 January 1792 it ordered 'the Turret & Cupola be at the West End & of Stone as originally designed by Mr. Reveley ... the West Front being before determined to be Stone', though still undecided about its treatment: 'with and without a Portico'. At the same time it resolved that the 'Pilasters & Entablature of the South Front ... shall be of Stone with Intervals of white Brick'.⁴⁹ The giant Doric pilasters shown in the first design (Figs. 1–2) as isolated features on the corners of the building have now been repeated between each bay in what Reveley referred to as the 'expansive flank', and he insisted that the north elevation

must be decorated in the same manner as it will be seen from many houses & partly from the street. [It] may I suppose be of stucco as it is not certain how much of it may be hereafter covered [by buildings], stone would ad needless expence.⁵⁰

The exterior has been transformed from the plain Greek form of the first design into a more complex, pseudoperipteral temple, a Roman innovation epitomized by the Maison Carrée at Nîmes, about which Reveley had commented in 1787, in his 'Observations made on the spot', that it was 'tolerably entire [and] justly admired by every person possessed of the least architectural knowledge as a very beautiful piece of architecture'.⁵¹

Reveley remained unhappy about the way the committee was haphazardly forcing these changes on his design. In an attempt to reassert his professional authority he wrote a no-nonsense letter from London to Thomas Ridding, the Southampton Town Clerk, on 19 January 1792:

The resolutions of the Committee are so opposite in their tendencies that they thwart each other. It is

impossible to advertize [for builders] because the alterations necessary will require sometime to execute. They have ordered so much stone work as will materially add to ye expence ... indeed they seem now aiming at useless expence entirely. The church does not contain 1200 persons as drawn which was their *first requisite* & after I have contrived a turret at small expence & taking no persons room they ordered one the most expensive occupying the room of from 24 to 60 persons ... If no portico is ever to be built some sort of front must be made ... as what now makes the back of the portico will not do at all. How can any description of work be written when such material objects are undecided & how can any [press] advertizement be inserted when the designs are daily undergoing the most material alterations ... I shall with great pleasure submit the proposals ... when I am able to write any. But they must be according to circumstances very different, in general to express *according to the design & subject to the approbation of the Architect* are what must chiefly be depended upon ... I should think it much better to be more settled in the design than at present before advertisement is thought of, for there is no retracting afterwards, but the manner in which the committee has regularly treated my advice, makes me entirely free from responsibility either for the contents of people or expence.⁵²

Keen to hang on to his more explicitly Greek design, Reveley pointed out that additional pilasters and a turret 'will occasion such Delays & Additional Expence as will be of the utmost consequences', and on 24 January the committee resolved to drop them from the specification and ordered 'the Plans & Drawings last produced by Mr. Reveley be immediately compleated in the best Way he can & the least expensive'.⁵³ We now discover that this featured a fully prostyle temple portico rather than the screen-like structure shown by Stieglitz (Fig. 2), for on the following day Reveley wrote Ridding:

as so many circumstances unfavourable to the Portico are suggested I wish they could be reduced to a certainty so far as to say that "if it comes within the expence it will be built" for as a front of another sort must be composed, the flanks may also require a different style & so lead to another alteration. Cannot the Commissrs of pavement be consulted immediately?

As it will cause no obstruction perhaps they may not object to it, if they know that there will then be *more footway* than at present, that as it will be wider, & the coach way will not be at all or only a few inches encroached upon ... I would set the plinths of the columns as near the kennel [gutter] as possible & make a wide foot path ... Indeed the Commissioners should have been consulted before any portico was thought of. The Portico of St George church Hanover square [by John James, 1721–25] stands over the foot Path, that of the Pantheon in Oxford street [by James Wyatt, 1769–72] & many others in London, which shews the building to more advantage, & is not found any objection.⁵⁴

On 15 February he enclosed 'a sketch of the additions' but reiterated that

If the Committee mean to have a stone front ... it will be necessary for me to draw one fit for the situation ... The stone in front not being required for strength, more than on the flanks &c. It will be necessary to leave out the stone in flank except the lower string course & the cornice; or otherwise to have stone on the North, similar to that voted for the south side; which with stone front will I am afraid exceed the expence intended.⁵⁵

From this emerged Reveley's recommendation that 'If we allow a stucco front it is the utmost if the sum does not exceed 7000£ which I believe it does not'.⁵⁶ When builders' tenders were examined on 23 March, the lowest, submitted by G.G. Hookey, was accepted on condition that 'Bailey's Stucco shall be made use of instead of stone'.⁵⁷ Little is known about this material, which presumably resembled the fashionable late Georgian artificial compositions patented by the Adam brothers, John Liardet and others.⁵⁸ At All Saints, Reveley recommended that the

whole out side not of stone to be worked to receive the Stucco moulded work in solid Brick but the Great Cornice on the south and north flanks to be Erected By & at the expence of Mr. Bailey and not by ... Hookey.⁵⁹

This entailed pouring liquid stucco into wooden moulds fixed to the building.⁶⁰ The operation was apparently successful since Reveley employed Bailey again at Windmill Hill in Sussex (1798).⁶¹

In the normal circumstances of church building laying the foundation stone would have marked the end of debate concerning the design, but at All Saints' the event, which took place on 3 August 1792 with much civic ceremony witnessed by a 'vast concourse of people',⁶² proved only a pause in still further important architectural changes. In November a proposal 'Agreeable to [the] present design [with] the front to be Executed in Brick for stucco' called for a '4 Column Portico' and an alternative '6 Column Portico'.⁶³ Reveley summarized these in a 7 January 1793 memo to Ridging: 'Build the church without stone front, stone Turret or slating' £5,944 2s 1½d? (less £350, the value of the old fabric), 'Stone Turret allowing the increased price' £872 11s 0d, 'Stone front of 3 quarter columns cutting away brickwork to be paid extra' £833 18s 1½d, 'Four column stone Portico requiring no cutting away of Brickwork' £895 9s 0d and 'Six column stone Portico ditto' £1,439 11s 4d⁶⁴ The hexastyle portico, presumably stretching across the entire west front, suggests a solution inspired by the Temple of Athena Polias at Priene as reconstructed in the first volume of *The Society of Dilettanti's Ionian Antiquities* (1769).⁶⁵ Of comparable dimensions with 40 foot high and 4 foot 3 inch diameter Ionic columns, compared to All Saints's 36 by 4 foot diameter,⁶⁶ Reveley omitted fluting the shafts but added an isolated astragal below the capital. On 28 March Hookey was permitted to 'dispose of the Stone already provided for the 3 Quarter Columns'⁶⁷ in anticipation of a resolution, announced on 4 April, that the 'Church will be entirely compleated with Brick, three Quarter Columns without the Turret & the Inside fully finished according to the Plans agreed on'.⁶⁸

In the undated contract drafted by the committee the portico and the entire wall behind it were to be built of Portland stone, with the capitals 'carved by a Carver approved of ... by the Architect from a plaster model which he will furnish ... much relieved and finely wrought',⁶⁹ but in Reveley's 27 July 1793

refinement of this document 'the whole West Front [was] to be of Brick except only the plinth [of the body] which shall be Portland Stone'.⁷⁰ The south elevation, which was to have had stone pilasters, string courses under them and between the two storeys of windows, and 'artificial stone' capitals and modillions, with 'the same stone decorations' on the north elevation,⁷¹ was now modified to include the 'whole out side not of stone to be worked to receive the Stucco Moulded work in solid Brick'.⁷² On the east elevation stone would be used only for the 'upper mouldings of the cornice',⁷³ embellished by 'two ... handsome Ornamented Chimneypots of Artificial Stone'.⁷⁴ The war with France, which had been declared on 1 February 1793, undoubtedly contributed to this more economical version.⁷⁵

In the draft the portico was still hexastyle, but an instruction to the mason that the height of the column plinths 'cannot be at present precisely ascertained' suggests that its form had still to be resolved.⁷⁶ Significantly, Reveley's redraft makes no mention of six columns⁷⁷ and, very likely, he had never entirely abandoned his original vision. The restitution finally of the tetrastyle portico and, therefore, of Doric corner pilasters in turn made sense of their repetition along the side elevations. It may have been at this moment that he decided to reinforce the pseudoperipteral temple by extending the body from six to eight bays (Figs. 3–4). The turret was also reinstated, now in its final, executed shape and in Portland stone.⁷⁸

Reveley's early, unrealised church experiments (1776) featured a lofty steeple rising from the west end of the roof directly behind a temple portico attached to a pseudoperipteral temple body, in the old fashioned manner of St Martin-in-the-Fields (1721–27).⁷⁹ Despite its continuing popularity during the Neoclassical period, some *avant-garde* writers condemned Gibbs's unorthodox collision of portico and steeple. Stephen Riou, in a 'Design of a CHURCH after the Manner of an ANTIQUE TEMPLE' (Fig. 5), published in *The Grecian Orders*

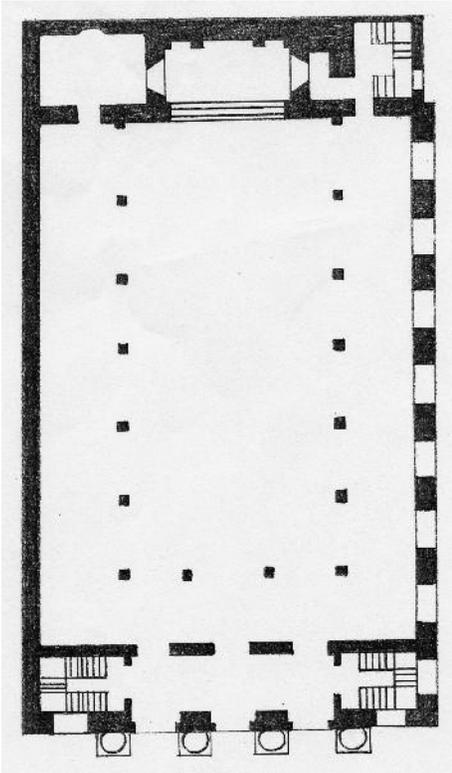
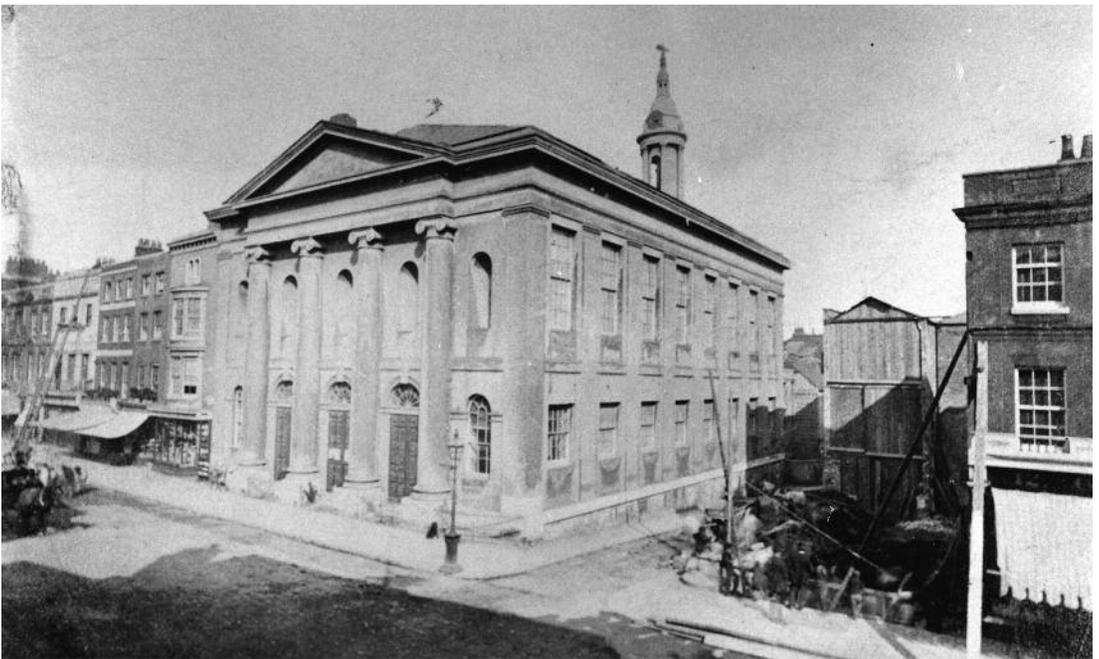


Fig. 3. All Saints', ground plan as executed. Redrawn from Ordnance Survey Map, 1870.

Fig. 4. All Saints', view from south-west, photograph. *Southampton Archives, SQF 28.*



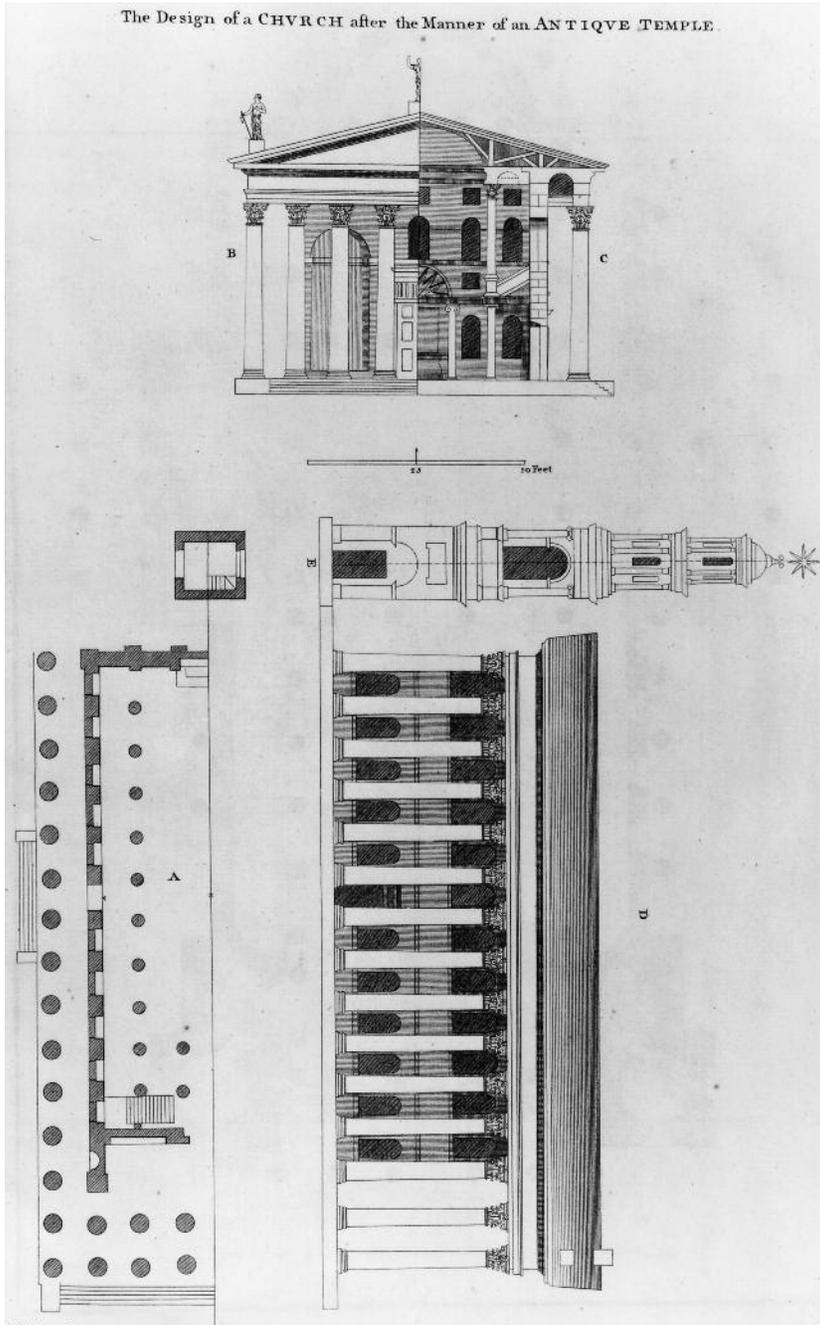


Fig. 5. 'The Design of a CHURCH after the Manner of an ANTIQVE TEMPLE', 1767, engraving, in S. Riou, *The Grecian Orders of Architecture*, London, 1768, Pt. II, pl. I. RIBA Library.

of *Architecture* (1768), went as far as to separate the tower from the body entirely as a demonstration that

no incumbrance should be admitted that could destroy the beauty of the portico and the anti-temple: therefore the pediment or roof should not be loaded with the Gothic part of our churches, a tower and its spire.⁸⁰

This radical solution had particular poignancy for Reveley. As editor of the third volume of *The Antiquities of Athens* (1794) he defended the 'awful dignity and grandeur' of the unadulterated Doric temple,⁸¹ while at the same time attacked the anti-Greek, William Chambers, his old master, who had publicly dismissed the 'famous Parthenon, which, though not so considerable as the Church of St. Martin, in St. Martin's Lane, exclusive of its elegant spire ... was the boast of Athens, and excited the envy and murmur of all Greece', but which Chambers regarded as not 'calculated to throw new light upon the art [of building], or to contribute towards its advancement'.⁸² Reveley took this to insinuate that the Parthenon 'would gain considerably with respect to beauty by the addition of a steeple', to which he retorted that 'A judicious observer of the fine arts would scarcely be more surprised were he to propose to effect this improvement by adding to it a Chinese pagoda'.⁸³ At All Saints' Reveley isolated the turret from the main roof and repositioned it atop the projecting chancel at the east end of the block, which has been refigured into a shallower rectangle flanked by staircase units (Fig. 6).⁸⁴ To further preserve the integrity of the temple form he disguised chimney flues as acroteria on the west pediment and introduced 'Short pipes of artificial Stone ... laid and worked into the walls over every other pier [pilaster] from the Stucco Gutters into the leaden troughs to Carry off the rain water'.⁸⁵

Let us now turn to the interior, where equally radical changes took place prior to construction. Concerns about the interior, as far as we know, were first expressed on 12 November 1791, when, having secured the additional ground to the north, Reveley



Fig. 6. All Saints', view from the north-east, photograph. *Southampton Archives*, D/PAN 4/57.

was instructed to shorten the length and increase the width of the building, as we have seen, and 'Also to take away the Front [west] Gallery, for the benefit of insuring a sufficiency of Light to the Pew under the Side Galleries to the North'.⁸⁶ In the committee's response to the 1791 handbill attacks, it claimed that 'There never was an Idea of having Light from that side but with Mr Byfield', and that in Reveley's revised design 'there will be Light sufficient from the South East and if not more may be had from the West if necessary'.⁸⁷ However, this was not strictly true, for Stieglitz's plan (Fig. 2) shows the north wall at aisle level fully fenestrated.⁸⁸

A study for the interior of a church looking towards the east (Fig. 7), unsigned and undated but presumably by Reveley, differs in several respects from his executed interior.⁸⁹ There is no separate chancel space. The columned canopy and organ over the communion table owes much to the west gallery of James Stuart and William Newton's Greenwich Hospital Chapel (1779–90).⁹⁰ The side walls have windows at aisle level, while the solid, cella-like area above the galleries is articulated by Ionic pilasters

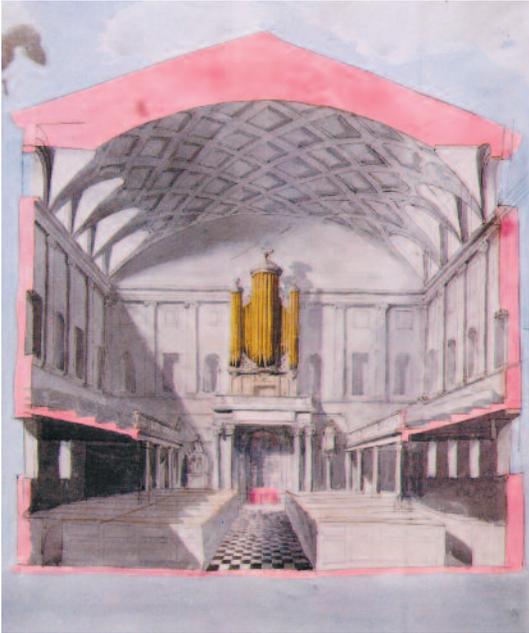


Fig. 7. W. Reveley, attributed, Design for the interior of a church, perhaps All Saints', pen and ink and watercolour. Present whereabouts unknown.

and blind niches which echo the arrangement on the west front (Figs. 1, 4). Most interestingly, the diamond coffered, segmental ceiling springs higher than either Greenwich or All Saints' in order to accommodate the main source of daylight in lunette windows.⁹¹

The executed interior, recorded in a few pre-1940 photographs (Fig. 8) and described in *The Southampton Guide* (1804), was more strictly geometric and austere:

Grecian pilasters, similar to those on the outside, but with more ornamented capitals, are also made use of within the walls. Their mouldings are continued quite round the building, as an impost, with a gentle rise of only eight feet, springs the arched ceiling, which is a

segment of a circle, ornamented with square sunk panels. No heavy columns, no protruding beams, intercepting the sight and sound, are employed in the support of this ample room. It is indeed a noble performance, seldom perhaps excelled in boldness of design.⁹²

John Papworth's plastering proposal called for

a Plain Cornice at the ... springing of the Arched Cieling and ... plain Capitals ... Mouldings on the Cieling forming Pannells from each Pillaster to its opposite ... a Plain Molding or Architrave round the ... Windows [forming] the Seven divisions in the Arched Cieling into square Pannells with plain Mouldings as described in a Drawing at Large, and in the Center of each Pannell to place a Rose .. & placing Plain Pateras at intersections of the mouldings.⁹³

The builders' specifications called for Portland stone pavement 'in streight courses', wall dado with 'square pannells' and galleries supported on 'undiminished square pilasters'.⁹⁴

The triumph of the interior was an impressive, double tiered altarpiece composed of a fully Doric screen surmounted by three-quarter Ionic columns and pilasters framing a central arch, intended for a painting,⁹⁵ flanked by niches and oval tablets hung with festoons.⁹⁶ Reveley's starting-point may have been the Roman arch of Trajan at Beneventum near Naples, which he had visited specially in February 1785.⁹⁷ The entire altarpiece was attached to the back wall of the chancel beneath a segmental ceiling 'ornamented with sunk lozenge pannells and roses'.⁹⁸ It was dramatically lit on both flanks by tall side windows (hung with the 'lower half fixed and the upper to pull down'),⁹⁹ their arched heads expressed internally as lunettes cutting into the segmental ceiling; in effect, a reduced version of the main ceiling in the sketch (Fig. 7). An oculus inserted in the tympanum directly over the altarpiece (Fig. 8), originally intended to contain a dove painted on glass by James Pearson, was ingeniously positioned to catch the morning sun (Fig. 6), while a second oculus in the centre of the upper arch was echoed by one on the outside wall of the chancel, devices of considerable

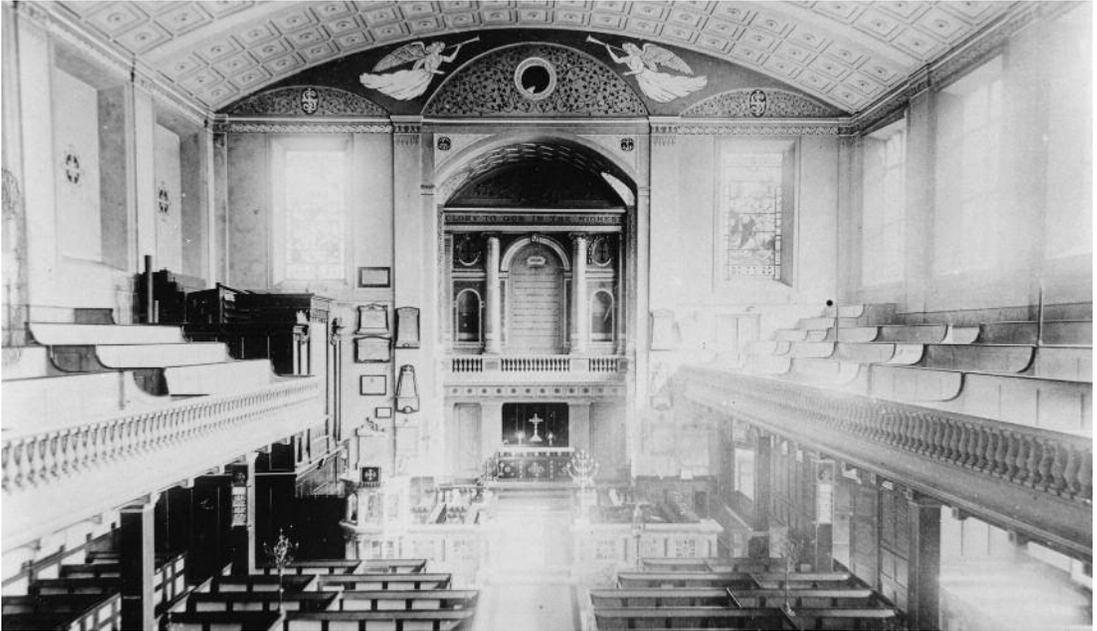


Fig. 8. All Saints', view of interior towards the chancel, photograph.
Southampton Archives, SQF. 29, 8.

originality.¹⁰⁰ These hidden light corridors were exposed to view in the post-bombing ruin (Fig. 9).¹⁰¹

All Saints's construction was launched in 1793 with Reveley, based in London, specifying that the builders follow his drawings 'agreeable to [their] true Intent and meaning',¹⁰² qualified by the committee that the work was to be done to the 'satisfaction of the Architect' and that 'No alterations or deviations from the ... particulars and drawings is to be made on any pretence whatever without an order in writing signed by the architect'.¹⁰³ Work was to be finished by 3 August 1795.¹⁰⁴ The new church was consecrated on 12 November of that year.¹⁰⁵ The operation, however, was darkened by two episodes, both of which illuminate the complex working of late Georgian church building yet further.

In preparing the press advertisement calling for

craftsmens' proposals in January 1792 the inexperienced committee had obtained the original building contracts for two recent Bristol churches, Christ Church (1784–90, designed by William Paty) and St Thomas (1790–93, by James Allen), which revealed only that they were 'not contracted for by one person but each tradesmen contracted separately for his own work under the inspection and direction of an Architect'.¹⁰⁶ However, Reveley stressed the importance of adopting the procedure of '*measure & value* on the lowest offers' as

the only mode of erecting the church that is advantageous ... because, first more offers will be made on these terms. Secondly, it admits of retracting any orders (such as the stonework ordered) that might render the church too expensive. Thirdly, it admits of any alteration whatever during the work, a liberty the most pretious both as economical & rendering every



Fig. 9. All Saints', view of interior towards the chancel, post-1940 photograph.
Southampton Archives, SC/EN 2/1, 8.

part more compleat. Fourthly, it produces the best work because the moment any contractor fails in his engagements you may turn him off & take another. Fifthly, it prevents all disputes, whatever. A number of other reasons added to the opinions of experienced men convince me that no other mode is to be thought of where the least uncertainty remains [regarding design and materials], & where economy is the leading feature ... Should the trustees determine on any other mode of proceeding ... I should be much mortified.¹⁰⁷

Hookey's contract, therefore, included the condition that construction should not be done 'by task work or in any way let out without the knowledge and Consent of the Architect first'.¹⁰⁸

There were already signs of trouble in early 1793, when Reveley wrote to Ridding

If Mr Hookey makes any difficulty I shall be extremely amazed as I look upon him to be a man of reputation & that would not shrink from an act once done, unless he wished to resign the whole.¹⁰⁹

The nature of this trouble is fully exposed by Hookey's defiant language of the decade of *Rights of Man* in his letter to the

Gentlemen of the Committee [who] suppose they have some Cause of Discontent because I do not chuse to continue Mr [John] Kent as my Foreman at the Building of All Saints Church ... the Interference of the

Committee, or the Surveyor, betwixt me & my Foreman is neither warranted by Usage or propriety nor as I conceive to be vindicated by Justice, A Man who employs another to superintend the Management and Application of his property has alone the right of judging how far he is served to his Satisfaction & any Intermeddling with this Right tends to enslave his Mind and endanger his property ... If Genius and Invention were required to conduct the Work Mr Kent would be a very useful Foreman But as the Duty consists in simple Attention to the Men (with moderate Knowledge) It demands rather a Man of diligent watchful Disposition than one of the brighter Talents ... If any Discontent arises respecting the Work already finished I appeal to the Clerk of the Works & to Mr. Kent ... whether my Directions have not uniformly been that the Orders of the Surveyor should be fulfilled truly and fully ... I reposed perfect Confidence in my Foreman to see every part of the Work performed in the most fair and liberal Manner ... I confess that it was never intended by me to execute all the parts of the Work myself, Kent himself has been offered by me some participation of it ... But whether I perform the Work myself or by Agents until there are solid Grounds for Discontent I shall hope to have Credit for good Intention, as well as for Judgement sufficient to provide against the Consequences of any Breach of my Contract ... My offer of a part of the Work might possibly have led to the Idea that I should be willing to decline the Undertaking altogether. It was barely possible I could harbour such an Idea, only to be entertained to avoid much Contention and Discord or to comply with the unanimous wish of the Committee, because such a Disposition on my part would look as though I had undertaken a Work which I was ... unwilling to execute ... but I Deny that the Work in Question is either of such Difficulty of Magnitude as to give me a doubt about fulfilling it with Credit to myself and Justice to the parish ... If the Surveyor has any Observations to make respecting the Work which may affect me particularly I trust that every liberal Man will think that such Observations should first come from him to me directly ... because a different Conduct in my humble Opinion would be neither general nor strictly just

and he hoped the committee would protect him 'from any imputation which may be conveyed in a Secret or suspicious Manner'.¹¹⁰ Reveley wrote to Hookey by return of post

As to your conduct of the work I have entirely approved ... but when you reverse the mode of conducting it by turning off your foreman and letting out the work to task I think myself authorized to say, that no improvement in the work can be expected; but that great prejudice may ... as you know that task work is particularly objected to by the contract and ... I cannot esteem your conduct upon the whole but as a contradiction of my advice and orders & that you know it will give me the greatest dissatisfaction. I do not pretend to any right of interference between you and your foreman, but have certainly a right to disapprove of so general a change in the conduct of the building.¹¹¹

He also informed the committee

the business of the clerk of the works is not that of instructing Mr Hookeys men how to execute the various parts but to object to such as are not well done and according to the instructions and drawings. The foreman's business is to direct the execution of every minute part & if that is ill directed I can expect no other defects than bad execution and mistakes. If Mr Hookey is to keep up a constant display of his rights in opposition to mine, the work will never proceed at all but by my suffering him to go on well or ill as he pleases, and ... not make it a point of honour to do as I direct him, which I always do with every civility I know that no legal powers on my side can force him to perform the work to my satisfaction. For which reason I never would recommend any man to a contract who did not intend to act voluntarily and from choice. Mr Hookey's declaration to me and others of his determined resistance to my orders and to try his strength with me in the parish are not only extremely disagreeable to me as personalities, but give me just cause to apprehend that he will on frequent occasions dispute points, in which case I have nothing to say but that prejudice to the work and to the interest of the parish must insue ... Genius and invention are absolutely necessary in many parts of the work and Mr Hookey must acknowledge that almost the whole of the executive part has been managed by Mr Kent in this church, and again in the church of Holy Rood, as Mr Kent was much away from All Saints during the repairs of Holy Rood. I had ocular proof of the idleness of the men and the mismanagement of the church in Mr Kents absence and I actually complained

of it to Mr Hookey and Mr Kent. If Mr Kent's abilities are not necessary in this church, why could not the repairs of Holy Rood be conducted without Mr Kents personal attendance upon it almost continually. Mr Hookey and I differ totally about the requisites of a foreman and it is an acknowledged fact that the success of any work depends much upon the abilities of a foreman more particularly where the master is generally employed in a line of business that does not permit him to attend himself ... as there is no method less likely to produce good, nor more likely to produce bad work than task work, I see no extraordinary good intentions to which Mr Hookey claims a right, but if he rejected task work I should say he deserves great credit ... As to my manner of acting in the business I do not think I am to have it pointed out by Mr Hookey. But I have not made any secret of my aversion to his work which I have told [him] & personally expressed my desire to him of continuing the work as it was hitherto conducted. On my telling Mr Hookey that ... the outside stucco should not be included in his contract, he answered in a manner far from civil that he was determined to do all or nothing ... and in manner that renders personal conversation with Mr Hookey very disagreeable to me.

Nevertheless, Reveley was happy for the commissioners to dictate how the work should proceed since he was 'determined that nothing personally concerning myself shall prevent the continuance of the work or cause the prejudice of your interests'.¹¹²

Then there was the matter of non-payment of bills and fees. In 1794 Hookey, 'much in want of Money', asked the committee to grant 'an order for Payment of his extra Bill which has a very considerable Time been delivered and no notice taken'.¹¹³ Four years later his widow, still awaiting payment of £2,147. 18s 7d, threatened a lawsuit.¹¹⁴

Reveley, too, was poorly treated. He had carefully itemized his expenses since his appointment in June 1791: 'Postage of Letters, Portorage, Package, Carriage & Book of Parcels' £6 7s 6d and 'Six advertisements in Newspapers' £1 15s 0d (9 February 1792); 'whole of the work then executed ... measured ... at Southampton, for which Mr Reveley brought down a

measurer including the expences of travelling & residence for both. The amount of the Estimate at Mr Hookeys prices was £7839 0s at One Pound Ten Shillings Per Cent' £117 11s 7½d (September 1792); attendance at Parliament on four occasions £4 4s 0d (February 1793); 'Expences in Ten attendances at Southampton' £52 4s 0d (9 July 1791 – 8 June 1793); 'Three Bills for Composition ornament for the Pulpit &c.' £8 2s 7½d. Reveley calculated his fee on 'Five per cent Commission on the sums paid to Mr Hookey' as £174 18s 0d, £100 of which he received on 21 July 1792.¹¹⁵ On 20 June 1796 he told Ridding that 'the delay ... in paying my bill is cruel & undeserved', particularly 'on the eve of an expensive journey & having more than £1000 due to me from various persons I have not five pounds in the house', and suggested payment might be made in bonds but 'the misfortune is that [the committee] seems deaf to every application, & a man cannot sit down & be ruined for want of money so justly his due ... so that it is a sort of battledore & shuttle cock'.¹¹⁶ A year later the committee had agreed to settle the bill by bonds, and Reveley pressed for quick payment since 'I daily feel for want of money'.¹¹⁷ Nothing was received by the end of 1797:

The scarcity of business & the difficulty of obtaining payment for what is already done are sufficient reasons for collecting all debts ... & the being deprived both of the capital & interest is such a loss as I am unable to stand.¹¹⁸

The matter was finally resolved by 17 December 1798, when Reveley received £500 'in full of all Demands for my Expences & Commission as Architect'.¹¹⁹ In a final letter dated 21 December, he acknowledged the payment: 'I was extremely sorry to hear of the great difficulties with which [the committee] have had to struggle I had no idea of the unpaid expence being near so much'. In a spirit of magnanimity which belies his reputation –

Reveley had rather an aukward way of letting loose his real opinions; and had habituated himself to a sarcastic

mode of delivering them ... that ... were not calculated to render him popular; and ... influenced many, who were disposed to employ him, to seek architects of more pliant and accommodating dispositions¹²⁰ –

he offered practical advice on the maintenance of his masterpiece:

no leakage in the slating should ever remain unstopped as the mischief is always great & may be prevented by a little care. As a leakage may happen in wet seasons when it would be imprudent to take off the slates to repair it on all occasions let the work be plastered with lime & hair within side & remain so till a proper season to repair will permit new slates to be put on. The painting of the external woodwork should be repeated whenever it begins to rub off like chalk upon the finger, or any appearance of Rust comes upon the iron work ... If the snow is to be thrown off (of which I doubt if it can be necessary from the construction of the roof) let it be done with wooden shovels without the least iron about them otherwise the gutters & slating will be entirely cut to pieces I recommend shovels of deal only. but believe me no leakage will be found from any quantity of snow because I have purposely contrived the roof to clear itself. I beg leave to return my hearty thanks to the trustees for the honor of their employment.¹²¹

Six months later, on 6 July 1799, Willey Reveley was 'suddenly snatched away in the prime of life'.¹²²

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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NOTES

- 1 The nomenclature derives from the title of Christie's 1801 sale catalogue (see note 35). All Saints is mentioned in *The Victoria History of the Counties of England, A History of the County of Hampshire* (hereafter *VCH*), III, London, 1908, 533; Marcus Whiffen, *Stuart and Georgian Churches*, London, 1948, 56–7; Damie Stillman, *English Neo-Classical Architecture*, II, London, 1988, 439, and is discussed more fully in D.G. Dixon, *All Saints Southampton's Lost Georgian Church*, Southampton, 1992.
- 2 D.H. [perhaps David Hughson], 'Reveley's Classical Drawings', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, May 1801, 420, commented 'The only specimen of Mr. R's science as an architect, carried into execution, is the new church at Southampton . . . but in the application of Grecian temples to the purpose of Christian churches, he, as well as Mr. Revett, who gave a specimen of his talent this way at Laurence Ayot . . . have greatly failed'.
- 3 Plates 23–24. The others, all in or near London, are also discussed by the present writer: Plates 45–46 ['"Acrobatic Architecture": St Mary's Paddington', *Westminster History Review* 2, 1998, 23–7, figs. 23–4] by John Plaw, 1788–91; Plates 53–4, St Mary's, Wanstead, Essex, 1787–90 ['Thomas Hardwick Jr.'s Early Churches', *The Georgian Group Journal*, VIII, 1998, 43–55, fig.5]; Plates 65–66, Kentish Town Chapel, 1780–84 ['James Wyatt's Earliest Classical Churches', *The Georgian Group Journal*, VII, 1997, 56–70, fig. 4].
- 4 Page 34.
- 5 Pages 34–5. For a description of the interior see text to note 92.
- 6 Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840*, New Haven and London, 1995, 805–06; John Inghamells, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy 1701–1800*, New Haven and London, 1997, 807–08.
- 7 London, RIBA Library, ReW/1 'Manuscript Material for a Dictionary of Architecture, and a Journey through Italy, Greece and Egypt, etc.', fols. 66-v, 73-v. Bernini's church at Ariccia was 'something like the [Roman] Pantheon in general form, but infinitely worse in all its parts . . . a very bad copy of one of the finest buildings in the world' [fol. 165v].
- 8 *Ibid.*, fol. 116, adding 'Its general design is too much complicated & rather confused however being quite on a new plan will no doubt produce a lighter manner of building inside of churches than what has been hitherto the taste'.
- 9 J. Mordaunt Crook, *The Greek Revival*, London, 1972, 92.
- 10 'Obituary of remarkable Persons', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, July 1799, 627.
- 11 Southampton, Southampton Archives (hereafter SA), D/PM 9/4/3/1, 19 January 1792, and 9/4/6/4, 20 March 1793. St Mary's parish church, destroyed 1550, was rebuilt between 1711–1723, again 1879–84 and 1954–56 [*VCH*, *op. cit.*, III, 525]. In 1732–33 John James rebuilt St. Michael's medieval spire, reconstructed 1826–8 [D.C. Colton, *The History of St. Michael's Church Southampton*, Southampton, 1970, 18, 21].
- 12 Nearly 80 documents, with the prefix D/PM, the majority of which are mentioned in the present article.
- 13 *The Journals of the House of Commons* (hereafter *JHC*), XLVI, 95, 17 December 1790; Dixon, *op. cit.*, 3–4, illus. of old church.
- 14 A letter of 8 June 1791 to John Groves Jr., one of the unsuccessful competitors, refers to 'Plans . . . delivered in Consequence of Advertizemts published by the Committee of the Parishioners before the Act passed' on 13 May [SA, D/PM 9/3/1, fol. 1v].
- 15 SA, DP 9/4/1/1.
- 16 On 8 June 1791 the committee resolved 'to return the Several Plans that have been laid before them to the Owners' [SA, D/PM 9/3/1, fol. 1; 9/4/2/8].
- 17 SA, D/PM 9/4/1/1.
- 18 SA, D/PM 9/4/1/1, 30 March 1790 and 9/4/1/3, 6 June 1790, also noting that 'the Sketches are drawn to a Scale of three sixteenths of an Inch to a Foot'.
- 19 SA, D/PM 9/4/1/1.
- 20 SA, D/PM 9/4/1/1. A pupil of John Plaw [Colvin, *op. cit.*, 202–03], Byfield exhibited a design for a 'Church for the parish of All Saints, Southampton' in 1791 [A. Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts A Complete Dictionary of Contributors*, I, London, 1905, 368, no. 475].
- 21 SA, D/PM 9/4/1/1 and 9/4/1/4, 3 August 1790; Colvin, *op. cit.*, 433–34; Inghamells, *op. cit.*, 436.
- 22 SA, D/PM 9/4/1/6, 28 August 1790.
- 23 SA, D/PM 9/4/1/1, 9/4/1/5, 9/4/1/7.
- 24 Graves, *op. cit.*, VII, 1906, 336, no. 179, giving an address 'At Mr. Plaw's, Southampton'; Colvin, *op. cit.*, 761, 962, for John Plaw and John Taylor.

- 25 SA, D/PM 9/4/35, 9/4/2/8, 9/4/1/1. The architect, Joseph Bonomi, lived at 76 Great Titchfield Street [Roger Bowdler, 'The Mausoleum at Blicking', *Apollo*, April 1998, 14, n.16].
- 26 SA, D/PM 9/4/1/1. G.G. Hookey is identified in his 27 July 1793 building contract [SA, D/PM 9/4/3/11; *ibid.*, 9/4/8, fol. 1], rather than as 'Mr John Hookey, the builder [who executed the work] in a masterly manner' given in T. Baker, *The Southampton Guide*, Southampton, 1804, 34, and repeated in Colvin, *op. cit.*, 805.
- 27 *JHC*, XLVI, 95 (17 December 1790 petition), 252–3, 390, 414–5, 563. Stat. 31. Georgii III, c.71, 1791. Tayler wrote to Sir Yelverton Peyton, President of the church building committee, on 23 April 'Perceiving by the Papers the Bill . . . has past both Houses of Parliament . . . The Committee will then I should conjecture proceed to determine on the Plans, in consequence of which I take this opportunity of begging the favour of your signifying to the Committee that if there is anything in my Plans they consider worthy their attention, I should take a particular pleasure in giving them any information in my power relative thereto, And should I have the honour to succeed either as Surveyor [architect], or Builder, they may rely on no attention being wanting on my part to merit their approbation' [SA, D/PM 9/4/2/1].
- 28 SA, D/PM 9/4/2/8–9, noting 'Persons proposed as Architect Mr. Byfield by Mr. Dickson Mr. Taylor by Mr. Rogers Mr. Reveley by Mr. [Samuel] Blount'.
- 29 SA, D/PM 9/4/2/8, 8 June 1791, referring to the committee's initial impressions expressed on 26 August 1790. See also *ibid.*, 9/2/1, fol.1 and 9/4/7/57.
- 30 SA, D/PM 9/4/7/52 and 9/4/2/12, headed 'Mr Byfield's last offer to build A Church – now of the Exact Square'. The additional £600 was for 'Roof Westmorland Slate' £80, 'Parapet Wall & Lead Gutters' £200, 'Portico Support' £200, 'Stone Front . . . if Portland' £120.
- 31 SA, D/PM 9/3/1, fols. 1-v, 22 June 1791, referring to Byfield's letter of 10 June.
- 32 SA, D/PM 9/4/7/55, this copy addressed to 'Mr. Ridging Southampton', the Town Clerk.
- 33 SA, D/PM 9/4/7/58. The claim made for Byfield's 'superiority of experience' and 'equality of skill' to Reveley's may have been well founded. Hurlingham House, Fulham, in London (1797–98), was described as 'fitted up with great taste [and] allowed to be one of the most beautiful villas on the banks of the Thames' [George Richardson, *The New Vitruvius Britannicus*, II, London, 1808, 4, pls. 23–4].
- 34 SA, D/PM 9/4/7/57, undated.
- 35 Reveley wrote on 19 January 1792 'I must . . . have the drawings back if the alterations voted [by the committee] are to be made' [SA, D/PM 9/4/3/1]. Hookey's 27 July 1793 contract mentions 'plans Drawings Elevations Sections and Sketches . . . signed by [him]', marked 1–22 '& such others as may be given' [SA, D/PM 9/4/3/11, fol.2 and 9/4/8, fol. 2]; Graves, *op. cit.*, VI, 1906, 269, 1792 no. 651 'New Church of All Saints, Southampton', 1793 no. 714 ditto; *A Catalogue of The Capital, Truly Valuable and Interesting Collection of Drawings, Prints, Book of Prints, &c. &c. Of that distinguished Artist and Civil Engineer, The Athenian Reveley, Deceased*] . . . Also, *His Elegant Collection of Architectural Designs and Plans*, Christie's, 11–12 May 1801, lists in the First Day Sale, 2–3, 6, lot 20 'Plans of Southampton Church', 25 'First Designs for Southampton Church', 51 'A Perspective Drawing, Design for Southampton Church, as originally intended', 52 'Elevation of the West Front of All Saints Church, Southampton', 131 'A Model of the Roof of the Church of All Saints, Southampton' [RIBA Library, ReW/1]. 'Reveley's Classical Drawings', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, May 1801, 420, mentions 'several drawings and sketches [for All Saints] now sold'.
- 36 SA, D/PM 9/4/3/14, undated. The 'Artificial Ston Capitals', costing 30s each, may have been items to be purchased from the Coade Manufactory, Lambeth. For a similar example see St Mary, Wanstead, Essex, where in 1788 the firm supplied ten Corinthian capitals at 5 guineas each [Terry Friedman, 'Thomas Hardwick Jr's Early Churches', *The Georgian Group Journal*, VIII, 1998, 50, fig. 6].
- 37 Hookey's 30 March 1790 estimate for a stone fronted church gives the dimensions as 111 by 63 feet [SA, D/PM 9/4/1/1].
- 38 A.W. Lawrence, *Greek Architecture*, Harmondsworth, 1987, pls. 182–3.
- 39 SA, D/PM 9/2/1, fol. 4v, 'Minutes of the Proceedings of the Trustees'.
- 40 SA, D/PM 9/4/2/12 and 9/4/7/60, undated.
- 41 SA, D/PM 9/4/7/60, undated, and 9/4/2/4, 17 October 1791.

- 42 SA, D/PM 9/4/2/4, 19 October 1791.
- 43 *Southampton Guide, op. cit.*, 36.
- 44 SA, D/PM 9/4/2/3, 27 September 1791.
- 45 SA, D/PM 9/4/2/4-5, adding that 'a Plan be finish'd as soon as possible & advertised'. This echoed the unorthodox procedure adopted at Christ Church, Spitalfields (1727-28), where Hawksmoor first built the west front with four monumental pilaster-like divisions attached to the west wall, to which he subsequently added the projecting, tetrastyle Doric portico [*Survey of London*, XXVII, London, 1957, 154, 169, fig. 37, pls. 10a, 17a].
- 46 SA, D/PM 9/4/2/13, undated.
- 47 SA, D/PM 9/2/1, fol.5.
- 48 SA, D/PM 9/4/2/6; *ibid.*, 9/2/1, fol.5v.
- 49 SA, D/PM 9/2/1, fol.7.
- 50 SA, D/PM 9/4/3/1, 19 January 1792. This elevation is shown in J.S. Hayward's 1804 view from the north-west [Sotheby's, 28 April 1988, lot 572, illus.].
- 51 London, RIBA Library, ReW/1, fol.281v; J.B. Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, Harmondsworth, 1981, 226-7, pl.137. Reveley inspected this temple on 12 July 1787 [Ingamells, *op. cit.*, 807]; it was the subject of scrutiny in C-L. Clerisseau's *Antiquités De La France*, Paris, 1778, a copy of which he owned [Christie's, *op. cit.*, 11 May 1801, lot 118].
- 52 SA, D/PM 9/4/3/1.
- 53 SA, D/PM 9/2/1, fol.7v.
- 54 SA, D/PM 9/4/3/5. Written on 25 January 1792, Reveley does not mention that the Pantheon was largely destroyed by fire on 14 January, though the entrance portico survived [*Survey of London*, XXX, London, 1960, chapter XIII. For St George's, see John Summerson, *Georgian London*, London, 1988, fig. 24.
- 55 SA, D/PM 9/4/3/6.
- 56 SA, D/PM 9/4/3/7, 7 March 1792. Nevertheless, as late as 3 July 1792 Reveley was ordered 'to proceed . . . with a Stone Front . . . the Stone Entablature & other expences which can be saved on the North & South Sides shall be done by substituting Bailey's Cement wherever it can be used instead of Stone'; on 16 July 'A Stone Turret instead of Wooden one' was ordered [SA, D/PM 9/2/1, fol.12].
- 57 SA, D/PM 9/2/1, fol.9. Hookey's 14 March 1792 tender estimated £7,750 for a 'West Front entirely Stone, the North and South Sides and East End of White Brick with Stone Pillasters, Entablature, String Course &c. . . the whole of the Inside finish'd as in Drawings . . . provided the old Church become my property' [SA, D/PM 9/4/3/8]. Tenders were also received from named London builders, some of whom were Reveley's Marylebone neighbours, as well as from Southampton and other provincial centres [SA, D/PM 9/4/4/1-6, 11], including Richard Dyche 'Builder in General. Stratford Essex . . . as Cheap as any Builder in England aCording to Workmanship Being Very use to Church Work' [SA, D/PM 9/4/4/4]. Dyche submitted designs and estimates for rebuilding the collapsed west end of Hereford Cathedral in 1786 [David Whitehead, 'The Architectural History of the Cathedral since the Reformation' in G. Aylmer and J. Tiller (eds.), *Hereford Cathedral A History*, London, 2000, 259].
- 58 Frank Kelsall, 'Liardet versus Adam', *Architectural History*, XXVII, 1984, 118-26; John and Joseph Baily or Bayley, plaster workers, are recorded in G. Beard, *Craftsmen and Interior Decoration in England 1660-1820*, Edinburgh, 1981, 245.
- 59 SA, D/PM 9/4/2/15/11, fol. 3.
- 60 'Three Carpenters ½ day each refixing Boards on Mr Bailey's Cornice on the North & South sides of the Church blown off by the Violence of the Wind' 4s 6d [SA, D/PM 9/4/5/8, fol.1, 28 January 1794]. 'Report of Committee on Mr Bailys Bill March 25th 1797' mentions on 7 June 1794 'Dubbing out an Extra Thickness on Columns for Stucco' £7 19s 0d, 'one pound being allowed for cutting out bad Bricks charged to Mr Hookey . . . This sort of Charge is not unusual in Plaisterers Work & Why in Stucco', erecting and dismantling scaffolding on the south and east elevations 14 October 1794 to 19 December 1795 £57 0s 2d, which 'appears very unreasonable . . . high price for all his work', 'Work done for Mr Bailys men by Mr Hookey making Tressels & Templets . . . Platform & Tramel in Yard to strike out moulds for men to Float the ¾ Columns with' and 'The Stucco Model' £8 8s 0d [SA, D/PM 9/4/6/23]. Bailey estimated £1,172 19s 11½d for 'Stucco' [SA, D/PM 9/4/2/14].
- 61 Colvin, *op. cit.*, 805; 'The house and porch are built entirely with brick, and stuccoed by Mr. Bailey' [George Richardson, *The New Vitruvius Britannicus*, London, 1802, 8, pls. XXIV-VI].
- 62 E.J. Climenson, *Passages from the Diaries of Mrs. Philip Lybbe Powys*, London, 1899, 273-4, quoted in B.F.L. Clarke, *The Building of the Eighteenth-Century Church*, London, 1963, 156.

- 63 SA, D/PM 9/4/3/10.
- 64 SA, D/PM 9/4/6/1. The parish petitioned Parliament on 12 February 1793 for a Bill to raise £5,000, Reveley giving testimony in the House on 20 February, which passed into Act on 30 April [JHC, XLVIII, 175, 212, 711; *Stat. 33. Georgii III, c.101, 1793*].
- 65 Chapter II, pl. I, as suggested by Dixon, *op. cit.*, 11. *The Mark J. Millard Architectural Collection, II, British Books*, Washington and New York, 1998, 301, illus. .
- 66 According to *Southampton Guide, op. cit.*, 34; Lawrence, *op. cit.*, 15, 249–52, pls. 222–5.
- 67 SA, D/PM 9/2/1, fol. 16; also *ibid.*, 9/4/5/8, fol. 10v.
- 68 SA, D/PM 9/2/1, fol. 16.
- 69 SA, D/PM 9/4/2/15/1, fol. 4. 'Particular description of the manner of erecting and finishing the new intended church . . . after the designs shewn therein under the direction of W: Reveley. Architect'.
- 70 SA, D/PM 9/4/2/15/11, fol. 3. 'Mr Reveley desires the favor of Mr Ridding to put this contract in any form more agreeable to legal rectitude'. Reveley insisted using 'the very best portland Stone free from flaws and Defects of all Sorts' [SA, D/PM 9/4/3/11, fol. 2].
- 71 SA, D/PM 9/4/2/15/1, fols. 3, 6, 9.
- 72 SA, D/PM 9/4/2/15/11, fol. 3.
- 73 SA, D/PM 9/4/2/15/1, fol. 6.
- 74 SA, D/PM 9/4/3/11, fol. 12.
- 75 'Timber bought since the Commencement of the War fir which the Committee agreed to allow the difference, the price of Timber before . . . being 1s/2d p foot' [SA, D/PM 9/4/5/1].
- 76 SA, D/PM 9/4/2/15/1, fol. 4.
- 77 SA, D/PM 9/4/2/15/11.
- 78 SA, D/PM 9/4/2/15/11, fol. 3 and *ibid.*, 9/2/1. In the draft contract it was to be built of brick and timber, with a copper covered dome and artificial stone capitals and urns [SA, D/PM 9/4/2/15/1, fols. 2, 12].
- 79 Three schemes signed and dated 'Willey Reveley August 27' in a folio inscribed 'Willey Reveley January 19th 1776', sold Sotheby's, 8 November 1979, lot 26, pl. 111, bt. Colnaghi's; Sotheby's, 10 June 1982, lot 6 [*Interiors*, May 1982, 44, illus.]; present whereabouts unknown.
- 80 Part II, 69, pl. I.
- 81 Crook, *op. cit.*, 92.
- 82 'Of The Origin and Progress of Building' in *A Treatise on The Decorative Part of Civil Architecture*, London, 1754 (again 1768, 1791), quoting from the 1836 edition, 77.
- 83 *The Antiquities of Athens*, III, London, 1795, quoted in Colvin, *op. cit.*, 806.
- 84 Hookey's contract specified 'Purbeck Stone Steps to be worked into the Wall where the door goes into the Steeple over the altar' [SA, D/PM 9/4/3/11, fol. 11]. For the example of Inigo Jones's St Paul, Covent Garden, esteemed as 'a perfect Model . . . by the admirers of the antique Grecian Temple' [Thomas Malton, *A Compleat Treatise on Perspective*, London, 1779, 211, pl. XXVI], see Terry Friedman, 'Thomas Hardwick Jr's Early Churches', *The Georgian Group Journal*, VIII, 1998, 44–5, 47, fig. 4.
- 85 SA, D/PM 9/4/2/15/11, fol. 6.
- 86 SA, D/PM 9/4/2/6, with Blount informing Reveley 'of the foregoing Alterations in the Former Plan of the Body'.
- 87 SA, D/PM 9/4/7/57.
- 88 The bricklayers' June 1793 contract specified only 'Some windows to be blanks on the north side' [SA, D/PM 9/4/2/15/1, fol. 3].
- 89 Sotheby's, 8 November 1979, lot 25, pl. II.
- 90 David Watkin, *Athenian Stuart Pioneer of the Greek Revival*, London, 1982, pls. 70–1. The All Saints' papers make no reference to an organ and one was not installed until 1821 [Dixon, *op. cit.*, 18].
- 91 'Alteration in Ceiling of Church by Order of Mr Reveley to bring down ribbed Pannels at West end' [SA, D/PM 9/4/5, fol. 5v, 4 October 1794] reveals that this feature, like many others in the design, underwent change.
- 92 Pages 35–6.
- 93 SA, D/PM 9/4/4/10, 12 March 1792, estimated at £725. Employed in the Office of Works during William Chambers's tenure as Surveyor and giving his address as 29 Great Portland St., Oxford St., London. Papworth (1750–99) was one of the leading plasterers of the day [Colvin, *op. cit.*, 729].
- 94 SA, D/PM 9/4/2/15/1, fol. 6 and 9/4/3/11, fol. 12.
- 95 *Southampton Guide, op. cit.*, 36.
- 96 Papworth's proposal specified a 'Panelled Ceiling at the Altar recess forming the Moldings into Lozenge Pannels and placing a Rose in each pannell and Working the various Molding, Entablature, Ionic Capitals plain Pillasters and fluted Pillasters Imposts Balustrade Pedestals Plinths Architrave Doric Cornice &c as described in the Section for the Cieling, front and Sides of the part intended for the Altar' £80 [SA, D/PM 9/4/4/10], contracted to

- execute 'in the most masterly manner agreeable to the several designs' [SA, D/PM 9/4/2/15/1, fol. 16].
- 97 Ingamells, *op. cit.*, 807; Dan Cruickshank (ed.), *Sir Banister Fletcher's A History of Architecture*, Oxford, 1996, 259C.
- 98 *Southampton Guide, op. cit.*, 36; SA, P/V.579, pre-1940 photograph.
- 99 SA, D/PM 9/4/2/15/1, fol. 11.
- 100 Reveley wrote from London, 20 September 1794 'I have seen Mr Pearson this morning who says that he cannot execute the dove &c in stained glass for less than Twenty five guineas. He would do the lamb & emblems for the same price', but Reveley did not think the committee would order either [SA, D/PM 9/4/6/10]. Hookey's 3 June 1795 bill included 5s 4d for deal 'cut circular to stop Window in Altar Intended for a Transparency' [SA, D/PM 9/4/5/8, fol. 7v]. Reveley reminded the committee on 9 July 1796 'It is necessary to order the Dove . . . that it may be ready to put up when the turret is finished [since it would be a] great expence to put it up after the scaffold is taken down' [SA, D/PM 9/4/6/18].
- 101 J.M. Richards and J. Summerson, *The Bombed Buildings of Britain: a record of architectural casualties 1940-41*, London, 1942, 120. The painted vines and trumpeting angels shown in Fig. 8 were apparently added in 1897-98 [Dixon, *op. cit.*, 21].
- 102 SA, D/PM 9/4/3/11, fol. 28.
- 103 SA, D/PM 9/4/2/15/1, fols. 7, 17.
- 104 SA, D/PM 9/4/2/15/11, fol. 15. For post-1795 alterations to the fabric see Dixon, *op. cit.*, 18-24.
- 105 SA, D/PM 9/4/7/33. *The European Magazine* published a view of the west front on 1 April 1795 [SA, P106/18].
- 106 SA, D/PM 9/4/3/2 (St Thomas's), 9/4/3/3/ (Christ Church, masons' 'Articles of Agreement', 7 June 1789) and 9/4/3/4 (carpenters' contract, 1786). The documents were not returned to Bristol, as requested [SA, D/PM 9/4/3/2, 20 January 1792].
- 107 SA, D/PM 9/4/3/12, also *ibid.*, 9/4/3/5.
- 108 SA, D/PM 9/4/3/13, fols. 29-31; *ibid.*, 9/4/2/15/11, fol. 15.
- 109 SA, D/PM 9/4/6/1, 7 January 1793.
- 110 SA, D/PM 9/4/6/5, 18 March 1793, to Ridging. For Kent, a Southampton builder, see Colvin, *op. cit.*, 579. Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man* was first widely published in two parts in March 1791 and February 1792, respectively.
- 111 SA, D/PM 9/4/6/4, 20 March 1793.
- 112 SA, D/PM 9/4/6/6, 23 March 1793. The tower of Holy Rood, Southampton, was rebuilt in 1791 [VCH, *op. cit.*, 527].
- 113 SA, D/PM 9/4/6/8, 25 June 1794.
- 114 SA, D/PM 9/4/8, fol. 6, 6 October 1798. In 1797 the parish petitioned Parliament a third time for a Bill to raise funds to pay outstanding accounts [JHC, LIII, 35, 38, 169]. The total construction cost was around £12,000 [C.W. Chalkin, 'The Financing of Church Building in the Provincial Towns of Eighteenth-Century England', in P. Clark (ed.), *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns 1600-1800*, London, 1984, 304].
- 115 SA, D/PM 9/4/2/14 and *ibid.*, 9/4/6/7, 8 June 1793, 'my account which I hope will be thought reasonable'. The pulpit is discussed in SA, D/PM 9/2/1, *ibid.*, 9/4/5/8, fol.10v and *ibid.*, 9/4/5/13.
- 116 SA, D/PM 9/4/6/17, addressed from Lisson St, Edgware Rd, London.
- 117 SA, D/PM 9/4/6/25, 1 June 1797.
- 118 SA, D/PM 9/4/6/26, 12 December 1797; also *ibid.*, 9/4/6/28, 7 February 1798.
- 119 SA, D/PM 9/4/33; also *ibid.*, 9/4/32, 8 October 1798.
- 120 'Obituary of remarkable Persons', *The Gentleman's Magazine*, July 1799, 627, further noting that 'He was a man of strict integrity in all his dealings, and the little eccentricities of his character had no tendency to weaken the main supporters of it'.
- 121 SA, D/PM 9/4/6/34.
- 122 'Obituary', *cit.*