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# Wren, Dickinson and the Westminster Abbey Repairs

## by Timothy Benton

With Wren, Dickinson may be regarded as one of the earliest Gothic Revivalists, or, better, as a continuation of the never entirely dead Gothic tradition.<sup>1</sup>

It is no longer necessary to *discover* the 'survival' of an interest in and possibly mastery of the Gothic style in the post mediaeval period, but to study instances of it. Since Thompson's important article in *Apollo*,<sup>2</sup> in June 1962, much work has been done on those builders in the seventeenth and eighteenth century who built in a manner well conversant with mediaeval practice. The continual need for patching up and rebuilding ecclesiastical and domestic Gothic work must have been a staple ingredient in many masons' training, particularly after the great rebuild got underway. All those involved with the Office of Works, from the Fire of London onwards, were brought into contact with these issues in a particularly direct way.

We also know something about how architects like Sir Christopher Wren evaluated Gothic architecture, and fitted it into their general judgements of value in architecture, since many texts exist dealing with pressing issues of choice. Wren took a keen interest in the practical problems posed by the repair of Salisbury and Westminster Abbey, and in both cases we have long reports, in 1668<sup>3</sup> and 1713,<sup>4</sup> respectively, which testify, not only to his objective analysis of the defects of structure and how they can be repaired, but also to his keen eye for detail. For example, writing to Dean Atterbury in 1713, he noted, of Henry III's build:

I am apt to think the King did not live to complete his Intention, not to reach four Intercolumns West of the Tower; the Walls of this Part might probably be carried up in his Time, but the Vaulting now covering the Quire, tho' it be more adorned and gilded, is without due Care in the Masonry, and is the worst performed of all done before.<sup>4</sup>

And he was in line with subsequent scholarship in blaming the French taste for the style of Henry's building:

The Fashions of which Nation we affected to imitate in all Ages, even when we were at Enmity with it. Nothing was thought magnificent that was not High beyond Measure, with the Flutter of Arch-butresses so we call the sloping Arches that poise the higher Vaultings of the Nave.<sup>4</sup>

And he blamed the French workmen for their use of chestnut and for the use of Reigate stone, as a local substitute for Caen stone. And, although he normally criticised excessive decoration, remarking to Dean Fell, about Tom Tower, that he had not continued 'so busy as before', he was still relaxed enough on the subject to describe Henry III's chapel as a 'nice embroidered work'<sup>4</sup> or to refer to 'Many Good Gothick forms of Cathedrals' which were to be seen in our Country'.<sup>5</sup>

In general, then, he admired good workmanship when he found it, and liked to speculate on the causes of particular forms, sometimes, surely wrongly, as when he deduced that the ambulatory chapels of the Abbey must have been added later, to please the monks,

the Buttresses between the Chapels remaining being useless, if they had been raised together with them.<sup>4</sup>

Normally, when criticizing Gothic forms, it was for practical reasons: flying buttresses decayed, through exposure; the 'pride' of a steep roof made the lead slip, and so on. Only exceptionally did he accuse the Gothick of irredeemable faults in the natural causes of beauty.<sup>5</sup>

Just as he was anti-doctrinaire in his attitude to the rules of classical architecture, preferring, As J.A. Bennett has convincingly shown, a coherent empirical approach based on perception in which both natural and customary causes of beauty impinge, so he was prepared to try to understand Gothic in its context.<sup>7</sup> Fernand Braudel might well have liked his explanation for the 'Saracen' style, the origin of Gothic as he saw it, since he decided that it was a product of religious zeal, rapid conquest (and thus rapid building) and the need to transport materials by camel (thus creating rib and pointed arch construction).<sup>8</sup> Wren's attribution of the origins of European Gothic is ingenious, because it not only has this rationalist structural explanation ("the reasons were the same in our Northern climates, abounding in free-stone, but wanting marble"<sup>4</sup>) but also a link with Europe, (the crusaders brought it back) and a link, via Arabick scholars, to Antiquity ('for those People wanted neither Arts nor Learning; and after we in the West had lost both, we borrowed again from them, out of their *Arabick* Books, what they with great Diligence had translated from the *Greeks*'<sup>4</sup>). And he goes to some pains to disassociate himself from the term Gothick ('the Goths were Destroyers rather than builders').<sup>4</sup>

Like most people of his time, Wren set limits to his conviction that the classical style, 'Trew latin' as he expressed it to Sancroft, was the only way to build. Just as the parliamentarians in the 1640s and since, appealed to ancient custom and Magna Carta in opposing common law and tradition to equity and divine right, so Wren set great store by history and the force of nationalist taste. He still wished to educate his contemporaries to a better style; in Tract V, he wrote that it was his aim:

to endeavour to reform the Generality of a truer taste in Architecture by giving a larger Idea of the whole Art, beginning with the reasons and progress of it from the most remote Antiquity.<sup>9</sup>

But that, as we have seen, could also be done for Gothick. And to Dean Sancroft, debating Pratt's advice to repair Old St. Paul's:

Carmina proverbialia sounds better to most ears than Horace and we have fewer judges of a latin style in building than in writing, but I hope you will go to the charges of true Latin, which the lawyers say they cannot afford.<sup>10</sup>

Of course, the Fire then intervened and Wren eventually got his chance to blow up the remains of Old St. Paul's, but it is fascinating to speculate how the story might have ended if work had actually begun on the hybrid pre-Fire design, or indeed, if he had been held to the Warrant design. Of course, St. Paul's was already a hybrid building, after Inigo Jones's attentions, and Wren normally followed the line that it is wrong to mix styles in a building. Describing his design for the central tower and spire for Westminster Abbey he says it is, 'of a style with the rest of the structure, which I would strictly adhere to, throughout the whole intention; to deviate from the old Form would be to run into a disagreeable Mixture, which no Person of a good Taste could relish'.<sup>4</sup> And he finished his report to Atterbury in 1713:

For all these new Additions I have prepared perfect Draughts and Models, such as I conceive may agree with the original Scheme of the old Architect, without any modern Mixtures to show my own inventions: in like manner as I have

among the Parochial Churches of *London* given some few Examples (where I was obliged to deviate from a better Style) which appear not ungraceful, but ornamental, to the East part of the city; and it is to be hoped, by the publick Care, the West part also, in good time, will be as well adorned; and surely by nothing more properly than a lofty Spire and Western-towers to *Westminster Abbey*.<sup>4</sup>

Typically, he had argued for the central tower and spire in both historical terms ('the original intention was plainly to have had a steeple') and structural, to counteract the inward forces on the four crossing piers ('and this is the reason why in all Gothick Fabricks of this form, the architects were wont to build towers or steeples in the middle, not only for ornament, but to confirm the middle pillars against the thrust of the several rows of arches, which force against them every Way'<sup>4</sup>).

The context for the repairs to Westminster Abbey is clear enough. Large sums had already been spent in the seventeenth century (e.g. £4,000 by Dean Williams in 1620), and a continuing flow of money right up until 1698. By this time, the tax on coals, relieved of some of the burden of the city churches (though not St. Paul's), was thought to be able to bear some charge for the repairs of the Abbey. A Commission was set up, with Wren appointed Surveyor to the Fabrick, James Broughton Assistant. From this date until 1716, Wren attended the meetings regularly, and his report of 1713 shows that he was fully familiar with the work in hand. But there are no autograph drawings by Wren for the Westminster Abbey repairs, and the burden of drawing fell on William Dickinson Junior (1671-1725).<sup>11</sup> In 1713, Wren was 81 years old and his signature was extremely shaky. Dickinson had already served as measurer and draughtsman on St. Paul's<sup>12</sup> and the later stages of the City Churches, often assisting Oliver. From 1699, Dickinson appears in the Westminster Abbey accounts assisting Broughton, the undersurveyor to the fabrick and College Surveyor. When Broughton died, in February 1710,<sup>11</sup> Dickinson was promoted to College Surveyor and undersurveyor to the repairs and, from 1714, effectively took over Wren's administrative duties, signing for the Surveyor's stipend as well as his own, and, from 1715-16, allowing bills on his own.<sup>13</sup> Wren virtually retired to Hampton Court after the Frauds and Abuses scandal (1712-13), attending only two meetings at St. Paul's after 1710 and shortly afterwards, losing the Surveyor Generalship. In 1716, a sub-commission was appointed to the Commission for the repair of the fabrick, and Dickinson was appointed to this with Wren.

Now, we can divide up the work at the Abbey around the year 1713. Up to that point, over £30,000 had been spent on repairs, but much of the work had been of an emergency nature, securing the buttresses and vaults over the aisles on the South transept and the South side of the nave up to the fifth bay west, as well as parts of the choir and North transept vaults. From 1709, work began on the buttresses of the North side, repairing roof and windows as well as cutting in Burford stone to replace the damaged Reigate. Work was hampered by high interest charges and a very uneven flow of money.<sup>14</sup>

I propose to concentrate on the North transept and crossing, in the period 1713 to 1725, attempting to identify Dickinson's role in the designs, while assessing the changing approach to the reconstruction. A sizeable number of drawings have survived in Dickinson's hand, for the Repairs, as well as the College, of which he was Surveyor. (Plates 1,2.) Many of them, like the sketches of King Henry VII chapel, show more than a utilitarian copying of features necessary for some repair to a tomb. He seems to have taken positive pleasure in the ornate mouldings. And some of his drawings are most convincing in their charming comprehension of the Gothic style. Many of his drawings provide

priceless testimony to the placing of pews and tombs at the time, while also recording some at least of his own innovations.<sup>15</sup> The temporary seating for the Duke of Marlborough's lying in state in August 1722;<sup>16</sup> the new pews for the 'gramer scholars' ordered to be built in November 1723,<sup>17</sup> (Plate 3) and general plan, June 1724, showing scholars pews and the High altar, given to the Abbey by Queen Anne, formerly for James II's Catholic chapel.<sup>18</sup>

I want to turn to the more delicate matter of what scope for important aesthetic choices lay open to Wren and Dickinson around 1713, when the most urgent emergency repairs were done. Wren's letter specified not only a new design for the North rose window,

which being very ruinous was patched up for the present to prevent further ruin, some years hence, before I was concerned, but must now be new done; I have prepared a proper design for it.<sup>4</sup>

but also West towers and the central tower and spire. Hollar's engraving (bearing Dean Spratt's arms) shows the Abbey stripped of surrounding houses and still with the galilee, which was removed around 1662. Dickinson's site plan<sup>19</sup> shows the houses all along the North side, with their washrooms, privies and drains running right up to the buttresses. (Plate 4.) Wren explained that he could not really get at the North transept until one small house was removed and this was done, one of Mr Wardour's houses at the East corner of the transept, between 1715-16.<sup>20</sup> The mason, Edward Tufnell, was at work on the corner chapels of the North transept, and he began work on the first 34 feet of the North face between 1718 and 1719, when he died and was replaced by Edward Stanton.<sup>21</sup> Stanton had reached the arcade under the rose window by 1721-2.

From all of which it is evident that some kind of design for the North transept must have been in hand by 1715, but the dated and approved scheme does not emerge until May 20, 1719 (WAM (p) 900, *Wren Society* XI, Plate II). This drawing, by Dickinson with Wren's quavering signature on it with the other sub-commissioners, does not represent the design as finally built, particularly in terms of the details of the central portal, the staircase windows in the side towers and numerous details higher up the structure, notably the rose. Whether the drawing was an old one, or changes made at the last minute, they help us to locate three very finely drawn elevations, in which the approved design and the design as built can be compared. It is possible that these drawings were prepared as late as 1721-2, when the final decisions about the rose window were taken, since this is the most important difference between what was built and the design approved by Wren. A large drawing of the full facade, possibly prepared for the purposes of publication, incorporates all these changes.<sup>22</sup> I take the main changes introduced here to be the work of Dickinson. There is a general tendency to introduce more delicate detailing. Interestingly, a correction on the 1719 drawing, erasing the filled in relief arches under the flying buttresses, presumably represented Wren's view on extra decoration, or the purpose of flying buttresses. These were eliminated from the later drawings (including WAM (p) 902 and 901).

Before turning to the tower and spire, it is worth reflecting on the nature of Wren and Dickinson's Gothic. Dean Atterbury is supposed to have stood by while the masons razed clean the old Gothic sculptures, in Solomon's porch, and the episode is retold by Scott as one of mere vandalism. But the question of cost and priorities must also have been significant. The North facade was detailed clearly and boldly to make a reasonable impression from a distance. Tufnell was given decorative work to do which he could handle easily, and the cross sections show what an immensely complex job even this was, with the various passages and stairways to repair or renew as well as the surface mouldings.<sup>23</sup> It is

certainly instructive to compare the drawings attributed to 'Hawksmoor' for the complete recasing and italianising of the structure à la Inigo Jones.<sup>24</sup> These drawings are problematic both as to authorship and date.

The question of the rose window is interesting, because Wren said his design was intended to answer that in the South transept,<sup>4</sup> remade earlier in the century, in fact the design was similar, with a complexity which would have made Thornhill's job of designing the stained glass impossible. Wren probably knew the tiles in the Chapter house which appear to have recorded the earlier design of the South transept window. At any rate, Thornhill's bill was dated 1721, and Joshua Price, the window painter, did not submit his bills until 1721-2.<sup>25</sup> A drawing by Dickinson dated by a draft letter on the back to May 22, 1721, (Plate 5) records four quite different designs for the window, suggesting that the subcommissioners were unhappy with Wren's design, a version of which is included among the four. The letter refers to the 'new design made by Mr Dickinson for the Great circular window ... and am of opinion that ye small (erased) circle ... as intended ye crockets (erased) and ye plainer Gothic or crocket work ... Cirkl ABC ... plainer ye work is ye better both for ... and repairs'. I first took this to refer to the design at the top, but, if so, a later decision must have countermanded it. At any rate, the design as built is recorded in another Dickinson drawing, with the words 'Aug and Sept North' on the back, which must refer to 1721. All of which, if confirmed, would help to place drawing WAM 902 to this late stage in the proceedings. Atterbury's last wish before leaving England is supposed to have been to see the Great North Rose.<sup>26</sup> (Plate 6.)

This appears to have been a stage when Dickinson's word was accepted. In November 1722 he presented a design for iron railings for which unfortunately only the plan survives.<sup>27</sup> The estimate, of December, for the quite large sum of £278 3/1d, was accepted and transferred into the Fabrick orders (27 September 1723): "ordered that the Iron Fence to the Front of the North Cross be forthwith put in hand and executed in the Gothic manner according to the design this day shown to us by Mr Dickinson."

As for the central tower and spire, the basic history is straightforward. Although Wren claimed he had made the model in 1713, widow Gregory's bill for the tower and spire actually dates from 1715-16, the crossing piers a little earlier.<sup>28</sup> The model has survived, (Plate 8) despite coming unstuck during the war. An earlier model, for the arcade piers, has also survived. Dickinson's careful measured details of the various piers and a plan and section of the crossing coincide with the making of these models. The model proposes a square tower with a twelve sided spire 'not very expensive but light'.<sup>4</sup>

The basic ingredients of the model design can be found in a section of the crossing and elevation of tower and spire in Dickinson's hand (WAM (p) 913A) (Plate 10). Although undated, the drawing corresponds with the plan and section in Gough Maps 23 fol. 23v (dated September 9, 1715) (Plate 9). Two factors complicate the matter. On the former drawing is an inscription, in Hawksmoor's hand stating:

N.B. The height of this Tower from ye Pavement to the top of ye spire is 400 foot English.

I take this to be a comment from the period (1724-5) when Hawksmoor took over as Surveyor to the Fabrick and recommended much simpler plans to cap the crossing and strengthen the piers. In the case of Gough Maps 23 fol. 23v, the plan has been amended to incorporate, on the right, alternative treatments on an octagonal plan. I associate these with Dickinson's scheme for an octagonal dome and spire of 1722-4.

Wren's letter of 1713 specified a short tower, as high as it was broad, to which WAM (p) 913A corresponds. A drawing which contrasts the articulation of this tower with a taller version including an extra storey, is dated September 1722 (WAM (p) 907). (Plate 11.) This left hand side of the tower, and the details of the Northern transept gable, exactly match the Elevation WAM (p) 900, confirming a date around 1722 for the latter. The spire corresponds with WAM (p) 913A and the model. A plan (WAM (p) 907A, dated December 1722) has been attached to the bottom of the drawing and this in turn matches precisely a more carefully drawn version in Gough Maps 23 fol. 43r. WAM (p) 907A, like GM 23 fol. 23v, carries later additions comparing a twelve side spire with an octagonal dome.

If we take the ensemble of differences between the model (and WAM (p) 900) and these drawings of 1722, we can form an estimate of Dickinson's personal contributions to the design and his particular view of Gothic. In addition to a slightly higher and more ornate spire, we can note the extra height to the tower (surely desirable for visibility) and a fondness for ogee arched pinnacles (to pick up the theme of the Henry VII chapel) and richer forms of decoration in general.

The situation in the autumn and winter of 1722 is confused. Two drawings include versions of the tower which would have added to its height but with a range of options to finish it off. WAM (p) 912 A and B (Plate 12) shows a simple lantern, with flying buttresses reminiscent of the drawings for St. Mary Warwick published by Downes.<sup>30</sup> Three variants for the spirelet are provided.

The same tower occurs in WAM (p) 909 underneath a large flap which carries a slightly lower and simpler tower, capped by either a Gothic cupola or spire, both twelve-sided. Three alternative tops to the cupola are supplied, one of which is dated 'January 8th 1722/3'. Another appears to carry a date 'August 29 (erased) December 1722'. A pen drawing, (Plate 13) attached to the right (WAM (p) 909 D) shows the Gothic cupola more clearly.

It is remarkable, in these drawings, that Dickinson appears to be extending the language of the gothic City church towers to Cathedral scale, while incorporating some details, such as the little obelisk spirelets, in a pure English baroque form.

A more extraordinary attempt to invent a Gothic style suitable to the occasion, and yet cheap, is that shown in elevation — WAM (p) 908, dated December 1722, (Plate 14) and in Plan, in WAM (p) 911, dated June 8, 1724 (Plate 15).

This, in turn, matches the right half of Gough 23, fol. 23v as we have seen. The cupola in the former picks up the style of that in WAM (p) 909, but sets it on a stepped base reminiscent of the Warrant design for St. Paul's. Structurally, this design would probably have solved many of the problems foreseen by Hawksmoor in a tall tower and spire, since the load would have been carried away to the crossing piers and arches successfully.

Nicholas Hawksmoor, on assuming the Surveyorship at Wren's death, also toyed with an octagonal tower and dome (WAM (p) 910) (Plate 16). He clearly thought that even this lightweight solution would require a considerable strengthening of the crossing piers, which he intended to recase in semi-classical dress. A plan in Dickinson's hand (Plate 3), showing this recasing, is in Gough Maps 23 fol. 24R, also of June 1724. That there was a difference of view between Dickinson and Hawksmoor at the latter's succeeding to the Surveyorship of the Fabrick can be gleaned by differences in the estimates. Dickinson presented two; the first dated January 17, 1723/4 referred to a 90 foot tower, carrying a 'Dome and Lanthorn'.<sup>31</sup>

This estimate envisaged an outlay of £9,500 on strengthening the crossing piers (£1,000), the tower and the crossing vaults (£6,000) and dome (£2,500). His final estimate (WAM 47, 43A, December 1724) was even more elaborate totalling £11,117-11-11 for the piers (£800), 85 foot octagon tower (£3733-18-0), crossing vaults (£3,000) and 140 foot spire (£3583-13-11).<sup>32</sup> He felt the need to make a special case for the tower and spire:

a farther summ is most humbly crav'd in order to compleat ye whole which 'tis hop'd will be readily granted for as the Metropolis of this Kingdom is finish'd with a Noble church and Dome and after ye Italian manner, in Honour of St. Paul and wee question not but that S. Peter will come in for his share to have a Gothick Tower and Spire of Stone Erected in the Middle...<sup>32</sup>

Dickinson clearly clung to his scheme until his death, but Hawksmoor must have been behind another estimate in 1724 which refers simply to 'A new Basement' ... and 'Lantern in the Middle of ye Church, where the Middle Steeple was at first intended' (£4,139).<sup>33</sup> This estimate may well correspond with WAM (p) 910, although it is not possible to identify the major recasing of the four piers in this and Gough Maps 23 fol. 24R. Later estimates (e.g. WAM 34661C, March 13th 1731/2) continue to refer to a 'middle lanthorn' (£2,200), but the key decisions had been taken to cap off the crossing in 1725.<sup>34</sup>

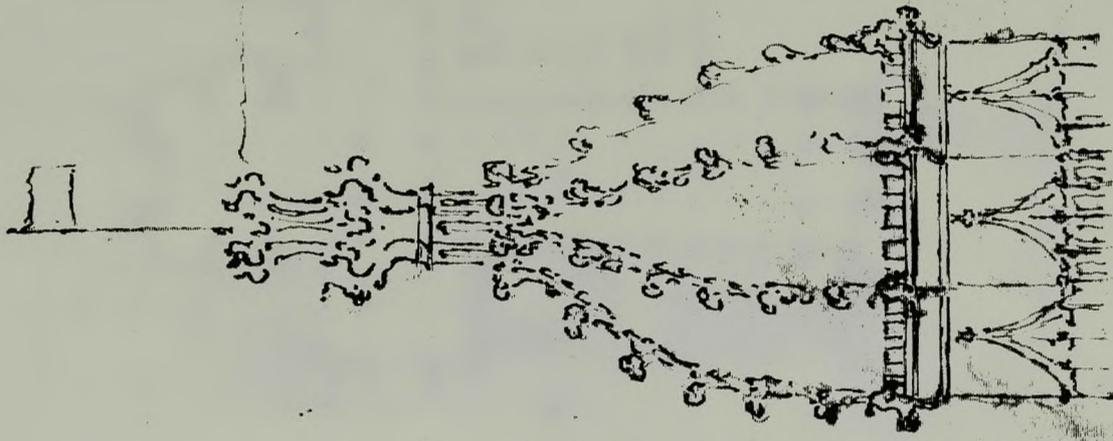
All this debate in 1724 took place in the context of a Parliamentary inquiry into the Fabrick accounts, in 1724, during which Hawksmoor and Stanton were interviewed, but not Dickinson. As the amended drawing in WAM (p) 911 shows, the urgent requirement was a simple but secure vault for the crossing. By 1727, the work had been completed. (Plate 15.)

## Notes

- 1 A.T. Bolton, *Wren Society*, IX, p. 9.
- 2 'Survival and Revival of Gothic', *Apollo*, June 1962, CXXVI, p. 283-7.
- 3 The report to Seth Ward on Salisbury was published in *Parentalia*, Sect. VIII, pp. 303-6.
- 4 The letter to Dean Atterbury on Westminster Abbey in Sect. VII, pp. 295-302 (both also reprinted in *Wren Society*, XI).
- 5 Wren, Tract V, *Parentalia*, p. 352.
- 6 E.g. Tract I: 'There are only two beautiful positions of strait lines, perpendicular and horizontal: this is from Nature, and consequently Necessity, no other than upright being firm. Oblique positions are Discord to the Eyes, unless answered in Pairs, as in the Sides of an equicrural Triangle: therefore *Gothick* Buttresses are all ill-favoured, and were avoided by the Ancients, and no Roofs almost but spherick raised to be visible, except in the Front, where the lines answer... No sort of Pinnacle is worthy enough to appear in the Air, but Statue. Pyramids are *Gothick*; Pots are modern *French*.' *Parentalia*, p. 351.
- 7 J.A. Bennett, *Architectural History*, 15, 1972, pp. 5-22.
- 8 'They were zealots in their Religion, and wherever they conquered, (which was with amazing Rapidity) erected Mosques and Caravansara's in Haste; which obliged them to fall into another Way of Building; ... the old Quarries whence the Ancients took their large Blocks or Marble for whole columns and Architraves, were neglected... Their carriage was by Camels, therefore their Buildings were fitted for small stones, and columns of their own Fancy, consisting of many Pieces; and their Arches were pointed without Key-stones, which they thought too heavy.' 1713 Report, op.cit.
- 9 Tract V, *Wren Society* XIX, p. 140.
- 10 *Wren Society* XIII, p. 44.
- 11 cf. Tim Benton, *The Architecture of William Dickinson Junior*, M.A. report, Courtauld Institute of Art, 1969.
- 12 *Wren Society* XVI, pp. 29ff.
- 13 W.A.M. 34513, f38 and W.A.M. 34514.
- 14 For detailed documentation, see my M.A. report, op.cit.
- 15 See Gough Misc. Antiq. 2r, 3, 4, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 17, passim and Gough Maps 23f, 15r, 25r, 34r, 36r, 28.
- 16 Gough Maps 23f 20r.
- 17 Gough Maps 23f 24R.
- 18 Gough Maps 23, 24r, and W.A.M. (p) 916.
- 19 Other site plans from this period include ASIII 42 (W.S. XI, pl. I), Gough Maps 23 fol. 22a, W.A.M. (p) 915 and W.A.M. 52347, dated 'Apr: 1713', by Dickinson, which gives a detailed plan of Mr Wardour's houses.

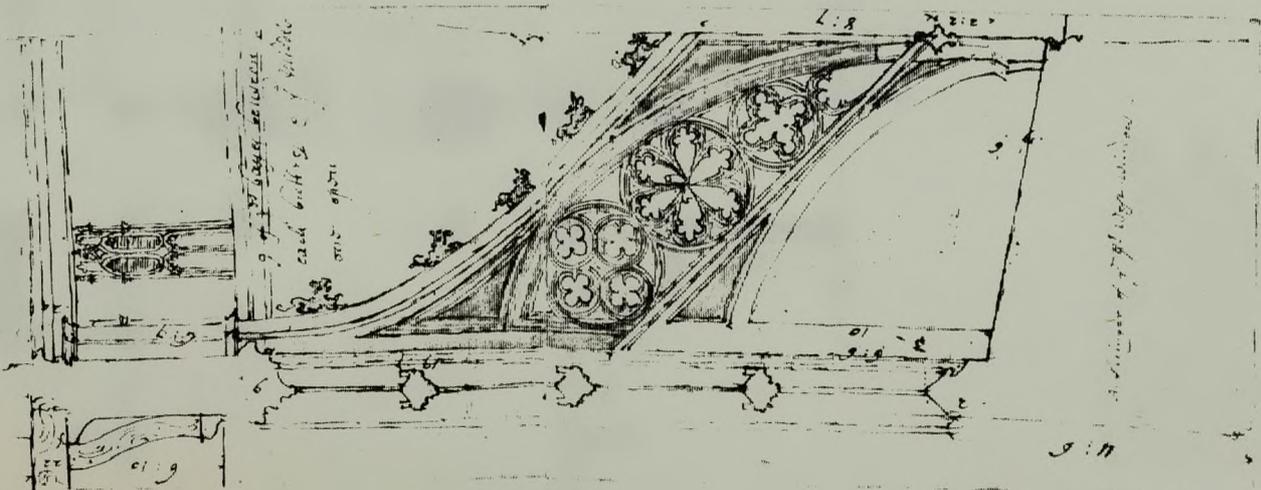
- 20 'Paid to Mr Wardour Esq. for a house on the North side of the Abbey which is now demolished in order for the Necessary carrying on the Repairs of the said church the sume £140.' (W.A.M. 34513.)
- 21 W.A.M. 34514.
- 22 W.A.M. (p) 902 (whole facade), W.A.M. (p) 901 and 903 (upper left sections of facade). 901 corresponds to 902 (as built); 903 matches 900.
- 23 W.A.M. (p) 904.
- 24 Westminster City Library Box 53 Nos. 6 and 7. (K. Downes Cat. 149-50.) No. 7 carries an attribution to Hawksmoor, and Downes suggests a date of 1724. But it is difficult to reconcile this with the work already done in the North transept and buttresses by that date, nor does the style of drawing seem consistent with Hawksmoor's. That Hawksmoor was considering a small cupola flanked by four turrets at this date, however, is confirmed by his section (May 1724) W.A.M. (p) 910.
- 25 'Painting done by Sir James Thornhill by order of Francis late Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster, Anno 1721.' (W.A.M. 34515: f. 19). Joshua Price's bill for painting the stained glass can be found in the same Abstract (1722-24 W.A.M. 34515 f. 20).
- 26 Atterbury's arrest for treasonable Jacobite activities on 24 August 1722 led to an interim period before Sam Bradford's installation as Dean on 7 June 1723.
- 27 Gough Maps 23: f. 23. See the proposal, 29 November 1722 and order (Fabricket orders 27 September 1723, Fabricket orders W.A.M. 34517). Dickinson's estimate (£278-3-1) is dated on the back 'Dec 18th: 1722'.
- 28 'For making a module of the section of the Church of Rf Wainscot ... £30.' Account 1709-10 (W.A.M. 34511). 'The bill for the Modell of the Cross of St. Peter's Westminster begun January 16th 1713/14. For the Modell of the tower and spire begun Oct th (sic) 1715 and ending Ffeb 4th 1716.' The combined sum was £112-17-1 (W.A.M. 34513).
- 29 Drawings by Dickinson associated with these models include details of the three pier types, dated Dec 9th and 10th 1713 (Gough Maps 23 fol. 24r) and a plan and section of the base of the tower dated Sept 9th 1715 which carries several scales. 'Scale of ye section, half ye scale to ye 2 Designs. Scale of this plan which is ye same to the Module now made and  $\frac{1}{2}$  of ye Drawing to ye N. Front.' This might be used as evidence to suggest an earlier date for W.A.M. (p) 900. That a crossing tower and spire (and West tower) were intended even before Wren's letter of 1713 is attested by an estimate of 12 April 1711 in Charles Batleley's hand (W.A.M. 34659).
- 30 ASIV 46 and 45 (Downes, *Hawksmoor*, cat. nos. 21 and 23, plates 2a and 2b). The possibility that Dickinson assisted Hawksmoor in 1697 or Wren in 1694 should not be ruled out, since these drawings have much of his manner, and his taste for ogee arches.
- 31 W.A.M. 34660. 'Mr Dickinson's Estimate' included: 'To secure and stiffen the 4 legs or pillars to the middle tower — £1,000.  
To raise and erect a middle Tower and ye stone vaulting to ye same design ye sd legs about 90 foot above the Roof to the top of the pinnacles — £6,000.  
To raise a Dome and Lanthorn upon ye same — £2,500.'

- 32 W.A.M. 47439 signed by Dickinson and dated Dec 6 1724 on the back. Includes:  
'To stiffen ye 4 old Grt Pillars with Iron Girdles, and Strong Diagonal barrs, and to  
make Good all the bars and hooks where wanting to ye two Side Isles with  
Scaffolding and c Included.  
£800 ... 'To repaire and rebuild ye middle part which is now fallen down from ye top  
of the capitalls to the top of ye Roofe including the four great Arches, to ye same,  
which is about 62 ft high £3,000-0-0.  
'To Raise and Erect a new Octagon Tower from ye top of ye roofe to ye top of ye  
pinnacles which will be about 85 foot high £3,733-18-0.  
'To Raise and Erect a new Gothic spire about 140ft high upon ye same with all its  
proper Ornaments £3,583-13-11.
- 33 W.A.M. 34661 A dated 1724. A similar estimate, W.A.M. 34661 B, was presented  
to the Dean and chapter in March 1725 by Hawksmoor and Stanton. Another  
undated estimate by Hawksmoor refers to strengthening the piers so as to carry a new  
steeple (£4,576-0-0) (W.A.M. 47480).
- 34 Fabrick Orders: 10th April 1725 (W.A.M. 34512).



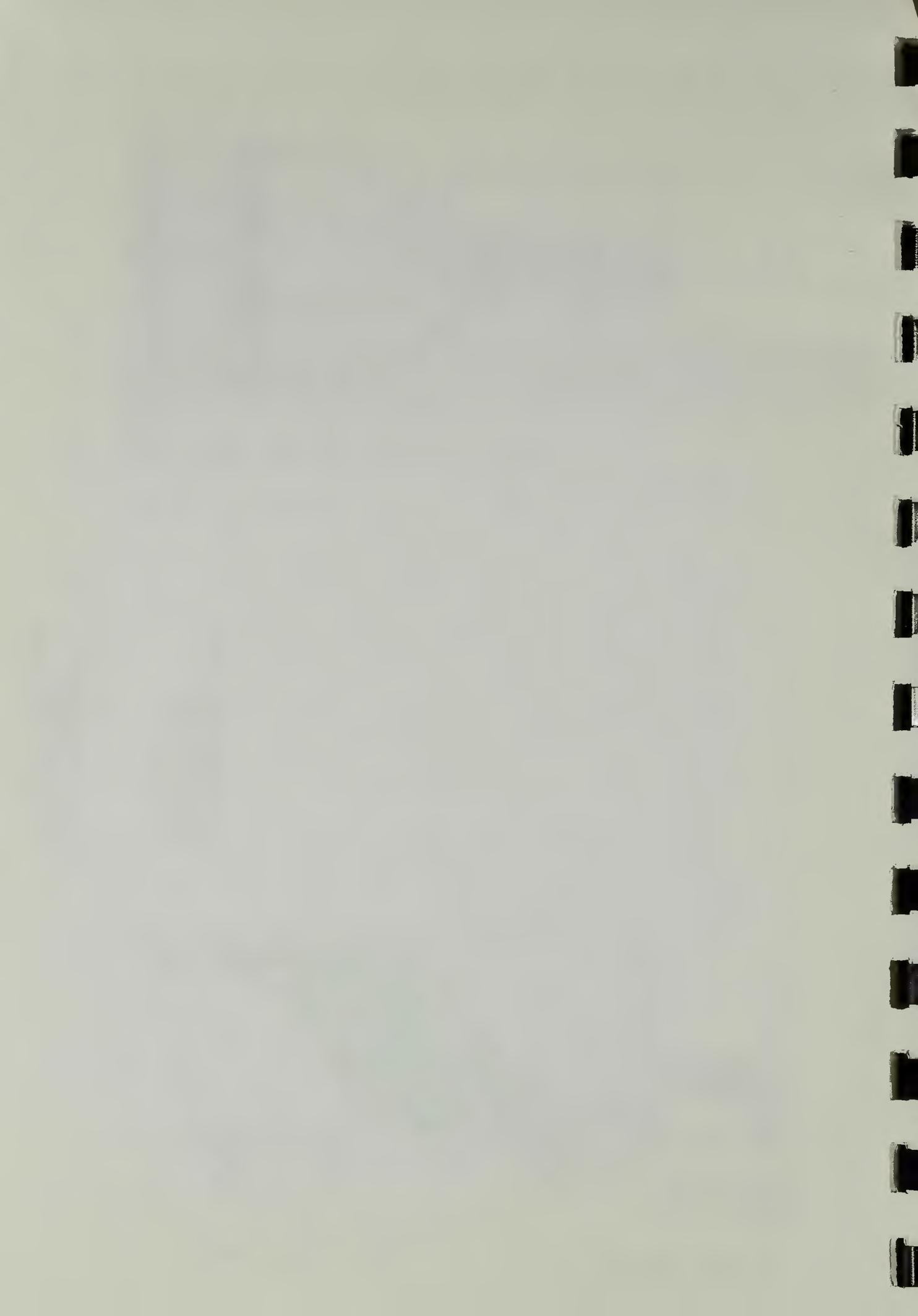
1. (left) W. Dickinson, sketch of flying buttress, Henry VII chapel (Ms. Gough. Misc. Antiq. 17 f. 12V, 13R)

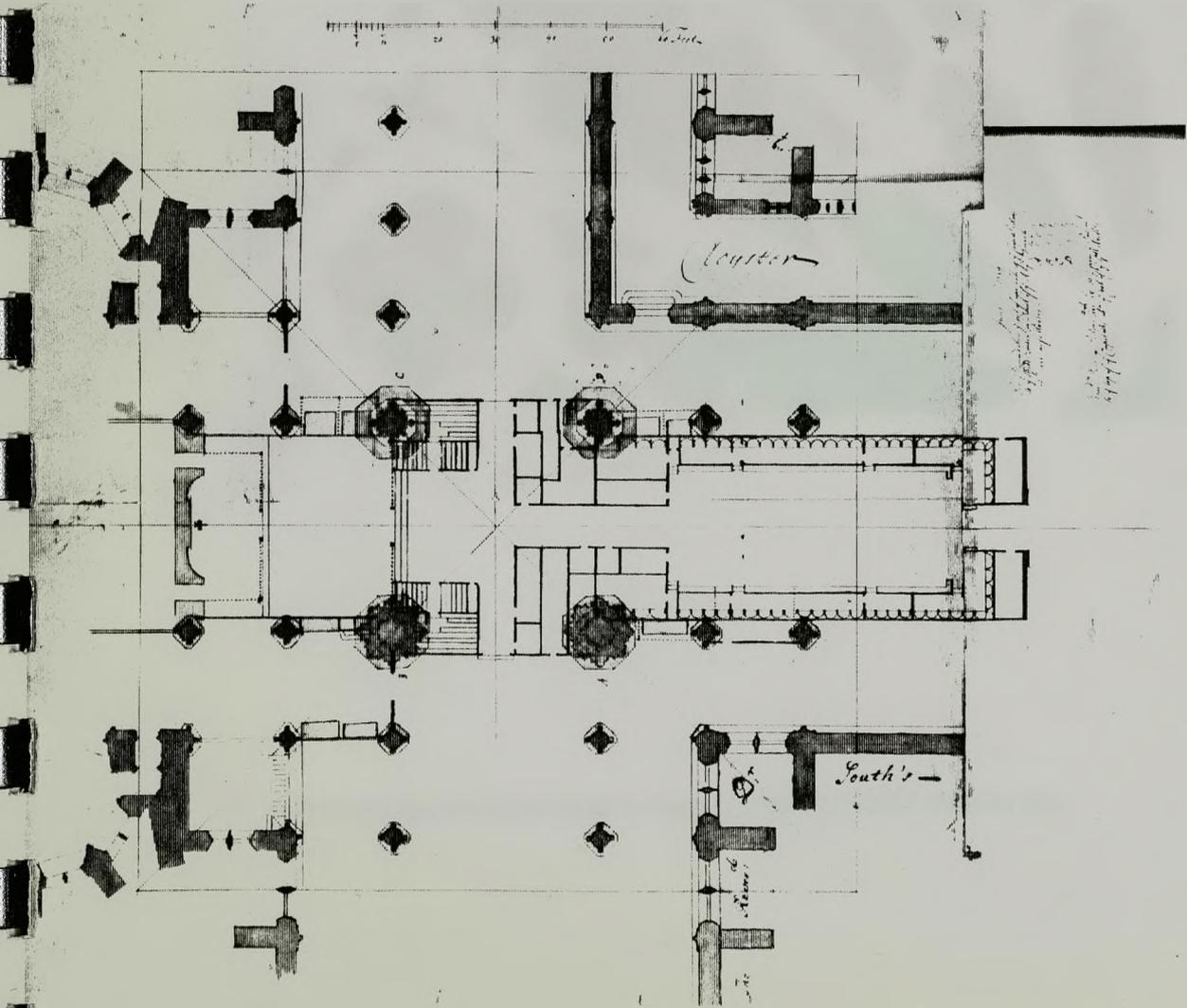
2. (right) W. Dickinson, sketch of pinnacle, Henry VII chapel (Ms. Gough Misc. Antiq. 17 f. 12R)



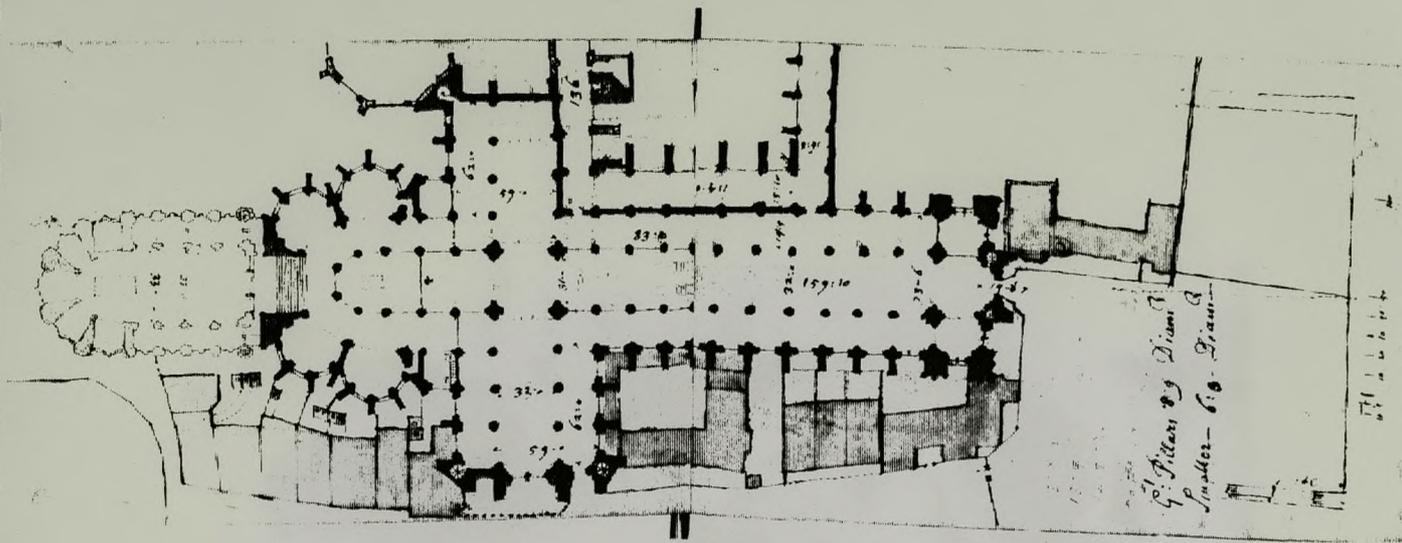
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Ms. Gough Misc. Antiq 17 f. 12R

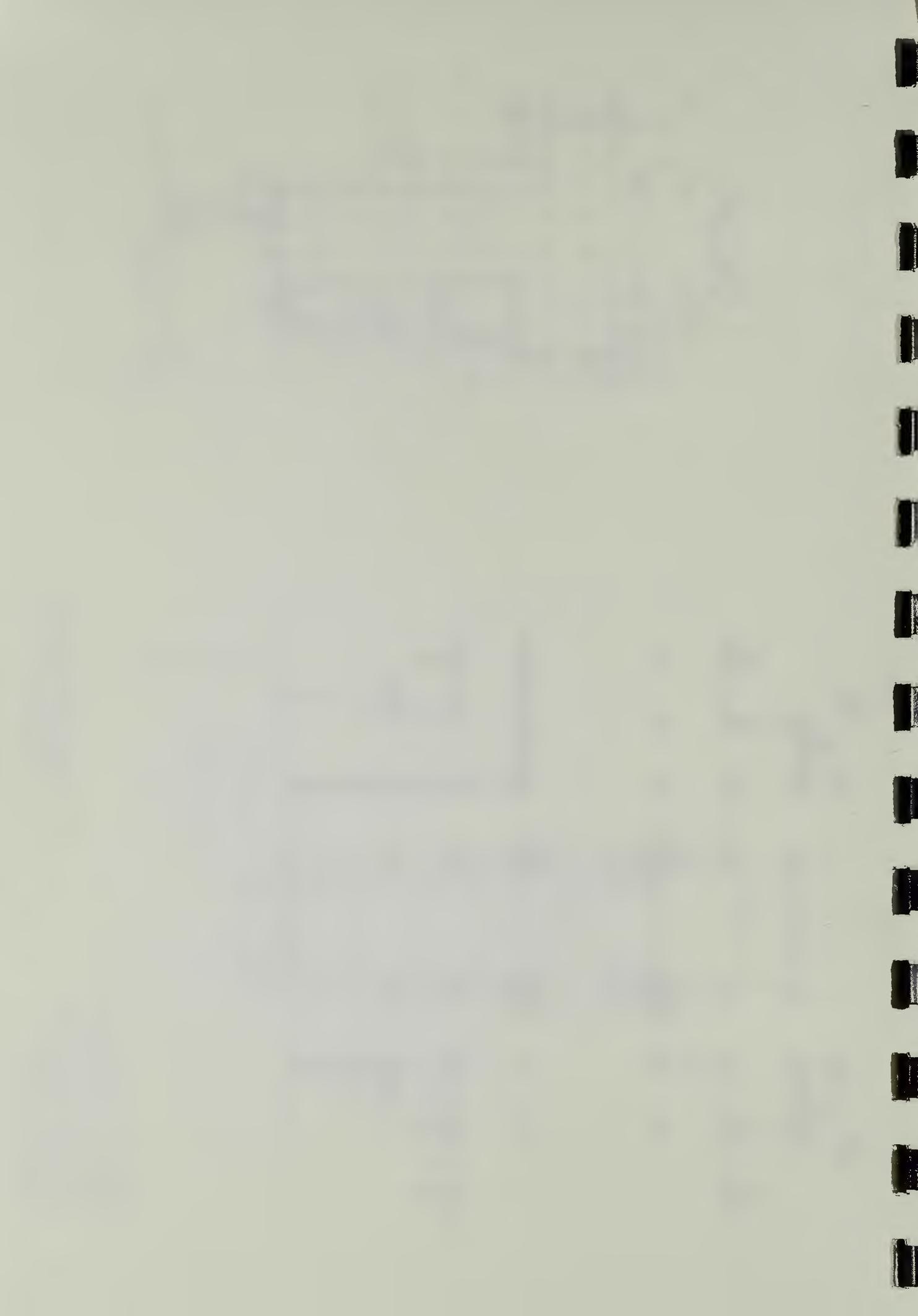




3. (left) W. Dickinson, plan of crossing, June 1724, showing High Altar, scholars' pews (by North East pier) and Hawksmoor's scheme to strengthen the crossing piers (Gough Maps 23 fol. 24R)



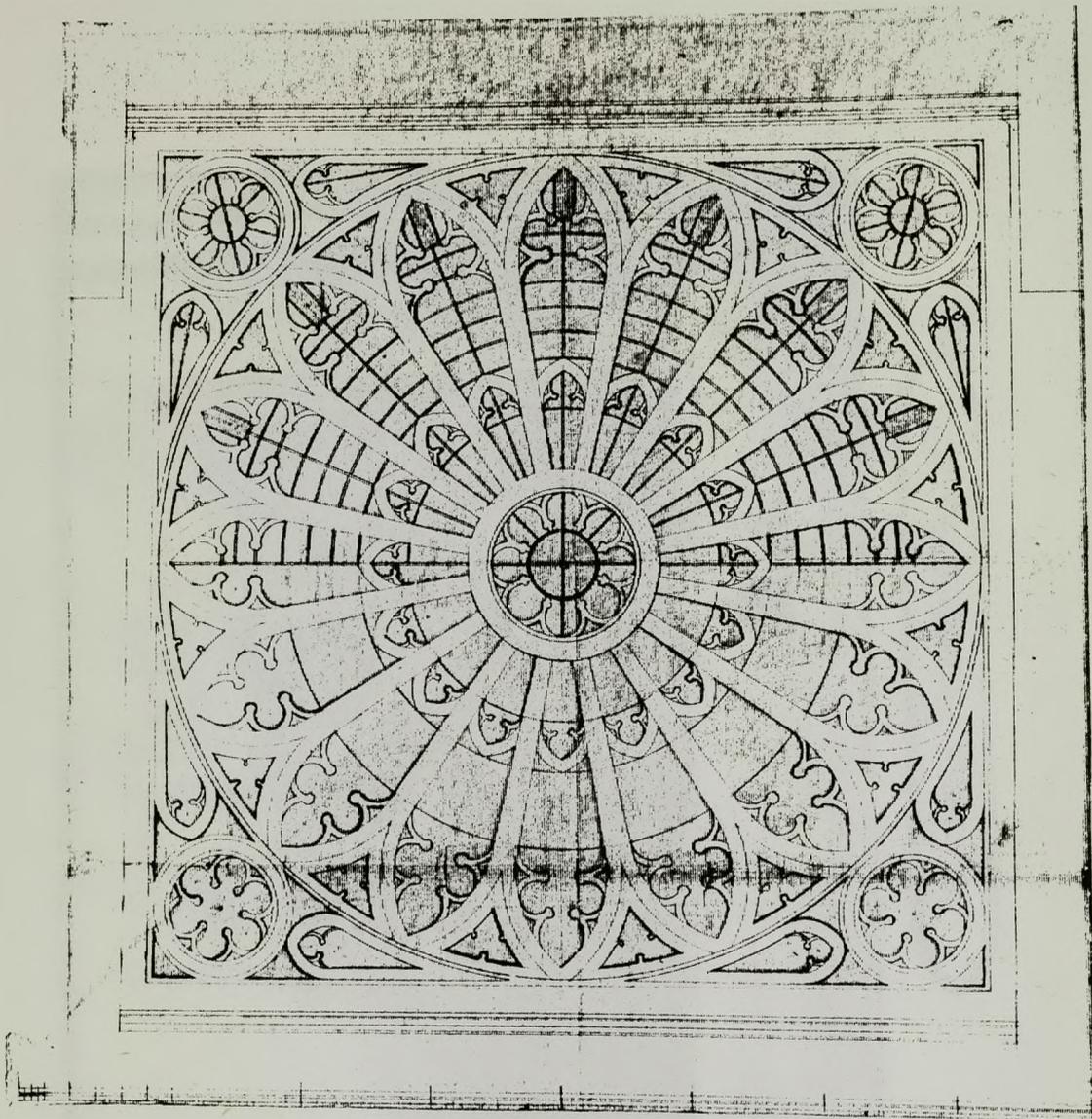
4. (right) W. Dickinson, plan of the Abbey (MS. Gough Misc. Antiq. 17 f. 13V, 14R)



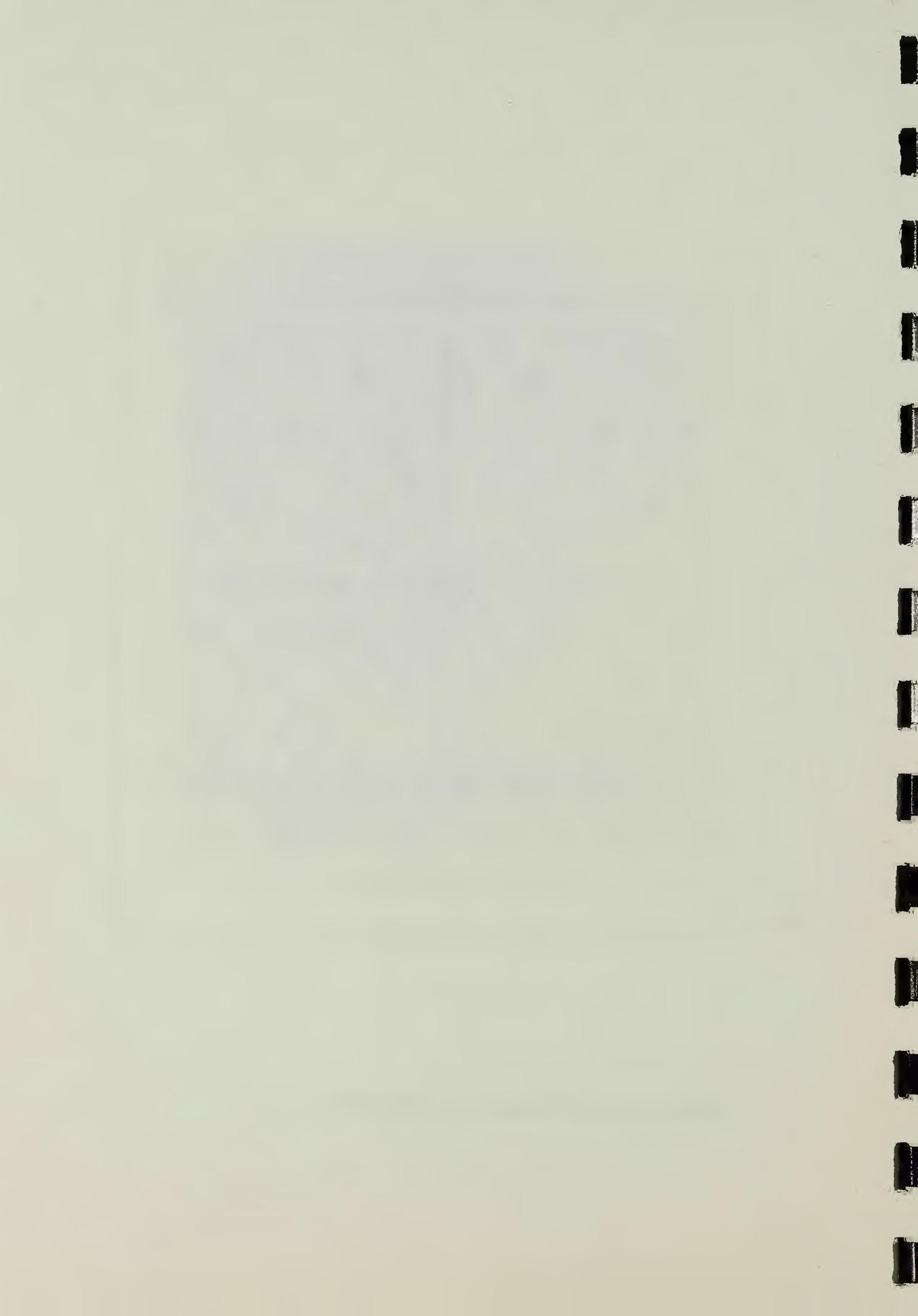


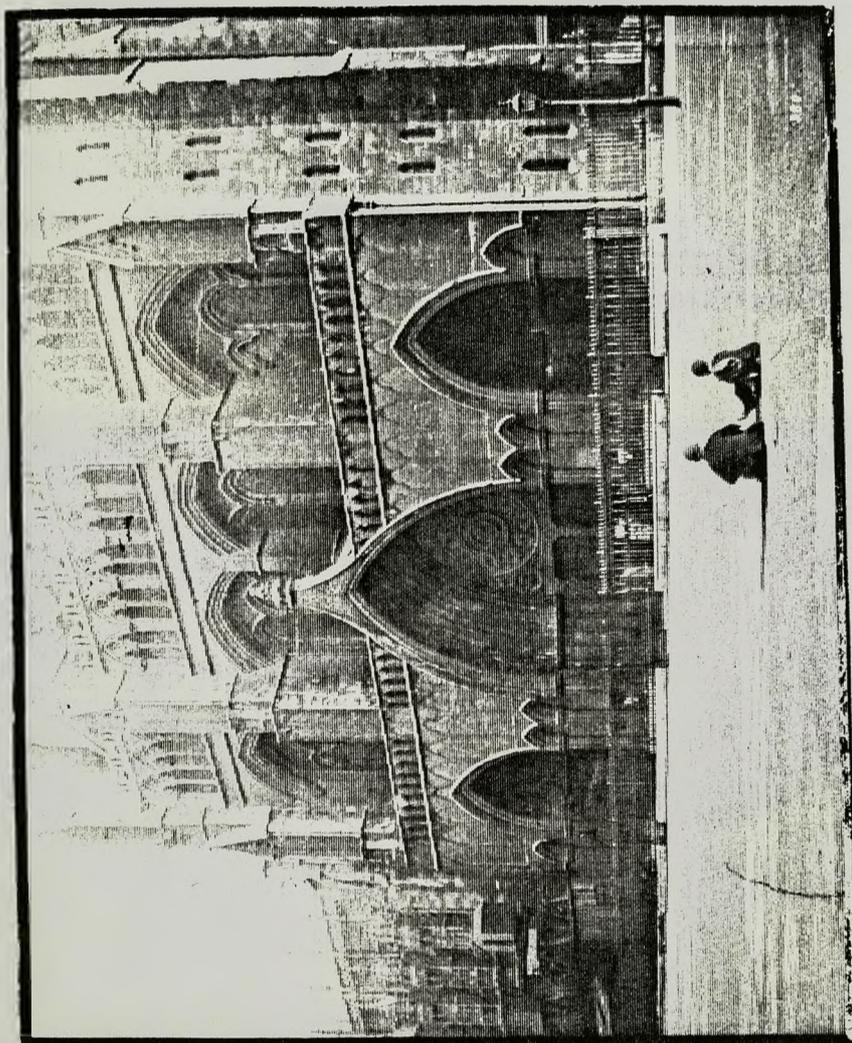
5. W. Dickinson, alternative proposals for the North Rose (May 22, 1721?) (WAM (P) 906)





6. W. Dickinson, design for the North Rose as executed (WAM (P) 905)



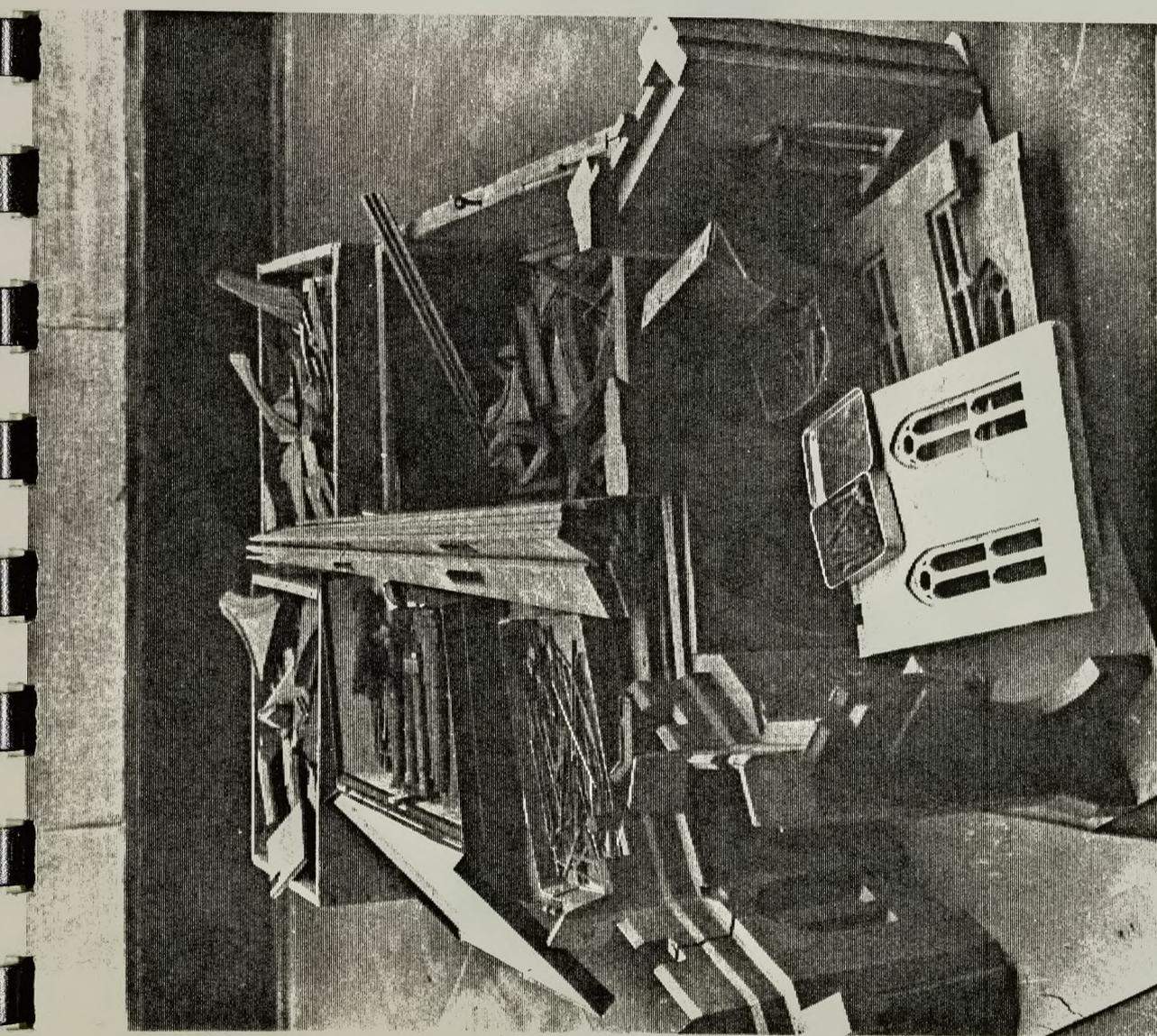
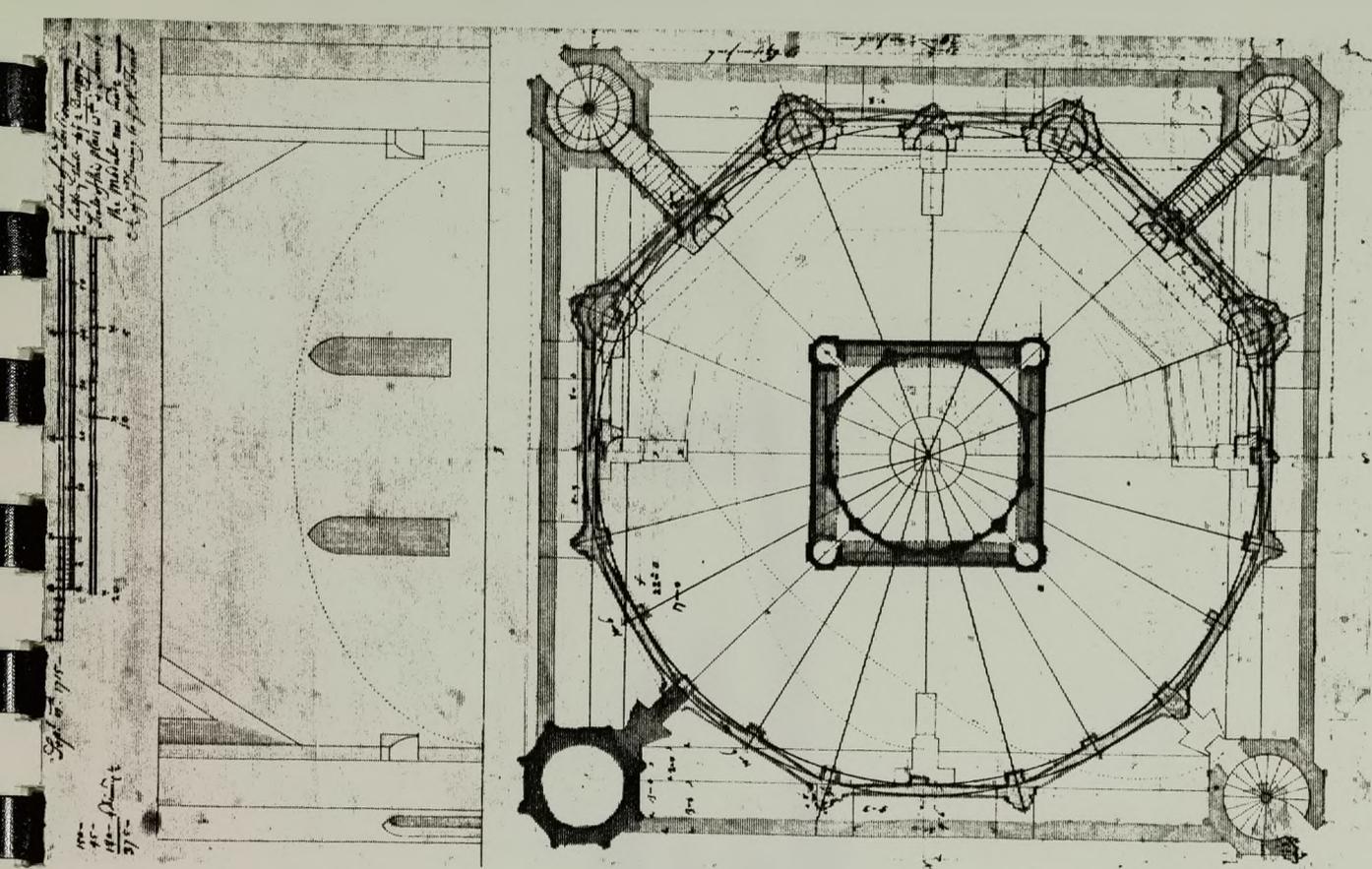


North Door of Westminster Abbey, 1870.

7. Photograph of North Transept, 1870 (WCL Box 55: 22D)



Faint, illegible text or markings on the left side of the page.



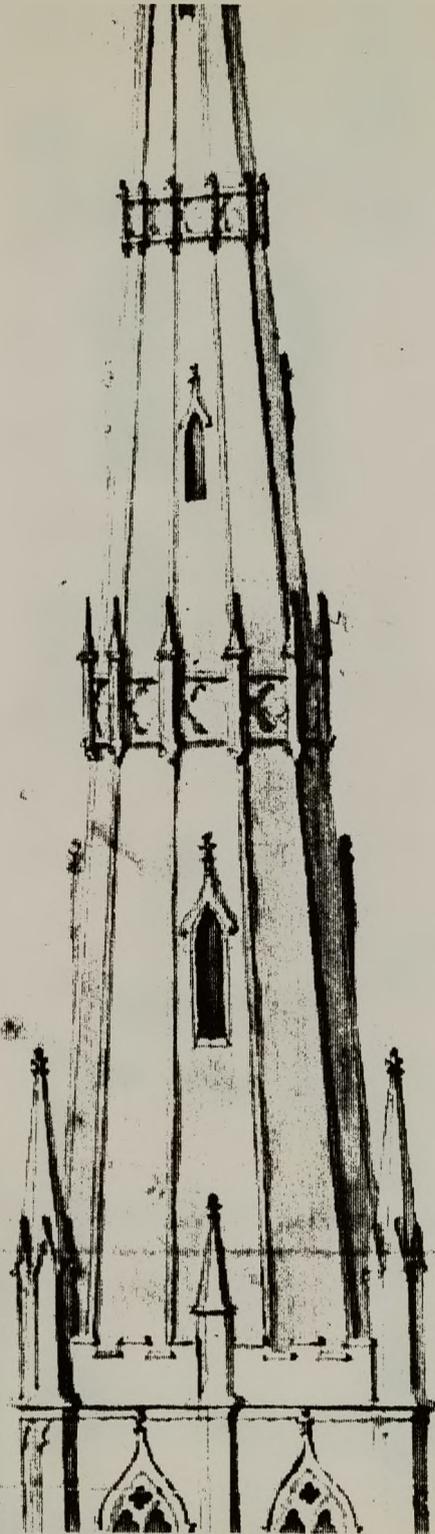
8. (left) Model of crossing tower and spire after inundation in the last War, showing, in the foreground, the proposed treatment of the tower face, 1715-16.

9. (right) W. Dickinson, plan and section of the crossing tower, dated September 9th 1715, with later additions (Gough Maps 23 fol. 23V)



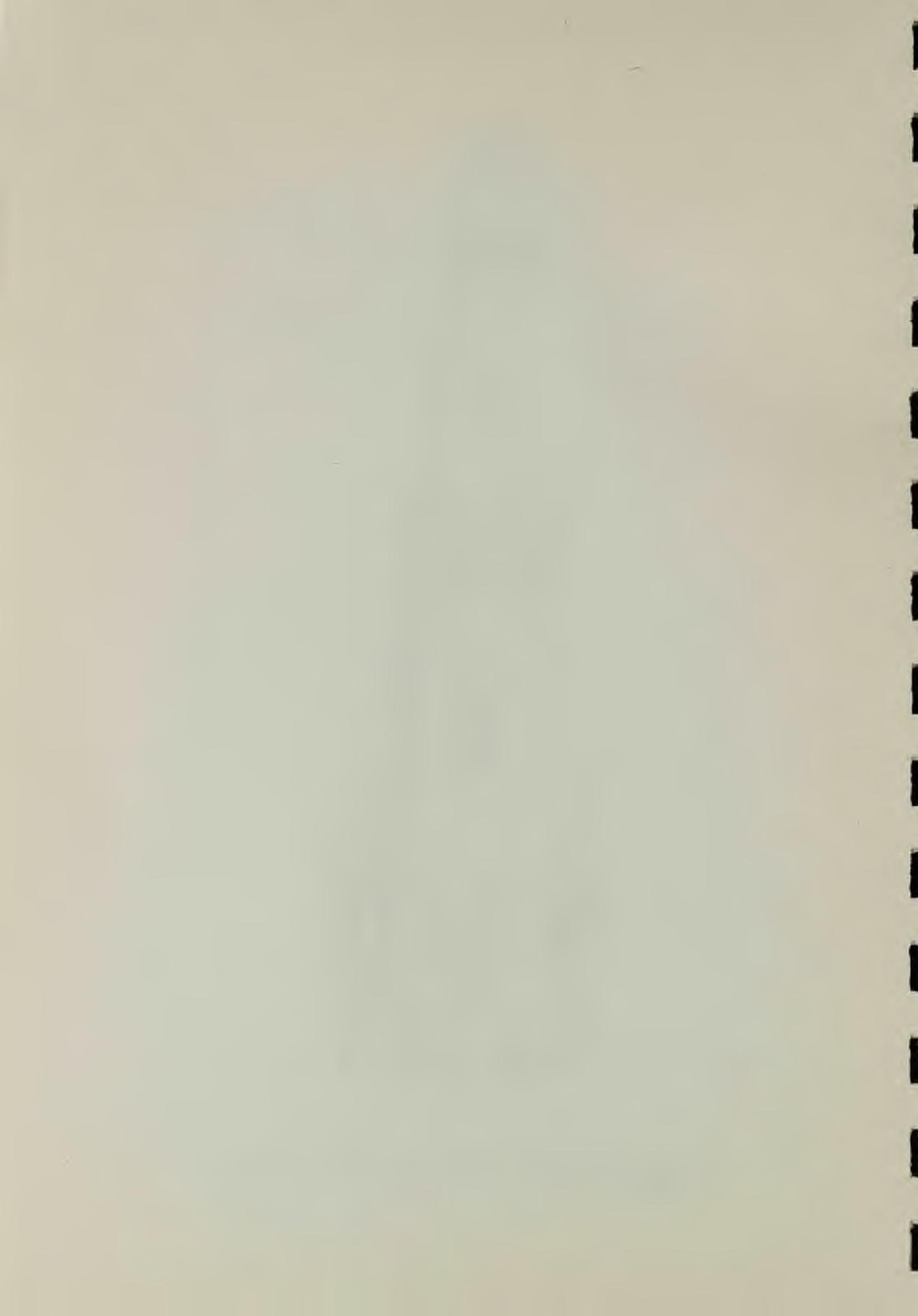
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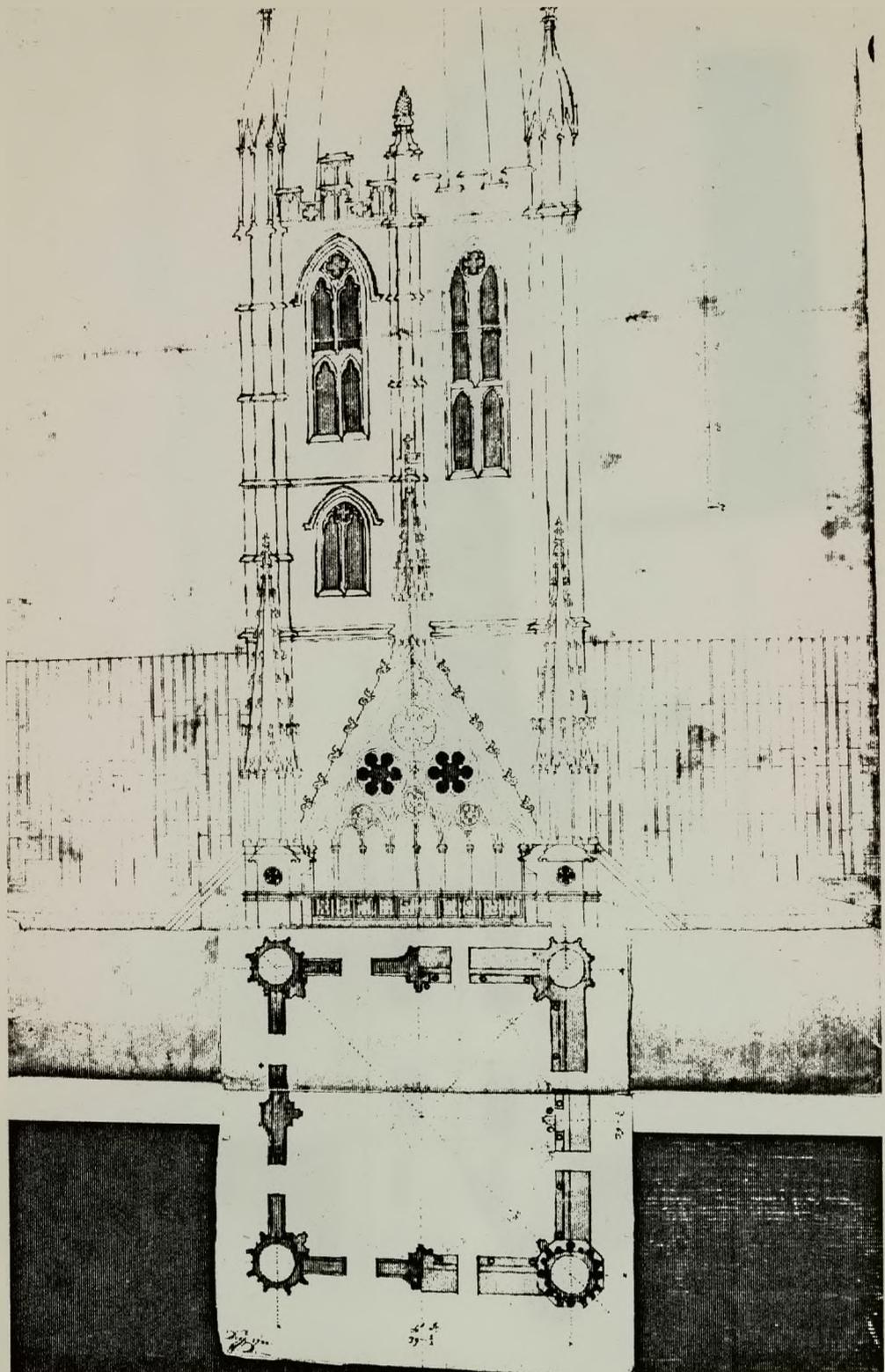




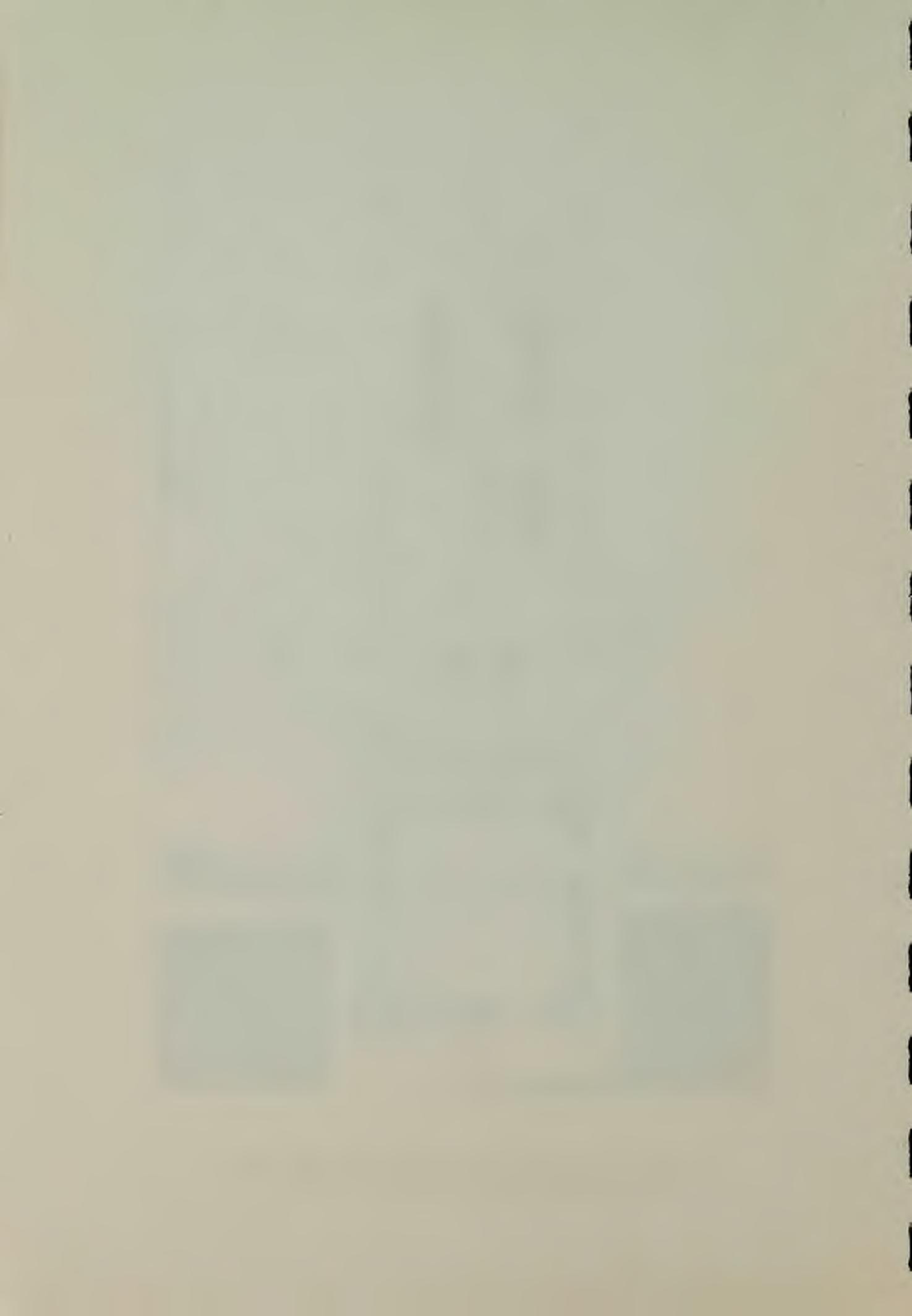
17. 25 This height of the tower from the top of the spire is 400 feet high

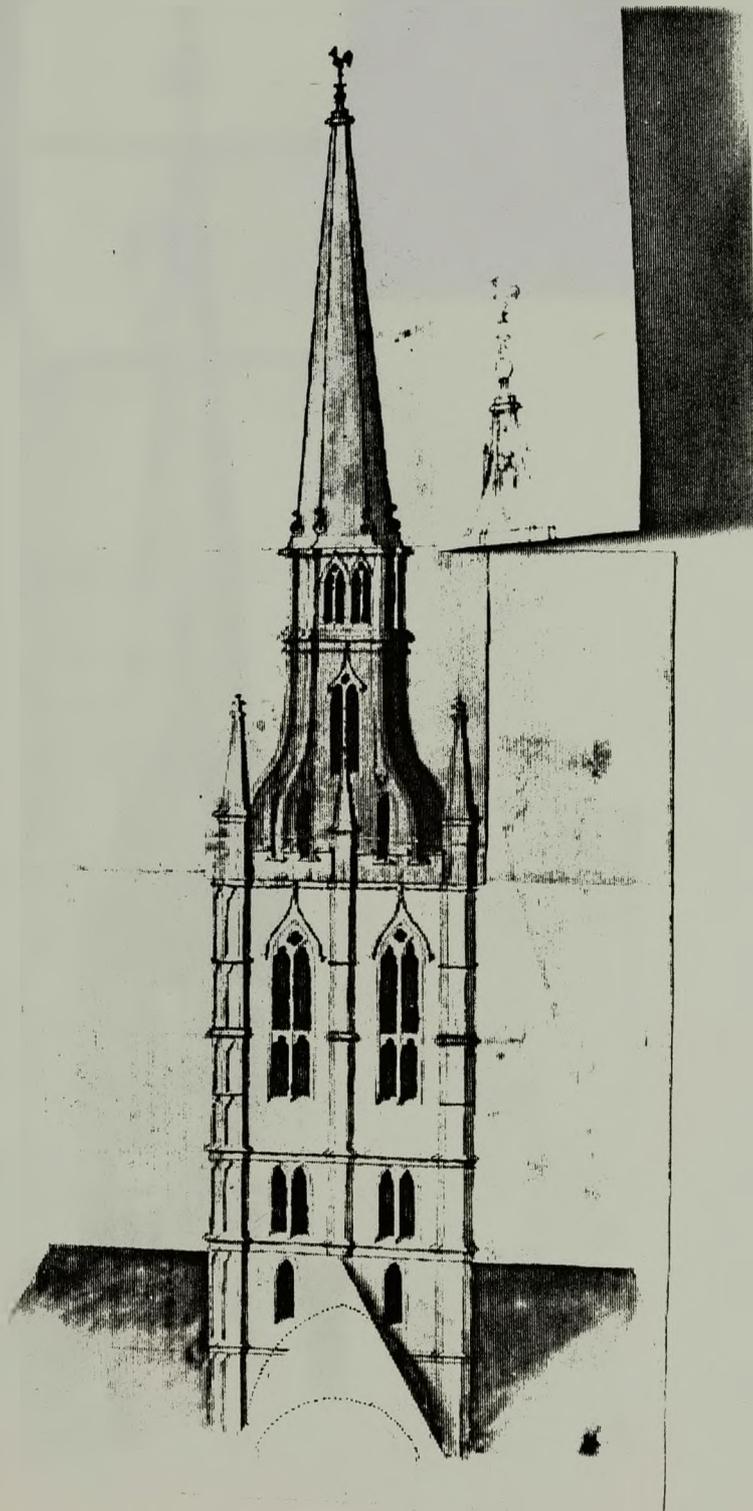
10. Detail of Dickinson drawing of tower and spire, with annotation by Hawksmoor (WAM (P) 913)



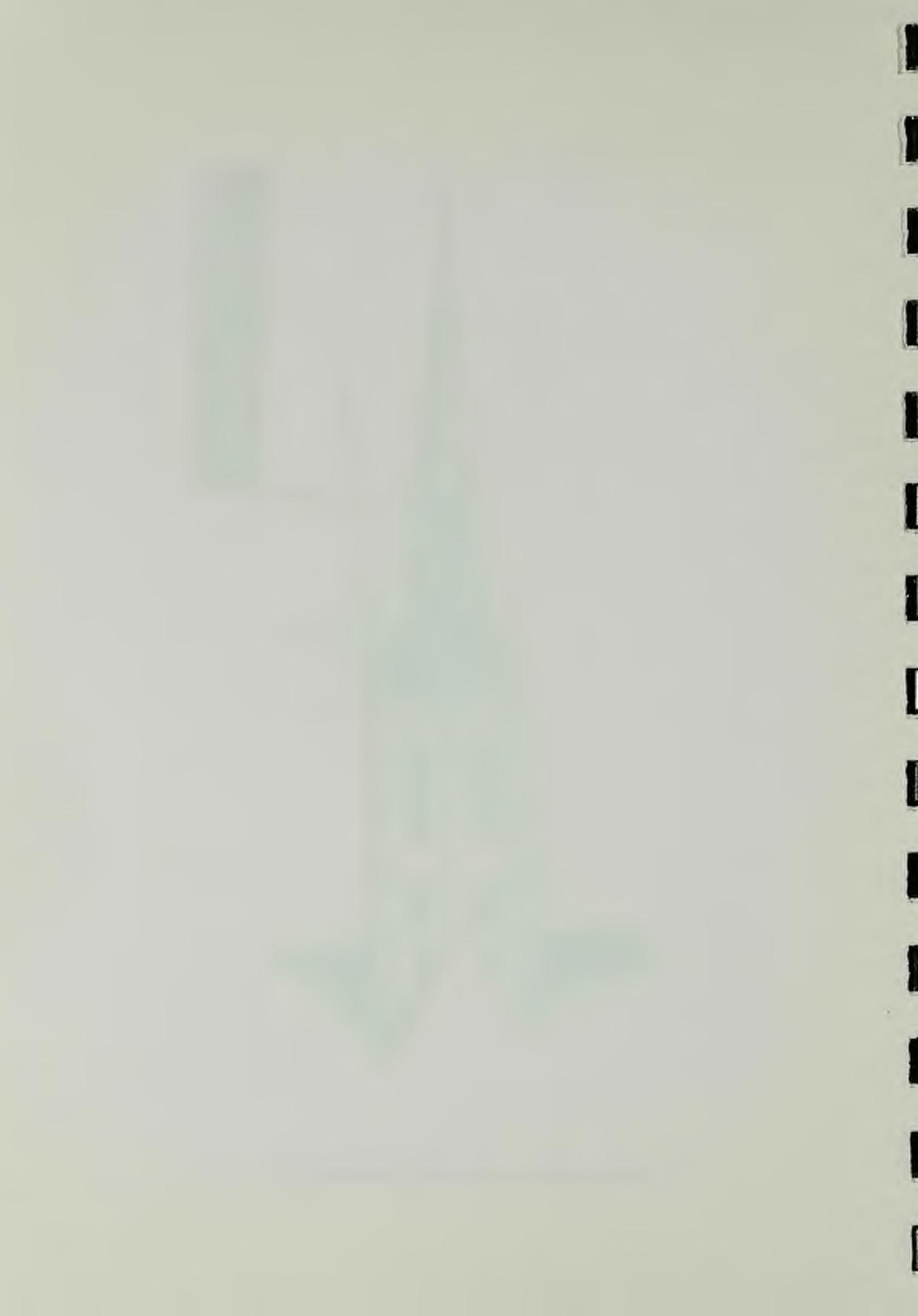


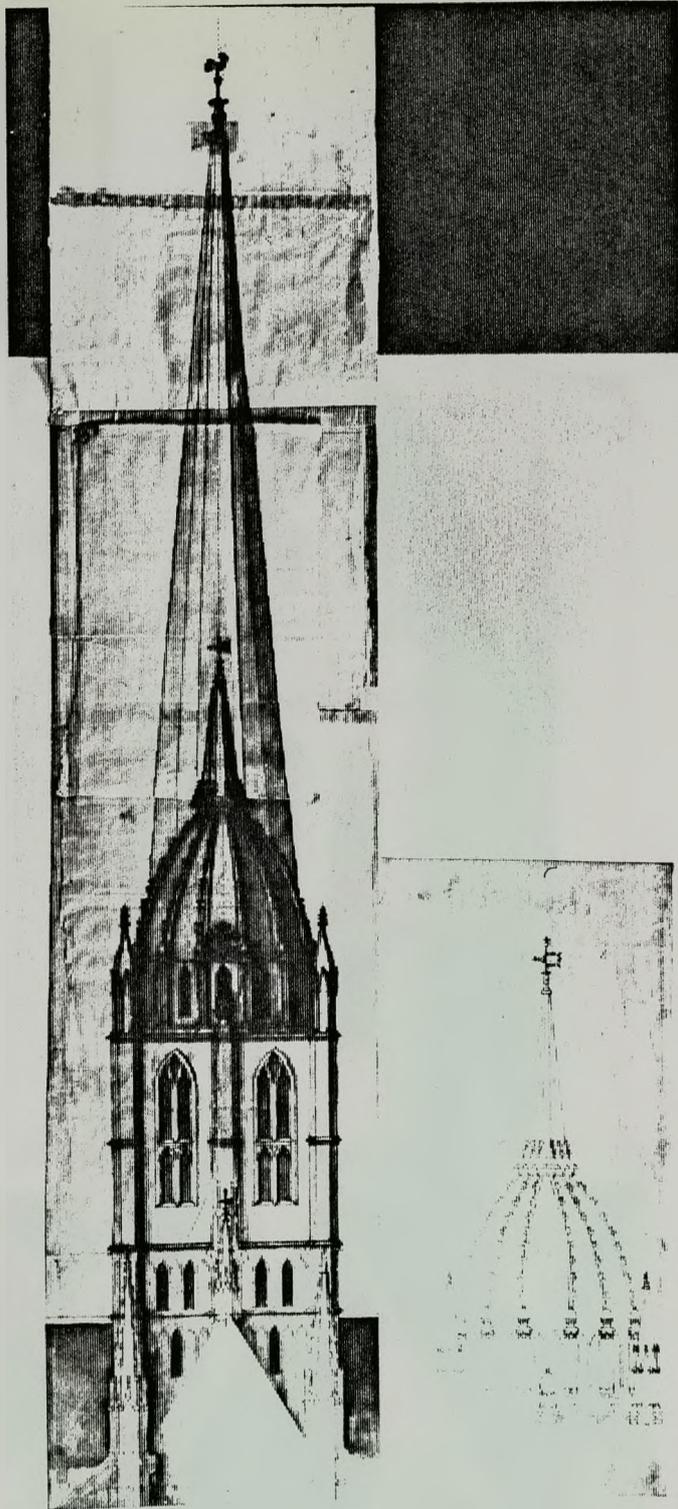
11. Detail of elevation of tower and spire, by Dickinson, dated September 14th, 1722, and attached plan, dated December 1722 (WAM (P) 907 and 907A)



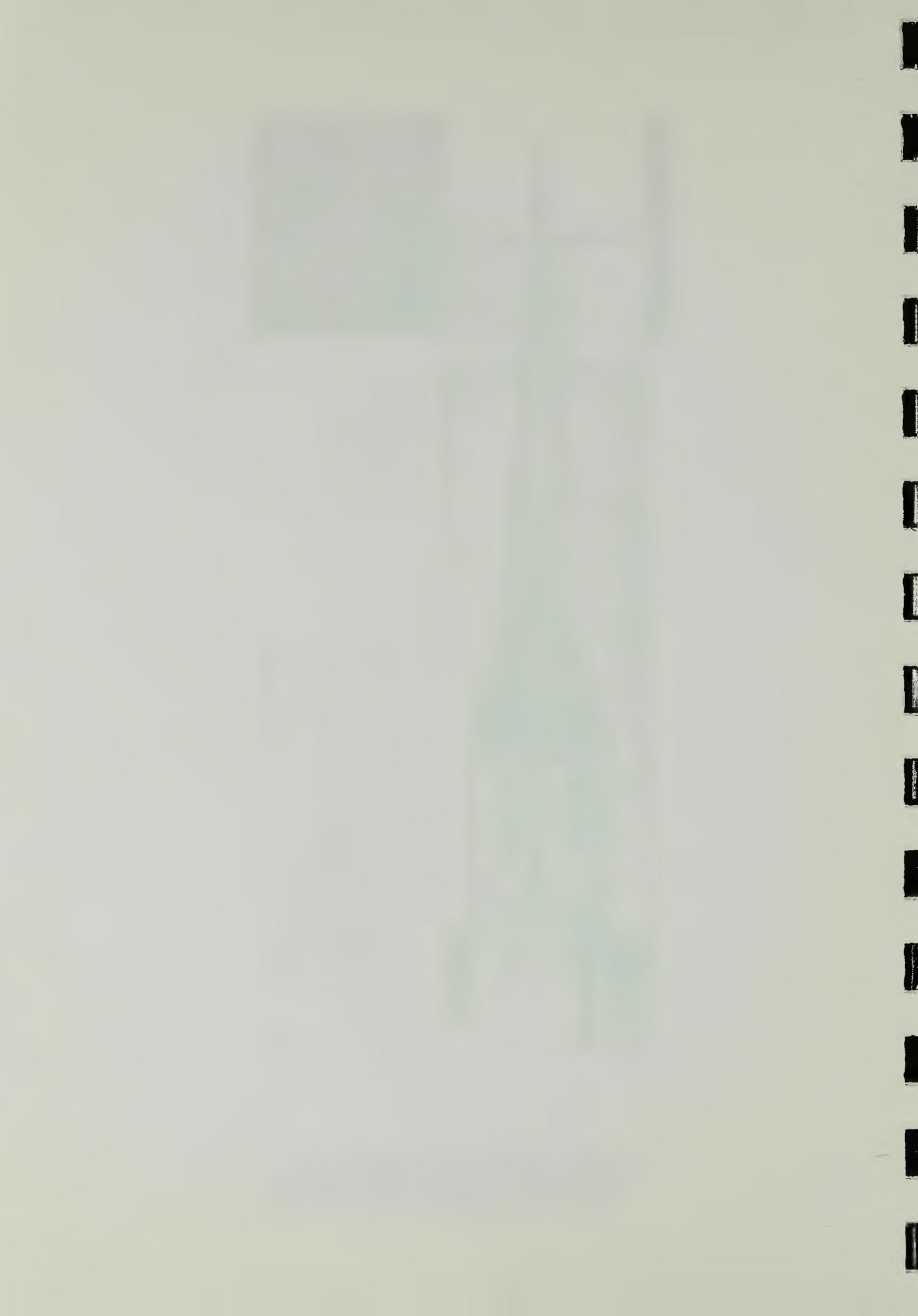


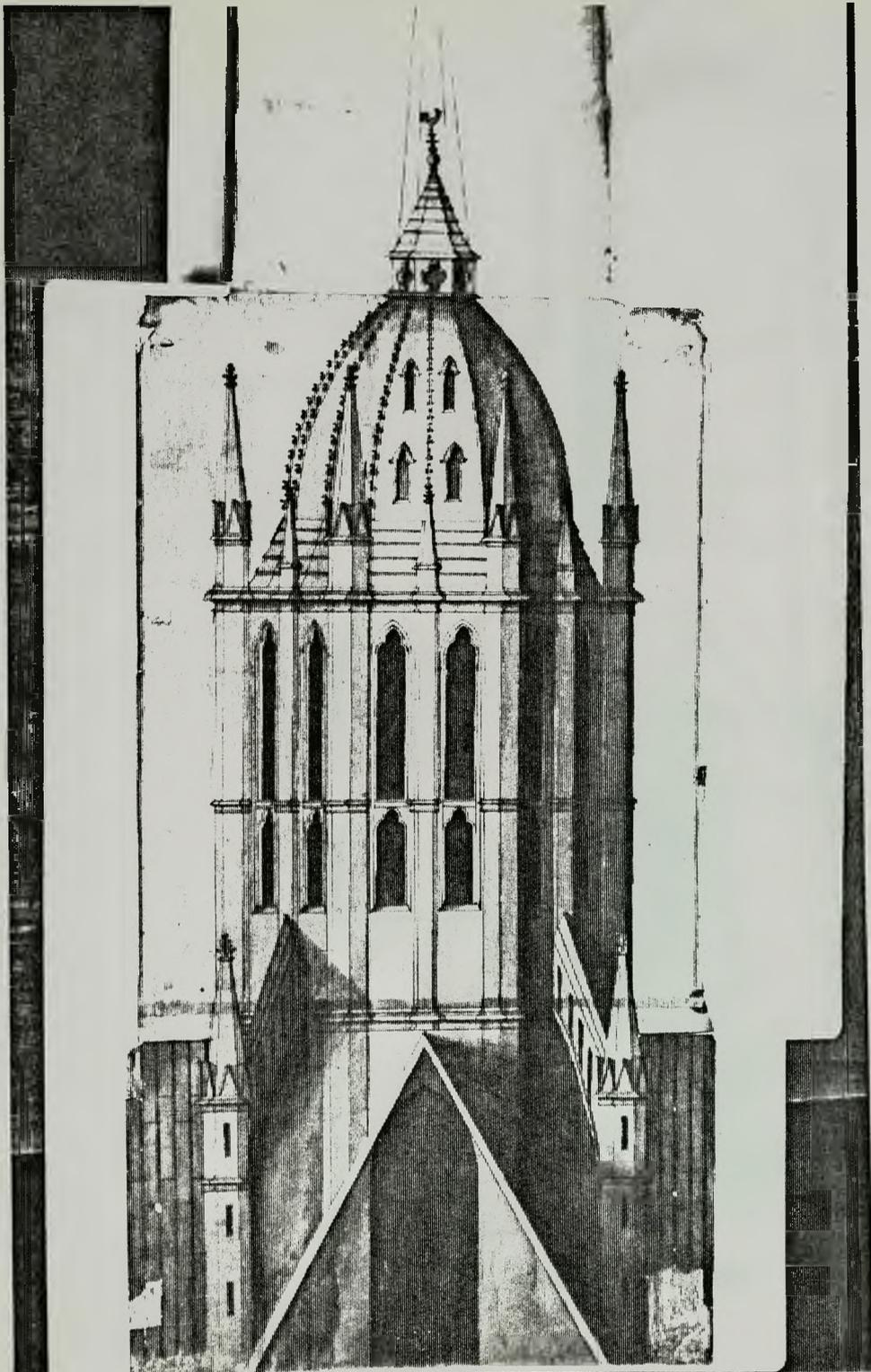
12. W. Dickinson, elevation of tower and spire, B flap (WAM (P) 912)



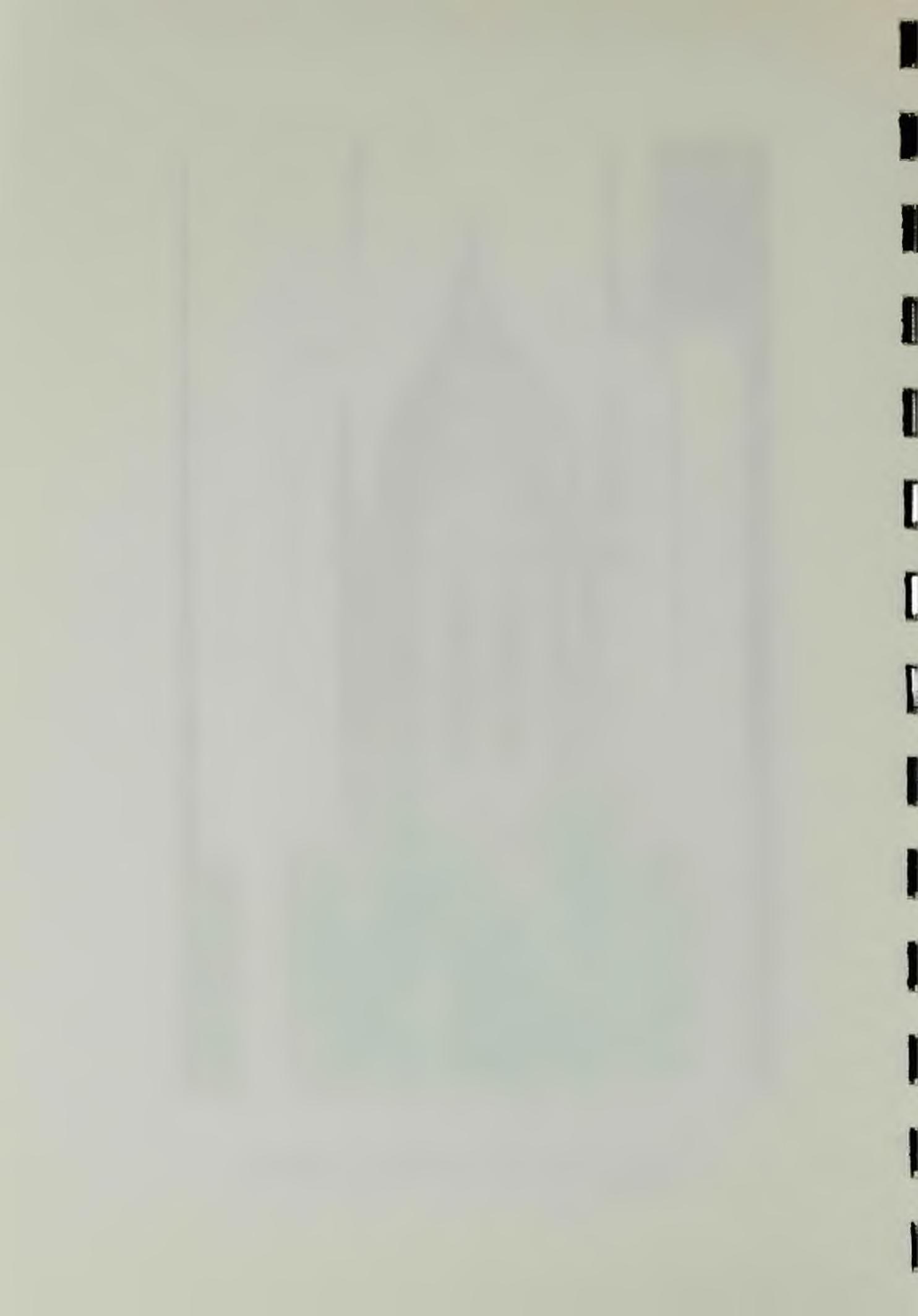


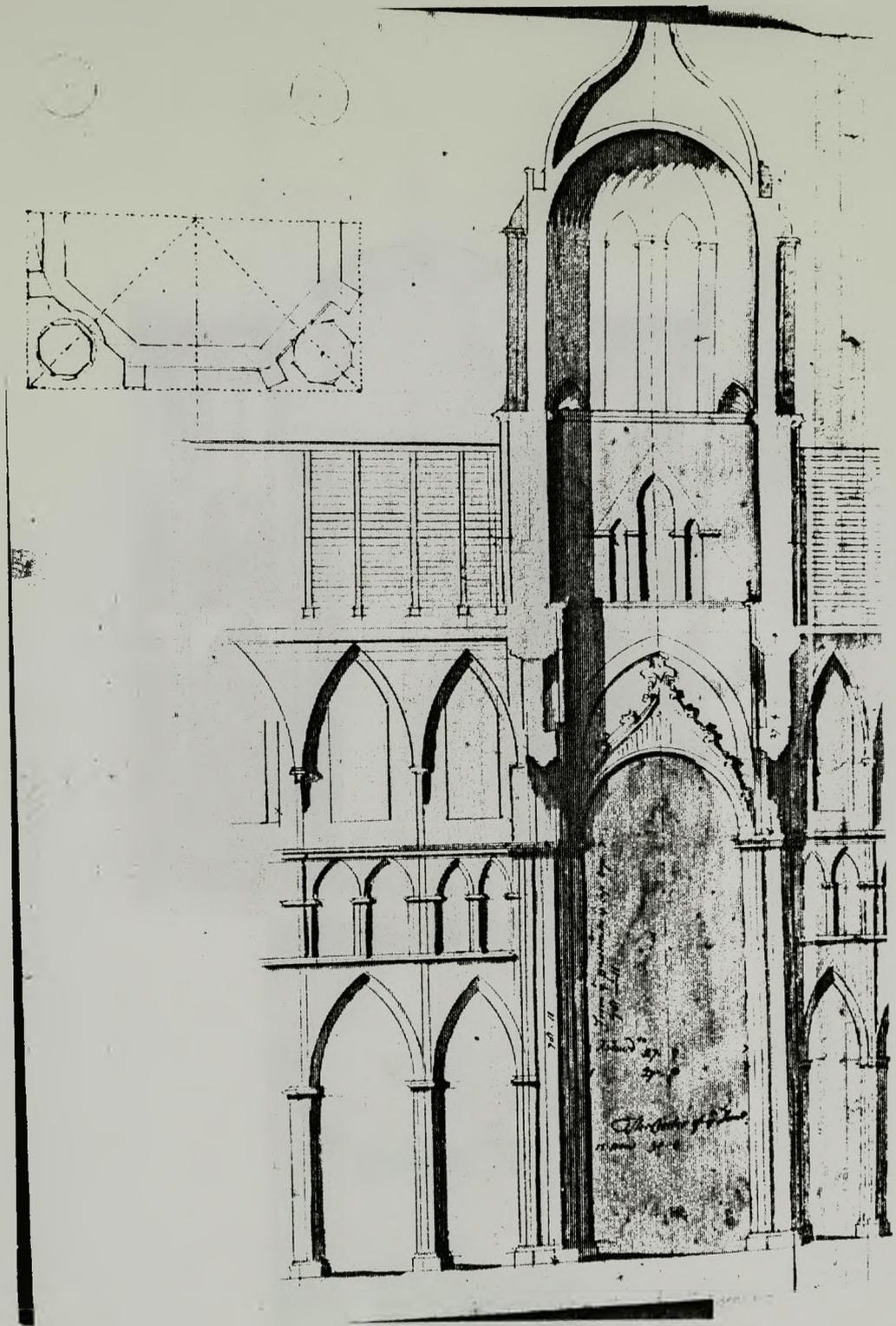
13. W. Dickinson, elevation of tower and cupola drawn over a spire, flaps A and C, D on right, December 1722 to January 1722/3 (C flap dated January 8th 1722/3) (WAM (P) 909)





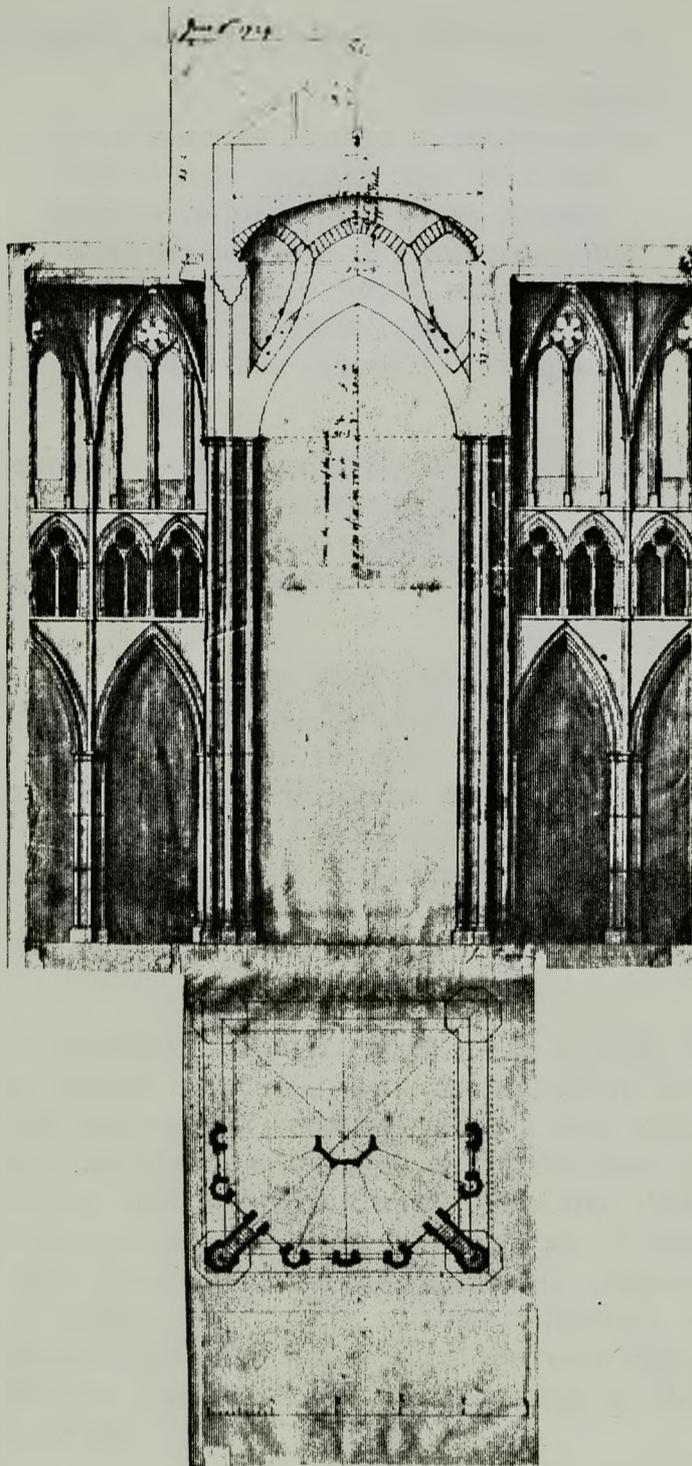
14. W. Dickinson, elevation of octagon tower and cupola, dated December 1722  
(WAM (P) 908)





15. W. Dickinson, section of crossing, with attached plan of octagon tower and a simple cap to the crossing, both dated June 8th 1724 (WAM (P) 911)





16. N. Hawksmoor, section of crossing, with plan of octagon tower, May 1724 (WAM (P) 910)