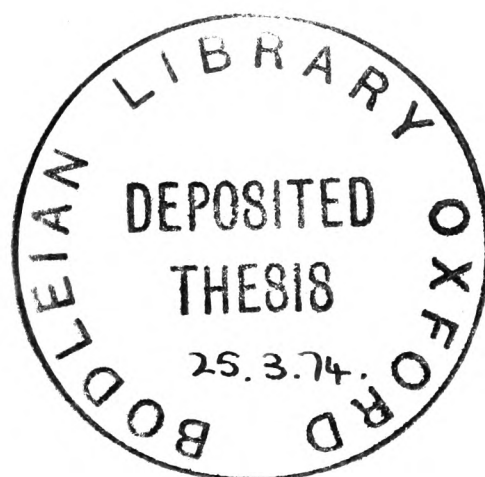


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Abstract

Samuel Wyatt (1737 - 1807)

'a very ingenious architect'

James Watt.

This thesis is the first biography of Samuel Wyatt to be written. It attempts to establish the range and importance of his activity as an architect and engineer by using contemporary documentary sources and the evidence of his surviving buildings. In the past, Samuel Wyatt's reputation has been overshadowed by that of his more prolific and famous younger brother James. A whole chapter, therefore, is devoted to their relationship in order to establish the differences in their architectural interests and style. James and Samuel Wyatt were closely associated at the beginning of their careers up to 1774. After that date they were almost entirely independent of each other.

Samuel Wyatt's work has been seen by many as a pale reflection of his brother's, and his achievement has thus been undervalued. Samuel was however an important architect in his own right. He was an interesting neo-classical designer with a refined decorative style. He was also an original planner. Many of his contemporaries thought highly of him. They were struck by two aspects of his architecture, its 'elegant simplicity' and its 'ingeniousness'. These are indeed the two dominant characteristics of his work. The 'ingeniousness' is expressed in his use of new materials and constructional techniques, and in his engineering projects. 'Elegant simplicity' perfectly sums up his austere refined decorative style. The way in which his work combines engineering and the most elegant neo-classicism is typical of the period. Wyatt's architecture is the exact equivalent of Wedgwood's pottery and Boulton's metal-ware.

Several of Samuel Wyatt's buildings have previously been attributed mistakenly to James Wyatt. It was essential, therefore, to establish which works were definitely Samuel's. The resulting list, with the sources for each attribution, is included as an appendix. Although his architectural output

did not rival that of James Wyatt or Robert Adam, it was nonetheless substantial, surpassing that of such contemporaries as Henry Holland and equalling that of the younger George Dance. In addition to the catalogue, many photographs have been assembled to illustrate the range and quality of his work as fully as possible.

Various chapters deal with his more important types of buildings. The longest of these describes his country houses, which formed the largest part of his architectural practice. They differ considerably from those of James Wyatt, being more restrained and consistent in scale and style. The majority are Greco-Roman, of moderate size. There are no fully-fledged gothick mansions by him. He only used the style when he had no option as, for instance, at Panshanger and Penrhyn. His few gothick works are vapid and of no interest. On the other hand, his classical country houses are of high quality and some originality. He evolved two personal types of house. One of these was his own version of the Anglo-Palladian villa with a main facade composed of a central domed bow flanked by overarched tripartite windows. The other, which can be called his 'belvedere house', has a main facade flanked by two domed bows. It was designed to take advantage of the prospect as is particularly obvious at Belmont (Kent) where each bow has a little glazed gazebo on top of the dome. Domed bows are the most distinctive single feature of Wyatt's houses. He was obsessed by them and used them on all possible occasions.

The interiors of his houses are distinguished for their refined decoration and their novel plans. His decoration was amongst the most elegant of the period. It was even more attenuated and refined than that of Robert Adam and James

Wyatt, although derived from the same sources and executed by the same craftsmen. The most important feature of his houses were their plans. Some of them show a great preoccupation with geometry culminating in that for Sundridge Park (Kent) where rooms of all shapes are packed round a circular staircase hall within a pre-existing shell. His plans also display a trend towards greater freedom and fluidity. This is expressed in asymmetrical office wings and orangeries and the random siting of bow windows on side elevations.

After his country houses the most important of Wyatt's buildings were those he designed for public clients including Trinity House in London and the Commissioner's House in the Royal Dockyard at Portsmouth. Another long chapter is therefore devoted to his public employment and works. The ingeniousness as well as the elegance of his style is particularly apparent in this field, for it includes several of his engineering works such as the designs for Ramsgate Harbour and for lighthouses. Lighthouses were one of Wyatt's special interests, and he designed four completely new ones, thoroughly remodelled a fifth, and repaired and altered several others. Wyatt was a reliable and competent civil engineer but not a great original genius like Smeaton or Rennie, his predecessor and successor at Ramsgate. The description of Wyatt's public career also reinforces the picture of his independence from James Wyatt. The latter was surveyor-general, and it might have been expected that his brother's public employment owed something to his influence. This was not the case. All Samuel Wyatt's important public employments were received before James became surveyor-general. Samuel received only one public carpentry contract directly from James Wyatt.

An important and unusual aspect of Samuel Wyatt's architectural activity was the designing of subsidiary estate buildings. The design of late eighteenth century farm-buildings has not been explored hitherto. A whole chapter is devoted therefore to this aspect of Wyatt's career. It may be thought eccentric to deal at length with farm-buildings while ignoring Wyatt's London houses. Although he executed much work in London, most of it was not exceptional by contemporary standards. Wyatt made no novel contribution to town house plans. Most of his work in London consisted of alterations to existing buildings and expensive redecoration. Much of it has been destroyed without record. Mention in the appendix together with photographs of the best surviving decoration at Lichfield House seemed to be adequate treatment. On the other hand, his farm-buildings are of considerable architectural and historic interest. He worked for many of the foremost agricultural improvers of the time, including the celebrated 'Coke of Norfolk'. His farms therefore perfectly reflect the great development in agriculture in late eighteenth century England. Some of them are neo-classical designs of considerable originality. They manifest that preoccupation with geometry that is also found in his country house plans.

The rise of the Wyatt family in the late eighteenth century is interesting socially and historically. It is symptomatic of the development of agriculture and industry in the north Midlands following the great improvement in communications with London after 1750, particularly the making of canals and turnpike roads. The emergence of Samuel Wyatt as a fashionable architect is part of the same movement in art and science that produced the Lunar Society, Derby Porcelain,

Wedgwood's pottery, Boulton's metal ware, and artists like Paul Sandby of Nottingham, Joseph Wright of Derby or the actor David Garrick of Birmingham. This aspect of Wyatt's career is discussed in the preliminary biographical chapter where it is shown how much the success of the Wyatts was due to the encouragement of local landowners and industrialists such as Lord Scarsdale of Kedleston, the Bagots of Blithfield and Matthew Boulton. A further chapter is devoted entirely to Wyatt's friendship with Boulton and the works that grew out of it. This also completes the picture of Wyatt as an engineer, with discussion of the Albion Mill, London docks, London Bridge and the Thames tunnel at Gravesend.

The layout of the thesis is determined to a certain extent by the source material. The chapter on Wyatt's friendship with Boulton is based on the correspondence between Wyatt and Boulton and Watt preserved at Birmingham. The chapter on his public works is based mainly on material in the Public Record Office. The chapters on farms and country houses are based on material still preserved at the houses in question or in local record offices.

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Abbreviations

- A.O.: Birmingham Assay Office, Tew MSS.
- A.P.S.D.: Wyatt Papworth, Ed., Architectural Publication Society Dictionary.
- A.R.: Architectural Review.
- Archit. Assoc.: Architectural Association.
- B.M.: British Museum.
- Colvin: H.M.Colvin, Biographical Dictionary of English Architects, 1660-1840 (1954).
- C. Life: Country Life.
- ed.: edition.
- Ed.: Edited.
- Farington: Joseph Farington, Diary (MSS). Original in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle. Typescript copy in the possession of Dr. Kenneth Garlick at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. (I am grateful to him for access to this.)
- G.L.C.: Greater London Council.
- Gunnis: R. Gunnis, Dictionary of British Sculptors, 1660-1841 (1952).
- Lib.: Library.
- N.B.R.: National Buildings Record.
- Neale: J.P.Neale, Views of Seats.
- Ormerod: George Ormerod, History of Cheshire.
- pub.: publication.
- P.R.O.: Public Record Office.
- R.A.: Royal Academy.
- R.I.B.A.: Royal Institute of British Architects.
- R.L.: Birmingham Reference Library, Local History Section.
- R.O.: Record Office.
- R.S.A.: Royal Society of Arts.

/ cont.

**Twycross:** Edward Twycross, Mansions of England and Wales.

**V.C.H.:** Victoria County History.

**Wyatt:** Any reference to Wyatt without a Christian name  
means Samuel Wyatt.

Roman numerals refer to illustrations.

CHAPTER I

BIOGRAPHY

Samuel Wyatt was born on 8 September 1737 and baptised at Weeford parish church on 27 December.<sup>1</sup> He was the third son of Benjamin Wyatt of Blackbrook Farm, Weeford, near Lichfield in Staffordshire. His father was a farmer and builder with a considerable local business as a timber merchant. The Wyatts were a yeoman family settled at Weeford since at least the sixteenth century. There was another branch of the family at Burton-on-Trent. Together they formed a closely-knit family network in south-east Staffordshire. In the second half of the eighteenth century the family rose to prominence as a result of the development of agriculture and industry in the midlands. Many members of the family were land agents on great estates or land surveyors involved in the land enclosure movement then proceeding rapidly in Staffordshire. Other Wyatts possessed considerable mechanical talent. Samuel's Uncle John, for instance, had invented an improved type of spinning machine as well as a weighing machine for assessing the weight of loaded carts. Another uncle, Job, had invented a patent machine for making screws and had con-

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1 Weeford Parish Register, 27 Dec. 1737

verted a water mill at Tattenhill to produce them, though this was not a financial success.<sup>2</sup> Above all the Wyatts were architects. It has been computed that in the hundred years between 1750 and 1850 the family produced over twenty architects. This is an achievement unequalled by any other English family.<sup>3</sup>

Samuel's career as an architect and builder was governed very much by his family background. He too had mechanical inclinations which led him to become an engineer. His agricultural background prepared the way for him to become the foremost architect of subsidiary estate buildings of the day. His family connections and friendships, together with those of their employers, provided a ready network for the spread of his architectural practice. The improvement in communications, particularly the making of canals between London and the midlands, made it possible for him to develop his family's building and timber business in London, while still drawing on the hitherto largely unexploited resources of timber in Staffordshire.

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2 V.C.H. Staffordshire, II (1967) 142

3 For Wyatt's ancestry see Burke's Landed Gentry, III (1972). The best Wyatt family tree is in D. Linstrum, Sir Jeffry Wyatville (1972)

Little is known about his childhood or education. Presumably he attended a local school and was then apprenticed to his father as a carpenter. His father, Benjamin, was assisted in his building and timber business by his eldest son, William. When they were old enough his third and fourth sons, Samuel and Joseph, also joined him. To this end Samuel was trained as a carpenter and Joseph as a mason. William, the eldest brother, acted as the architect designing the buildings erected by the family. This is made clear in his correspondence with Matthew Boulton over Soho House and the Stafford infirmary in the 1760s. This correspondence also suggests that Benjamin, the sixth son, who later became agent to Lord Penrhyn, acted as a draughtsman and drew many of the designs.

The earliest building by the family where Samuel is recorded as having been employed was Egginton Hall in Derbyshire. This house was situated just across the river from Burton-on-Trent. The original Tudor house had been destroyed by fire in 1736. Rebuilding seems not to have been undertaken until the middle of the eighteenth century. 'Benjamin Wyatt and Sons' were employed by Sir John Every to perform large-scale building work at Egginton in 1758 and 1759. On 26 May 1758 Sir John 'paid Mr. Samuel Wyatt towards the payment to be made

21 June to his father on account of new building, £50'.<sup>4</sup> He was then twenty-one years old. It is not known who was the architect at this stage at Egginton. It may have been William Wyatt. The house was large with three principal façades, one of eleven bays and the others of seven bays each. Construction on such a scale was valuable experience for Wyatt. It prepared him for employment independently of his family.

XXII

The greatest building work in the midlands at that time was Kedleston, near Egginton, in Derbyshire. There Sir Nathaniel Curzon, soon to be created Lord Scarsdale, was engaged in replacing a modest early eighteenth-century house with a vast neo-classical palace. Wyatt decided to try his luck there. He obtained a post as a carpenter in 1759.<sup>5</sup> His employment at Kedleston was the decisive step in his career. The experience he gained there enabled him to become a London-based architect and not just a provincial builder like his father and brothers, William and Joseph. At Kedleston he was brought into contact with one of the greatest patrons and several of the best architects of the period.

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4 Egginton, Every MSS, Account Books 1753-1783

5 Kedleston Hall, Curzon MSS, Accounts and correspondence concerning new house

Sir Nathaniel Curzon was an enlightened connoisseur. He formed one of the finest English 'Grand Tour' collections of works of art, including major works by Veronese, Strozzi, Parmigiano, Feti, Luca Giordano and Guido Reni. He patronized such midlands art-manufactures as Wedgwood's pottery, Derby porcelain, Boulton's metalware and the production of Blue John objects. He encouraged the writing of lavish architectural and art books, many of which were dedicated to him, including Fuseli's translation of Winckelmann. Above all he was interested in architecture. He played a major role in the early history of the neo-classical movement in England, obtaining designs in the new Grecian mode from 'Athenian' Stuart and giving the young Robert Adam one of his earliest and greatest country house commissions. Moreover he possessed an amiable character. Robert Adam described him as being 'good-tempered and having taste himself for the arts'.<sup>6</sup> He made a point of encouraging young and hitherto unproved talent. This is shown in his support of the young Fuseli, then just settled in England, and by the number of different architects he consulted over Kedleston. He had first employed Matthew Brettingham but only the north-east pavilion was completed to his design in 1758.

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6 John Fleming, Robert Adam and his Circle (1962) 258

James Paine, the leading country house architect of the period, was then called upon to complete the house to a new design. While the exterior was rising to Paine's plans, designs for interior decoration in an advanced neo-classical taste were obtained from James 'Athenian' Stuart. Then Lord Scarsdale (as he became in April 1761) discovered the brilliant young Robert Adam, newly returned from Italy. He was 'struck all of a heap with wonder and amaze' at the designs Adam showed him.<sup>6</sup> As a result the 'entire management of the grounds ... with full powers as to temples, bridges, seats and cascades' was placed in Adam's hands.<sup>6</sup>

Prolonged contact with such an enlightened patron and a succession of brilliant designers must have affected Wyatt considerably. He was soon promoted to full control of all building work on the site. This seems to have been partly at Adam's instigation, but it also reflects Lord Scarsdale's faith in youthful ability. Adam, after being appointed designer of the garden buildings, set about ousting his rivals at Kedleston. He easily got rid of Stuart whose designs he pilloried as 'excessively and ridiculously bad'. He took his place as designer of the interior decoration. Then Paine gracefully retired and left Adam with the entire field to himself. Having taken full control Adam proceeded to institute far-reaching changes in the organisation of building. The main result of these was to exalt Wyatt to the position of clerk of works. Adam described

this in a characteristic letter to his brother James : 'We have had the greatest revolution at Sir Nat's that you ever heard of. Mr Swann the great is dismissed and Mr Wyatt the carpenter now fills his place which I think is mostly brought about by me and now none of them sets a stone or cuts a bit of timber without my positive instructions, which occasions my writing three or four letters every week and drawings, sketches, moulds etc. eternally.'<sup>7</sup> Wyatt was paid £50 a year in his new position.<sup>8</sup> As he was young Adam no doubt hoped that he would be more amenable than his cantankerous predecessor. Adam was determined to end the chaotic administration he had discovered on his arrival at Kedleston, with different architects responsible for different parts of the house and the clerk of works doing as he pleased.

Wyatt, at the age of twenty-three, found himself in control of construction and landscaping at Kedleston. He also retained the carpentry contract. For carpentry on the body of the house up to the end of 1764, including the 'circular roofing over the saloon' and the library bookcases, he was paid £5,104 8. 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ . In 1765 he received a further payment of

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7 Ibid, 638

8 Kedleston Hall, Curzon MSS, Account Book, KC8

£1,234 17. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$  for carpentry and joinery.<sup>9</sup> His role as clerk of works at Kedleston placed him in an interesting position. On the one hand he was directly responsible to Adam and was expected to execute his designs exactly. On the other he was living in close proximity to a patron with a considerable knowledge of architecture who was constantly thinking up ideas and modifications of his own. Wyatt found himself in the role of architectural go-between, expected to convey Lord Scarsdale's suggestions to Adam.

Thus Wyatt's employment at Kedleston amounted to an architectural training. He was given the chance to develop his natural talent as a draughtsman in putting Lord Scarsdale's ideas on paper to send to Adam. Lord Scarsdale had a large library of architectural works, many of which remain at Kedleston. His name appeared on the subscription list of every important contemporary architectural book, including Adam's Ruins at Spalato, Stuart and Revett's Antiquities of Athens and all George Richardson's books, some of which were dedicated to Lord Scarsdale. It seems that he would choose designs from his library for minor features at Kedleston. These were executed by his clerk of works without consulting Adam. An

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9 Ibid, Account Books, 3R and KC7

urn on the south lawn, for example, is taken directly from Montfaucon's Antiquity Explained.<sup>10</sup> In this way Wyatt must have been introduced to all the standard architectural text books. The picture evoked is an attractive one. Lord Scarsdale can be seen browsing through his library, with his young clerk of works attentively at hand to sketch any feature that particularly took his fancy. This would then be executed directly or sent to Adam to be worked up and improved. This process is illustrated in the correspondence between Adam, Wyatt and Lord Scarsdale concerning the building of Kedleston. For instance, Lord Scarsdale himself chose the subjects for the sculptural plaques on the south front. Wyatt made sketches of Lord Scarsdale's suggestions and sent them to Adam in July 1763. Adam replied directly to Lord Scarsdale : 'I have received Mr Wyatt's letters enclosing the sketches for the two circular bas reliefs for which I shall make drawings as your lordship desires'.<sup>11</sup> Lord Scarsdale often asked Wyatt for his opinion on Adam's plans and proposals. For instance, Adam suggested concealing the backs of the quadrants with evergreens such as fir and spruce.<sup>12</sup> Wyatt, on the other hand, advised Lord

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10 D. Humphrey, Montfaucon's Antiquity Explained, V (Eng. trans. 1721)

11 Kedleston Hall, Curzon MSS, Adam to Lord Scarsdale, 20 July 1763

12 Ibid, Adam to Lord Scarsdale, 16 July 1760

Scarsdale that 'a genteelish beech about 15 or 20 feet high would ... make a prettier finish than fir'.<sup>13</sup> On another occasion Wyatt told his employer : 'I like Mr Adam's scheme much for sinking ... the stables and arching them over as it may prevent accidents by fire and the rooms over will be less annoy'd by the smell of the horses.'<sup>14</sup>

As well as being in constant contact with Lord Scarsdale and in a position to benefit from his taste and knowledge, Wyatt was of course in frequent communication with Adam. He continually wrote asking for guidance, reporting progress or requesting the designs for the next stage of building. This is amply illustrated in the surviving correspondence at Kedleston. Wyatt's contact with Adam must have given him the clearest picture of how a great building like Kedleston was designed and how a conscientious architect like Adam worked. There is no doubt that Wyatt took a keen and intelligent interest in the design of Kedleston and viewed the building almost with a proprietary instinct. In July 1763, for instance, Adam wrote to Lord Scarsdale : 'My cousin Dr Robertson ... wished much to see your Lordship's house ... I gave him Mr Wyatt's name that he might

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13 Ibid, Wyatt to Lord Scarsdale, 22 Oct. 1765

14 Ibid, Wyatt to Lord Scarsdale, 26 Jan. 1763

call for him as I knew he would show him everything with pleasure'.<sup>15</sup>

The exact nature of Wyatt's work is illustrated in his own letters to Lord Scarsdale when the latter was in London. As well as supervising the actual construction of the house he also chose the stone and was responsible for its quarrying. In 1765 he wrote from Buxton : 'the stone we are getting is about a yard thick, there is a deal of rubbish amongst it but the stones are so large as to be equal to a good wagon-load, some of it is a very good colour and of a stout nature so that I hope it will serve for the superstructure as well as the foundation of the bridge'.<sup>16</sup> He also formed estimates of the expense of building various structures such as the bridge over the new lake in the park. In 1765 he told Lord Scarsdale that 'the expense of the foundations of the bridge will not exceed £450 ... the whole will not exceed £600 exclusive of statues etc. ... The above calculations are very nice and will require great economy to bring the expenses within the estimates'.<sup>17</sup> In fact the estimates were too 'nice' and were greatly exceeded. This gave

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15 Ibid, Adam to Lord Scarsdale, 20 July 1763

16 Ibid, Wyatt to Lord Scarsdale, 22 Oct. 1765

17 Ibid, Wyatt to Lord Scarsdale, 12 March 1765

Adam the opportunity to point out to Lord Scarsdale, 'I was always of the opinion that Mr Wyatt had greatly undervalued the expense of the bridge, but it signified little to him what the estimate was, if your Lordship was to pay the Defficiency'.<sup>18</sup> Wyatt's inaccurate estimate is a sign of lack of experience.

As well as the construction of the house and subsidiary buildings Wyatt also executed the landscaping of the park, moving fully-grown trees to new positions chosen by Lord Scarsdale. He conducted these operations with considerable success. After moving the first tree in December 1765 he reported to Lord Scarsdale, 'On Saturday I removed with great success from betwixt the lodge and the pheasant ground an exceeding fine beech tree into the south east garden; it is betwixt 50 and 60 feet high and has many fine branches upon it from 20 to 30 feet long. I had a good deal of trouble to fix it cleverly upon the carriage being the first trial but am in no doubt of managing the others with great ease'.<sup>19</sup> The landscaping of the park at Kedleston seems to have been carried out to Lord Scarsdale's own designs with Wyatt in charge of the practical work.

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18 Ibid, Adam to Lord Scarsdale, 7 Dec. 1769

19 Ibid, Wyatt to Lord Scarsdale, 17 Dec. 1765

Wyatt's role at Kedleston also included receiving the works of art delivered to the house, checking that they were in good condition and setting them up in their places. This included framing some of the pictures.<sup>20</sup> There is an amusing correspondence describing the arrival of the plaster casts of classical statues for the hall. In March 1765 Wyatt wrote, 'I have enclosed sent your Lordship an account of the fingers wanting to repair the statues. There is several more which have their fingers broke off but as they are not lost they will be full as well join'd to again as new ones ... there is only the Venus that is much out of repair. I think your Lordship concluded to have some light drapery added by way of clothing to the figure of Antinous ...'.<sup>21</sup> Two months later he wrote again, 'I have received a small box containing two whole hands for the Venus and a small finger for the Appollo Villa Medici'. As the bottom of the box was broke open I thought proper to inform your Lordship of the contents for fear there should be some fingers lost'.<sup>22</sup>

Wyatt also supervised the removal of the old village which

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20 Ibid, Wyatt to Lord Scarsdale, Spring 1765

21 Ibid, Wyatt to Lord Scarsdale, 24 March 1765

22 Ibid, Wyatt to Lord Scarsdale, 21 May 1765

was considered offensive. Only the parish church of All Saints was spared. The buildings removed included the parsonage which had been newly fronted in 1761, probably by Adam. Ten years later Wyatt carefully demolished and rebuilt it with the same facade, but to a different plan and with new offices, on the west side of the park.<sup>23</sup> Among the objects swept away was the common bath. Wyatt wrote about this to Lord Scarsdale, 'I have proposed to Mr Lamb to have one of the Baths ... for the common people ... he says it will be extreemly inconvenient ... I told him there were many poor objects which I thought your Lordship would not choose should be debarred from the benefit of bathing, upon which he readily comply'd that all such persons should be admitted Gratis ... For my part I think a common bath would be a nuisance serving as a place of Rendezvous for the lower class of people which are continually in some kind of mischief, therefore /I/ shall recommend your Lordship to try the event this summer of having none'.<sup>24</sup>

During his time at Kedleston, therefore, Wyatt received wide experience in different types of construction and design which provided him with a sound base for his career as a builder

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23 Ibid, Wyatt's Contract for rebuilding the parsonage 1771, Lichfield Diocesan R.O., Contract and plan by Wyatt for Kedleston parsonage 1771

24 Kedleston Hall, Curzon MSS, Wyatt to Lord Scarsdale, Spring 1765

and architect. As well as the actual building work he was given considerable practice at sketching and making plans. In 1766, for example, he wrote to Lord Scarsdale, 'I will take an opportunity to make your Lordship a plan of the Poultry Yard.'<sup>25</sup> It seems, therefore, that he was given the opportunity in his last years at Kedleston to design lesser objects himself. Obviously, as clerk of works under Adam it was out of the question that he should be allowed to design anything of importance. His employer, however, seems to have given him the chance to design minor things. For example, in 1766 he designed a pedestal for a stone lion set up in that year on the south lawn. He sent his drawing to Lord Scarsdale with the words, 'Enclosed I have sent for your Lordship's approbation a design of a pedestal to fix the lion upon. I first draw'd it plain without the panel and wreath but thought it too plain, especially as it will stand so in view from the house and everything from the area will be exceeding rich. I have drawn the pedestal five feet high, the lion including the plinth is four feet ten inches to the top of the head ... as your Lordship has plenty of Hopton stone I recommend to make the pedestal of it'.<sup>26</sup> This pedestal sur-

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25 Ibid, Wyatt to Lord Scarsdale, Ash Wed. 1766

26 Ibid, Wyatt to Lord Scarsdale, Shrove Tues. 1766

vives with a neat wreath in a panel. Although far from ambitious it shows that he was interested in architecture at this early stage in his career. This interest is further exemplified in his subscription to Adam's Ruins at Spalato in 1764. Even allowing for a certain tactful flattery of his employer this testifies to a genuine interest in architecture, as does his Adamesque pedestal for the lion, several years before the return of James from Italy.

Wyatt lived permanently at Kedleston until about 1768 when he returned to Weeford which was his main home for the following six years. His connection with Kedleston continued. It was only in 1771, for example, that he moved the parsonage to its present position.<sup>23</sup> The period at Kedleston, as well as profoundly affecting his architectural career, also affected his personal life. On 7 January 1765 he married in the church of All Saints at Kedleston Ann Sherwin of Quarndon, the daughter of John Sherwin, Lord Scarsdale's land agent.<sup>27</sup> This greatly reinforced the agricultural nature of his family connections. Nothing very much is known of Mrs Wyatt's character except that she was a good cook. It seems that she was a rather quiet domestic person. While at Kedleston Wyatt used to go home to

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27 Kedleston Parish Register, 7 Jan. 1765

Weeford for Christmas. This occasion must have been quite a gathering of the Wyatt clan. After his marriage his wife and father-in-law accompanied him on these annual jaunts which lasted several weeks. Mr Sherwin died at Blackbrook while staying with the Wyatts in January 1767. Benjamin, Samuel's younger brother, recorded in his diary : 'Brother Sam and Mr Sowter came to bury their father Sherwin at Weeford, the snow being so deep made it impracticable to take him into Derbyshire as was intended'.<sup>28</sup>

While Samuel was working on his own at Kedleston his father and elder brother William were engaged on the largest project undertaken by the family building firm. This was the completion of Soho House and the construction of Soho Works at Handsworth in Staffordshire for their friend Matthew Boulton. Although Samuel was not directly involved in this the friendship between his family and Boulton was another of the important influences on his architectural career. It was to lead to two important groups of architectural commissions. Benjamin Wyatt's eldest brother, John I, 'the Inventor', was already a close friend of Boulton. He lived near him at Handsworth. His son, John II, acted as Boulton's agent in London and abroad. It was

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28 Benjamin Wyatt II's Diary (Inf. Derek Linstrum)

natural, therefore, that when Boulton quarrelled with his first architect he should have turned to John's younger brother and nephew and asked them to carry on. Boulton was on terms of intimacy with the whole Wyatt cousinhood. He thought particularly highly of John the Inventor, and after his death upbraided John's sons for not giving their father's inventions the propagation they deserved. Boulton frequently stayed at Blackbrook with Benjamin I. The friendship between these two is expressed in a letter to Boulton from Benjamin I in December 1769 : 'Compliments to Cousins. Hope to see em with yourself at Xmas either in this part of the world [Burton-on-Trent] or at Blackbrook'.<sup>29</sup>

The new house and factory at Soho were begun in 1761. The architect was, it seems, Thomas Lightholder. William Wyatt, in a letter to Boulton in 1766, referred to 'your old architect Litcholder'. Lightholder seems to have been utterly unsatisfactory. William, in the same letter, described him as 'to the best of my knowledge ... the greatest lyar I ever yet met'.<sup>30</sup> The date of his dismissal and replacement by the Wyatts is not clear but was probably about 1763. In that year William wrote, 'I am sorry that you have so much difficulty about the building

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29 A.O., Benjamin Wyatt I to Boulton, 14 Dec. 1769

30 Ibid, William Wyatt to Boulton, 26 Jan. 1766

and wish it had been in my power to have waited upon you before ... however my brother who drew the plan and knows the affair as well as me, shall certainly be with you on Sunday ...'<sup>31</sup>

The brother referred to was probably Benjamin II who was then eighteen years old. He is known to have acted as a draughtsman to the family from references in his diary. For example he drew the elevation of the farmhouse at Elford designed by 'Benjamin Wyatt and Sons' in 1767 for the Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire.<sup>32</sup> It is probable that the first part of Soho to be completed was the back range of the factory. This was in a plain style and may have been a continuation of Lightholder's work. Work began on the front range of the factory in 1765. In September of that year William wrote to Matthew Boulton : 'I had the pleasure of hearing the back front was approved by you ... but find from Mr Newbold the loss of light in the rooms on each side of the bow window had escaped your notice ... if continued so till the Building was finished /I/ am persuaded the inconvenience would not be so great ... the two lower shops will suffer most and as those are rooms of only

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31 Ibid, William Wyatt to Boulton, 16 Sept. 1763

32 R.I.B.A. Drawings Coll., K8/30 and Benjamin II's Diary  
(Inf. Derek Linstrum)

12' by 8' 9" and have a large window 5' 5" by 5' 0" into each they will not be very dark ... I send you the plans for the small houses I mentioned to you ...'.<sup>33</sup> This and a group of associated letters make it clear that William and not his father designed this building. Hitherto it has been assumed that Benjamin I designed these buildings erected by 'Benjamin Wyatt and Sons'. All the evidence suggests, however, that William was the architect of the family.

The front range of the factory was typical of his work. It was a large 3-storeyed block 19 bays wide, the three end bays on each side carrying pediments. The central three bays formed a 'gatehouse'. There was a large gateway flanked by shops and show rooms where visitors to Soho could inspect and purchase the objects manufactured in the place. The bow on the 'back front' was executed as can be seen from late eighteenth-century prints. It was semi-circular and it culminated in a half dome. This shows that this particular feature, used so widely by Samuel and James Wyatt, was not originated by either of them. The gatehouse carried an octagonal conical roof on which perched an octagonal clock cupola.<sup>34</sup> This also was to be a feature of Samuel Wyatt's

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33 A.O., William Wyatt to Boulton, 8 Sept. 1765

34 Bodleian, Gough Maps, 32 f8, Warwickshire, Prints of Soho Works.

architecture. The stables at Heaton and Penrhyn, for instance, were to have such roofs over their gatehouses.<sup>35</sup>

As completed in 1766 Soho was the largest factory in England and indeed in Europe. It was much visited and contemporaries were greatly struck by the sudden transformation of a 'barren heath' into a 'populous village or town' where 600 people were employed.<sup>36</sup> One onlooker was moved to exclaim in verse :

Soho! Where Genius and the Arts preside,  
Europa's wonder and Britannia's pride!<sup>37</sup>

No building accounts survive for the factory, but Dickinson estimated that it cost about £9,000.<sup>38</sup> The only related bill is one dated 1769 for timber provided by Benjamin Wyatt and Sons amounting to £89 16. 10½.<sup>39</sup>

As well as the factory the Wyatts also completed Soho House. William produced plans for extensions in 1766. In December he wrote 'I will not promise you clean drawings of your house by that time ... I have looked over the designed

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35 See Chapter V

36 W. Pitt, Topographical History of Staffordshire (1817) 157-8

37 Quoted in H. W. Dickinson, James Wyatt (Cambridge 1936) 48

38 Ibid, 47

39 A.O., Boulton & Fothergill to Benj. Wyatt & Sons, 1769

alteration with some attention more than once and I don't think it can be much improved without going to greater expense as it now stands you will have a good house ...'.<sup>40</sup>

As well as designing and building at Soho in Samuel's absence Benjamin I and William had also obtained the commission for designing and building the new infirmary in Stafford. The infirmary was founded in 1765<sup>41</sup> but its premises were inadequate from the beginning. It was almost immediately decided to acquire land for a new building. A special committee was set up to achieve this. It included amongst its members Thomas Anson of Shugborough and Matthew Boulton. William Wyatt as early as January 1766 had asked Boulton : 'when you can spare half an hour it will be obliging to bestow it in giving me your thoughts in regard to the Infirmary and if you can encourage me I will be preparing designs to lay before your committee ...'.<sup>42</sup> It was only in 1768 that the decision to go ahead with building the new infirmary was taken and a suitable site acquired. At a meeting of the board on 1 September 1769 it was ordered 'that

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40 Ibid, William Wyatt to Boulton, 29 Dec. 1766

41 R. A. McKinley, 'Foundation of the Staffordshire General Infirmary', Transactions of the Old Stafford Soc. (1963-5) 18

42 A.O., William Wyatt to Boulton, 26 Jan. 1766

Mr Benj. Wyatt and Sons do build the Stafford General Infirmary for the sum of £2,784'.<sup>43</sup> 'Messrs Wyatt's design received the most approval of those submitted. It was considered a 'plain and useful design'.<sup>44</sup> Construction was in 'great forwardness' in 1770 and was completed in 1772.<sup>45</sup>

As has already been seen the design, though ascribed to Benjamin Wyatt and Sons, was almost certainly by William Wyatt. He had probably made it when he wrote to Boulton in 1766 two years before it was formally submitted. The appearance of the completed building was typical of William's designs. It had 3-bay end wings with pediments, just the same as at Soho Works. Samuel may have been involved in the building work as he returned to the family home in 1768 following the completion of Kedleston.

The Infirmary probably brought the Wyatts other commissions from the local landowners, such as Mr Anson, on the committee. At that time large works were being executed at the Anson seat, Shugborough, to the designs of 'Athenian'

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43 Staffs. R.O., D685/11/1, Minute Book of Stafford Infirmary, 9 Dec. 1768, 2 Aug. and 1 Sept. 1769

44 Ibid, D685/12/1, Annual Reports of Stafford General Infirmary IV, 1769

45 Ibid, V, 1770; VI, 1771

Stuart. A Wyatt was paid for carpentry in 1768.<sup>46</sup> This was probably Samuel who was then returned from Kedleston and was at that stage the carpenter of the family. The connection with Stuart was to lead to other things. In 1769 Sir William Bagot of Blithfield obtained a design from 'Athenian' Stuart for an orangery. Samuel Wyatt was chosen to execute the design. His younger brother Joseph, who had set up independently as a mason at Burton-on-Trent, did the stonework. The orangery at Blithfield involved Samuel in the design of the house itself and led to the beginning of his country house practice. 'Athenian' Stuart had produced designs for rebuilding part of the house but Sir William found them too expensive and turned to Samuel Wyatt in the hope of something cheaper.<sup>47</sup>

XI

At about the same time James Wyatt returned from his 'Grand Tour' of Italy. He had set out in 1762 in the company of one of the Bagots of Blithfield and spent six years in Rome and Venice studying drawing and architecture. The exact details of the tour are a mystery. It is not even known when James returned to England. It was probably in

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46 Ibid, Anson MSS, D615/E (H)1/2, Building Accounts, 1763-8

47 See Chapter IV

1768, the year that his first house, Gaddesdon Place (Hertfordshire), was begun.<sup>48</sup> The fact that his earliest work was in the south suggests that he did not return to Staffordshire immediately. Perhaps he stayed in London for a time with John, the eldest of the Wyatt brothers, a surgeon and Fellow of the Royal Society who had a house in Newport St. Both James and Samuel are known to have stayed there intermittently between 1769 and 1774.<sup>49</sup> It may therefore have been some time in 1769 that James arrived once more in Weeford.

The effect on both Samuel and William must have been considerable. They were both architects; William had designed Soho and the Stafford Infirmary, and Samuel had been introduced to the latest architectural developments, first of all through Paine, Lord Scarsdale and Adam at Kedleston, then through 'Athenian' Stuart at Shugborough and Blithfield. James, on the other hand, had been approaching architecture by a different route, studying the buildings of antiquity and the renaissance at first hand in Italy. The resulting exchange of ideas led to the creation of the Wyatt style, as

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48 N. Pevsner, Hertfordshire (1953) 101

49 Address while constructing the Pantheon, 1769-71

expressed in a group of buildings in Staffordshire and the famous Pantheon project in London, all built between 1769 and 1773. The buildings in Staffordshire included an addition to Hagley Hall near Rugeley, the total reconstruction of the interior of Beaudesert and a new town hall at Burton-on-Trent. All these were designed by James Wyatt and built by William and Samuel. The relations between the three brothers during these four years, and their architectural styles, will be discussed separately.<sup>50</sup>

As well as working with his brother in Staffordshire and at the Pantheon, Samuel Wyatt was also developing his own independent architectural practice. Following the completion of work at Blithfield he designed additions and alterations to several country houses between 1771 and 1775, including Dorfold Hall, Tatton House and Bostock Hall in Cheshire, Berechurch Hall in Essex and, possibly, work at Marston Hall in Somerset and Spring Gardens in London.<sup>51</sup>

In 1772 Samuel's father, Benjamin I, died. The building and timber business in the midlands passed to William Wyatt, but Samuel seems to have retained a share in it for a

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50 See Chapter II

51 See Chapter IV. The last three are mentioned in Wyatt's portrait by L. F. Abbott, 1775

time. William, Samuel and Benjamin II were appointed executors of their father's will.<sup>52</sup> Following the death of Benjamin I the family firm seems to have suffered from financial difficulties. This was largely caused by Lord Paget's slowness in paying for the large works executed by 'Benjamin Wyatt and Sons' at Beaudesert and at Burton where he was lord of the manor.

At this stage Matthew Boulton helped the Wyatts to carry on with a loan of money. William had written to Boulton in May 1772 : 'You must know that I am exceedingly distressed for money myself at this time ... if you can oblige me by letting my Brother Sam draw upon you for three or four hundred pounds at six weeks or two months date it will be serving me at this juncture very essentially. I need not press this matter well knowing your generous disposition to serve me and my friends at all times'.<sup>53</sup> Matthew Boulton obliged with £200 but requested that it be repaid quickly.<sup>54</sup> Unfortunately William Wyatt was not paid by Lord Paget or Lord Donegal as soon as he had hoped and found himself unable to repay Matthew Boulton. In the end, in March 1773 he borrowed money

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52 A.O., William Wyatt to Boulton, 30 March 1777

53 Ibid, William Wyatt to Boulton, 12 May 1772

54 Ibid, Boulton to William Wyatt, 12 Sept. 1772

from someone else in order to repay Boulton. He apologised for the delay and inconvenience he had caused Boulton with the words, 'I have so much deceived and disappointed my best friend ... I will leave no stone unturned to remit you what I owe you'. At the same time Samuel went on his brother's behalf to Fisherwick to see if Lord Donegal would pay what he owed for timber.<sup>55</sup> These manoeuvres seem to have been successful and the family firm flourished under William until his death. He seems to have expanded the timber business into the adjoining counties. In his letters to Boulton he frequently referred to business trips to Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire.

During these years Samuel was still based in Staffordshire but increasingly spent more time in London, staying with his elder brother John in Newport St. In 1774 James Wyatt married and set up his own establishment in Newman St. At the same time Samuel acquired his own house in London and settled permanently there. Since 1769 he had been developing a branch of the timber and building business in the capital. This proved so successful that after 1774 he seems to have left the Staffordshire business entirely in the hands of William.

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55 Ibid, William Wyatt to Boulton, 25 Feb. 1773

Samuel's move to Berwick St marked the beginning of a new, more independent stage in his career. As well as ceasing to be interested in the family building firm, he also became more independent architecturally of his brother James.

Although he was still to work with James on occasion in London there was never again the close family involvement in one building that there had been at the Pantheon and Beaudesert.

Wyatt's new house was 63 Berwick St, just south of Oxford St. Behind it, with direct access to Oxford St was a large timber yard. Although Wyatt's lease from the Duke of Portland began in 1774 he may have rented the timber yard earlier than that. Some of the Pantheon receipts, for instance, are addressed from Berwick St, although in most of them he gave Newport St as his address. The house was a large one dating from about 1724. It was three storeyed and at least five bays wide. It was exceptionally fine for the area.<sup>56</sup> Wyatt chose it because of the timber yard which provided a perfect base for his timber and building business. That he could afford such a grand house so early in his career shows that he was already prosperous and that his business was

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56 London Survey, XXXI (1963) 233

already well-developed. The site itself had 'capabilities' for development which Wyatt hoped to exploit. In March 1774 he wrote to his ground landlord, the Duke of Portland, discussing the possibility of improvements : 'May it Please Your Grace, Having taken the premises late Mr. Jackman's in Berwick and Oxford Sts, now occupied as a timber yard and hold it under Your Grace for a term of 26 years unexpired I take the liberty of acquainting your Grace that these premises are capable of great improvements which I should be glad to make but on account of the shortness of the term it would be imprudent for me to attempt. I therefore humbly submit your Grace be pleased to enlarge the term so as to enable me to make such improvements by building as the premises are capable of and will permit me the honour of waiting on you to explain this matter I shall in all respects conform to your Grace's pleasure therein.'<sup>57</sup>

This sounds as if he had plans to develop the site of the timber yard as a speculation. Nothing came of his negotiations with the Duke. His lease was not extended and he made few alterations to the house during his tenancy.<sup>58</sup>

Following his establishment at Berwick St his independent

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57 Nottingham Univ. Lib., Portland MSS, PW F 9613, Wyatt to Duke of Portland, 13 March 1774

58 London Survey, XXXI (1963) 233

architectural practice began to flourish. In 1776 came the commissions for two major country houses, Baron Hill and Doddington Hall, together with those for the new cathedral library at Bangor, additions at Soho for Matthew Boulton, the restoration of Amersham church for William Drake and alterations at 15 Park St for Lord Harrowby. This was followed by his employment at Lord Harrowby's new estate at Sandon in Staffordshire, to restore the church, extend the house and build the farm and offices. The following year he succeeded Paine as architect to Lord Petre at Thorndon (Essex), designing the park farm in 1777. That was followed by lodges and the completion of the interior of the house, including the great hall adorned with eighteen scagliola columns. He succeeded James Wyatt as architect to Lord Grey de Wilton at Heaton in the same year, designing the stables and farm buildings there. He also received the commission to design a new facade for the theatre royal in Birmingham and several more country houses, including Herstmonceux Place in Sussex for Hare Naylor.

His architectural career continued to be equally active until the end of his life. He never retired. The peak of his career was the 1790s, when about sixteen country houses were rising to his designs in different parts of the country, as well as works in London, subsidiary estate cottages and

farms and many public buildings including the harbour buildings at Ramsgate. His finest works date from that decade and include the painted saloon at Doddington Hall, the facade of Trinity House, the Great Barn at Holkham and Dungeness Lighthouse.

The year 1776, as well as being the year in which his private architectural practice suddenly flourished, was also the time when his career as an official architect and builder began. In that year he was granted the principal carpentry contract at Somerset House by Sir William Chambers. This was the first in a series of public employments. It was followed in 1779 by the carpentry contract for the chapel at Greenwich Hospital. In 1780 he received the carpentry contract from the Office of Works at the Palace of Westminster and the post of carpenter to the victualling office. His major public appointments were not attained until the 1790s. Between 1792 and 1794 he became clerk of works to Chelsea Hospital, surveyor to the Mint, surveyor to Trinity House, and Engineer and Surveyor to Ramsgate Harbour. The 1790s therefore marked the peak of his official career as well as his private architectural practice.

It was well that these posts did not become vacant in the 1780s for he would have had little time to devote to them. His architectural and building practice had continued to expand throughout the 1780s, with his 'grand design' for Tatton,

the evolution of his own type of villa plan at Delamere, Coton and Somerley, and the beginning of his work for T. W. Coke in Norfolk which was to include nearly fifty buildings. His dominating interest in the 1780s, however, was the Albion Mill. This was the first steam flour mill and the most important industrial building of the day. It was entirely Wyatt's conception and occupied a great deal of his time. He bought the site, formed the company, designed the mill and built it. He managed it during its shortlived period of production, launching out into the coal and corn trades to supply the mill.<sup>59</sup> After the mill was destroyed by fire he was responsible for its disposal. When finally, his attempts to sell the site to the government having failed and the mill company being liquidated, he was left in sole ownership of the site, he used it as a timber yard.

The Albion Mill scheme included a house for himself on the corner of Blackfriars Bridge with a splendid view over the river to the spires of the City and the dome of St Paul's. He moved into this house following its completion in 1788. He ceased then to live at Berwick St which became solely the

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59 London Directories c1783-c1793 e.g. Lowndes & Kent. List Wyatt as a coal merchant.

office whence his architectural and building business was run. His pupils lived there and exhibited designs at the Royal Academy from that address. These pupils formed his drawing office under the direction of his chief office clerk, John Harvey. Harvey probably came to London with Wyatt from Staffordshire in 1774. In a letter of 1788, for instance, Wyatt referred to a visit of Harvey to Stafford to see his friends<sup>60</sup> which implies that that was his home town.

Wyatt's pupils included Harvey's sons, John (Junior) and Thomas, William Vierpyl, Wyatt's nephews, Lewis and Jeffry, and a young man called 'Mr Moreton' who, after working as a draughtsman under Wyatt, became a tutor to Matthew Boulton's son. There were no doubt many others whose names are not recorded either in the Royal Academy catalogues or in Wyatt's correspondence. As well as his drawing office Wyatt also had a permanent staff of slaters and carpenters under a foreman called William Oldroyd. The total number of people employed by him was between twenty and thirty. At the time of the famous Westminster election in 1796 Wyatt told Farington that he had formerly carried 30 votes 'and thought he could now carry 20. He expressed a willingness to vote for Fox and Sir Alan Gardner.'<sup>61</sup> This is no doubt a reasonable indication of

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60 A.O., Wyatt to Boulton, 11 May 1788

61 Farington, 639, 27 May 1796

the number of his employees.

Apart from his own staff of builders he invariably employed the most prominent independent London craftsmen on his buildings. These included Burgstrom the plumber, Joseph Rose II the stuccoist, Joseph Allcott the maker of scagliola, John Devall the mason, Biagio Rebecca the decorative painter and either John Mackell or Messrs Underwood and Ball the ironworkers.

As well as his building yard at Berwick St he had another yard, between 1782 and 1794 at St Catherine's Dock.<sup>62</sup> In these he kept large stocks of timber and slate from Penrhyn both for his own use and to supply other architects and builders. This building business seems to have been the most profitable of his activities. An indication of its scale is given by the fact that he was able to carry a debt of £30,000 from 1796 to 1807 when he was not paid for any of his carpentry at the office of works owing to James Wyatt's administrative incompetence.

Following his appointment as clerk of works to Chelsea Hospital, Wyatt also had the official house of the clerk of works there in addition to Berwick St and Albion Mill House.

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62 London Directories 1782-1794

Unlike most of his architectural contemporaries, including Chambers, Holland, Soane, Mylne and James Wyatt, Samuel did not have a country house or villa. The house at Chelsea must have fulfilled this need for it was still in the country outside London.

In 1803 he gave up the house in Berwick St.<sup>63</sup> It was converted into two separate dwellings. The building business was then transferred to a new yard on the site of the Albion Mill. This was larger than both his old yards put together and superseded them. At the same time his architectural office was transferred to Surrey St, off the Strand. This must have been more convenient than Berwick St for it was on the route between Chelsea and Blackfriars.

At the time of the move to Surrey St John Harvey was succeeded as Wyatt's chief clerk by Noah Siddons.<sup>64</sup> Siddons was one of Wyatt's oldest employees. Originally a carpenter he had proved himself a reliable draughtsman and businessman. In 1783, for instance, he was one of the witnesses of Wyatt's

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63 London Survey, XXXI (1963) 233

64 Herts.R.O., Cowper MSS and Essex R.O., Petre MSS contain letters from Siddons as Wyatt's 'chief clerk'.

will. He came from Darley Dale in Derbyshire<sup>65</sup> and so may have worked under Wyatt at Kedleston and come on to London in his employ. Several of Wyatt's employees came to London with him from the midlands, including John Harvey and Samuel Snelson, a carpenter who had first worked for Wyatt at Beaudesert. In about 1802 John Harvey set up independently as an architect and surveyor at 62 Berwick St. His career, however, was damaged by his inability to deal satisfactorily with the failing foundations of the Millbank Penitentiary in 1813.<sup>66</sup>

Although a distinguished architect Wyatt never became a member of the Royal Academy or the Society of Architects.<sup>67</sup> He never exhibited at the Royal Academy in person. His pupils, however, exhibited frequently and John Harvey submitted Wyatt's elevation for Trinity House to the Royal Academy in 1794.<sup>68</sup> Among Wyatt's contemporaries Henry Holland also never became a member of the Royal Academy nor exhibited there. In Holland's

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65 P.R.O., PROB.11. 1457. 162, Wyatt's will, 3 Aug. 1783

66 Colvin 271

67 An indication of Wyatt's architectural reputation is given by the number of cases where he took part in commissions of enquiry into other architects' work, e.g. Somerset House (Chambers) 1790, Lord Thurlow's house at Dulwich (Holland) 1793, Chelmsford Barracks 1806.

68 R.A. Catalogue 1794, 557

case this was a result of personal antipathy towards Sir William Chambers. This cannot have been the reason in Wyatt's case for he was beholden to Chambers for the carpentry contract at Somerset House and seems to have been on good terms with him. The fact that he allowed his pupils to exhibit suggests that no personal antipathy was involved. It was possibly modesty that caused him not to exhibit, or even lack of interest. All the evidence suggests that he found the company of engineers and scientists more congenial than that of his fellow architects and artists. His circle of personal friends included few artists but a number of industrialists and inventors, including Matthew Boulton, James Watt, Thomas Williams, the discoverer of a new method of smelting copper, and Sir John Call, the military engineer. That he moved more in scientific and engineering circles than in artistic ones is suggested by the societies of which he was a member. On 29 May 1781 he was elected to the Smeatonian Society of Civil Engineers.<sup>69</sup> Like the Architects' Club this was an exclusive dining club and it included the most prominent members of the profession. That Wyatt should have joined this and not the Architects' Club is a striking indication of his engineering

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69 Minutes of Smeatonian Soc. (Inf. Professor A. W. Skempton)

inclinations. On 9 April 1788 he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society of Arts. He was proposed for membership by Matthew Boulton and Thomas and John Williams. Wyatt continued his membership of the Royal Society until the end of his life.<sup>70</sup> This also is a sign of his interest in industrial progress and mechanical inventions. Although not a member, he frequently dined with the Lunar Society in Birmingham at Matthew Boulton's invitation.<sup>71</sup> There he would have met all the leading industrialists, inventors and scientists of the midlands, including Josiah Wedgwood and Joseph Priestly.

It is difficult to differentiate between Wyatt's architectural and engineering careers because at this period the latter was only just beginning to emerge as an independent profession. The emergence of the civil engineer as a respectable profession in its own right was largely due to the personal achievement of John Smeaton. Wyatt was acquainted with Smeaton and came into contact with him on several occasions. For instance, Smeaton was asked by the Victualling Office for his opinion on Wyatt's proposals to install steam engines in the victualling yards. Wyatt was greatly influenced by

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70 Minutes of R.S.A. (Inf. Professor A. W. Skempton)

71 A.O., Boulton to Wyatt, 12 July 1791

Smeaton's designs for lighthouses, particularly at Spurn and Eddystone. Wyatt's own lighthouse designs at Dungeness and Longships are closely based on Smeaton's. Finally Wyatt succeeded Smeaton as engineer to Ramsgate Harbour in 1793.

Wyatt's engineering interests are expressed in many of his buildings. For instance, he invented various unusual building techniques, including flush slate cladding as an external wall covering, and the sympathetic hinge for double doors. He was greatly interested in the structural uses of cast iron. At Trinity House, for instance, the staircase was supported on iron cantilevers. At Dungeness the whole of the lighthouse lantern was constructed of iron, including the roof and chimney. At Heaton House, when he reconstructed the wings c1790, he introduced foundations formed of brick tunnel vaults resting on iron girders. This is the earliest known example of this type of construction. His interest in iron construction is also expressed in his attempt to evolve a form of fire-proof construction. His first idea was to plate an ordinary timber structure with iron sheets. This led to a completely original scheme of construction with columns and groin vaults entirely of iron. He patented this, together with a proposal for building iron bridges, in 1800. He produced a plan for rebuilding the Albion Mill in iron and a design for an iron London Bridge, but these were not executed.

His major engineering achievements were the Albion Mill and his lighthouses. The Albion Mill was of great originality with its sunken foundation raft and almost free-standing internal structure. The lighthouses were also a considerable engineering achievement. Those at Dungeness and Flamborough Head were both on the largest scale and incorporated ideas devised by Smeaton at Spurn. The lighthouse at Longships was constructed of dove-tailed masonry as at Smeaton's Eddystone. The lighthouse at Ramsgate was one of the first to incorporate a revolving light.

As well as these Wyatt produced many engineering schemes which were not executed, including a plan for new London docks at the Isle of Dogs and a plan for a dry dock at Ramsgate. His proposals for the first tunnel under the Thames from Tilbury to Gravesend were accepted but work was abandoned before anything positive was achieved.<sup>72</sup>

In 1780 Samuel's elder brother William died. He left a daughter called Louisa Ann, only four years old. Samuel, who had no children of his own, adopted her and brought her up.<sup>73</sup> Her name often appears in Wyatt's letters to Boulton. Louisa

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72 For Wyatt's engineering projects see Chapters III and VI

73 Family Bible (Inf. Derek Linstrum)

frequently stayed at Soho with the Boultons. She was the same age as Miss Boulton and the two were friends. In 1798 she married the Rev. Thomas Cobb of Lydd.<sup>73</sup> He later became rector of Ightham and the two settled in Kent. This explains Wyatt's employment at several houses in that area, including Ightham Court and the new rectory at Wrotham. After Thomas Cobb's death Louisa married Admiral Robert Lambert.<sup>73</sup>

Although after 1774 Wyatt lived entirely in London he spent a considerable amount of time travelling around, supervising the buildings rising to his design in various parts of the country. This involved at least one visit of about two weeks to the north midlands every year and jaunts to Holkham of the same extent. An incomplete picture of his peregrinations in 1783 and 1784 can be derived from the frequent letters to Boulton at that time. On 18 January 1783 he wrote that he was going to Portsmouth in the morning on victualling office business and also in connection with the new commissioner's house. On 26 March he said that he had been in Portsmouth for some time, and this probably refers to a second visit. On 26 April he announced that he was going to Holkham for about a week. On 8 July he wrote from Heaton Hall to explain his delay in arriving at Soho; it was caused by several unexpected visits to places on his way north. Between Heaton and Soho he hoped to visit Rode Hall in Cheshire and Sandon Hall in Stafford-

shire. In 1784 there is the same pattern, beginning in January with a visit to Portsmouth, then a journey to the midlands stopping at Coton House (Warwickshire) and Soho. At the end of November and beginning of December he stayed for two weeks in Cheshire, spending some time at both Winnington Hall and Tatton Park.<sup>74</sup> This illustrates how much time an eighteenth-century architect spent in travelling.

From his surviving correspondence and contemporary references there emerges a picture of Wyatt's character but not a very clear one. He was essentially a cheerful and optimistic man. Even the endless bureaucratic procrastination and continuous disappointments in his attempt to rebuild the Albion Mill after the fire do not seem to have depressed him unduly. His optimism in business matters and his unquestioning faith in the benefits of new techniques and materials seem almost naive. It was, however, typical of his generation rather than his person. It is illustrated, for example, in Lord Penrhyn's hope that the steam engine would lead to the abolition of slavery in the West Indies. The obverse effect of industrial development and scientific discovery was not to become apparent until much later. Wyatt was a good and loyal friend.

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74 A.C., Wyatt to Boulton 1783-4

This emerges particularly in his letters to Boulton. These letters also betray a sense of humour. As a result of his amiable character he seems to have been on good terms with his architectural contemporaries. There is no record of a serious quarrel between Wyatt and another architect like that between Soane and Chambers or between Dance and Holland. Repton who quarrelled so furiously with Nash was on the best of terms with Wyatt. In his Red Books he always refers to 'my friend Mr S. Wyatt' and remarks on his 'ingenious' designs and the 'elegant simplicity' of his buildings.

Wyatt's relations with his patrons also seem to have been singularly happy. Sir Thomas Broughton, for instance, considered it 'one of the happiest circumstances' that he employed 'an architect who whilst he has paid every proper regard to elegance and embellishment has in no respect neglected the important considerations of solidity, utility and convenience.'<sup>75</sup> Wyatt considered Thomas Coke of Holkham a close friend and thought highly of him.<sup>76</sup> He was also on terms of intimacy with the Marquess Cornwallis. When the latter was appointed Commander-in-Chief in Ireland Wyatt went in person to say goodbye to him.<sup>77</sup>

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75 G. Richardson, New Vitruvius Britannicus, I (1802) 18

76 Farington, 639, Friday 27 May 1796

77 A.O., Wyatt to Boulton

This contrasts with James Wyatt who, although intimate with some of his clients, was on far from good professional terms with many of them. This is illustrated in William Windham's complaints and Beckford's withering descriptions of his unsatisfactory behaviour.<sup>78</sup> Samuel was, of course, a much more efficient architect and a more competent administrator than James. He did not suffer from the indolence and carelessness that marred the careers of both James and his brother Joseph.

Wyatt was also an astute businessman. In the Hardwicke correspondence concerning his alterations to 3 St James Square he is described as being 'as cunning as a fox'. There is no doubt that he amassed a considerable fortune despite the failure of the Albion Mill project. Farington, for example, muddled him with the rich builder George Wyatt whose fortune passed to Soane.<sup>79</sup> It is clear from his correspondence with Boulton that to be rich was one of his ambitions. In 1785 he wrote : 'It is not an easy matter to obtain reputation and get rich at the same time.'<sup>80</sup>

In his will drawn up in 1783 he does not give any details

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78 A. Dale, James Wyatt (1958) 199

79 Farington, 233, Friday 10 Oct. 1794

80 R.L., Boulton & Watt Coll., Box 36, Wyatt to Boulton

about his possessions. It was witnessed by two of his employees, Noah Siddon and Joseph Safwell, and his friend James Tomkinson of Dorfold Hall, Cheshire. In it he directed that all his 'just debts' should be paid 'as soon as conveniently may be' after his death. He left all his 'singular real and leasehold estate' together with his 'goods, chattels and personal estate' to his 'dear and affectionate wife Ann Wyatt'.<sup>81</sup> His son-in-law Thomas Cobb acted as his executor.

Wyatt enjoyed good health throughout his life and was fully active until his death. The burning of the Albion Mill was a great blow. In 1796 Farington recorded that 'Samuel Wyatt is about 59 years old [he was in fact 58]. He had remarkable strong eye-sight but never has been able to work without glasses since within 20 days after the time when the Albion Mills were burnt. The shock he felt at that time had so great an effect on his nerves.'<sup>82</sup> The traumatic effect of the mill fire is also expressed in his letters to Boulton which show that it affected him as would the death of a friend or near relation. It was a month before he could bring himself to reply to Boulton's first letter of sympathy. Then he

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81 P.R.O., PROB. 11. 1457. 162, Wyatt's will, 3 Aug. 1783

82 Farington, 11, Sunday 28 July 1793

wrote : 'Owing to the great variety of objects that occupy my mind every day I am probably diverted from reflecting so much upon the chaos of our poor mill which alas is no more - yet I cannot help declaring that at Times I am ready to sink with the loss of it.'<sup>83</sup> Towards the end of his life he was troubled on occasions by gout. In April 1805 he excused himself for not going to Handsworth to see Boulton and Watt on the grounds that he was suffering from a 'fit of gout'.<sup>84</sup> On the whole, however, he enjoyed good health and remained remarkably active.

The years between 1800 and 1807 saw no relaxation in his activity. There was a change in his architectural style after about 1800. His buildings became plainer and more monumental, foreshadowing the rather anonymous grandeur of so many buildings in the second and third decades of the nineteenth century. Despite his age, therefore, there was no sign that his work was becoming old-fashioned. His move to Chelsea may have been undertaken in a spirit of retirement but as it turned out this was far from the case. He continued designing until his death. When he died he left a number of works not

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83 A.O., Wyatt to Boulton, 19 April 1791

84 Ibid, Wyatt to Boulton, 27 April 1805

executed or incomplete, such as the headmaster's house at Rugby School, and Tatton, Hackwood and Panshanger among his country houses. He literally died in his boots. Farington inevitably noted the event in his diary : 'Samuel Wyatt, brother to James Wyatt, was very well on Saturday last and with his workmen in his state yard. On Sunday he was to have gone out of town to the Honble. Mr. Cowper's [Digswell, Hertfordshire] for whom he was building. He was pulling on his boots when he was suddenly struck with an appoplexy and died that evening. He was married but had no children and is supposed to have been near seventy years old.'<sup>85</sup>

Wyatt died in his house at Chelsea and was buried in the graveyard of the Royal Hospital under a simple white marble slab inscribed : 'Samuel Wyatt Architect of London and Clerk of the Works to this Hospital. Born at Blackbrook in Staffordshire the Eighth day of September 1737. Died February 8 1807 Aged 70 years.' On his death his building business was wound up. The Victualling Office asked Mrs Wyatt if she was going to continue her husband's business but she replied that she was not.<sup>86</sup> A lot of it passed to his nephew Jeffry,

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85 Farington, 3593, Friday 13 Feb. 1807

86 P.R.C., ADM 111/182, Victualling Office Minutes, 10 Feb. 1807

including the Victualling Office and Westminster Palace carpentry contracts. Many of Wyatt's builders also passed into Jeffry's employment. William Jarrard, 'the blunt fellow' who had executed Wyatt's designs at Soho, for instance, was taken on by Jeffry and became clerk of works at Dinton and Chatsworth.<sup>87</sup> The remnants of his architectural practice also passed to his nephews. Jeffry, for instance, was consulted over Tatton and the stables at Doddington. In both cases his plans were unrealistic, involving the demolition of part of his uncle's work, and were not accepted. Lewis completed Tatton and also Hackwood to his own designs.<sup>88</sup>

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87 D. Linstrum, Sir Jeffry Wyatville (1972) 150

88 Tatton, Egerton MSS. Designs for completing Tatton by Jeffry & Lewis Wyatt. Chester R.O., Delves Broughton MSS, DDB/Q3, plan for stables by J. Wyatville.

CHAPTER II

RELATIONS BETWEEN JAMES AND SAMUEL WYATT

and

THE WYATT STYLE

The central problem of Wyatt's career is the degree of architectural connection between him and his more famous younger brother James. Their relationship falls into two periods, before and after 1774. In that year they both set up independently in London. Between about 1769 and 1774 they were living for much of the time under the same roof. In Staffordshire both presumably stayed in the old family home at Blackbrook. In London they are known to have stayed with their elder brother John in Newport St. They were therefore obviously in a position to work closely together. This was the crucial period following the return of James from Italy when the Wyatt style was evolved. The great problem is which of them was responsible for the new style and the rapid growth of their architectural practices. Was this entirely due to James as is usually thought? Can Samuel have contributed more than the building technique which made possible the important early Wyatt buildings? Unfortunately the stylistic evidence is too ambiguous and there is not enough documentary evidence to answer these questions conclusively. It is possible to argue, however, that both Wyatts were involved in the evolution of the Wyatt style. While undoubtedly James was the dominant architectural force there are indications that Samuel also con-

tributed stylistically.

The problem of the Wyatt relationship after 1774 is much more clear-cut. It can be convincingly deduced that the two brothers were largely independent of each other, both as architects and builders. In the past that has been doubted. Some have thought that Samuel was not an independent architect but that he borrowed his designs from James. The most general view is that the two brothers formed a family partnership throughout their careers with James acting as architect and Samuel as builder. This was not the case. The main reason for confusion after 1774 is the close similarity between their architectural styles, which makes it difficult to differentiate between their buildings. Even contemporaries were muddled about the Wyatts. Farington, for instance, thought that Samuel designed Heaton when in fact James Wyatt's design for the house was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1772. Neale's Seats often confusedly attributes houses designed by Samuel to James and vice versa. Most writers confined their attributions to 'Wyatt' which was safe but unhelpful, since there were about twenty architect members of the family in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth. The confusion between James and Samuel is only part of a wider problem involving other members of the family. William Wyatt, for instance, was also connected with his younger brothers Samuel and James. William

was the first of them to practise as an architect. He designed many of the buildings built by the family in Staffordshire, such as Soho Works and Stafford Infirmary. In the past the design of the latter has been wrongly attributed to William's father, Benjamin Wyatt I. Even the Wyatt family bible is sometimes mistaken. It confuses Samuel Wyatt of Blackbrook with his cousin and contemporary, Samuel Wyatt of Burton-on-Trent. This other Samuel was born at Burton in 1736 and died in 1807. The family bible records that he was the clerk of works to Chelsea Hospital when there is absolutely no doubt that Samuel Wyatt of Blackbrook held this position.<sup>1</sup> Despite all this confusion it can be confidently stated that although James and Samuel were closely connected up to about 1774, after that they were almost entirely independent of each other.

It was after James Wyatt's return from Venice and Rome that the Wyatt style evolved (see Chapter I, pp25-7), a style that was to be expressed immediately in the Pantheon and a group of buildings in Staffordshire, of which Beaudesert was the most important. That the creation of the Wyatt style followed the

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<sup>1</sup> Wyatt's tomb at Chelsea records that he was born at Blackbrook in 1737.

reunion of the three brothers in 1796 and was a product of the resulting exchange of ideas, is suggested by the appearance of James Wyatt's first house, Gaddesdon Place. This was begun in 1768, probably before his return to Staffordshire.<sup>2</sup> Externally there is nothing that foreshadows the mature Wyatt style. It is a typical anglo-palladian country house with flanking pavilions and a heavy central portico. On the other hand, the designs for the interior decoration are pure Wyatt.<sup>3</sup> They may date from after 1768 for the house was not completed until 1773.<sup>4</sup> It was quite common for the designs for interior decoration to be made after the plan and elevation. For example, at Doddington Hall in Cheshire Samuel Wyatt did not design the saloon until the 1790s though the exterior was designed in 1776. Judging from Gaddesdon, therefore, James did not come back from Italy with his future style already formulated. It was only evolved after he had re-joined his family in Staffordshire.

The new style was largely the creation of James; he

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2 Date scratched on a wall of the house.

3 John Harris, Catalogue of British Drawings in American Collections (Gregg, New Jersey 1972) 297

4 N. Pevsner, Hertfordshire (1953) 101

signed the designs and exhibited them at the Royal Academy, but William and Samuel were also involved. William's contribution was mainly practical. He was the member of the family with the greatest business experience. At the Pantheon, for instance, he acted as treasurer to the venture.<sup>5</sup> He also supervised the construction of the houses in Staffordshire designed at this time by James Wyatt. William may have contributed a little stylistically. At Soho he had introduced on the 'back front' of the factory a semi-circular bow with dome that was to be a hallmark of the work of both James and Samuel Wyatt. The conical roof and little octagonal cupola over the gatehouse at Soho was to be frequently copied by Samuel in his stable blocks. On the whole, however, Williams's buildings are dull and heavy, and there is little in them that foreshadows the later designs of James and Samuel.

Samuel Wyatt's contribution to the Wyatt style is more important than that of William and less easy to define. It was almost certainly through his influence that James was able to evolve the new style. Samuel achieved this by introducing James to Kedleston. There is no record of James visiting Kedleston, but it is reasonable to assume that Samuel would

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5 London Survey, XXXI (1963) 271

have shown him the house where he had been employed for so long. Besides the completed building Samuel must also have shown James the unexecuted designs for Kedleston by Paine. Undoubtedly knowledge of this house was responsible for the transformation from the old-fashioned exterior of Gaddesdon Place to the elegant Adamesque designs in the fully-fledged Wyatt manner.

All the buildings designed by James Wyatt between 1769 and 1772 are in a delicate and refined version of Adam's style. They show the direct influence of Kedleston. The Pantheon interior was inspired partly by the domed saloon at Kedleston, the façade of Heaton House is based partly on Paine's and partly on Adam's designs for the south front at Kedleston, and the dining rooms at Beaudesert and Heaton both had semi-circular sideboard apses derived from that in the dining room at Kedleston. The key design of this period is the elevation for an unidentified house in the R.I.B.A. Drawings Collection.<sup>6</sup> It is signed by James Wyatt and dated 1771. It is very closely based on Adam's south front at Kedleston. Wyatt's chief alterations are the elimination of

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6 R.I.B.A. Drawings Collection K8/12

the rusticated basement storey and the projection of the central domed section as in Paine's unexecuted design for Kedleston. Otherwise the Wyatt design is very similar to Adam's. The window surrounds of the three flanking bays on either side are identical, and so is the combination of attached giant Corinthian columns with a frieze of swags and paterae. The alternating square and round-headed niches with statues in the bow derive from those in the north portico at Kedleston. No wonder Adam accused James Wyatt of plagiarism.

The R.I.B.A. design marks an intermediary stage in the evolution of James Wyatt's elevation for Heaton House. The trend away from the monumental is carried a stage further at Heaton. There the scale of the central 'rotunda' is reduced and windows substituted for niches. The general form of the Heaton facade was based on Paine's garden front for Kedleston, not on Adam's. The similarities between the two designs have been carefully analysed by Sir John Summerson. Both have central blocks with domed bows flanked by Venetian windows in blank arches, a subsidiary order in the connecting links and wings in which the Venetian windows are echoed.<sup>7</sup>

XXVIIA

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7 J. Summerson, 'The Classical Country House in 18th cent. England', Journal of the RSA, July 1959, 564-6

The direct influence of Kedleston on James Wyatt's early buildings must have been due to Samuel, even if the working up into different designs of ideas from Kedleston was entirely the work of James. Samuel had lived at Kedleston from about 1759 to 1768, he had been clerk of works there executing Adam's designs, and the house obviously must have meant a great deal to him. The craftsmen employed in the most important early Wyatt buildings, particularly Beaudesert and the Pantheon, were the same as those who had worked under Samuel at Kedleston. This emphasises that Samuel was the link between Kedleston and James Wyatt. That Samuel was in a position to play a positive role in the evolution of the new style is suggested by the fact that he was already interested in architecture. He had subscribed to Adam's Ruins at Spalato in 1764, and in 1766 he had designed various minor features at Kedleston, such as the pedestal for a lion before the south front, which is an elegant design indistinguishable from Adam's work. At the time of James Wyatt's return he was building additions at Blithfield to his own design. These, although lacking the assuredness of his later designs, are in a sparse Adamesque vein. There is therefore circumstantial evidence that Samuel contributed to the evolution of the Wyatt style in 1769 and 1770. On the other hand his role was definitely subsidiary to that of his brother. James was a far finer draughtsman, and he certainly

made the designs for such buildings as Hagley Hall, the Pantheon and Beaudesert; where they survive the designs are signed by him.

Whatever the respective stylistic contributions of the three Wyatts to the buildings constructed between 1769 and 1774, there is no doubt that they were working very closely together in these five years. They were all involved in the Pantheon project and a group of buildings in Staffordshire. James designed these and William and Samuel built them. A detailed discussion of some of them throws more light on the relations between the Wyatts at this time.

The first scheme in which the three brothers were involved together was the Pantheon in Oxford St, London. The owner of the site and promoter of the Pantheon was Philip Elias Turst. He formed a company of shareholders to build a place of winter entertainment on his land in Oxford St. He must have been responsible for the general lines of the development and the choice of architect as plans were drawn up before there were any other shareholders.<sup>8</sup> He obtained an estimate of the cost of the venture through 'consulting with his friends and a Surveyor on several plans for such a building'.

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<sup>8</sup> London Survey, XXI (1963) 270

It has been suggested that the surveyor may have been James 'Athenian' Stuart who occupied a house owned by Turst on the site of the Pantheon from 1764 to 1768.<sup>9</sup> Either the friends or Stuart must have introduced Turst to the Wyatts. It is probable that it was Stuart who knew Samuel Wyatt from Kedleston, Blithfield and Shugborough. Stuart may have recommended Samuel as a good builder who in turn may have suggested his brother James as the architect. If this was the case the Pantheon commission, which brought the Wyatts immediate fame and a shower of architectural commissions, was obtained for them by Samuel Wyatt.

Work on the site began in June with the demolition of the old houses. The foundations were in hand in July and the whole building was completed by the end of 1771. It was opened on 27 January 1772.<sup>10</sup> While the design of the building was certainly James Wyatt's, Samuel's contribution should not be underestimated. The brothers worked in close association. Bartoli, who provided scagliola, was later to refer to them in the plural as 'architects of the Pantheon'.<sup>11</sup> A

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9 Ibid, 270

10 Ibid, 273

11 P.R.O., ADM 65. 106, Bartoli to Secretary of Greenwich Hospital, Feb. 1783

folio of accounts for the Pantheon is included in Samuel Wyatt's portrait by L. F. Abbott painted in about 1775. This shows that he was proud of his share in the Pantheon project.

Samuel also had a copy of the plans in his own possession and at one stage was showing them around asking for other people's opinions. This implies that he had a direct personal interest in them. Robert Adam wrote to Lord Scarsdale in 1769 : 'I had a visite from Mr. Wyatt who was extremely polite and showed me the plan of the new Ranelagh. We had no conversation about Kedleston.'<sup>12</sup>

The dome of the rotunda, a virtuoso performance in timber construction could only have been possible as a result of Samuel's experience in the domed Saloon at Kedleston. This Saloon was obviously a source for the feature, as well as the dome of the Pantheon in Rome. The coffering of the dome, derived directly from the Pantheon, and the triangular piers supporting it, based on those in St Peter's, reflect James Wyatt's studies of Roman buildings. Many other features, however, were derived directly from Kedleston. The apses with stoves in the corners are based on those in the Saloon there.

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12 Kedleston, Curzon MSS, 3/102, R. Adam to Lord Scarsdale, 22 Dec. 1769. The reference to Wyatt's politeness is to counter an impression given by Adam in an earlier letter (7 Dec. 1769) that Wyatt was becoming stand-offish.

Behind the side colonnades were niches alternately round and square-headed, like Adam's in the north portico. The aedicules containing statues were copies from the architraves of the north front windows, and the north and south apses of Wyatt's Pantheon, which had diagonal coffering with rosettes, derived from the apses in the Kedleston Saloon. The circular Card Room at the Pantheon with its four corner niches was identical in plan to Adam's Saloon.

The team of brilliant craftsmen who contributed so much to the character of the interior had all worked under Samuel at Kedleston. They included Joseph Rose II, Biagio Rebecca, Bartoli and Stretzle<sup>13</sup> who built the organ.

Without his brother's contribution James Wyatt's success at the Pantheon would not have been possible. That the Wyatts obtained the Pantheon commission through Samuel is further suggested by the close association that already existed between him and Turst in June 1769 when building began. Samuel was a witness to twenty-four of the twenty-five surviving receipts for shares sold then. In them he describes himself variously as 'builder', 'architect' and 'gentleman'.<sup>14</sup>

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13 This is sometimes transcribed as Snetzler.

14 London Survey, XXXI (1963) 271

The Pantheon was a great success both architecturally and financially. The shareholders profited considerably. It is not known whether Samuel had any shares and was able to benefit financially but he certainly benefitted architecturally. It made the Wyatts famous overnight and enabled James and Samuel to become fashionable architects. William seems to have been content with his business in the midlands. He died young in 1780, and has therefore been completely overshadowed by his two younger brothers.

Before the successful completion of the Pantheon and resulting fame the Wyatts had received several commissions in Staffordshire. In 1771 James designed an octagonal addition for Assheton Curzon at Hagley Hall near Rugeley.<sup>15</sup> It was built by William and Samuel Wyatt.<sup>16</sup> Like the Pantheon this was a commission that was probably obtained for the Wyatts through Samuel. Mr Curzon was the brother of Lord Scarsdale so he would have known Samuel through Kedleston. The additions at Hagley almost certainly led to James Wyatt's employment at

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15 He exhibited a ceiling design for Hagley at the R.A. in 1771.

16 Staffs. R.O., Paget MSS, D603/F1642, Beaudesert Accounts, Feb. 1771. These include refs. to bringing tools from 'Mr. Curzon's building'.

Heaton House, near Manchester. Sir Thomas Egerton of Heaton was a first cousin of Mr Curzon of Hagley. Their mothers were the co-heiresses of Sir Ralph Assheton of Middleton. It is not known whether Samuel and William were involved in building at Heaton, for all the building accounts have disappeared. It is significant, however, that James' employment at Heaton, his most important classical country house, should have been an indirect result of Samuel's connection with Kedleston. The Assheton connection also led to a further country house project. This was Gunton Hall in Norfolk, for Sir Harbord Harbord. His wife was Mary Assheton, the sister of Lady Egerton of Heaton.<sup>17</sup> It is not known exactly when the Wyatts were first employed there. Sir Harbord Harbord was considering alterations to the house as early as 1770. In Spring that year he consulted Robert Mylne about 'his house in the country'.<sup>18</sup> This came to nothing. In the interim he must have seen the new Heaton and immediately asked James Wyatt to design a new wing and offices at Gunton. Both William and Samuel were involved in the building and were still working at Gunton in 1777.<sup>19</sup> The offices were covered with Samuel Wyatt's

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17 E. Baines, History of Lancashire, II (1836) 597

18 A. E. Richardson, ed., Robert Mylne's Diary (1955) 85

19 R.L., Boulton & Watt Coll., Box 36, Wyatt to Boulton,  
18 July 1777

patent slating, making them the earliest known example of this form of construction.<sup>20</sup>

Before this, however, the Wyatts were involved in their most important early country house in Staffordshire. This was Beaudesert. The great Jacobean house was totally reconstructed internally by them between 1771 and 1773 for Lord Paget (cr Earl of Uxbridge 1784).<sup>21</sup> New offices and stables were also built at the same time. Complete building accounts survive which show that William and Samuel were in charge of building. There is no reference to James Wyatt but it is almost certain that he was the architect. Joseph Rose's sketch book includes drawings of stuccowork in the staircase hall and dining room at Beaudesert, done to 'Mr Wyatt's design'.<sup>22</sup> This shows that the dining room ceiling was almost identical to James Wyatt's design for the staircase hall ceiling at Heaton, preserved in the James Wyatt sketch book in the National Library of Ireland.<sup>23</sup> There can be no doubt that both these ceilings were designed by the same man. The interiors at Beaudesert were partly classical and partly gothick. The great hall in

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20 Anon., History of Norfolk, III (1781) 66

21 Staffs. R.O., Paget MSS, D603/F1642. Beaudesert Accounts.

22 Harewood, Lascelles MSS, Joseph Rose Sketch Book.

23 Illus. in T. Clifford & I. Hall, Heaton Hall Bi-Centenary Catalogue (Manchester 1972) 46

particular was gothick with a plaster vaulted ceiling and ogee-headed doors. This made it the first of James Wyatt's gothick designs.

The Beaudesert commission came to the Wyatts through their uncle Samuel who was agent to Lord Paget.<sup>24</sup> As at the Pantheon all the craftsmen employed were the same as those at Kedleston, including John Devall, mason, and Joséph Rose II and Thomas Denston, plasters. Joseph Wyatt was also employed for masonry.<sup>21</sup> The foreman in charge of building was Samuel Snelson, who was one of Samuel Wyatt's employees and was to go with him to London. The references in the accounts to the Wyatts vary from 'Benj. Wyatt and Sons' or 'William Wyatt and Co' to 'Samuel Wyatt's builders'.<sup>21</sup> This was therefore a project in which the whole family was closely involved.

As well as Beaudesert Samuel and William built the town hall in Burton-on-Trent for Lord Paget in 1771.<sup>25</sup> Judging from Buckler's drawing of it in the British Museum the new town hall was designed by James Wyatt.<sup>26</sup> At one end, for

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24 The involvement of two Samuel Wyatts at Beaudesert is confusing. Fortunately the agent is usually called 'Mr. Samuel Wyatt' and the builder simply 'Samuel Wyatt'.

25 Staffs. R.O., Paget MSS, D603/F148 Estate Accounts 1770-1

26 B.M., Add. MSS, 36385, Buckler Drawings XXX, A-CL, 207

instance, was a large Venetian window with reeded bell capitals derived from Adam's Ruins at Spalato. This was a motif never employed by Samuel but used frequently by James.<sup>27</sup> As well as these buildings in Staffordshire Samuel and James worked closely together elsewhere. Samuel, for instance, received the carpentry contract at Canterbury Quadrangle, Christ Church, Oxford which was designed by James Wyatt. This was another example of Bagot patronage of the Wyatts, for the Dean of Christ Church at that time was Lewis Bagot, a brother of Sir William of Blithfield. Work seems to have begun in 1772 but was not completed till about 1784.<sup>28</sup> At the same time Samuel Wyatt executed work to James Wyatt's design at Shardeloes in Buckinghamshire for William Drake. It is not clear when the Wyatts were first employed there, as Samuel's earliest estimate for altering the exterior of the house is not dated. He was first paid for work, however, in 1773 and by 1774 was working at Amersham church for Drake.<sup>29</sup> Samuel Wyatt's first estimate for alterations included refacing the house in Portland stone.<sup>30</sup> This was too expensive and the existing stucco

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27 e.g. at Heaton, Winnington, Blagdon and Badger Hall

28 Oxford, Christ Church MSS, XXXIII b.3. Canterbury account book 1772-91, XXXIII a.1. Accounts for Canterbury Quad. 1783-4

29 Bucks. R.O., Drake MSS, D/DR/S/78 Shardeloes building accounts

30 Ibid, D/DR/S/44

was kept and repaired instead.<sup>30</sup> Samuel Wyatt's estimates refer only to the exterior but the interior of the house was considerably altered to the designs of James Wyatt. In the library, for instance, new bookcases were installed with painted panels above, by Biagio Rebecca, in 1775.<sup>31</sup> The two Wyatts were therefore involved together in this building. The alterations do not seem to have been completed till 1779.<sup>29</sup>

It is clear that James and Samuel Wyatt were closely associated in the early part of their careers. Samuel was involved in building work on many houses that James is known to have designed. Although it seems certain that James was the dominant architectural force in these cases, there is evidence that Samuel Wyatt also contributed stylistically. As well as this close association on so many occasions both James and Samuel were building up their own independent architectural practices at this time. James was involved on his own in a whole series of houses in Ireland. He was also designing and building on his own in England, for example at Fawley Court and Cobham Hall, before 1774. Samuel Wyatt too was increasingly involved in commissions of his own. He had not severed his connections with Kedleston and rebuilt the personage there in 1771. His

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31 John Harris, 'Shardeloes', Connoisseur, CXLVIII (1961)

country house practice was developing, with designs for Dorfold and Tatton in Cheshire and Berechurch in Essex.<sup>32</sup> He was also building for other architects besides James; in 1772, for instance, he built 21 Portman Square to the design of James Adam for William Lock.<sup>33</sup> The parallel growth of their independent building and architectural practices prepared the way for the split up of the brothers in 1774.

The relationship between the Wyatts is much clearer after 1774. In that year James Wyatt married Rachel Lunn and moved into a house of his own in Newman St, London. At the same time he obtained a lease of a plot in Langham Place from Lord Foley, where he began to build a grander house for himself.<sup>34</sup> In 1774 Samuel Wyatt also moved into a house of his own in Berwick St. These moves and the establishment of independent households and drawings offices in London is symptomatic. Both Wyatts now felt that they could manage on their own. After this there is no evidence of any formal professional association between them. The persistent belief that James frequently made designs which Samuel executed is quite unfounded.

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32 See Chapter IV

33 R.I.B.A. Drawings Coll., 1971 30, James Adam to William Lock, 22 Sept. 1772

34 A. Dale, James Wyatt (1956) 15-16

Samuel built a few houses in London to James' design after 1774,<sup>35</sup> but there is no evidence that they were jointly involved on any country houses, after that date, apart from Shardeloes and Gunton where work had already begun. In fact for most of their careers both James and Samuel were completely independent architects and builders. James had his own building yard in the area now covered by Regent's Park.<sup>36</sup> As well as executing his own designs he also, on occasion, executed those of other architects. For example, he built the office wing at Strawberry Hill to the design of James Essex<sup>37</sup> and the house at Killerton (Devon) to John Johnson's design.<sup>38</sup> Samuel also executed buildings to the designs of other architects. He built Ashted Park (Surrey) to Bonomi's design<sup>40</sup> and executed patent slating at Martin's Bank in Lombard St to Dance's design.<sup>41</sup>

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35 Alterations at 16 Grosvenor Sq. for William Drake 1788 [Bucks. R.O., Drake MSS, D/DR/S/787]. New house at 11 Portman Sq. for Lord Irwin 1777 [Stafford, Salt Lib. M96.S.388/37, Samuel to James Wyatt, 15 July 1777]

36 Inf. Mrs Frances Ferguson

37 Colvin, 729

38 R.I.B.A. Drawings Coll. Plans by another architect, probably Johnson, inscribed 'Apl. 15 1775. This plan I agree to execute according to my agreement. James Wyatt'

40 F. E. Paget, Some Records of the Ashted Estate (1873) 169

41 D. Stroud, George Dance, Architect (1971) 160

(There is no Note 39)

Most of the country houses which are reputed to have been the joint works of James and Samuel Wyatt represent compromise attributions to reconcile conflicting statements, particularly of early nineteenth-century topographical writers. Where one source states that a building is by Samuel Wyatt and another James Wyatt the easiest solution is to say it was by both. Some of these joint attributions are based simply on a misunderstanding. For example it is frequently stated that Thirkleby Hall, which was built for Sir Thomas Frankland in the North Riding of Yorkshire between 1784 and 1787, was by James and Samuel Wyatt. The house was in fact entirely the work of James Wyatt. There is no evidence that Samuel was in any way connected with it. His association with Thirkleby is based on a misreading of a note by Sir Thomas Frankland to the effect that a certain type of sash fastener, which he had seen in William Weddell's London house, was obtainable from Samuel Wyatt.<sup>42</sup> This suggests either that Samuel built Weddell's house or that he had invented a special type of sash fastener. By no stretch of the imagination can it be accepted as sufficient grounds for attributing the design of Thirkleby to him. In some cases there is no ground at all for joint

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42 Leeds, Yorkshire Archaeological Soc. Lib., Payne-Gallwey Coll., PD94, Box 2, Sir Thomas Frankland's notebook

attributions. The statement that James assisted Samuel at the Albion Mill, for instance, is an example of this.<sup>43</sup> This is one of Samuel's best documented buildings. Complete plans, buildings accounts and connected correspondence survive. These contain not one reference to James and prove beyond doubt that Samuel alone was responsible for the design and construction of the mill. James Wyatt was not even a shareholder in the Albion Mill Company.

Another source of confusion is the fact that James and Samuel often worked on the same buildings at different times independently of each other. Naturally this has created the impression that they worked together. Heaton House, near Manchester, is an example of this. The new house was designed by James Wyatt in 1772 and completed by 1776. In 1777, for some unknown reason, James was superseded by Samuel who designed the stables and farm buildings. There is conclusive evidence that the stables were built in 1777.<sup>44</sup> Stylistically these are undoubtedly by Samuel. They are almost identical to his stables at Penrhyn, Tatton, Somerley and an unexecuted design for storehouses at Ramsgate Harbour. Samuel was again employed

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43 e.g. APSD, Dale 52, Colvin 734

44 The bell is dated 1777. An inventory of lost plans for Heaton includes the design for the stables and dates it 1777.

at Heaton in 1783 and in about 1790 when he considerably altered the house. He substituted windows for James Wyatt's niches behind the colonnades on the south front. He also created a large Music Room in the east wing.<sup>45</sup> In the case of Winnington Hall (Cheshire), Samuel seems to have succeeded James Wyatt in about 1785.<sup>46</sup> The Wyatt wing added to the house in about 1778 is almost certainly by James Wyatt. The poultry house built in the grounds in the mid 1780s, however, is distinctively Samuel Wyatt's work. Lord Penrhyn also employed Samuel and not James to design his other house, Penrhyn Castle in Wales.

XXVIIB

The way in which James and Samuel were at different times employed on the same building is perfectly illustrated at Soho House. Matthew Boulton employed Samuel Wyatt to design additions in 1776 and 1787. In 1796 he obtained a design for enlarging the house from James Wyatt. Then, while construction was actually in progress in 1798, he turned from James to Samuel Wyatt. In this case the transfer of allegiance is documented. It is clear that Boulton was unable to accept James Wyatt's dilatoriness and lack of control over the

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45 See Appendix

46 He told Matthew Boulton that he was there then.

progress of the building. This drove him to seek a more reliable architect.<sup>47</sup>

This, no doubt, happened frequently. Samuel was a far more competent architect than James, even if he did lack his brother's flair and charm. That Samuel should be called in to replace his brother because the latter was unsatisfactory is positive proof that the two of them were not working together. It also explains why Samuel would not have wanted to be associated with his brother in practical matters. All the evidence suggests that Samuel was an ambitious businessman who managed to amass a respectable fortune through the careful conduct of his affairs. James, on the other hand, despite the brilliance of his career and the unparalleled extent of his architectural practice, died in penury.

Another commonly held opinion about the Wyatts is that although James and Samuel may not have been formally associated with each other as architect and builder Samuel was still dependent upon his brother for designs. At one time or another it has been suggested that James provided the original design for all Samuel's best buildings, including Trinity House. This view that James was Samuel's ghost is untenable. There is no surviving drawing in James' hand for a building definitely

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47 See Chapter III

known to be by Samuel. James had a vast architectural practice of his own which he was barely able to control. In the circumstances it is hardly likely that he would have designed over a hundred buildings for somebody else. He is known to have been jealous about his designs. For instance, Farington noted that he seldom allowed John Dixon, his principal draughtsman, to exhibit at the Royal Academy 'as he says the designs are borrowed from his drawings'.<sup>48</sup> If he did not allow his pupils to copy his designs it is unlikely that he would have allowed his brother to do so.

Samuel certainly considered himself to be an independent architect. Both his known portraits show him amidst the trappings of his profession. The earlier of the two, painted by L. F. Abbott in about 1775, shows him pencil in hand with a pile of folios under his arm referring to completed works. In the background rises an obelisk, presumably an abstract symbol of architecture as Wyatt himself never designed one.<sup>49</sup> I

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48 Farington, 733, 4 Aug. 1796

49 A date c1775 is indicated by the buildings referred to in the notebooks. These do not include either Doddington or Baron Hill begun in 1776 or any of his important works thereafter. This portrait is now in the Baker Furniture Museum, Holland, Michigan, U.S.A. Abbott was probably recommended as a portraitist to Wyatt by Boulton. He had painted a fine portrait of Boulton at about the same time.

Wyatt's other portrait occurs in a large group painted by Gainsborough Dupont for Trinity House in 1794. It depicts the meeting of the Court at which Wyatt's plans were approved. He is shown handing over the elevation to the Deputy Master.<sup>50</sup> Samuel is also known to have had his own very definite opinions on matters of architectural style. For instance, he disliked canted bay windows and much preferred semi-circular ones. In July 1783 he advised Lord Buckingham at Marble Hill to 'execute the Circular Bow in preference to the angular one as it will be more gracefull in appearance'.<sup>51</sup> He had his own views about proportions too. He believed that pediments and roofs should rise no more than a third of their base line. He made this clear in a letter to the builder at Amersham parsonage in 1776.<sup>52</sup> There the new roof over a lean-to passage six feet wide was to rise no more than two feet. Very shallow pediments and low-pitched roofs are a distinctive feature of his buildings. The most complete expression of his architectural taste is to be found in his criticism of Roger

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50 John Hayes, 'Trinity House Group Portrait', Burlington Magazine, CVI (1964) 309

51 Norfolk R.O., Hobart MSS, 21089 72 X 3, Wyatt to Lord Buckinghamshire, 24 July 1783

52 Bucks. R.O., Drake MSS, D/D5/566, Wyatt to local builder, 18 March 1776

Eykyn's design for St Paul's Church, Birmingham in 1776.

Eykyn's design was taken straight from Gibbs' Book of Architecture. Wyatt's reaction to this piece of belated baroque would have won the approval of the Abbe Laugier. His remarks deserve quoting at length. He considered : 'that the circular window and door on the side are not in a piece with the long windows. That the gallery is too wide and will obstruct the voice. That the Middle Isle is too narrow and too low. That the Entabliture above the capitals is ugly. That the groin arches are very pretty. That the Galleries rise a monstrous height on the pillars. That the windows are too large and he would recommend to keep the Galleries lower and light them up above. That the whole weight of the roof rests upon a false bearer, he would have it come to rest upon the walls, the pressure is too far from the wall. That there is a great deal of weight thrown upon the middle of the roof over the Middle Isle. That he thinks the truss over the chancel is as bad nearly as St Marys. [It had recently collapsed.] That the chancel door does not bear any proportion to the windows. That the pediment at the west end is as vulgar as can be and it would be handsomer without it. That there's a new method of slating almost as flat as lead which is the best and 4 cwt of slates will go as far as half a ton. That he has somewhere [Amersham, Bucks.] made a flew under the Middle

Isle of a Church so that by putting a fire into a kind of furnace grate the day before it will keep the church warm. That he recommends vaults one above another so that a single person may take one only without being at the expense to take enough for a family. That the Venetian window is good in itself but not proper in its situation. That it would be better to have no break and to alter the mode of the vestry so as to bring it forward and to take the pediment away. That there should be only a blocking course on the cornice. That there can be nothing uglier than the chancel window in the execution. That in general terms he should be sorry they should build it so. That it would have been handsomer to have the Middle Isle made higher. That if the side doors of entrance should be put in the west front he advises to make them less principle than the middle door'.<sup>53</sup>

It is therefore patently absurd to suggest that Samuel had no architectural views of his own and that his work was merely a reflection of his younger brother's.

Even if it is accepted that Samuel Wyatt was an independent architect after 1774, there still remains the problem of

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53 R.L. 372721, Henry Kempson's notebook on the building of St Paul's Church 1776-9, 17-19 (MSS).

how far his style was derived from his brother's. As Samuel had been closely involved in the evolution of the Wyatt style before 1774 it is hardly surprising to find reflections of the buildings designed then by James. Baron Hill, for instance owes much to Heaton and Hagley. A certain amount of borrowing is understandable as the two Wyatts had worked very closely together up to 1774. This does not mean that all Samuel's later buildings are merely watered down versions of early James designs. This was not the case. Samuel Wyatt had a distinctive architectural style of his own. His architectural interests also diverged considerably from those of James. Samuel evolved two types of country house which are not found in the work of James. One of these was his own version of the villa with a central domed bow and asymmetrical side elevations. The other house design had a principal elevation flanked by domed bows like belvederes. The central pavilions of his stable blocks with their little twin pediments are unusual and not paralleled in those of James. His ubiquitous staircase balustrades with strips of anthemion decoration are unique to himself and a highly satisfying design. The general types of buildings they were interested in also differed. Samuel had an inclination towards engineering which his brother did not possess. He was frequently involved in projects that were more works of engineering than architecture, such as the

Albion Mill, Thames Tunnel and London Docks. He was specially interested in the design of lighthouses and subsidiary estate buildings. James did not share these enthusiasms. On the other hand James designed a number of college buildings at Oxford and Cambridge. Samuel never designed anything for the universities. James was also greatly interested in gothick and was the most important gothick architect of his time. Samuel, however, was not in the least interested in gothick. Unlike James and his nephew Jeffry he did not subscribe to James Murphy's Elevations Sections and Views of the Church at Batalha in 1795; this was the most important book on gothic architecture of the time. Samuel is only known to have executed five gothick designs and they are very minor.<sup>54</sup> Indeed his gothick designs are so restrained that they hardly qualify for the title. The chancel in the church at Sandon, for instance, had a simple groin vault that could equally have been classical. The chancel arch, though slightly pointed and supported on angel corbels, was decorated with classical coffering.<sup>55</sup> He restricted gothick details to

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54 Penrhyn Castle, Panshanger, Sandon Church, Bangor Cathedral Library, St Mary's Church, Lambeth.

55 B.M. Add.MSS 36387, Buckler Drawings, XXXII 133. Interior of Sandon Church.

pointed windows and battlements on otherwise plain façades. LIIB  
He showed no interest in authentic gothic details or the possibilities of irregular composition that makes James Wyatt's gothick work so interesting. The dullness of his few gothick designs is one of the most convincing arguments for Samuel's independence as an architect. If he had been in the habit of obtaining designs from his brother he would certainly have done so where a gothick design was required.

Although seemingly similar there are important differences between the classical designs of James and Samuel. Nearly every English architect in the 1770s and 1780s practised a superficially similar kind of Adamesque neo-classicism. Such architects as James Lewis or John Johnson produced designs very similar to those of the Wyatts. In all cases, however, beneath the similar festoons, plaques and flattened urns there were basic stylistic differences. Samuel's classical style differs from that of James Wyatt in three principal ways. It is more austere, more purely Greek and more French. The greater austerity of Samuel's buildings can be seen by comparing any of them with similar works of James. A particularly telling comparison is that between Samuel Wyatt's Coton House (Warwickshire) of 1784 and James Wyatt's Bowden Park (Wiltshire) of 1796.<sup>56</sup> Both have a principal façade with a central domed

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56 Bowden is illustrated in N. Pevsner, Wiltshire (1963) 59

bow and flanking tripartite windows. At Bowden, however, the bow has giant Ionic columns with fluted neckings. The corners of the facade project and have niches. The attic windows are suppressed and replaced with carved stone panels. The windows have moulded architraves, and those at the sides have entablatures as well. At Coton the bow is unadorned apart from blank panels between the ground and first floors. The windows are simply cut in without architraves or entablatures. The ashlar surfaces are completely flush without projections or recessions. This restraint runs through all Samuel Wyatt's work. He never added giant columns to his bows or gave his windows entablatures. He nearly always eschewed crowning balustrades. He was restrained and consistent in his choice of details, and could never have designed a house like James Wyatt's Dodington where each facade had a different character. Nor did he combine a domed central bow with pedimented tripartite windows as James did at Worsted Hall in Norfolk.<sup>57</sup> Samuel would have considered such a variety of motives restless and inconsistent. His tripartite windows usually have blank segmental arches over echoing the curve of the bow and dome. His designs are a carefully worked out harmony. A

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57 Neale, III (1820) 21

perfect illustration of this is the lighthouse at Ramsgate which was composed almost entirely of circles and semi-circles. The plan was circular. The concentric light-keeper's dwelling had a domed roof which was reflected on a smaller scale in the domed cap of the lantern. The windows and doors in the light-keeper's dwelling were round-headed, and the windows in the tower were completely circular. This consistency creates a feeling of harmony and calm not to be found in the more ornate and eclectic buildings of James. The contrast between the austerity of Samuel's work and the fussiness of James' can be seen clearly at Heaton House, where the two styles are side by side. Samuel's Music Room is extremely plain. Decoration is restricted to the cornice, door surrounds, and organ case. James Wyatt's interiors at Heaton are much more elaborate with stucco or painted decoration on walls and ceiling, screens of scagliola columns, niches and apses. In comparison with Samuel's work this profusion seems almost confused.

The detailing of Samuel Wyatt's buildings is more purely Greek than that of James. Although Samuel, like all his contemporaries, drew the components of his style from a wide variety of sources he showed a preference for motifs of Greek derivation. James Wyatt, of course, designed a series of 'Greek' buildings, including Sandhurst, Stoke Park and Castle

Coole, but these belong to one of the many passing phases in his architectural career. Samuel, on the other hand, showed a consistent interest in Greek architecture throughout his career. This was probably stimulated by early contact with 'Athenian' Stuart at Kedleston, Blithfield and Shugborough. He drew heavily on the first two volumes of Antiquities of Athens. He particularly admired the Erectheum, and frequently copied the Ionic columns of the north portico with their honeysuckle neckings. At Trinity House he went so far as to combine them with versions of the caryatids in the gallery balconies. This was very progressive. The Erectheum caryatids were not frequently copied until the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century. Samuel also used the simplified Corinthian capital of the 'Tower of the Winds' on occasion, for instance in the saloon at Shugborough and in unexecuted designs for Tatton. The 'Tower of the Winds', particularly Stuart's replica of it in the park at Shugborough, was the source of Wyatt's simple octagonal lodges at Holkham and Shugborough. The Greek Doric order frequently appears in Wyatt's work. He used baseless Doric columns in many of his subsidiary estate buildings because of their appropriately bucolic character. He adapted the Doric order of the temple of Apollo at Delos to his own style. Whereas the original had fluting at the top and bottom Wyatt's version had just a band

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of fluting at the top. James also used this type of column. It occurs, for instance, in the Bath Lodge at Doddington in about 1800. Samuel, however, seems to have used it first. It can be found in the entrance hall at Doddington begun in 1777, at Shugborough in 1794 and Somerley in 1795. He probably adapted it from Leroy's Ruines.<sup>58</sup> Greek anthemion ornament is found everywhere in Samuel's work from the beginning of his career. Chimney pieces at Blithfield in 1769 and Dorfold in 1771 are decorated with it. At Shugborough the ceiling of the Great Drawing Room is decorated almost entirely with various forms of anthemion. The anthemion frieze from the temple of the Illissus occurs frequently in his work, for example in the Bird Room at Shugborough. His most original use of anthemion is in his ubiquitous design for iron railings. Long strips of anthemion in three or four circles alternate with plain bars. All except six of his surviving balustrades are of this type. It was one of his most original designs and is not paralleled in the work of James Wyatt or any other contemporary architect. Another aspect of Wyatt's preference for Greek motifs is his abstention from the use of the more florid Roman forms. He never used

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58 An English translation was published in 1759

the Composite order. James, on the other hand, frequently introduced it into his buildings.<sup>59</sup> Samuel Wyatt rarely used the Roman Corinthian order; with the surprising exception of Tatton, all his porticoes were Ionic. He always restricted himself to simple, elegant motifs in preference to more varied, showy or monumental features.

The third difference in style between James and Samuel is that Samuel's was more French. This is obvious in his interior decoration where he made constant use of pilaster strips with painted or stuccoed decoration. The painted pilasters at Lichfield House by Cornelius Dixon<sup>60</sup> and those in the saloon at Doddington by McLacklan<sup>61</sup> are very similar to those provided by the French decorator, T. H. Pernotin, for Southill, Althorp and Carlton House. Some of Wyatt's chimneypieces are distinctly French, particularly the three he designed for Trinity House, Shugborough and Livermere in the 1790s with appliqué ormolu decoration. They have ormolu ram's heads at the corners, strongly reminiscent of Chippendale's furniture at its most French, such as the pedestals in the Dining Room at Harewood.

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LXXIV

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59 e.g. in the Staircase Hall at Doddington.

60 Now removed.

61 A painter who worked for the Derby porcelain factory. His Christian name is not known.

With the notable exception of Adam's in the Red Drawing Room at Syon, such ormolu-mounted chimneypieces are rare in England. An alternative design for the chimneypiece in the saloon at Doddington shows that it too was to have been decorated with ormolu.<sup>62</sup> It was to have had rounded corners, which is also a feature more commonly found in French chimneypieces than in English. The only English architect who frequently designed chimneypieces with rounded corners was the francophile Henry Holland.

There are other notably French features in Wyatt's houses. The brass staircase balustrade at Sundridge Park, for instance, LXXXIVA is of a pattern frequently found in French eighteenth-century buildings. Some of Wyatt's exteriors show traces of French feeling, particularly the façade of Trinity House with its XLVII inset rectangular panels of sculpture and central recessed screen of Ionic columns.

It is possible to deduce the sources of French influence on Wyatt's style. Although he never visited France he may have known such French architectural publications as Neufforge's Receuil élémentaire d'Architecture, published in eight volumes

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62 Chester R.O., Delves Broughton MSS, DDB/Q/3, Wyatt's design for the Saloon.

between 1758 and 1768. Neufforge illustrated several façades with inset screens of Ionic columns and flanking tripartite windows similar to that at Trinity House.<sup>63</sup> Wyatt may also have been infected with a feeling for French architecture while working under Sir William Chambers at Somerset House. The principal source of his knowledge of French architecture was almost certainly his friendship with Matthew Boulton. Boulton frequently visited Paris for business reasons. He was greatly influenced by French decoration and design, and this is apparent in many of the objects produced at Soho. No doubt he brought back books and illustrations of French architecture which he may have shown to Wyatt. He certainly shared his enthusiasm for French building with the Wyatts. This is made clear in a letter from William Wyatt to Boulton concerning the design of Soho House in 1766, just after Boulton's first visit to Paris : 'Wm. Newbold has got a very rough sketch of Soho House but he tells me the manner of it will not please you and thinks your journey to France altered your [opinion] in regard to the alterations ... I did not know that France was very famous in architecture - however various plans may be made and you may choose that which is most agreeable to yourself ...'.<sup>64</sup>

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63 Neufforge III, 170, III 331, Supplement CXLIII and CXLIV

64 A.O., William Wyatt to Boulton, 22 Jan. 1766

Another source of the French details in Samuel Wyatt's buildings must have been the work of Henry Holland, particularly Carlton House as reconstructed between 1783 and 1790.

Many of the French features in Wyatt's houses of the 1790s are very similar to those at Carlton House. The staircase balustrade at Sundridge, for example, is almost an exact copy of the plainer parts of that at Carlton House. Although less monumental, the circular Saloon at Doddington is strikingly similar to the Music Room at Carlton House, even in such details as the alcoves with tent draperies and fitted sofas. This suggests that Wyatt had actually seen Holland's interiors for the Prince Regent and was directly affected by them.

Both James and Samuel Wyatt used new materials and techniques in their buildings, such as Coade stone, mathematical tiles and sheets of roofing copper prepared according to their cousin Charles' patent method. Samuel, however, was the more adventurous in the use of new materials, and this was one of the most distinctive features of his buildings. Particularly novel was his use of slate. Although James sometimes used slate for window sills<sup>65</sup> he never used slate on the large scale or for the wide range of functions that Samuel did. Samuel employed slate for every conceivable

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65 e.g. at Goodwood

purpose: flashings, copings, sills, shelves, balconies, paving, skirting boards, cisterns, lavatory seats, and as an internal and external wall-covering. The cellars at Sundridge, Shugborough and Holkham, for instance, are partly lined with slate. The most spectacular example of Wyatt's use of slate was for the external cladding of buildings as at Soho and Shugborough. At Shugborough even the columns of the portico are faced in slate. Samuel always refers to this form of cladding as 'patent slating' but it was never registered at the patent office.<sup>66</sup> By this method slates cut into neat rectangles were fastened flush to timber battens with wooden screws. The battens were embedded in putty or stucco. The slates were painted and while still wet dredged with fine white sand to give the impression of very smooth ashlar. This was more durable than stucco and could stand up better to hard wear in such buildings as stables. It could also be used in damp situations where stucco would have failed. This slating technique was Samuel's own invention. He sometimes executed it on buildings designed by other architects; in 1794, for instance, he supplied 'patent slating' for Martin's

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66 B. Woodcroft, Alphabetical Index of Patentees of Inventions (1854, 2nd ed. 1969)

Bank in Lombard St to George Dance's design.<sup>67</sup>

Another invention of Wyatt's was the sympathetic hinge.<sup>68</sup> As in the case of slate-cladding he did not patent this. It was an ingenious device whereby both flaps of a double door could be opened simultaneously by pushing one side only. Few examples still exist. The doors of the rooms on the piano nobile at Doddington are the most complete series. It is possible that elsewhere the mechanism has been dismantled because it needed constant adjustment to prevent the sympathetic flaps opening too violently and damaging the woodwork. The working of the hinge was quite simple. It consisted of a system of pulleys like bicycle chains concealed in the architrave of the door.

A further instance of Wyatt's interest in progressive building techniques was his widespread structural use of iron. This culminated in his patent of 1800 for fireproof iron warehouses and cast iron tubular bridges.<sup>66</sup> It is possible that James used Samuel's patent method in Kew Palace built between 1802 and 1811 but there is no evidence to prove this. It is certain, however, that James himself never patented any form of iron construction.<sup>66</sup>

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67 D. Stroud, George Dance, Architect (1971) 159

68 A.P.S.D.

Although superficially similar, the use of decorative motifs in the buildings of the two Wyatts differed. Samuel was much more consistent than James. He followed a code of iconological appropriateness in the decoration of his interiors. His libraries, for instance, nearly all have friezes decorated with astralobes. At Sundridge the circular room on the ground floor, which was probably the library, has a chimneypiece ornamented with an astralobe and books. The stucco in his dining rooms usually contains grapes and wheat ears. In the Dining Room at Doddington there are pilaster strips with entwined vines. The frieze contains vines, wheat ears and goblets. The chimneypiece is decorated with bacchic rods and a figure with cornucopia depicting plenty. A fully worked-out example of Wyatt's decorative scheme survives at Coton House. The Library frieze has astralobes, the Dining Room's has amphorae and the Drawing Room's fans. Musical instruments often occur in his rooms. The pilasters in the Saloon at Doddington are painted with a variety of musical instruments and sheets of music. An unexecuted design for the Music Room at Tatton shows the frieze and chimneypiece decorated with lyres. The frieze in the Great Drawing Room at Shugborough has an identical frieze with lyres. The designs for stucco and chimneypieces at Trinity House and the Commissioner's House at Portsmouth abound in marine motifs, anchors,

tridents, sea horses and dolphins. The Coade panels on the facade of Trinity House incorporate lighthouses. James Wyatt was much less through-going in his choice of decorative motifs. The stucco at Heaton, Heveningham and Dodington is not related in any way to the functions of the rooms it adorns. XLVIII

Both Wyatts employed the same craftsmen on their buildings. This is one of the reasons for the superficial similarity of their work. They consistently employed both Joseph Rose II and later Francis Bernasconi for stucco, Westmacott, Rossi and Bacon as sculptors and Bartoli or Allcott for scagliola, while Biagio Rebecca executed most of their decorative painting. The availability of artist-craftsmen of this calibre greatly affected their styles and explains particular features that occur in the work of both. The lavish use of scagliola is an example of this. They introduced it into their buildings on an unprecedentedly profuse scale. The interior of the Pantheon rotunda was almost entirely clad in columns and pilasters of 'giallo antico' scagliola. This is one of the reasons why it proved so easily inflammable. At Thorndon Samuel's Great Hall was lined with eighteen columns of scagliola.<sup>69</sup> The scagliola in the early Wyatt buildings was executed by Domenick Bartoli, an Italian resident in

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69 D. W. Collin, History of Essex (Chelmsford 1841) 520

London, whom Samuel had encountered at Kedleston. Later his place was filled by Joseph Allcott<sup>70</sup> who provided the scagliola for most of the later Wyatt buildings. The most important craftsman who contributed to the Wyatt style was Joseph Rose II. Like Bartoli he had first met Samuel at Kedleston in the 1760s. Up to his death in 1799 he executed all the decorative stucco in Samuel's buildings for which accounts survive. He also provided most of the stucco in James' buildings of the same period. Rose is known to have designed stucco decoration as well as executing it. The stucco at Sledmere in the East Riding was designed by him. He possessed a large library of architectural works from which to draw inspiration.<sup>71</sup> The Wyatts, however, seem to have designed all their stucco themselves. In Rose's sketchbook there are drawings for ceilings in houses by James Wyatt inscribed 'Mr. Wyatt's desine'.<sup>72</sup> Many detailed designs survive, by both Wyatts, for the friezes and ceilings in their houses. Any feeling of 'mass production' in the stucco of Wyatt houses must therefore be due to the fact that they and Rose all drew on the same sources. It can be seen from the subscription

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70 Allcott was a protégé of James Wyatt. Gunnis, 16.

71 G. W. Beard, Georgian Craftsmen (1966) 72

72 Harewood, Rose Sketch Book

lists in contemporary architectural books that they owned the same books. For instance Joseph Rose and James and Samuel Wyatt all subscribed to George Richardson's Book of Ceilings and New Designs in Architecture published in 1774 and 1792 respectively. Samuel certainly derived designs for stucco from Richardson's engravings. The frieze in the unexecuted design for the Tatton Music Room and that in the Great Drawing Room at Shugborough was taken from Richardson.<sup>73</sup> Unlike Rose, Biagio Rebecca seems to have had a free hand to paint whatever he wished. The panels in the Cupola Room at Heaton and the Saloon at Doddington consist of miscellaneous mythological scenes. Some of these are duplicated elsewhere, for instance in the ceiling of Adam's Long Gallery at Harewood. Many of the Coade plaques used by the Wyatts were ordered straight from stock and were not specially designed. Most of the plaques at Doddington, Hooton, Baron Hill and Herstmonceux were stock items modelled by John Bacon. The capitals at James Wyatt's Heaton were ordered from the Coade catalogue. This use of the same craftsmen and of 'mass-produced' ornaments is one of the reasons for the superficial similarity between the details of buildings by James and Samuel Wyatt.

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73 G. Richardson, Designs in Architecture (1792) pl.XLIII

A basic difference between the classical work of James and Samuel was the rate of evolution in their styles. James frequently changed his style. The pretty Adamesque character of his early buildings such as Heaton was superseded by the Chambers-influenced grandeur of the mausoleum at Brocklesby and Cobham and his designs for the universities, such as the Oriel library. In the 1790s there was a trend towards a severe Greek style seen in his designs for Castlecoole and Stoke Park. This culminated in the austere design for Sandhurst. Alongside this he was designing in a rich and eclectic Roman style, as can be seen at Dodington. In Samuel Wyatt's work there is just one change of style in about 1800. From 1775 to 1800 his buildings are consistently restrained Graeco-Roman. External decoration was restricted to domed bows, overarched tripartite windows and Coade plaques. His internal decoration was in a pretty Adamesque style. It was more restrained and delicate even than that of James but with similar stucco, painted panels and scagliola. In about 1800 this underwent a considerable change. All the pretty details such as Coade plaques and Adamesque stucco were eliminated. Much of the individuality of his style was lost in the process. The designs of his last years have a heavier monumental character, similar to the work of many other early nineteenth-century architects. This change was part of a general trend away from

the pretty elegance of early neo-classicism towards the more opulent but less inspired work of the Regency. This change was partly connected with the death of several of the craftsmen whose contribution had been so important to the Wyatt style. In 1799 Joseph Rose II died, and the elaborate arabesque stucco that he had perfected immediately went out of fashion. He was replaced by Francis Bernasconi who specialised in a much heavier type of stucco decoration. John Bacon the sculptor also died in 1799. He too had been responsible for much that was particularly attractive in the early Wyatt buildings, such as the Coade decoration at Trinity House and the Radcliffe Observatory and many chimneypieces. His place was taken by J. C. F. Rossi whose work, like Bernasconi's, was more monumental and less elegant than Bacon's. The change in Samuel's style shows how dependent he was on the craftsmen who executed his designs.

The most important difference between the architecture of James and Samuel Wyatt lies in their plans. Samuel's great interest as a neo-classical designer lies in his plans which are among the most original and ingenious of the time. James Wyatt's plans, with a few exceptions,<sup>74</sup> are relatively commonplace. The plans of his greatest classical houses, like

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74 e.g. Goodwood

Bryanston and Castle Coole were conventional. This basic difference of approach can be seen by comparing James Wyatt's Heveningham Hall (Suffolk) with Samuel Wyatt's Sundridge Park (Kent). In both cases the shell and exteriors were the work of other architects. The Wyatts were faced with the same problem of creating an interior within completed walls.

James at Heveningham barely altered Taylor's plan for the layout of the rooms. His work consisted almost entirely of interior decoration, albeit of exquisite refinement. On the other hand within the existing shell at Sundridge Samuel contrived a new plan of ingenious interlocking geometrical shapes that has been described as 'highly remarkable not to say revolutionary'.<sup>75</sup> This feeling for geometry is found in many of Samuel's plans, from the proposed oval library of about 1774 at Tatton and the hexagonal bedrooms over the Saloon at Doddington of 1776 to his 1806 design for a concentric Light-keeper's dwelling at Flamborough Head Lighthouse. It is seen particularly in his plans for lodges, farm buildings and estate cottages with their play on octagons, heptagons, hexagons and circles. The most ingenious of these was probably the plan for Demesne Farm at Doddington which is composed of

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75 John Newman, West Kent and the Weald (1969) 182

hexagons and octagons. The plan of the Shire Hall at Stafford is one of Wyatt's most ingenious plans.<sup>76</sup> It has always been attributed to John Harvey. It is clear, however, that only the elevation was designed by Harvey and that a plan by 'Mr. Wyatt' was adopted.<sup>77</sup> The fact that Harvey was Wyatt's clerk and chief pupil makes it almost certain that this was Samuel Wyatt. The character of the plan reinforces this attribution. The plan is composed of a series of octagons, half-octagons and hexagons. The way in which the two octagonal Court Rooms, the half-octagonal Jury Room and two hexagonal corridors are fitted together is particularly neat and it foreshadows the farm at Doddington. There is little in James Wyatt's work to compare with these plans of Samuel's. Perhaps the closest parallel among the work of his contemporaries were the designs of Michael Searles. He designed such elaborate layouts as the Paragon at Blackheath and Clare House, East Malling, Kent.<sup>78</sup> Wyatt's layout of model cottages at Longlands Village on the Holkham estate, though on a much smaller scale, was similar to Searle's Paragon. The plan of

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76 George Richardson, New Vitruvius Britannicus II (1808) pl.10

77 Staffs. R.O., Q/SMC/5, Sessions Minute Book, V, 1793-1802,  
10 Oct. 1793

78 Colvin, 533

Sundridge with its arrangement of geometrically shaped rooms around a circular staircase hall parallels Searles' similar layout at Clare House.

Wyatt's plans set him apart from many of his contemporaries, such as Henry Holland, who otherwise resembles him considerably. Holland, like Wyatt, entered architecture through apprenticeship to a builder father. He too was distinguished for his refined architectural style. Almost alone among Wyatt's contemporaries he was interested to the same extent in new building techniques such as fire-proof construction. He was interested also in the design of subsidiary estate buildings.<sup>79</sup> Holland's plans, however, are of less interest than Wyatt's and his most important works, such as Carlton House, Althorp and Southill, were the reconstruction of existing buildings.

The interest of Wyatt's plans lies not just in their play on geometry but also in their increasing freedom and irregularity. He was one of the first to break away from strict symmetry in his classical buildings. He developed a greater fluidity of layout throughout his career.<sup>80</sup> The process

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79 e.g. He designed cottages at Wimbledon Park (Inf. Lord Spencer)

80 See Chapter IV

began with an unexecuted proposal for an asymmetrical handling of the office wings of his houses and culminated in the all-pervasive asymmetry of Belmont. At that house none of the fronts is in line with another. The main house bursts out of its basically rectangular frame at the corners in the form of bow windows, loggias and the orangery. It seems that Samuel Wyatt was the first late eighteenth-century architect to integrate the orangery into the layout of the house. He first incorporated an orangery into the house at Tatton. In his 1774 design he used an orangery to screen the offices from the garden. When he revised his plan in 1784 the orangery formed an important asymmetrical feature of the garden facade. After that it frequently occurred in houses by both Wyatts. James incorporated orangeries into the total composition at Bowden and Dodington. In the early nineteenth century it became a commonplace feature of house plans. The desire for greater informality and fluidity was also expressed in some of Wyatt's London houses. His alterations to Lichfield House, St James's Square, are a good example. Wyatt rebuilt the back of the house and added a completely asymmetrical L-shaped wing. This deliberately destroyed the formality of 'Athenian' Stuart's design. Wyatt's additions have consciously random fenestration with irregularly placed bows.<sup>81</sup>

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81 London Survey, XXIX (1960) 148-153

A final difference between the architecture of James and Samuel Wyatt is the degree to which they designed furniture for their interiors. It seems that James exercised much closer control over the design of furniture than Samuel did. Designs by James survive for all kinds of furniture, from beds down to candelabra. Heveningham and the Radcliffe Observatory preserve the furniture designed for them, and the original furniture at Heaton is also known to have been designed by James.<sup>82</sup> James also provided designs for silver and ormolu objects made by Matthew Boulton.<sup>83</sup> Samuel Wyatt did not design objects for Boulton, and no designs by him survive for moveable furniture in his houses. With a few exceptions it seems that his buildings were furnished entirely by fashionable dealers from stock. Samuel himself only seems to have designed fixtures such as library bookcases, pier glass frames, pelmets and organ cases. At Trinity House, one of his most expensively finished buildings, he only provided pier glasses. All the other furniture was bought directly from Oakley and Kettle and was not designed by Wyatt.<sup>84</sup>

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82 T. Clifford & I. Hall, Heaton Hall Bi-Centenary Exhibition Catalogue (Manchester 1972)

83 A.O., Designs by James Wyatt for candlesticks etc.

84 Trinity House, Cash Book, Feb. 1796 - 28 July 1797

At Doddington the furniture in the Saloon was probably provided by Morant & Co. who supplied the painted pilasters.<sup>85</sup> In Samuel's design for the Saloon, however, he showed fitted sofas in the alcoves. These were semi-fixtures and so were probably designed by him. The library bookcases are also fittings and were certainly designed by Wyatt. In the Music Room at Heaton the organ case was almost certainly designed by him, and also there is an unexecuted design for a similar organ at Tatton among his drawings there. Both of these were obviously semi-fixtures. For instance, the frieze design of the rooms was repeated in them. It has been suggested that the oval-backed chairs in the Card Room at Tatton were designed by him.<sup>86</sup> This attribution is based on the similarity between the paterae and stiff leaf ornament on the chairs and that on the chimneypiece. Such decoration was, however, exceedingly common and the similarity was probably coincidental. Most of the furniture at Tatton was supplied directly from stock by the Gillows.<sup>87</sup> The furniture at many of Samuel's other houses was supplied by Gillows, including that at Dropmore, Kinmel, Hooton, St Asaphs, Sandon, and

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85 One of the pilasters is signed 'McLacklan pinxt for Morant'.

86 Clifford & Hall, 57

87 Nicholas Goodison & John Hardy, 'Gillows at Tatton Park', Furniture History VI (1970) 1-39

Tixall together with some of that at Shugborough.<sup>88</sup> All this was supplied from stock and was not designed by Wyatt.

At Shugborough as well as furniture from Gillows chairs and sofas were also supplied by Charles Smith of Cavendish Square. In 1803 Wyatt provided rough sketches for the mouldings round the marble table tops in the Saloon.<sup>89</sup> This was just a guide for the marble-worker. The rather rococo stands for these tops are obviously not by Wyatt and were probably bought in London. It is possible, however, that the horse-shoe shaped sideboard made to fit the bow window of the Dining Room at Shugborough was designed by Wyatt. It has ormolu mounts in his style and is a semi-fixtured. Among the Wyatt drawings at Sandon is one for a window wall with pelmets and a pier glass.<sup>90</sup> This suggests that Wyatt designed such features. Those that remain in his buildings corroborate this. The pelmets at Culford and Lichfield House, for instance, are so similar to the rest of the decoration that they must have been designed by him.

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88 Westminster Public Lib., Gillows MSS. Estimate Books (1789-91), 690, 1184; (1792-94) 600, 607, 609, 850, 855, 858, 863(2), 902, 1081, 1083, 1086, 1116, 1152, 1165; (1803-15) 1797

89 Staffs. R.O., Anson MSS, D615/E(H)2/8, Design for table tops.

90 Sandon, Harrowby MSS, Plans, 424.216

The only exception to Wyatt's rule of only designing fixtures seems to have been at Lord Petre's London house, 43 Grosvenor Square. His accounts for work there include, besides fitted bookcases in the library, two brass inlaid mahogany tables 'en suite'.<sup>91</sup> Wyatt gave the library an apse so it is possible that he made them to fit its curved walls. In that case they could be considered semi-fixtures.

In general, therefore, Samuel Wyatt only designed permanent fittings. The rest of the furniture in his buildings was supplied by fashionable dealers. This contrasts with the detailed care bestowed by James Wyatt on the design of furniture and objects in his most important houses.

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91 Essex R.O., Petre MSS, D/DP A177. Accounts

CHAPTER III

FRIENDSHIP WITH MATTHEW BOULTON

and

THE ALBION MILL

An interesting aspect of Wyatt's career was his connection with several of the outstanding inventors and industrialists of the late eighteenth century, such as James Watt, Thomas Williams and John Wilkinson. The most important of these contacts was his friendship with Matthew Boulton, the owner of the Soho Works at Handsworth near Birmingham.

Boulton, like Wedgwood, was highly successful in the production of small objects in the new neo-classical taste. Whereas Wedgwood transformed the potter's craft Boulton raised the production of silver and ormolu to a new standard. He commissioned designs for his manufactures from leading artists, including Robert Adam and James Wyatt. Samuel Wyatt's friendship with Boulton is not, however, important for that reason. Indeed Boulton does not seem to have obtained designs for his manufactures from him at all. Rather their friendship was important for the effect that Boulton had on Wyatt's career as an architect and particularly as an engineer. Through Boulton's influence Wyatt received many architectural commissions in the Birmingham area. This illustrates the importance of personal connections in the growth of his architectural practice. More importantly,

Boulton's enthusiasm for new industrial techniques and inventions encouraged the development of similar interests in Wyatt. He used Boulton's manufactures in his buildings and developed his own interest in new forms of construction and building materials to such an extent that he became a competent civil engineer as well as an architect. Nearly all Wyatt's specifically engineering projects grew out of his connection with Boulton and were often evolved with his help. In particular this friendship led to the design and construction of the most important industrial building of the day, the Albion Steam Flour Mill in London.

By a lucky chance most of the correspondence between Wyatt and Boulton has been preserved. This makes it possible to form a clear picture of their relationship and the architectural and engineering projects that grew out of it. Wyatt knew Boulton from his youth. There were close connections between Boulton and the Wyatt family. John Wyatt was Boulton's business agent in London and on the continent. Samuel's elder brother William had designed and built Soho Works and house between 1762 and 1766; William felt able to call Boulton 'my best friend'.<sup>1</sup> Wyatt's father Benjamin was also a great

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1 A.O., 240, William Wyatt to Boulton, 25 Feb. 1773. See Chapter I.

friend of Boulton's, and Boulton used to stay with the Wyatts at Blackbrook and at Burton-on-Trent. It was natural, therefore, that Wyatt grew up to consider Boulton a close family friend. His earliest letters to him, written from Kedleston in 1765 and 1766, are expressed in familiar terms.

From the time Wyatt settled permanently in London in 1774 almost until his death in 1807 there was a continuous stream of correspondence between them dealing with a variety of architectural and technical matters. The core of these letters deal with the Albion Mill and its aftermath. Despite their essentially professional content the letters are dotted with passages of a more personal kind. They make it clear that Wyatt always stayed with Boulton on the annual perambulations of his works in the midlands. Boulton also visited Wyatt when he was in London. The letters contain enquiries after each other's families, particularly Boulton's daughter and Wyatt's adopted daughter who were the same age. They also gossiped about mutual acquaintances like John Wilkinson, who was a source of slight envy because everything he touched turned to gold. Some of the letters have a certain culinary interest. For instance in 1795 Boulton asked for Mrs Wyatt's recipe for 'making the best brown bread from English wheat' which was duly forthcoming. Boulton complimented her on 'the

many sweet morsels I have eaten at A[lbion] Mill [House].<sup>2</sup>  
Wyatt frequently sent fish from Billingsgate Market to Soho by 'Payton's coach'. This did not always arrive on time. At Christmas in 1788 Wyatt sent Boulton a present of sole and lobster but, as he explained later, 'our fool of a porter here put them into his little pantry and forgot to send them'.<sup>3</sup>

Wyatt greatly respected Boulton's opinions, as is made clear in a reply to advice about the management of the Albion Mill. 'I must thank you for the observations and good advice you gave me (because I know they arrive from good motives) which in every respect correspond with my ideas and I hope and believe that I have fallen into as few errors as might reasonably be expected - but it is not an easy matter to obtain reputation and get rich at the same time particularly in a new establishment.'<sup>4</sup> Wyatt was quick to defend his friend's reputation when others criticised him. For instance, in October 1785 he defended Boulton against some remarks of Mr Thornton Astel who had attacked Boulton's 'lack of candour' in the matter of the Cornish copper mines. Wyatt wrote: 'I took the liberty of defending you, positively asserting that

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2 R.L., Boulton & Watt Coll., Box 36, Boulton to Wyatt, 14 Aug. 1795

3 A.O., 166, Wyatt to Boulton, 24 Dec. 1788

4 Ibid, 164, Wyatt to Boulton, 21 Nov. 1788

there must be some mistake, that the facts could not be as he had represented them and that I do not know any man that possessed stricter ideas of honour'.<sup>5</sup> Altogether the letters show Wyatt in an attractive light as a loyal and good-humoured friend.

Boulton often sought Wyatt's advice on architectural and building matters. For example, in 1777 when he was considering mass-producing doors with painted panels and ormolu mounts, he consulted Wyatt about the standard size of doors. Wyatt pointed out that they varied considerably according to the proportions of different rooms, and Boulton did not proceed with the scheme.<sup>6</sup> On another occasion he asked Wyatt's opinion on the viability of metal alloy window sashes. Wyatt replied : 'I think the metal is very clever for sashes, skylights, fan lights and for railings for staircases, but ... the sashes etc. come very expensive and Builders in general will not recommend them because they have neither profit nor reputation by it, the way I should recommend would be to prepare the metal only and let there be a warehouse in London where all carpenters and joiners might be served with it ... In this way it would give little trouble to the manufacturers

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5 Ibid, 139, Wyatt to Boulton, 13 Oct. 1785

6 Ibid, 99, John Wyatt to Boulton, 5 Nov. 1776

of the metal and the profit would easily be reduced to a certainty'.<sup>7</sup> This letter illustrates Wyatt's enthusiasm for new materials and optimism in business matters.

Through Boulton Wyatt received a number of architectural commissions in the Birmingham area. In 1776 he helped Roger Eykyn (a local architect) to investigate the collapse of the galleries in St Mary's Church at Handsworth.<sup>8</sup> As this was Boulton's own parish it seems likely that Wyatt was employed in addition to Eykyn at his suggestion. Later in the same year Eykyn's design for St Paul's Church, Birmingham was submitted to Wyatt's critical scrutiny. The design was taken straight from Gibbs' Book of Architecture.<sup>9</sup> To Wyatt's neo-classical eyes it appeared clumsy and old-fashioned. His remarks caused the design to be extensively modified in execution. He was paid five guineas for his advice.<sup>10</sup> In 1785 Wyatt redesigned the surround to the chancel window when

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7 Ibid, 136, Wyatt to Boulton, 19 May 1785. A friend and partner of Boulton's, James Keir, had set up a metal sash manufactory at Tipton (Staffs.) in 1780.

8 L. D. Ettlinger & R. G. Holloway, 'St Paul's Church, Birmingham', A.R. June 1947, 227

9 Colvin, 202

10 R.L., 372721, Henry Kempson's notebook on building St Paul's Church 1776-1779, 17-19 (MSS).

stained glass by Francis Eginton was inserted.<sup>11</sup>

In April 1777 Wyatt was consulted about the proposed facade for the Theatre Royal in New St, Birmingham. The theatre had been built in 1773 by Thomas Saul.<sup>12</sup> It was set back from the street and was flanked on both sides by empty building plots belonging to the theatre proprietors. At first they intended selling this spare land. They changed their minds, however, and decided to develop it themselves to achieve a happier architectural effect. This decision was due largely to the influence of Matthew Boulton; he and his first partner, John Fothergill, were both shareholders in the theatre. At a meeting of the proprietors on 25 February 1777 'Mr. Boulton proposed that an elevation of the present front of the theatre should be drawn and also a plan of the land and buildings already erected and the same be laid before some experienced person with Instructions to draw a proper plan and elevations of the building to be erected'.<sup>13</sup> This was agreed and Boulton recommended 'Mr. Samuel Wyatt of London'. He was directed to 'inform Mr. Wyatt that the proprietors are to expend no more than £750 (exclusive of the

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11 D. Hickman, Birmingham (1970) 16, 17

12 J. E. Cunningham, Theatre Royal (1950) 20

13 R.L., 5047, Lee 387, List of the Proprietors for building a Playhouse in New St, Birmingham with minutes of their meetings.

expense of the portico). That the building on the west side of the theatre is intended for a coffee room of the length of 36 ft. That the buildings are to be made square and extend to the front of the land'. Wyatt submitted plans for the new facade and coffee house on 20 May. They were 'found greatly to exceed the sum of £750'. The proposed facade was so attractive that it was accepted nevertheless. To cut down the expense a cheaper plan by a local builder called Eglinton refined by Mr Green (one of the proprietors) was substituted for Wyatt's. Building began in 1780 and was completed by the end of 1781. In January 1782 the two flanking houses were advertised to let. Everybody in Birmingham was enthusiastic about Wyatt's facade. A local journalist described it as 'a superb portico ... from the design of one of the first artists in the kingdom'.<sup>14</sup> The facade was of stone with inset Coade medallions of Garrick and Shakespeare. Wyatt also intended reclining statues of the comic and tragic muses, Thalia and Melpomene, to embellish the parapet but as in the similar case at Baron Hill these were never executed.

In 1787 Boulton consulted Wyatt about a building of his own. He had acquired a site in the centre of Birmingham on

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14 'Aris', Birmingham Gazette, Monday 12 June 1780

the corner of Livery St and Newbold St for a warehouse. He obtained a design from the local builder William Newbold, whom he had employed as clerk of works at Soho in the 1760s.<sup>15</sup> He submitted Newbold's plan to Wyatt and asked for his opinion. Wyatt redesigned the facades, inserting tripartite windows and a Tuscan porch. He dispatched his elevation to Boulton with the note, 'the new front I have sent with the gateway I flatter myself you will think much improved'.<sup>16</sup> He also altered the roof to increase the storage space: 'According to my design there will be a large garret in the roof at least 24 ft. square ... I see no use of incumbering the attic storey with so much timber work, the section I have sent hangs the girders of the floor up to the king posts of the roof by an iron bar which will answer every purpose and leave the attic storey spacious'.<sup>17</sup> The attic floor was thus suspended from the roof beams, a daring structural innovation. The roof itself was flat and covered with copper except for the inclined edges which were slated. This roof design was similar to the one

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15 A.O., 153, Wyatt to Boulton, 12 Oct. 1787

16 Ibid, 154, Wyatt to Boulton, 20 Nov. 1787

17 B. Walker, 'Some 18th century Birmingham Houses', Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeological Soc., 56 (1932)

30. He wrongly attributes the warehouse to James Wyatt.

Wyatt designed for Greenwich Hospital chapel.

Wyatt designed additions to Soho House for Boulton at frequent intervals. He was first consulted to design a bathroom in 1766. John Wyatt (Boulton's London agent) reported : 'Sam. Wyatt intends very soon to send Mr. Boulton a plan of his Baths and proposals for building these with a room over them which may serve for the theka' (store room).<sup>18</sup> Nothing came of these plans. In 1787 Boulton again asked Wyatt to design a 'small building' to contain a bathroom, water closet and dressing room.<sup>19</sup> Wyatt suggested a pre-fabricated timber structure similar to the 'moveable hospitals' for use in 'His Majesty's distant possessions' which he was building at that time. Such a timber building could be assembled without screws. It was made in London and transported to Soho in pieces. Such a form of construction was novel at that date, although pre-fabricated structures had been common in the middle ages. It was characteristic that Boulton should have encouraged Wyatt's interest in pre-fabricated buildings by commissioning one himself. The bathroom was not a complete success. This was nothing to do with the structure

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18 A.O., 76, John Wyatt to Boulton, 8 March 1776

19 Ibid, 151, Wyatt to Boulton, 10 Feb. 1787

and neither was it Wyatt's fault, as he hastened to explain :  
'I am sorry you'd so much reason to be displeas'd with your  
small rooms. What the devil all these workmen can possibly  
be about astonishes me, however I must endeavour to exculpate  
myself from the charge against me with respect to the plan you  
sent me, no mention was made of the pump house and if you  
recollect I sent you down a plan of the Rooms made larger  
which plan you gave me back with approbation and desired me to  
get it executed'.<sup>20</sup> Despite this disappointment Boulton  
ordered another 'moveable building' in 1788 for use as a  
'temporary shop'. It was made in a fortnight in London and  
was not copper clad but weather boarded.<sup>21</sup>

Boulton's major reconstruction at Soho began in 1795.  
In August he wrote enthusiastically to Wyatt : 'You'd be  
surprised to see what hills I have removed and holloways filled  
up and alterations made in my grounds'.<sup>22</sup> Later in the same  
year he wrote : 'I own I wish you to see my premises, not that  
I wish you to build anything this year more than what we have  
now in hand [the new Soho Foundry] .... I have no rick yard  
nor barn, neither can I find a situation without injuring the

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20 Ibid, 163, Wyatt to Boulton, 9 Sept. 1788

21 Ibid, 158, Wyatt to Boulton, April 1788

22 Ibid, 186, Boulton to Wyatt, 14 Aug. 1795

view of Soho but I hope you will fix my wavering opinion upon that head, these things being connected with Stables, other offices and House and therefore the outline of the whole should be settled'.<sup>23</sup> It is not known whether Wyatt did in fact advise on the general layout of the new buildings. It is certain, however, that the designs for enlarging the house in 1796 were by his brother James. James designed the stables, office wing and added a third storey to the house. He also proposed a new 'Ionick front with columns'.<sup>24</sup> James Wyatt's building was dogged by difficulties. It was proposed firstly to build the house of white bricks but the bricklayer proved unreliable.<sup>24</sup> It was proposed secondly to cover the exterior with mathematical tiles, as at Chevening. They proved too expensive and the idea was abandoned.<sup>25</sup> James Wyatt failed to send a clerk of works to supervise the early stages of construction. Eventually he sent 'Mr. Heaton' who was a disaster. He was incapable of dealing with the workmen or the building. A series of crises culminated in November 1796 when all the carpenters went on strike, the carpentry foreman resigned and the lead and copper was stolen from the site. In desperation

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23 Ibid, 190, Boulton to Wyatt, 10 Sept. 1795

24 Ibid, 48, Boulton to Wyatt, 7 July 1796

25 Ibid, 50, James Wyatt to Boulton, 27 July 1796

Boulton wrote to James Wyatt : 'I have already paid a very large sum of money to bring my dwelling house into the most uncomfortable state possible as the wind, rain and snow drives into it and for want of the main stack of the chimney being built up to the top of the house it is constantly filled with smoke, by which my books are spoiled, my daughter's health much impaired and my servants obliged to live out of doors ... Mr. H[eaton] is out of humour with everybody and is retrograde in all his proceedings ... [his] folly and bad temper ... interrupt my Building, my peace and my health and my happiness'.<sup>26</sup> He asked that Heaton be replaced immediately and that a slater should be sent as the slates had already been delivered by Samuel Wyatt. The contrast between the efficiency of the elder and the chaotic lack of control of the younger brother could not have been more obvious.

As soon as the roof was on James Wyatt and Heaton were both paid off. Samuel Wyatt was asked to complete the house in 1798. He considerably revised James' elevation, and decided to clad the exterior in patent slate as he had just done so successfully at Shugborough. William Jarrard, 'a very blunt fellow ... [with] a great deal of common sense and

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26 Ibid, 51, Boulton to James Wyatt, 18 Nov. 1796

ingenuity'<sup>27</sup> was dispatched from London to supervise the slating. Wyatt's revisions to James' elevation and his proposals for completing the house can be described in his own words : 'Inclosed I have sent you a design for completing your house the Elevation of which I like better than any I have seen yet and I think upon the whole will be more compact and the library having an eastern aspect will give more variety and make a very handsome end front .... Where I have put your small offices I would have wished to place a conservatory but I don't see what you can do without those conveniences. The columns are intended to be of slate and the capitals of artificial stone. The worst part of the front is the great height of wall over the attic windows. Is it so in the execution? As it recedes so much back from the front it looks heavier in the Drawing than it does in the building'.<sup>28</sup> This makes it clear that the façades of Soho House, which in the past have been attributed to James Wyatt, were designed in detail by Samuel Wyatt. He was, of course, bound by the proportions of James Wyatt's attic storey and the Ionic pilasters were no doubt derived from James' design for an 'Ionick front'. The slate cladding and the pretty semi-circular porch with a shallow dome

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27 Ibid, 195, Wyatt to Boulton, 17 June 1798

28 Ibid, 197, Wyatt to Boulton, 26 June 1798

was Samuel Wyatt's and characteristic of his work. James Wyatt's work consisted only of the carcass of the third storey and office wing. The pretty groin-vaulted parlour inside was probably also his as it is similar to the Dining Room at Canwell. The plainer interiors such as the library with its east-facing bow were, however, Samuel Wyatt's. In July 1798 he sent further instructions for finishing the exterior : 'I think Parker's stucco or even a wash may do for your offices. The stucco is a bad colour, it has a reddish cast and will not look well with the colour of your house. I will try to experiment by mixing flint powder with it in order to give it a better colour .... Pray have you got proper sand to dredge upon the paint for your house? We could not find any in Staffordshire when the work was in hand at Shugborough. I have had the Lynn sand and from the Isle of Wight. I had also a remarkable white sand from the Scilly Islands and have many tons by me but I find none answer so well as what I get from Croydon .... I had better send you a cask of Parker's stucco with directions how to use it by way of trial.'<sup>29</sup> Soho House was completed to Wyatt's design by Christmas 1798 and he submitted his bill in February 1799.<sup>30</sup>

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29 Ibid, 198, Wyatt to Boulton, 10 July 1798

30 Ibid, 199, 120, Wyatt's account for Soho House, 13 Feb. 1799

Wyatt also designed a house at Heathfield, Handsworth for James Watt, Boulton's friend and partner. As executed in 1789 this was a dull building. The final design was, however, the result of a long whittling down process. Wyatt's first plan, produced in April 1787, was very fine. It was a perfect expression on a small scale of the villa form with a central domed bow which he had developed in the mid 1780s at Delamere Lodge, Coton House and Somerley Park. Unlike them, however, Heathfield had a domed bow on each front and the office wing projected at the side not the back. Wyatt described it to Watt as 'a design for your house according to my own ideas but not being acquainted with the situation I do not know that it will be altogether suitable but I shall be ready to alter and turn it to your mind. Its a little out of the common road but if it meets with your approbation I hope that will not be an objection'.<sup>31</sup> In fact the plan was impossible. It failed to take into account the circumscribed nature of the site or the existing house which Watt wished to retain. Wyatt produced three further designs incorporating the old house and each less costly than the one before. The house thus became progressively less exciting and the final

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31 R.L., Boulton & Watt Coll., Box 36, Wyatt to Watt, 17 April 1787

result was far from being a masterpiece. It cost £1,352 and was built by a local man, Charles Glover.<sup>32</sup>

Apart from straightforward architectural work Boulton also employed Wyatt as a surveyor to estimate the value of buildings. In 1776 Wyatt surveyed a house in Henrietta St, London which Boulton wished to purchase. Wyatt calculated that if Boulton bought the thirty-one year lease offered and then sub-let for £108 a year he could make a profit of 14%. Boulton could not raise the £785 needed at that moment so did not proceed with the purchase.<sup>33</sup> In 1798 Boulton employed Wyatt to value the new Soho Foundry after the parish had over-valued it for the poor rate. The disagreement between Boulton and the parish officers dragged on for three years and was submitted to arbitration in 1800. Wyatt was appointed to represent Boulton. In 1801 Wyatt and John Bishton, an independent arbitrator, awarded in Boulton's favour. They valued the foundry at £320 per annum but reduced this in accordance with other property in the neighbourhood to £160 which gave a £4 rate. The land was valued at £36 per annum which was reduced to £18 giving a rate of

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32 Ibid, Box MIII, Wyatt's plans for Heathfield and Charles Glover's account

33 A.O., 103, John Wyatt to Boulton and Fothergill, 12 Nov. 1776

nine shillings.<sup>34</sup>

Wyatt's correspondence with Boulton also illustrates the way he gave contracts for building materials to his relations and friends. In 1787, for example, he asked Boulton if he wanted the copper contract for the twelve 'moveable hospitals' ordered by the Treasury. He wrote : 'My plan is approved and I propose to cover them with copper of half a pound to the foot for which I shall want about 24,000 feet. The sheets must be about 3 feet wide and either 4 or 6 feet long. As you have a rolling mill will it be of any service to you to execute the order? And what price ought I to give for such sheets?'<sup>35</sup>

The most important example of Wyatt's help in propagating Boulton's manufactures was his attempt to find uses for the newly invented steam engine. Boulton had become involved in the production of the steam engine almost by accident. The steam engine had been evolved by James Watt of Glasgow, who intended to put it into practical effect in partnership with John Roebuck. Roebuck went bankrupt in 1773 and his two-thirds share in the production of the engine was transferred to Matthew Boulton in discharge of Roebuck's debts. The

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34 Erich Roll, Early Experiment in Industrial Organisation  
(1930) 140-3

35 A.O., 156, Wyatt to Boulton, 10 Dec. 1787

formal Boulton and Watt partnership began in June 1775 when they were granted a monopoly in the manufacture of steam engines by Act of Parliament.<sup>36</sup> The engine was developed at first as a steam pump for use in mines, particularly the collieries around Birmingham and the copper mines in Cornwall where Boulton had considerable interests.<sup>36</sup> It was only a short step from this to installing the engine in country houses for pumping domestic water supplies. It is possible that the impetus for this development came from Wyatt himself. The earliest reference to a domestic water pump is in a letter from Sir Harbord Harbord of Gunton in 1775. He enquired whether it would be possible for a steam pump to raise water from a well to a reservoir on his estate.<sup>36</sup> Samuel and William were building an extension to James Wyatt's design at Gunton Hall in 1775 so the idea may have derived from them.<sup>37</sup> That Wyatt had suggested applying the pump to domestic water supplies is confirmed in a reply from Boulton and Watt to Wyatt in 1776 : 'Informed Mr. Sam Wyatt we are going to undertake the erection of several small engines for supplying

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36 Roll, 16-75

37 Anon. History of Norfolk III (1781) 66. The house was enlarged between c1772 and 1781. It was designed by James Wyatt and built by Samuel and William.

Gentlemen's houses with water and would execute the two his cousin John Wyatt spoke to Mr. Boulton about.<sup>38</sup> This suggests that Boulton and Watt had not considered making domestic steam pumps until Wyatt enquired about them. Apart from Gunton Wyatt proposed a steam pump at Shardeloes and in many of the victualling yards.<sup>39</sup>

His most ambitious idea was to suggest a steam pump for supplying north London with water. His project was intended as an alternative to the Duke of Portland's for diverting the R. Colne nineteen miles from Gulls Wells near Harefield (Middlesex) to London. Wyatt outlined his plan in a letter to Boulton in 1788. Two years previously he had sunk a well in Manchester Square. From this he deduced that a well thirty or forty feet in diameter 'might by means of one of your engines raise a sufficient quantity of water for this part of town which is become very opulent and the New River does not supply more than the ground floor and I will venture to say there are 4,000 houses or more that would give 2 guineas per year to have water raised to the second floor for purposes of water closets only'. He added characteristically that

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38 R.L., Letter Book A, Boulton & Watt to Wyatt, 2 Nov. 1776

39 A.O., 123, Wyatt to Boulton, 6 Oct. 1781

perhaps Mr Watt, who knew the Duke of Portland, would discuss this with him 'to prevent the rival scheme from 'ripening' too fast'.<sup>40</sup> Like most of Wyatt's engineering schemes this grandiose proposal came to nothing, but it illustrates perfectly his faith in his friend's engine.

An equally breathtaking project had been carried into execution by 1788. This was the Albion steam flour mill.<sup>41</sup> In October 1781 Watt had obtained a patent for five different mechanisms for producing circular motion.<sup>42</sup> This greatly widened the scope of the steam engine. It could now be harnessed to a mill to grind corn. Wyatt was even more enthusiastic about this development than about the steam pump. The idea of forming a company to build a large steam-operated flour mill rapidly developed in his mind. He also attempted to persuade the Victualling Office to build a steam flour

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40 Ibid, 162, Wyatt to Boulton, 1 Sept. 1788

41 The history of the mill has already been written several times : O. A. Westworth, 'The Albion Steam Flour Mill', Economic History, II (1932) 380-95; A. D. Insall, 'The Albion Mill Story', BA (Hons) thesis, Univ. of Nottingham (1955); J. Mosse, 'The Albion Mill', History thesis, Archit. Assoc. (1963); A. W. Skempton, 'Samuel Wyatt and the Albion Mill', Architectural History, XIV (1971), and 'The Albion Mill foundations', Geotechnique XXI (1971) 203-10

42 Roll, 110

mill in the victualling yard at Weevil, Gosport.<sup>43</sup> The Victualling Office scheme came to nothing owing to the cessation of the War of American Independence. The collapse of that, however, gave added impetus to his own scheme to build a mill in London. It was intended as a pioneer demonstration in the capital city of the viability of Boulton and Watt's newly patented rotative steam engine. It was to be shown not merely to be practicable but to be extremely profitable as well. From the business point of view this turned out not to be the case. Wyatt's hopes proved over-optimistic. The quarterly accounts of the mill show a loss more often than a profit. From the architectural and technical point of view, however, the mill was triumphantly successful. It has been rightly described as 'outstandingly the most advanced industrial building of its day'.<sup>44</sup> The machinery by Watt and Rennie has always been famous but Wyatt's structure was also of special interest. It was the first building planned to contain rotative steam engines. The general conception of the mill was Wyatt's; he proposed it in the first place, bought the site,

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43 R.L., Boulton & Watt Coll., Box 36, Wyatt to Watt, 18 Jan. 1783

44 A. W. Skempton, 'Samuel Wyatt and the Albion Mill', Architectural History, XIV (1971) 53

formed the company, designed and built the mill. He managed it during operation and finally after its destruction he was responsible for disposing of the site.

The construction of the mill was a considerable engineering achievement. It was the largest example of an internal timber-framed building so far attempted. It foreshadowed the concept of a building where the outer walls were merely a protective cladding and the load-bearing structural framework was independent. At Albion Mill I this had not yet been achieved for the outer walls were extremely solid and were load-bearing. There were, however, no internal walls. The roof and floors were supported mainly on the internal frame of upright posts and beams. This framework was considered to be sensational. Wyatt himself described it as 'a tremendous piece of Timber work' and added that 'everybody is struck with it'.<sup>45</sup> It represented his finest carpentering achievement. Even James Watt who was not easily moved to praise was impressed. He reported to Matthew Boulton that despite fears to the contrary 'the building has never reeled an iota but ... it has no walls and consists merely of floor posts set upon one another ...'.<sup>46</sup>

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45 R.L., Boulton & Watt Coll., Box 36, Wyatt to Boulton,  
30 Oct. 1785

46 Ibid, Watt to Boulton, 5 Nov. 1785

The mention of 'no walls' refers, of course, only to the absence of internal walls. The outer walls were very solid, being nearly four feet thick at the base and tapering to just over two feet at the top.<sup>47</sup>

The mill was distinguished by foundations of engineering interest. The timber posts of the lowest floor were supported on walls or pillars in the cellar. These in turn rested on deep footings which were connected under the cellar floor by a series of inverted tunnel vaults constructed of brick.<sup>48</sup> Thus the whole of the mill foundations formed a brick 'raft' 160 feet long and 120 feet wide. In this way the weight of the building was evenly distributed over the whole site, which greatly reduced the downward pressure of the building and the danger of settling. Furthermore the foundation raft was sunk about nine feet below ground level. From this Professor A. W. Skempton has deduced that the depth of excavation created an upward pressure equivalent to about half the total weight of the building.<sup>49</sup> The foundation of the mill was

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47 Skempton, 54

48 R.L., Boulton & Watt Coll., Wyatt's 'General Section' of the mill, 4 Nov. 1781

49 A. W. Skempton, 'The Albion Mill Foundations', Geotechnique XXI (1971) 203-10

thus partially buoyant. This further reduced the danger of settling in the soft ground of the river bank. It is not clear whether Wyatt was aware of the principle of buoyant foundations which he had employed. It seems unlikely that he could have been so far ahead of his contemporaries in understanding that the downward pressure of a building could be reduced by excavation. If he had been fully aware of this principle surely he would have made the depth of excavation equal to more than half the weight of the building? It is clear that Wyatt understood in a general way that by making the foundations cover the whole site he could greatly strengthen the building. This is expressed in a letter to Watt in June 1784 : 'As I make the foundations to cover the whole area of the Ground by means of inverted arches I find them very troublesome and have taken a great deal of time but I have the satisfaction to think that I could not have pursued any mode so effectual for the safety of the building.'<sup>50</sup> It seems most likely that Wyatt simply saw this foundation as a variant on the strong brick-vaulted cellars that supported his country houses. Even so, the Albion Mill foundation is the earliest known example of a partially buoyant foundation raft such as

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50 R.L., Boulton & Watt Coll., Box 36, Wyatt to Watt, 8 June 1784

was only to become commonplace in the 20th century.

The architectural treatment of the exterior of the mill gave no hint of the constructional ingenuities which it clad. It was simply a large, plain cubic building of white brick. The street front, where the ground level was two storeys higher than on the river side, had a domestic appearance. It thus echoed the scale of the four-storeyed houses on the other side of Albion Place and formed a nearly symmetrical approach to Blackfriars Bridge. The corner next to the bridge contained the mill manager's house, from 1788 occupied by Wyatt himself. The rest of the front was given over to administrative offices. The river façade closely resembled a warehouse of the period. It was both taller and narrower than the street façade, being six storeys high and seven bays wide. There was a danger that such a façade would appear too narrow and monotonous, but Wyatt avoided this by treating the two lowest storeys as a heavily rusticated basement under a smooth plinth of Portland stone. He also varied the window shapes. These included lunettes, two varieties of tripartite windows and round-headed windows as well as plain rectangular sashes. The most dramatic feature of the facade was the Piranesian archway, with a grotesque keystone, leading from the river to the internal dock for loading and unloading corn and flour. Wyatt's first elevations for the mill had been more varied and

less monumental, with raised angle pavilions and two segmental bow windows overlooking the river.<sup>51</sup> As executed, the Mill formed the only dignified architectural composition on the south bank of the river and was fully worthy of its position flanking Mylne's noble bridge. It provided an industrial echo of the two great north bank compositions, one residential and the other bureaucratic.

The building history of the Mill is better documented than that of any other of Wyatt's buildings except Trinity House. Many of the connected letters have already been published, but a brief resumé is necessary here. Wyatt was the moving force from beginning to end. He devoted a great deal of his time in the early 1780s to the mill, probably at the expense of the rest of his architectural practice. His architectural commissions in the 1780s are certainly fewer than in the 1790s. The first step was to find a site in central London on the river for ease of transport. The ideal place presented itself in 'Hammerton's Ground' on the south east side of Blackfriars Bridge early in 1783. Wyatt successfully negotiated its purchase in March.<sup>52</sup> This was followed by the formation of

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51 Ibid, Steamboat Box. Wyatt's elevations for the mill.

52 A.O., 127, Wyatt to Boulton, 5 March 1783

the Albion Mill Company to provide financial backing for the venture.<sup>53</sup> It consisted of Samuel Wyatt, Matthew Boulton and James Watt, together with William Matthews (Boulton's friend and banker), Joah Bates (a friend of Wyatt's and an official at the Victualling Office) together with somebody called William Curtis who soon sold his share to John Frere.<sup>54</sup> Wyatt immediately produced detailed plans for the mill and Boulton and Watt started work on a model for the steam engine. A formal order for the first engine was submitted in July 1783 by the company.<sup>55</sup> Work on the site was held up in 1783 by a 'tedious altercation' with the Committee for Thames and Canal Navigation over the proposed line of the river front. The Committee considered that Wyatt was encroaching on the river but he maintained that this was necessary if the mill was to form a right angle with Mylne's bridge. The matter was settled in Wyatt's favour after Mylne's opinion had been heard.<sup>56</sup> Excavation of the dock was begun, however, and in

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53 Ibid, 125, Wyatt to Boulton, 20 Feb. 1783

54 R.L., Boulton & Watt Coll., Box 36, Wyatt's account for building the Albion Mill.

55 A.O., 132, Wyatt & William Curtis to Boulton & Watt, 19 July 1783

56 R.L., Boulton & Watt Coll., Box 36, Wyatt to Boulton 2 Nov. 1783

1784 the time-consuming foundations were completed. In November 1784 John Rennie arrived at the mill to supervise the construction of the engine house and machinery.<sup>57</sup> By October 1785 the roof was ready for slating and the mill was completed early in 1786.<sup>58</sup> At that time Sir John Call (the military engineer) and John Grant bought a fifth share and lent the company enough money to pay off the £7,169 19. 7 which still remained of the building bill.<sup>59</sup> The total cost of the mill and first engine, according to the account drawn up in February 1786, was £16,769 19. 7.<sup>60</sup> Professor A. W. Skempton has worked out that, though a seemingly large sum, the unit cost of the building was only 2s 4d per square foot. This was no more than that of contemporary mills of traditional construction.<sup>61</sup> The mill was working by March when an official opening ceremony was held. This was a splendid affair attended by a host of Watt, Boulton and Wyatt's most distinguished friends, including Sir Joseph Banks, Henry

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57 Ibid, Rennie to Watt, 25 Nov. 1784

58 A. O., 137, Wyatt to Boulton, 13 Dec. 1785

59 Ibid, Wyatt to Boulton, 20 Dec. 1785

60 R.L., Boulton & Watt Coll., Box 36, Wyatt's account, 14 Jan. 1786

61 A. W. Skempton, 'Samuel Wyatt and the Albion Mill', Architectural History XIV (1971) 63

Cavendish, Lord Penrhyn and Josiah Wedgwood.<sup>62</sup>

Samuel Wyatt decided to superintend the business side of the mill himself. James Watt had wanted this to be done by a professional businessman and had suggested a Mr Jeffries of Kidderminster.<sup>63</sup> Wyatt, however, wished to continue his close association with the mill and to superintend its working just as he had its design and construction. This was agreed to by the company. There were endless difficulties. Sometimes Malcolm Logan, who was responsible for the maintenance of the engine, would come in late 'drunk as any lord' and complain that 'the devil was in the engine'.<sup>64</sup> Even more difficult to control was John Rennie, then working on the mill's second engine. Full of the arrogance of youth and genius he deeply resented Wyatt's constant protective fussing and meddling in matters which Rennie felt he knew far more about. In June 1786 he wrote to Watt complaining of 'Mr Wyatt's strange overbearing disposition', and 'his interference in matters he is no means a judge of'.<sup>65</sup> The trouble was,

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62 O. A. Westworth, 'The Albion Steam Flour Mill', Economic History II (1930) 33

63 R.L., Boulton & Watt Coll., Box 36, Watt to Wyatt, 12 Dec. 1785

64 A.O., 140, Wyatt to Boulton, 1786

65 R.L., Boulton & Watt Coll., Box 36, Rennie to Watt, 28 June 1786

however, more likely to have arisen from Rennie's feeling of self-importance than Wyatt's. Fortunately Watt was able to prevent Rennie's personal animosity from interfering with work on the mill.

Contrary to expectations the mill did not prove profitable. The accounts usually showed a loss or at best broke even. Wyatt remained unshakeably optimistic. Watt, however, was more gloomily realistic. After perusing the accounts for the last quarter of 1789 he wrote to Wyatt : 'let us always know the extent of our hopes and not wilfully deceive ourselves.'<sup>66</sup> The preparations for war with Revolutionary France raised fresh hope of large orders from the Victualling Office.<sup>67</sup> Watt even hoped that it might prove possible to sell the mill itself to the Victualling Office and thereby get ourselves all out of a concern which does not seem to promise much profit if we may judge from the past.'<sup>68</sup> Wyatt's reaction to this drastic proposal to dispose of his beloved mill to which he had devoted so much of his time over eight years is not known. Deliverance of a more dreadful kind was at hand. In the early morn-

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66 Ibid, Watt to Wyatt, 3 Dec. 1789.

67 Ibid, Watt to Wyatt, 11 May 1790

68 Ibid, Watt to Wyatt, 22 Aug. 1790

ing of 2 March 1791 the mill was totally gutted by fire. Only the Mill House itself escaped owing to the thickness of its walls. It was the most picturesque fire of the period. As such it was illustrated sixteen years later by Ackermann, who also supplied a gleeful description of the 'sad calamity': 'The flames burned out in so many different directions and with such incredible fury and intolerable heat that it was impossible to approach on any side till the roof and interior part of the building tumbling in completed the general conflagration in a column of fire so awfully grand as to illuminate for a while the whole horizon.'<sup>69</sup> A great mob gathered to witness the spectacle including the undignified bundling of the Wyatts' furniture into the street.<sup>69</sup> Poor Wyatt was devastated. It was a month before he felt able to reply to Boulton's letter of sympathy and enquiry with the sad words: 'I cannot help declaring that at times I am ready to sink with the loss of it'.<sup>70</sup> The horror of the event was intensified by the malicious gossip to which it gave rise. About this Boulton wrote to Wyatt: 'I know not whether the catastrophe itself or the exaggerated paragraphs have given the most

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69 R. Ackermann, Microcosm of London II (1808) 36-43

70 R. L., Boulton & Watt Coll., Box 36, Wyatt to Boulton, 19 April 1791

vexation.'<sup>71</sup> An anonymous attack on the Mill Company in Woodfall's Journal in June was the last straw. Boulton composed a splendid reply which he sent to Wyatt for his opinion thereon. It ran : 'The Albion Mill Company cannot think it necessary to answer anonymous writers who like assassins attack them from behind a Bush but when any person of respectability openly comes forward (as a man of probity always will do) they will then employ the proper means to defend themselves. In the meantime they must consider those who so industriously labour to inflame the minds of the publick against a fallen establishment as justly meriting to be ranked in the same class with the malicious incendiaries who set it on fire.'<sup>72</sup> The destruction of the mill was not, however, the work of 'malicious incendiaries'. It was caused by over-heating of part of the engine. Fortunately it had been insured for a total of £41,000 with various insurance companies.<sup>73</sup> The business of negotiating with them and deciding what to do with the burnt-out premises fell to Wyatt. It was to occupy much of his time at intervals over

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71 A.O., 172, Boulton to Wyatt, 14 March 1791

72 Ibid, Boulton to Wyatt, 27 June 1791

73 H. O. Raynes, A History of British Insurance (1964) 196-200

the next nine years.

The story of the attempts to restore and dispose of the Albion Mill is interesting because of the engineering projects to which these indirectly gave rise. Immediate restoration of the ruined building as a mill by the company was out of the question because the insurance companies chose to pay cash rather than to re-instate.<sup>73</sup> It was decided to take advantage of the riverside site of the mill to convert it into a warehouse. Such an extension of warehouse space was more than necessary in the 1790s as London's docking facilities were acutely inadequate. Warehouse accommodation had not been extended since the sixteenth century. This was the result of the system of 'legal quays'. Designated in 1588 they restricted all the commerce of the city to a mere 1,400 lineal feet of quay on the north bank of the river west of the Tower. Such restrictions were of course ridiculous in the late eighteenth century. Proposals for warehouse accommodation elsewhere on the river were opposed by vested interests in the City.<sup>74</sup> Wyatt's first warehouse plan was to sell the Albion Mill to the Government restored as a tobacco warehouse. His six drawings for this survive. They show that the ex-

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74 G. Broadbank, A History of the Port of London, I (1921) 76

terior was to be restored to its original appearance and the interior rebuilt with a timber frame.<sup>75</sup> This proposal met with heavy opposition from the legal quays. Counter-petitions were immediately lodged with the Treasury by the Vintners Company, the Society of Tacklehouse Porters, the Ticket Porters and the Fellowship of Carmen and Lightermen all of whom 'being concerned in the trade of the free Quays of the City' regarded the scheme as 'materially prejudicial' to their livelihood.<sup>76</sup> As a result the Treasury prevaricated in a most frustrating way. A year and a half later, in November 1792, Boulton wrote to Wyatt complaining that 'this is certainly a very disagreeable business to us all and therefore it is the most desirable it should be brought to a conclusion for 'tis better we should at once be shot with a cannon ball than be pricked to Death by Treasury pins and needles.'<sup>77</sup> Wyatt had the most to grumble about for it was he who had to answer the interminable quibbles and attend all the boring committees as the matter shuttled backwards and forwards between the Treasury, the Customs and the Tobacco Officer. He seems to have realised gradually

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75 P.R.O., MR99 and MPD128

76 Guildhall Library, City Land Journal, 18 May 1792. (Quoted by D. Stroud, George Dance (1971) 151)

77 A.O., 180, Boulton to Wyatt, 9 Nov. 1792

that the attempt to dispose of the mill as a tobacco warehouse was hopeless. In July, however, a Bill was passed by Parliament for warehousing coffee. This offered a new opportunity for disposing of the site.<sup>78</sup>

In August 1795 Wyatt offered the ruin to the Board of Excise with plans for restoring it as a coffee warehouse.<sup>79</sup> As an optional extra, costing £4,000, he offered to give the building a measure of fire-proofing by 'Iron plating the several floors, story posts etc.'<sup>80</sup> This shows that he was already working on a practicable scheme of fire-proof construction which was to culminate in his patent for a completely iron-framed system of construction in 1800. This proposal seemed to have a far better chance of success than the tobacco warehouse scheme. In November Wyatt reported that 'the Board of Excise ... have made a report to the Treasury intirely in favour of our premises'.<sup>80</sup> Then just as everything seemed to be proceeding hopefully Wyatt's calculations were upset completely by developments in the Port of London

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78 R.L., Boulton & Watt Coll., Box 36, Wyatt to Boulton & Watt, 11 July 1795

79 P.R.O., MR98 and MPD124

80 R.L., Boulton & Watt Coll., Box 36, Wyatt to Boulton, 16 Nov. 1795

itself. Conditions there had reached crisis point. Following the outbreak of war in 1793 anxiety at the condition of the port had resolved itself into action in the form of a spate of meetings and tracts. This agitation was successful largely as a result of the enterprise of Samuel Vaughan, a Director of the Royal Exchange Assurance Co.<sup>81</sup> The movement culminated in proposals for completely new docks and warehouses on a large scale down-river, east of the Tower. Such a scheme would obviously reduce the value of sites up-river west of the obstructive Old London Bridge. Wyatt decided that in the circumstances he ought to design new docks for the favoured site at the Isle of Dogs without any warehouses at all. Thus he entered the struggle over the future of the docks in the guise of Civil Engineer. He published a pamphlet, of which no copy survives, laying out his own proposals for the docks and expounded his views on the subject to anybody who would listen.<sup>82</sup> Farington noted what must have been a typical scene in February 1796. 'Dance and I called on to look at his designs for new docks and warehouses. Saml. Wyatt was there. He contends for the liberty of the wharfs for landing

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81 G. Broadbank, A History of the Port of London, I (1921) 76

82 A.O., 190, Boulton to Wyatt, 10 Sept. 1795

goods being allowed wherever a person possessing a certain portion of land on the banks of the River will them. This would extend the general convenience and greatly add to the respectable appearance of the banks of the river.'<sup>83</sup>

Early in 1796 a parliamentary committee was set up to investigate the inadequacy of the existing system and to receive plans for new docks.<sup>84</sup> Wyatt presented an ambitious scheme for a complex of three parallel docks at the Isle of Dogs with accommodation for 710 ships and 800 lighters and, of course, without any warehouses or even wharfs.<sup>85</sup> He intended that the ships in his docks should be loaded from lighters and vice versa, so that all merchandise would be stored up-river in private warehouses. The only difficulty lay in assessing customs duty in a dock without a quay. Samuel Wyatt, with Matthew Boulton's help, went to ingenious lengths to overcome this problem. They devised a 'floating wharf' equipped with a special weighing machine to be constructed by Boulton at a cost of £50.<sup>84</sup> It was based on those employed on canals in the midlands. The 'wharf' would

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83 Farington, 547, Sunday 21 Feb. 1796

84 Parliamentary Papers, Reports of House of Commons 1792-1802, XIV, 267-335

85 P.R.O., MPD40

draw up between the ship and waiting lighter so that all goods would be first transferred on to it and 'each article ... weighed or gauged and the duties immediately ascertained'.<sup>84</sup> The goods would then be transferred to a lighter and ferried up river. This scheme was practicable but highly inconvenient. Trinity House considered it 'abundantly more beneficial to revenue than commerce because exact duties could be ascertained on cargoes thus if goods [were] lost while landing (i.e. in reaching the warehouse or quay) the merchant would still have to pay duty on it'.<sup>86</sup> There would also be delays because all cargoes would have to be unloaded first on to the 'floating wharf' and then from there to the lighter.<sup>86</sup> Although everybody else thought Wyatt's scheme more beneficial to the Customs than to shipping the Customs Commissioners themselves were most hostile to the scheme. They considered that 'such a complete and wide departure from the ancient and approved mode of raising the revenue of customs is ... inconsistent with and ... overturns the whole system of examination and control tried, established and sanctioned in this department.' They went on to criticise the scheme as 'hazardous, inexpedient' and expensive.<sup>86</sup> So Wyatt's proposal for the new London Docks was not accepted

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<sup>86</sup> Parliamentary Papers, XIV, 442-50

nor, as it turned out, were any other of the schemes submitted to the Committee. There is no doubt, however, that Wyatt and Boulton's proposal was the most original one presented. Having heard all the evidence Parliament resolved in 1799 to authorise the building of new docks and warehouses at the Isle of Dogs. Sir John Call passed on the bad news to Soho. 'Wet Docks at the Isle of Dogs are resolved on and it is reported that warehouses are also to be built there. Should such a plan take place the banks of the Thames especially above London Bridge will lose much of their value so that our property seems on all occasions to experience depreciations.'<sup>87</sup> Wyatt's ingenious attempt to defend his financial interest in the banks of the Thames had failed. The proposal for the coffee warehouse on the mill site had faded away as it was absorbed into the larger problem of the future of the London docks as a whole, and was finally rendered obsolete by the development of events there. The Mill Company toyed with the idea of seeking compensation from the Treasury for the depreciation of their site caused by the decision to build warehouses at the new docks.<sup>88</sup> This proposal did not come to anything

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87 R.L., Boulton & Watt Coll., Box 36, Sir John Call to Boulton & Watt, 20 June 1799

88 Ibid, General Meeting of Albion Mill Proprietors, 1 July 1799

either.

Wyatt's design for the London Docks had two engineering postscripts which deserve mention. These were his proposals for re-building London Bridge and for driving a tunnel under the Thames from Gravesend to Tilbury. Wyatt's bold scheme for London docks together with the design of the Albion Mill gained him a reputation as an engineer and he was consulted over both the bridge and the tunnel. While investigating the condition of the port of London the parliamentary committee had come to the conclusion that the medieval London Bridge, with its narrow arches, was among the principal obstacles to shipping on the river. Thus in 1800 the committee produced a third report advocating the rebuilding of the bridge 'upon improved principles'.<sup>89</sup> The 'opinions of several eminent artists' including Telford, Mylne, Dance and Wyatt were sought over the design of the new bridge. Most of the proposals were for a stone bridge but Telford's, Wilson's and Wyatt's were for an iron bridge. Wyatt submitted 'a very elegant painted model' for 'a bridge intirely constructed of cast iron except that he proposes to build the piers of granite and to fill up the superstructure with Chalk in order to prevent any concussion

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89 Parliamentary Papers, XIV, Report on London Bridge, 28 July 1800, 543-46

from the passage of carriages.'<sup>89</sup> The committee did not recommend any of the designs individually but contented itself with a generalised report on the proposal for a new bridge. Its summing up of the pros and cons for stone and iron bridges is interesting enough to deserve quoting in full : 'By some architects a stone bridge is recommended and by others Iron bridges of different constructions. In favour of a stone bridge it is contended that a work of such importance ought to be constructed of the most solid and durable Materials and that it is safer to depend on a structure which though more expensive in its erection is calculated to last for ages without any considerable decay, than to trust to the success of an experiment which has not yet been tried on any great scale for a sufficient length of time. On the other hand it is asserted that an iron bridge is more peculiarly adapted to a work of this kind, as it obstructs the waterway and impedes the navigation much less than any other and is alone capable of admitting of arches to an extent sufficient for the passage of large ships; that with respect to its stability no good reason can be given for entertaining doubts; that the experiments hitherto tried have been uniformly successful and satisfactory; that the difference in point of expense is so great ... that in point of economy it would deserve the preference even if its durability were ascertained to be much inferior

to that of a stone bridge; and that any accidental injury or partial decay must from the structure of the Bridge be immediately discovered and very easily repaired.'<sup>89</sup> Nothing came of this report immediately. It was only in the 1820s that the intention to build a new bridge became earnest and John Rennie designed the magnificent stone structure now in the Arizona Desert.

Wyatt's model for an iron bridge showed how far his engineering interests had developed. As the report of the committee suggests, the arguments for a stone bridge were largely ones of architectural effect, and for an iron bridge, engineering possibilities. Instead of a vast neo-classical stone structure, like the megalomaniac design submitted by Dance the Younger, Wyatt proposed a pure engineering solution without any architectural pretensions. The construction of his bridge would have been according to his patent of the previous month.<sup>90</sup> This proposed that hollow iron tubes be fitted together without screws to form a ribbed framework. Iron plates were to cover this and support the road surface. Although ingenious, this method of bridge construction would

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90 Repertory of Arts & Manufactures, XIV (1801) 145. 1800 Patent 2410. 'A Method of making and constructing Bridges, Warehouses and other Buildings without the use of wood.'

have been highly complex on a large scale. It seems never to have been put into practice.

Another abortive project was a plan to drive a tunnel beneath the Thames from Gravesend to Tilbury. The attention drawn to the Thames east of the City by the proposals for new docks had underlined the need for improved means of communication between the two banks of the river. Military development along both banks of the estuary, such as the enlargement of the victualling yard at Deptford, also created a need for more efficient communication between the two sides, particularly in war time. Because of the great width of the river at that point a tunnel seemed to be the only realistic solution. Ralph Dodd, an obscure civil engineer from Newcastle, first advocated driving a tunnel under the river in 1798. He surveyed the area and published a pamphlet entitled Reports etc. on the proposed dry tunnel at Gravesend. He followed this up by organising a public meeting at Gravesend to enlist public support for his scheme. He quickly obtained influential backing including the support of the Board of Ordnance. At the second meeting of the tunnel supporters in September 1798 a subscription list was opened and a committee selected from the supporters of the scheme, including Lord Petre and Claude Scott, both of whom were patrons and friends of Samuel Wyatt.

The new committee decided not to rely entirely on one individual's opinion in such an important matter. Probably at Lord Petre's and Claude Scott's suggestion they asked Wyatt to survey the area and advise on the site of the tunnel. Wyatt made several borings to ascertain the substrata at different points on the riverbank. He submitted his proposals to the committee and also outlined them in a letter to Matthew Boulton at the same time. 'You have no doubt heard of a scheme projected by a Mr. Dodd for making a Tunnell from Gravesend in Kent to Tilbury Fort in Essex and Kentish Gentlemen who have subscribed £30,000 finding Mr. Dodd so trifling and unsteady in all his reports consulted me on the subject and I have submitted a plan to them which meets with general approbation. I recommend the sinking of large wells on each side of the River to the depth of 140 feet and about 10 feet from the bottom of these wells to drive a level or sough quite across the River which will serve as a drain for the water while the great Tunnell is carrying on by fixing a steam engine in each of these wells. At least this kind of trial will show the probability of carrying the great work into execution.'<sup>91</sup>

Dodd greatly resented Wyatt's interference. He regarded

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91 A.O., 199, Wyatt to Boulton, 13 Feb. 1799

Wyatt as an interloping rival who was trying to wrest the tunnel contract from him. The jealousy thus aroused was one of the chief reasons for the failure of the project. At first there had been considerable grounds for optimism. By February 1799 a capital sum of £30,000 had been subscribed and an act of parliament obtained for incorporating a company to build the tunnel.<sup>92</sup> A site had been chosen and the first experimental shaft sunk under the direction of Wyatt, Colonel Twiss (a committee member) and 'Mr. Ludham' (a mining expert from Northamptonshire). At a meeting of the proprietors on 7 May 1800 Colonel Twiss reported that he considered the project practicable but had no faith in the organisation set up to execute it. Wyatt reported that he and Ludham had sunk a well 10 feet in diameter, but after 41 feet and 9 inches there was so much water that a steam engine would be necessary to pump it dry. Ralph Dodd was now acting on the principle that if he were not to become redundant he must oppose all Wyatt's proposals as a matter of course. He therefore maintained that a steam engine was an unnecessary expense and that a horse gin would be adequate. He was allowed to try this and was proved wrong. A steam engine was ordered from

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92 Statute 39, George III, c 73

Boulton and Watt and arrived in mid 1802. On 7 July 1802 John Rennie and William Jessop, two leading members of the engineering profession, came to inspect the well and advise on future developments. The well was now 70 feet deep. The pump was deliberately stopped so that the well filled up with 60 feet of water. The engine was then started and was able to pump the well dry in two hours. Rennie and Jessop fully supported Wyatt's proposal. They advised that the well be sunk to 145 feet to reach below the water-logged strata of chalk. This was never done. Gradually the whole scheme was abandoned. In October 1802 the engine house was destroyed by fire, and by the end of the year the well was still no more than 80 feet deep. Nothing further was achieved after 1802; the last report submitted to the proprietors on 3 March 1803 showed that the incomplete well alone had cost £15,242 10. 4½, and elections to the committee continued merely as a formality until 1806 when even that was abandoned. Between 1806 and 1810 when the project finally died the secretary simply noted that every meeting had been adjourned.

The failure of the scheme was due entirely to poor organisation and Dodd's incapacity. His estimates, for instance, were ludicrously unrealistic. Sinking the well cost as much as he had predicted would complete the whole scheme. He should have been sacked at the beginning. The committee's

decision to employ Wyatt on an informal basis to direct works without either consulting Dodd or getting rid of him created friction and muddle. The project was by no means impracticable. If properly managed and organised it could have been executed within the sum subscribed. This was proved when Brunel successfully drove a tunnel under the river at Rotherhithe about thirty years later.<sup>93</sup> That the Gravesend tunnel was abandoned was no reflection on Wyatt's engineering ability but upon the lack of organisation of the committee and Dodd's stupidity and jealousy. The failure of this scheme, like most of the other engineering projects in which Wyatt was involved, must have been a bitter disappointment. He never referred to it in later letters to Boulton.

The final stage in the Albion Mill saga is also a story of failure and disappointment. In 1800 the mill company was finally terminated. Boulton and Watt were each paid £1,666 compensation for dropping out in March.<sup>94</sup> The shell was left in Wyatt's own possession. Its reconstruction as a warehouse was now completely out of the question. The affairs of the mill had almost reached nadir. Despite this Wyatt's hopes

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93 R. P. Cruden, History of Gravesend (1843) 456-65

94 R.L., Boulton & Watt Coll., Box 36, Wyatt to Boulton & Watt, 20 Dec. 1799

for the future were still high. He had at last successfully devised a system of fire-proof construction after years of experiment. His solution was a structure completely of iron. This would enable him to rebuild the mill without the fatal flaw of the first building. He patented his new method of construction in June 1800. It consisted of cast iron columns placed on top of each other and supporting groin vaults composed of iron plates.<sup>90</sup> Wyatt managed to interest a group of influential persons in his new scheme for a fire-proof reconstruction of the mill. This group, which called itself the London Flour Company, included the Duke of Bedford, Earl of Egremont, Sir Frederick Eden many government officials and city aldermen.<sup>95</sup> It was empowered by act of parliament to produce flour for the capital.<sup>95</sup> Wyatt hoped that the London Flour Company would buy the mill from him with plans for reconstruction. His designs for the restoration provided for an internal structure entirely of iron. The rebuilt mill was to contain four steam engines.

From the beginning the project was fraught with difficulties. The new company proved unexpectedly independent, and at the first meeting and election of directors in August 1800

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid, Rennie to Boulton, 2 Sept. 1800

Wyatt and his associates, such as John Grant and S. P. Cockerell, were deliberately not elected. The board wanted 'no person among them who cannot act independently among which they consider most of the proprietors of the late Albion Mills'.<sup>95</sup> Despite this unexpected setback the project proceeded for a time. In February 1802 Wyatt ordered four steam engines on behalf of the Flour Company from Boulton and Watt. He also sent them a copy of his designs for rebuilding the mill. These were of the greatest importance: the mill was to be entirely reconstructed in cast iron according to his 1800 patent within the old shell. The outer walls were thus to be non-load-bearing. Albion Mill II would have been the first building where the outer walls were completely detached from the inner load-bearing structure. This marked an advance on the semi-independent timber structure of Albion Mill I. The proposed internal framework was the most advanced multi-storeyed iron structure so far devised. According to Professor A. W. Skempton no industrial building with such an advanced and sophisticated structure was to be produced for many years afterwards.<sup>96</sup>

Sadly, like all the earlier schemes, this revolutionary

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96 A. W. Skempton, 'Samuel Wyatt and the Albion Mill',  
Architectural History, XIV (1971) 68

rebuilding project came to nothing. The reasons for this are not clear. Possibly it was lack of finance or, more likely, lack of real interest on the part of the London Flour Company. At some unspecified date the street front of the mill was converted into a row of houses. By 1811 the area behind had become a timber yard. John Rennie also built a workshop on part of the site. Appropriately it was from here that he carried out his business as a mechanical engineer throughout his life.<sup>97</sup> The site of the mill was finally obliterated by the Dover and Chatham railway in the mid-nineteenth century.

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97 S. Smiles, Lives of the Engineers, II (1862) 141

CHAPTER IV

COUNTRY HOUSES

Samuel Wyatt's country houses formed the largest part of his architectural practice. It is appropriate that it is for these that he is best known today, although this is partly due to the hazards of survival. Most of his work in London has disappeared. His engineering projects were not executed or have been destroyed. The farms that were his special concern lie overlooked and often derelict in remote places. Doddington, Shugborough and Tatton, however, survive in good condition. Wyatt designed country houses for a period of thirty-seven years and equalled the output of his most fashionable contemporaries, though not, of course, his brother James Wyatt who had the largest country house practice of any eighteenth-century English architect.

Although Wyatt's houses form a considerable group they are not scattered geographically all over the country like those of James Wyatt or Robert Adam. They are concentrated in two areas, the north-west midlands and the South-East around London. There are no houses by him in the North, the south midlands or the west country and nothing at all in Ireland or Scotland. The location of his houses admirably illustrates the build-up of his architectural practice from two points, his old home in Staffordshire and his chosen base

in London. On the one hand he designed houses for the employers, friends and connections of his family and their relations and neighbours. On the other he worked for people he met in London. The Albion Mill project, for instance, introduced him to a wide circle of people and several commissions resulted.

As well as being more concentrated geographically, Samuel's houses are more restricted architecturally than those of James Wyatt. James' houses range from collegiate and cathedral gothick to austere Greek Revival and opulent Roman. Samuel's houses are more consistent. There are no fully-fledged gothick mansions by him. Nearly all his houses are in a restrained Graeco-Roman style. Their detailing is always subordinated to the overall form. In the few cases where he worked in gothick to please a client, as at Panshanger and Penrhyn, the detail was so under-stated as hardly to be noticed. In his classical exteriors the basic shapes were allowed to speak for themselves. His semi-circular bow windows, for instance, were never clad in giant Ionic columns. In scale too, Samuel Wyatt's houses vary less than those of James Wyatt or Jeffry Wyattville. There is nothing in his work to compare with the megalomaniac vastness of Ashridge, Fonthill or Chatsworth. Most of his houses are moderately sized. Even his largest, such as Shugborough or the 'grand

design' for Tatton, are not palatial.

The consistency of scale and style in Wyatt's country houses is partly a reflection of the temperament of his patrons. While from widely different backgrounds, most of them had a predilection for soberness and restraint in architecture. His richest and most aristocratic patrons, like Lord Anson, Lord Petre and 'Coke of Norfolk', were of that circle of serious Whigs with 'advanced' social and political views who supported Fox. They appreciated in Wyatt's work the same virtues of restraint and delicacy that they found in Henry Holland's buildings. Another important group of patrons were Tory gentry, only then, in the late eighteenth century, rebuilding their houses and improving their estates in the way their Whig neighbours had done earlier. Neither their taste nor their means ran to princely extravagances. Many of Wyatt's patrons were industrialists such as Matthew Boulton, James Watt, Daniel Hobson and Thomas Williams. Their taste had a chasteness verging on the puritan. This was allied to scientific interests and sympathy with non-conformist religion, as was so clearly illustrated in the pursuits of the Lunar Society. Another group comprised soldiers like Lord Cornwallis and Lord Harris. Perhaps it is not fanciful to see in their tastes a certain Spartan quality that seems essentially military. Culford, for instance, was modest as the principal

seat of a marquess, and Belmont was remarkably restrained even by Wyatt's standards. Altogether Wyatt's clients appear strikingly sober when compared with the dazzling array of crowned heads, dukes and marquesses who employed his nephew, Sir Jeffry Wyatville.

The contrast between Wyatt's reticent country houses and the extravagant grandeurs of the Regency is not, however, just a reflection of his own style and the character of his patrons. It is also a general one of the period. The architecture of the second half of the eighteenth century, the early neo-classical period, was distinguished by freshness and restraint in decoration and comfort and convenience in planning. This is clearly manifested in the work of Wyatt's contemporaries, particularly Henry Holland and George Dance II. The later neo-classical period saw a reaction from delicacy and reticence towards a rather heavy grandeur and richness exemplified in the work of Nash and Wyatville. This is not just an English architectural phenomenon; in France, for instance, there is exactly the same contrast between the excellent sober architecture of the late Louis XVI and revolutionary periods, so close in spirit to Wyatt's work, and the florid magnificence of the Empire.

The interest of Wyatt's houses lies not in their great grandeur and variety but in their consistency. They form a

closely-knit group distinguished by their perfection within certain limits, unlike the more dramatic achievements of James Wyatt and Robert Adam with their greater successes and greater failures. Within these limits Wyatt's houses fall into four main groups. There are alterations and additions to existing houses such as Berechurch, Blithfield and Dorfold. There are 'mansions' such as Tatton, Shugborough and Hackwood. Then there are two types invented by Wyatt himself; 'belvedere' houses, where the main façade is flanked by two domed bows, such as Herstmonceux and Belmont, and villas, with central domed bows, such as Coton and Delamere. These last two forms were Wyatt's particular contribution to country house design. Both were widely copied, particularly in the north of England. Such architects as Harrison of Chester and the Websters of Kendal were considerably influenced by Wyatt's houses. Wyatt's villas were based on the mid-century Anglo-Palladian villas, such as those of Sir Robert Taylor and James Paine. Wyatt, however, pared away the jagged angular qualities which are the most conspicuous feature of those. Instead he created a harmony of gentle segmental curves expressed in semi-circular bow windows, shallow domes and over-arched windows.

Wyatt's country house practice reached a peak in the 1790s when at least sixteen houses were rising to his design in different parts of the country. In its early stages his

practice was slow to develop. This can be explained by the fact that between 1769 and 1774 most of his energies went into joint works with James in Staffordshire and London, such as the Pantheon and Beaudesert. Alongside this joint activity he was developing his own independent architectural practice. For the first six years he was employed almost entirely on additions and alterations to existing houses. These varied in scale from one room at Dorfold to a proposed wing at Tatton. His first independent country house work was the partial reconstruction of Blithfield Hall (Staffordshire) in 1769 for Sir William Bagot. This was very much a home-grown job. The Wyatts were well-known to the Bagots. Possibly Samuel's father, Benjamin I, bought timber from the Blithfield estate which was famous for its fine oaks. Samuel himself is known to have purchased timber from Blithfield later, for example in 1781 for the roof of Greenwich Hospital chapel. One of the Bagots had taken James Wyatt on his Italian grand tour in 1768. The family produced some of the Wyatts' most loyal patrons.

Sir William Bagot inherited Blithfield in 1768. He immediately started to plan the reconstruction of the rambling antiquated house. He first acquired a design for an orangery from 'Athenian' Stuart, who was working at nearby Shugborough.<sup>1</sup>

XI

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1 William, 3rd Lord Bagot, Memorials of the Bagot Family (Blithfield 1824)

Samuel Wyatt was employed to execute this in 1769. The masonry was the work of his younger brother Joseph of Burton-on-Trent.<sup>2</sup> Sir William's next aim was to rebuild the west wing of the house to provide a suite of new state rooms. Stuart's designs for this seem to have been too ambitious, and Sir William turned to Wyatt in the hope of a less expensive design. Wyatt's drawings for Blithfield survive.<sup>3</sup> They are not signed or dated but some are inscribed in his hand. He produced two alternative designs for the proposed west front, one classical and one gothick. The classical design was a completely plain seven-bay facade with a slightly recessed centre. The gothick alternative was the same but with battlements and blank pointed arches over the ground floor windows. Neither of these had any pronounced character. The insipidity of the gothick design in particular precludes its being the work of James Wyatt. James took his gothick much more seriously than Samuel from the beginning of his career, as the Great Hall at Beaudesert demonstrated. Neither of these plans was executed. Presumably they were too expensive. Instead Sir William contented himself with

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2 Mr Davies, Brighton, Bagot MSS, Account for masonry at the orangery 1769-70

3 Blithfield Hall, Bagot MSS, Drawings for the house

additions to the north-east and south-west corners of the house. The north-east addition contained new offices and private rooms for Sir William and Lady Bagot. The south-west corner contained a large drawing room with a state bedroom and dressing room over. Plans for the north addition in Wyatt's hand survive. There are no drawings for the south-west addition as executed. There is, however, a sophisticated alternative design in the fully-fledged Wyatt style. This proposed an oval drawing room contained within a large bow that foreshadows the 1774 design for the Tatton library. Above this were two circular bedrooms and an oval closet fitted into the same space like the hexagonal rooms over the Saloon at Doddington. This design is a puzzle. It is more accomplished than the other designs and looks later. In 1778 Wedgwood wrote to Sir William about a chimneypiece designed by Wyatt.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps this design dates from then? It was not executed. The present plain rectangular drawing room was definitely begun in 1769. The remaining portion of the former moat was filled in then to make room for it.<sup>5</sup>

The building work at Blithfield was executed by Benjamin

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4 Barlaston, Wedgwood Museum, Wedgwood to Bentley, 16 Oct. 1778

5 Neale, II (2nd series 1829)

Wyatt and Sons' with Samuel in charge of carpentry and Joseph the masonry.<sup>6</sup> Many of the bills survive. These include the payment of £21 to Samuel for 'several plans and estimates for the west and east fronts of the house at Blithfield and surveying the whole'.<sup>6</sup> This substantiates the stylistic evidence that the 1769 designs for Blithfield were his work. The interiors created in 1769, though simple, show all the elements of the fully-developed Wyatt style. Lady Bagot's Room (now the Gold Room) has segmental arched alcoves flanking the chimneypiece. The Drawing Room has sparse Wyatt stucco with festoons and a central rosette on the ceiling. Throughout the house there are elegant Wyatt chimneypieces decorated with anthemion, festoons and paterae. Just as the Wyatt style in this early example has all the characteristics of the later designs, so also there is the same interest in new building techniques and materials. The decorated moulding, for instance, along the skirting board in the State Bedroom is of stamped metal, and interesting example of mass-production. It was probably provided by Matthew Boulton. Another famous Staffordshire figure whose productions were used at Blithfield was Josiah Wedgwood. In 1769 Wedgwood

XIIB

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6 Staffs. R.O., Bagot MSS, D1721/3/215. Building accounts  
1769-70

promised Sir William Bagot 'some large vases to furnish the niches in an elegant room ... just built'.<sup>7</sup> Later in 1778 he provided three plaques to be incorporated in a chimneypiece designed by Wyatt.<sup>4</sup> None of these survive and it is not clear for which rooms they were intended. The exterior of the new south-west addition was curious. It is now, of course, disguised by the gothick dress thrown over the whole house in c1820, but illustrations survive showing it before alteration. It formed a pedimented pavilion with odd fenestration. The whole of the south face was occupied by a tripartite window with columns as the mullions and a lunette over. It was separated from the lower window by a balustrated panel. In this can be seen the predecessor of the tripartite Wyatt window. The west side had two blank windows with two lunettes above. This was unusual in a house and reminiscent of a stable block.

XIIA

At the time that work at Blithfield finished in 1771, Wyatt was employed by James Tomkinson of Dorfold Hall (Cheshire) to create a new library within that Jacobean house. James Tomkinson was a lawyer of Nantwich with a flourishing legal practice in Staffordshire and Cheshire. He had bought Dorfold in 1754 from the Wilbrahams. It is almost certain that he

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7 Barlaston, Wedgwood Museum, Wedgwood to Bentley, 17 Sept. 1769

provided the link between Wyatt and the Tory Cheshire gentry, a large number of whom were to employ him to design their country houses. It is probably that Tomkinson knew Wyatt through his family; some of them may have consulted Tomkinson on legal matters. Tomkinson certainly became a close friend of Wyatt's and was one of the witnesses of his will in 1783.<sup>8</sup> Tomkinson probably introduced Wyatt to Samuel Egerton of Tatton. That led to his designs for the new house there. Among Wyatt's drawings in the library at Tatton is a blank sheet of paper inscribed on one side, in Wyatt's writing, 'Plan for the alterations at Tatton, seat of Samuel Egerton Esq' and on the other 'Henry Tomkinson Esq, Dorfold Hall'.<sup>9</sup> Tomkinson may also have introduced Wyatt to Sir Thomas Broughton of Doddington. They were neighbours though not always on terms of intimacy. In the 1770s they were involved in a law suit against each other.<sup>10</sup> That need not have prevented Tomkinson from bringing Wyatt to Sir Thomas Broughton's notice. The suggestion that Wyatt designed the library at Dorfold is based on the fact that Tomkinson definitely knew Wyatt. Another piece of circumstantial evidence is that Edward, the eldest son of

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8 P.R.O., PROB.11 1457.162, Wyatt's will, 3 Aug. 1783

9 Tatton Park, Wyatt drawings. (Henry was the second son of James Tomkinson)

10 Inf. Charles Roundell

James Tomkinson, employed a Wyatt at his house, Bestock Hall near Davenham. The style of the library is also characteristic of early Wyatt. The room maintains its low Jacobean proportions but the ceiling is completely covered with elaborate stucco work. It is divided into nine panels filled with urns, paterae, fronds of wheat and ribbons. The moulded beams in between are decorated with scrolls and anthemion similar to those in the L-shaped Drawing Room at Blithfield. It is more boldly executed than in later Wyatt houses but the motifs and patterns are unmistakable. The original chimneypiece was also characteristic of Wyatt with anthemion and paterae. The date of the room is given by the central panel of the ceiling which contains a pair of doves and Cupid's bow and arrow. This obviously refers to the marriage of Catherine Maria, James Tomkinson's eldest daughter, to the Rev. George Cotton in 1771.

Blithfield and Dorfold represent the beginning of Wyatt's independent country house practice in the north-west midlands. In 1772 he designed the first of his houses in the South East. This was Berechurch Hall, near Colchester (Essex). Berechurch belonged to Sir Robert Smyth, an ardent francophile. It was an undistinguished early Georgian house. Sir Robert must have wished to provide it with more elegant accommodation. It is not known how Wyatt was introduced to him; possibly they

met as a result of the Pantheon project which brought Wyatt frequently to London at this date. A folio of accounts for Berechurch occurs alongside one for the Pantheon in Wyatt's portrait by L. P. Abbott. Muilman, in his history of Essex published in 1772, speaks of 'great improvements in the house'.<sup>11</sup> That seems to date Wyatt's alterations. Although the exterior was Victorianised in 1882 and the whole house was demolished in about 1960 without being recorded, it is possible to unravel Wyatt's contribution with the help of nineteenth-century sale catalogues.<sup>12</sup> He added three bays to the entrance front and gave the centre a pediment with an ox-eye window. At the same time an elegant aedicule was added to the front door. Rather oddly, although Wyatt's addition was of the same proportions as the old house it contained only one storey within the same height. Inside the new wing were a Dining Room and a Drawing Room. Both rooms were sixteen feet high and contained fine chimneypieces. The Drawing Room had a bow window which was semi-circular inside, and the ceiling was elaborately stuccoed in an Adamesque manner.<sup>13</sup> It was probably Wyatt's

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11 P. Muilman, History of Essex VI (Chelmsford 1772) 333

12 Essex R.O., B101, B641-661, BS164, Sale Catalogues of Berechurch 1877, 1891 and 1921

13 J. A. Rush, Seats in Essex (date of pub. unknown but c1900) 38

finest early interior. It is a pity that it was allowed to disappear so recently without any record being made.

At about the same time Wyatt was introduced to a house, designs for which were to occupy nearly the whole of his architectural career. This was Tatton in Cheshire. It is not known when he was first consulted by Samuel Egerton. The fourth in a series of increasingly ambitious plans for altering the old house is dated 1774.<sup>14</sup> Wyatt's first plan must therefore have been produced some time before that. Wyatt was probably chosen as architect of the new Tatton as a result of the recommendation of James Tomkinson of Dorfold. From 1772 to 1776 Samuel Egerton's cousin, Sir Thomas Egerton, employed James Wyatt on his new house at Heaton the other side of Manchester. Although there is no evidence that Samuel was employed at Heaton before 1777 it is possible that his brother's employment there may have influenced his own at Tatton. The house that Samuel Egerton wished to enlarge was a three-storeyed early eighteenth-century brick structure.<sup>15</sup> It had been extensively altered in the mid-eighteenth century by Thomas Pritchard.<sup>16</sup> He had added new Dining and Drawing Rooms.

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14 Tatton Park, Wyatt drawings

15 There is a date 1718 in the cellar of the present house.

16 John Harris, Catalogue of British Drawings in American Collections (1971) 167

To the north of the house projected narrow office wings enclosing a forecourt.<sup>17</sup> The mid-eighteenth-century additions lacked symmetry, the existing offices were inadequate, and also there was no proper accommodation for Samuel Egerton's large library. Wyatt's first undated proposal made no attempt to overcome these deficiencies; it was principally a design for an octagonal entrance hall flanked by vestibules in the centre of the north front. This was quickly superseded by a more practical plan for an extension at the east end of the house with a Library and Billiard Room. A new kitchen was fitted into a gap at the back of the office wing. This did not meet with approval, and the new kitchen is crossed out in pencil on the plan. The third scheme was an improved version of the second. It created a new kitchen by throwing together two existing rooms. The most striking aspect of this plan was the proposed eastern library extension. It was treated frankly as a large oval room attached to one end of the house but stylistically unrelated to it. This is the first sign of the interest in geometry which was to become one of Wyatt's strongest predilections. Such a proposal was considered too drastic a break from symmetry. The attempt to modernise the

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17 Tatton Park, drawings of the old house

existing office wings was also thought fruitless. It was decided to demolish them and provide new domestic offices and stables west of the house. Wyatt's fourth plan represents a crucial stage in the evolution of the scheme eventually adopted. It reorientated the whole layout of the house: a hundred yards to the west of the house was to be a walled kitchen garden separated by a yard with timber stores and the carpenter's shop from the spacious stable quadrangle and the kitchen yard. This in turn adjoined the long narrow kitchen wing with two further yards behind. It was screened on the south side by an orangery with apsed vestibules at either end. This was the earliest example of the Wyatt innovation of incorporating an orangery in the house layout. Connecting the kitchen wing to the house proper was another wing with less humble offices and private rooms for the family. This plan is interesting as it shows Wyatt's concern for the total layout of a great house and for well-arranged offices. It established the general layout though not the details of the offices as built eleven years later.

The main body of the house was not greatly altered. The east part was to be rebuilt to contain a library 63 feet long. In order to create an integrated south front the central portion comprising the old house was to be screened by a colonnade of LXXXVIA Ionic columns. A more original alternative in the form of a

semi-circular portico is lightly pencilled on the plan. This was a further sign of Wyatt's increasing interest in geometry. This plan is inscribed : 'General plan of the alterations and additions proposed to be made at Tatton House in Cheshire, the seat of Samuel Egerton Esq. Designed 1774 by Sam. Wyatt'.<sup>14</sup> The emphasis on 'Designed' shows that Wyatt definitely considered himself to be an architect by this stage and not just a builder. Nothing came of these plans for financial reasons, and it was not until after Samuel Egerton's death in 1780 that Wyatt achieved anything positive at Tatton.

Another important early Wyatt house in Cheshire was Bostock Hall. The design of this, however, is a great puzzle. Victorian alterations and a complete lack of contemporary documentary material make it impossible to come to any definite conclusions. Twycross, in 1850, attributes the house to 'Wyatt' without specifying which.<sup>18</sup> Another source gives the date of building as 1775.<sup>19</sup> Basically the house is a three-storeyed brick L-shaped structure with two main facades at right angles to each other. Beneath the Victorian excrescences it looks the work of a mid-eighteenth-century provincial builder. Apart from the Entrance Hall and the Drawing Room chimneypiece there

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18 Twycross IV (1850) 138

19 Ormerod III (2nd ed. 1882) 257-8

is not a trace of eighteenth-century work inside. It all dates from the mid and late nineteenth century as if there had been a fire, but there is no record of such an occurrence. The Entrance Hall, however, is pure Wyatt. It is an ambiguous oval/octagon contained within the central bow of the entrance front. It is adorned with slender attached Ionic columns and elaborate stucco, and the coved ceiling is covered with scrolls and wheat leaves. There are panels of gryphons over the doors and niches in the corners. It is almost certainly the work of Samuel Wyatt. Edward Tomkinson, who built the house, was the eldest son of James Tomkinson of Dorfold, and this family connection supports the attribution of Bostock to Samuel.

Wyatt's country house practice, which at first consisted of alterations and additions, suddenly flowered in 1776. In that year he began two of his major works, Baron Hill (Anglesey) and Doddington Hall (Cheshire). The former was the seat of Viscount Bulkeley to whose family it had belonged since the sixteenth century. The existing house had been built in 1618 by Sir Richard Bulkeley. It was traditionally reputed to be the gatehouse of a much larger structure never built.<sup>20</sup> This is substantiated by the form of the house, with a central hall

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20 R. Fenton, 'Tours in Wales', Archeologia Cambrensis 17 (1907)

and flanking twin towers.<sup>21</sup> In spring 1776 Lord Bulkeley turned to Wyatt and asked him to produce plans for transforming the house into an elegant modern mansion. It is not known why he chose Wyatt or how he had heard of him. Lord Bulkeley had no family connections with Staffordshire, and at this time Wyatt had not yet designed a house on the scale of Baron Hill.

Work began in 1776 and continued until the end of 1779.<sup>22</sup> Wyatt built the house as well as designing it. The account books are written in his own hand rather than that of a clerk as was to be the case later in his career. Most of the labour employed was local which led to language difficulties, but these were overcome by employing 'a boy to interpret'.<sup>23</sup> Wyatt's plan was to retain most of the structure of the old house but to remodel it completely. Parts were demolished, including the tops of the towers, and the central block was doubled in width by adding a Dining Room to the south of the Hall. At either end of the old house new wings were added in such a way as to mask the slightly differing proportions of the old towers. The whole of the interior was altered,

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21 Bodleian, MSS Top Anglesey A.2. S.Wyatt's plans for Baron Hill

22 Bangor, Univ. Lib., Baron Hill MSS, IV (E) 5050-58, Wyatt's accounts

23 Ibid, 5053, Mason's account (1) May-Dec. 1776

though some of the old panelling was saved and reused in minor rooms. The additions were built of brick made in a kiln on the site. 320,750 bricks were used between 1776 and 1778.<sup>24</sup> Rubble from the demolished portions of the old house were used in the foundations of the new parts. This meant that the organisation of work on the site in summer 1776 was complicated; as the upper part of the old house in the middle was being demolished, materials from it were brought down and used in the new additions rising around. The first parts of the house to be completed were the east wing and the projecting centre of the south front. The west end of the house was not begun till 1777. In January the old wall at that end of the house was 'under-built'. The foundations and cellars of the west wing were under construction by March, and the structure was completed in June when the scaffolding was taken down.<sup>25</sup> In 1778 the exterior of the house was given finishing touches, such as the fluted cornice of artificial stone. The fitting up of the interior began in 1777 and continued into 1779. In January 1779 the balustrade of the main staircase was set in place. Work then mainly consisted of plastering and paper-hanging until the house was completed in October.<sup>25</sup>

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24 Ibid, 5054, Bricklayer's account (2) Dec. 1776-78

25 Ibid, 5057, Carpenter's account (4) Nov. 1778-Oct. 1779

The principal façade designed by Wyatt faced south over Beaumaris Bay, and was 150 feet wide. The proportions were dictated by the retained portions of the old house, which explains the unusual height of the central part. It comprised five storeys, something not paralleled in any other of his country houses. Wyatt was at pains to reduce the apparent number of storeys in the main block, and so the fourth floor was lighted only by ox-eye windows with cobweb glazing bars. These were separated from the lower part of the façade by a second string-course so that the eye read them as a decorative frieze. In Wyatt's additions the ground floor was made the same height as the ground and first floors in the old house. This difference is disguised by Coade plaques over the windows of the new rooms. The mezzanine level is betrayed on the south front only by two windows. The central block was given an invisible low-pitched roof and the lower side wings conically pitched roofs. The two urns on the wing roofs reached exactly to the cornice level of the main block. Thus Wyatt attempted to transform the towering height of the old house into an effect of comfortably spreading width. The façade was faced in brick while all the decorative features were of Coade stone. These included the circular and rectangular panels over the ground floor windows decorated with dolphins, gryphons and the Bulkeley arms. All except the last were ordered from stock.

Wyatt also intended to have two reclining nymphs on the parapet flanking the dome, but they were not executed. The most attractive feature of the facade was the pair of elegant urns on the roofs of the wings. They were the chimneys and no doubt were also made of Coade stone. The way in which the various components of this facade were integrated to form a unified composition was a considerable achievement. It was not, however, entirely satisfactory. It would have been more successful if the third floor of the central block could have been eliminated. The duplicated doors flanking the central bow were an uncomfortable feature. The author of Beauties of England and Wales noted these defects. He criticised the disproportionate height of the house and thought the twin doors savoured 'too much of the entrance to a theatre'.<sup>26</sup> The various elements of the design owed a great deal to the period of close cooperation between Samuel and James Wyatt between 1769 and 1774. The overall composition with a central domed bow and flanking octagons derived from Heaton. The wings were based on the octagonal Drawing Room added to Hagley Hall (Staffordshire) in 1771. The central dome flanked by reclining nymphs echoes the arrangement in the 1771 James Wyatt

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26 J. Britton, Ed, Beauties of England & Wales XVII (1812)

design for a large country house at the R.I.B.A. Drawings Collection. The weaknesses of the design and the dependence on his brother's designs show Wyatt's inexperience at this stage in the design of a large country house. Nevertheless he handled the various elements of the composition well and the weaknesses were largely due to the retention of the old fabric. The facade possesses that attenuated two-dimensional quality which is one of the distinctive differences between the work of James and Samuel Wyatt even when they use the same motifs.

The transformation of the interior showed considerable skill, particularly in disguising difficult proportions. The long narrow Entrance Hall was improved by screens of columns at either end, and in the Dining Room good proportions were contrived by partitioning off the ends to form garden vestibules and throwing out the whole south wall to form a bow. The plan showed Wyatt's feeling for geometry which had been apparent already in the design for the oval library at Tatton. At Baron Hill the east wing contained an octagonal Drawing Room. The west wing was intended to contain a circular Breakfast Room, and the secondary stairs rose in a semi-circular well. Judging from the only example which remains Wyatt's interior decoration was exquisite. The survivor, now in full decay, is the Octagon Drawing Room. The ceiling

is particularly fine with attenuated Wyatt stucco work. III, IV

C. R. Cockerell visited the house in July 1825; normally he was snobbishly disparaging about the Wyatts, considering them to be jumped-up carpenters, but at Baron Hill, on the contrary, he had nothing but praise for the interiors. In particular he admired the 'well-imagined' entrance, the 'handsome' decoration and the 'delightful' Octagon Drawing Room.<sup>27</sup>

Unlike Baron Hill Wyatt's other great country house designed in 1776, Doddington Hall, survives completely intact. In many respects it can be considered his masterpiece. In this case there was no compromise with an older building. The existing seventeenth-century house was entirely demolished, but the fourteenth-century tower was retained as an 'eye-catcher'. A new site was chosen two hundred yards south of the old one, to the west of a large mere. Doddington was designed in 1776 and built between 1777 and 1798.<sup>28</sup> No accounts survive, but it is possible to form some idea of the progress of building from other sources. The structure and plainer interiors must

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27 J. Harris, 'C. R. Cockerell's Ichnographica Domestica', Architectural History, 14 (1971) 9

28 Broughton Church (Staffs). Epitaph to Rev. Sir Thomas Broughton : 'Let it not be forgotten that ... he began to build Doddington Hall in the year 1777 and finished it in 1798 without encumbering his family estates with a shilling.'

have been completed between 1785 and 1789 when the family moved in.<sup>29</sup> The grander rooms were finished in the 1790s. The Saloon, for instance, was decorated by Morant and Co., a firm of decorators who only started business in 1790.<sup>30</sup> The subsidiary estate buildings were completed last of all around 1800.<sup>31</sup> This lengthy process was a result of Sir Thomas' determination not to encumber his estates but to build out of income.<sup>28</sup> The whole project was blessed by singularly sympathetic relations between architect and client. Sir Thomas was a paragon 'endowed by nature with superior abilities [which] he improved ... by great proficiency in literature and knowledge of mankind'.<sup>28</sup> He considered it 'one of the happiest circumstances ... that he employed an architect who whilst he has paid every proper regard to elegance and embellishment has in no respect neglected the important considerations of solidity, utility and convenience.'<sup>31</sup>

Doddington is the first complete expression of Wyatt's formula for a large country house. A neat rectangular shell contains a rationally conceived plan. The austerity of the

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29 Sir Delves Louis Broughton, Records of an Old Cheshire Family (1908) 76

30 Inf. Timothy Clifford

31 G. Richardson, New Vitruvius Britannicus, I (1802) 17.  
They will be discussed in Chapter V.

exterior is relieved by a semi-cylindrical bow with a shallow dome on the south front. The seemingly monolithic ashlar surfaces are punctuated by six tripartite windows in recessed arches. The tympana have circular Coade plaques depicting three signs of the Zodiac and four nereids variously mounted. These were from stock models. Over the other piano nobile windows are rectangular stone panels with festoons and paterae. The purely geometrical character of the external composition, together with the complete absence of a columnar Order makes Doddington seem a very 'advanced' neo-classical building. Another decidedly modern feature is the deliberately contrived asymmetry of the total composition with the curving office wing to the west. On the other hand the rusticated basement and piano nobile were slightly old-fashioned survivors of the palladian tradition. No doubt these derived from Kedleston which greatly affected Wyatt's concept of a great house. The lunettes in the basement form a geometrical pattern which seems neo-classical but probably derived also from anglo-palladian practice; for example, there are lunettes in the basement of the east wings at Holkham Hall (Norfolk). The piano nobile was used by Wyatt again the following year at Hooton but afterwards was discarded for the more modern system introduced by James Wyatt at Heaton. The combination of symmetrical main block and asymmetrical office wing was repeated in most of

XIXB

XIXA

Wyatt's later houses. The type of tripartite window with a continuous lintel under a blank arch rather than the conventional Venetian window first made its appearance at this time. It was adopted by the Wyatts and became particularly popular in the early nineteenth century when it became known as the Wyatt window. Samuel seems to have used it at Doddington before James. At Heaton, for instance, these were conventional Venetian windows.

Just as Doddington introduced the austerity and pure geometry that were to be the distinctive features of Wyatt's country house exteriors, so the interior possessed a highly rational plan that was to be another hallmark of his country houses. The house was divided very clearly into three parts : the offices in an almost detached wing, small private rooms forming a self-contained unit and the grander state rooms filling the centre and eastern half of the piano nobile. This three-fold division was to be the standard arrangement in his larger houses. The division between state rooms and private rooms explains the duplicated staircases which otherwise seem unusually extravagant. Symmetrically duplicated staircases appeared again in his 1785 design for Tatton. The division between state rooms for show and private rooms for convenience included the entrances. The main entrance was on the piano nobile. Beneath it was a more convenient secondary entrance

hall at basement level. The external steps to the piano nobile were so contrived as to form a porte-cochère underneath. It was possible, therefore, in wet weather to alight directly under cover from a carriage into the lower Entrance Hall. This was one of the earliest porte-cochères in an English house. The plan of Doddington, like the exterior, is a fusion of three influences. Traditional palladian precepts are expressed in the piano nobile and the symmetrical enfilades of rooms round the hall-saloon axis. Wyatt's own attempts to rationalise internal planning in order to achieve greater comfort and convenience are expressed in the division of the house into three different zones. And modern neo-classical concepts are expressed in the ingenious play made with geometrical shapes. This is seen in the apsed ends of the Dining Room, the circular Saloon and octagonal Dressing Room on the piano nobile. More original is the arrangement of bedrooms over the Saloon. Three steps lead up from the spinal corridor into a half-octagonal lobby. This gives access to two identical hexagonal bedrooms side by side. Both of them have groined plaster ceilings rising into the dome. In the far angle between these two lies a small three-sided dressing room, the outside wall of which is segmental. All these spaces interlock like the mechanism of a watch. The handling of space throughout the house is masterly. This is

typified in the upper corridor which narrows in the centre to create a more exciting perspective.

Overlaying this precise geometrical composition and subtle handling of space is applied sparingly a system of decorative detailing derived from several sources. Wyatt drew on contemporary archeological discoveries as published in such books as Stuart and Revett's Antiquities of Athens and Leroy's Ruines. Thus the Entrance Hall has Doric scagliola columns derived from the temple of Apollo at Delos. Most of the rooms have delicate stucco friezes inspired by Adam's work, but simpler and more delicate. The interiors at Doddington have a French flavour, and this is most apparent in the beautiful Saloon fitted up after 1790. The walls of this are divided by pilaster-strips into sixteen bays alternately wide and narrow. The narrow bays contain looking glasses while two of the wide bays form alcoves originally lined with tent draperies and containing sofas. The pilaster-strips are painted with elegant grotteschi and Wedgwood-like cameos of goddesses and musical instruments. One of these is signed 'McLacklan pinxt for Morant'. This shows that the decoration and probably the furniture were provided by the London firm of Morant and Co. The original furniture which has been dispersed was painted to match the wall decoration.<sup>32</sup> McLacklan

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32 Inf. Lady Delves Broughton

was a painter employed at the Derby porcelain factory to decorate china in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. His Christian name has not yet been discovered.<sup>33</sup> The rectangular and circular mythological scenes round the upper parts of the walls were probably by Biagio Rebecca to whom, in the past, the decoration of the whole room has been attributed.<sup>34</sup> The chimneypiece is of white marble with two maidens leaning nonchalantly on either side. It is different from that in Wyatt's surviving design for the Saloon which was more Gallic with lower proportions, rounded corners and ormolu mounts. This is the only diversion in execution from Wyatt's original design.<sup>35</sup> The painted pilasters, the alcoves with draperies and the ormolu-mounted chimneypiece design are very French. The room as a whole bears a marked resemblance to the Music Room by Henry Holland at Carlton House.<sup>36</sup> It is possible that Wyatt was directly influenced by Holland's work there. The Saloon at Doddington is the finest surviving room by Wyatt and among the most accomplished late eighteenth-century

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33 F. A. Barrett & A. L. Thorpe, Derby Porcelain 1750-1848 (1971) 97

34 E. Croft-Murray, Decorative Painting in England, II (1970)

35 Cheshire R.O., Delves Broughton MSS, DDB/Q/3, Wyatt's designs for Doddington

36 D. Stroud, Henry Holland (1966) 68-69

English interiors.

Similar to Doddington but begun a year later was Hooton Hall, the last of the group of houses designed by Wyatt in Cheshire in the 1770s. It was built between 1778 and 1788 for Sir William Stanley on the site of the ancient house of his family. As at Doddington the old house was completely demolished and Wyatt had a free hand. The resulting house was similar in composition to Doddington. It consisted of a main block with piano nobile and an asymmetrical subsidiary wing containing the chapel. Whereas Doddington was a rectangle 150 feet long and 60 feet wide<sup>37</sup> Hooton was smaller and more compact. It was almost a square of 73 feet by 66 feet.<sup>38</sup> The exterior was of beautiful smooth ashlar with a rusticated basement storey. As at Doddington the only decoration took the form of circular and rectangular plaques over the piano nobile windows. They were supplied by Coade's, and were stock items designed by John Bacon R.A. Possibly they were chosen to refer to Sir William's marriage, for the plaques on the east front showed Hymen and Cupid riding dolphins while the central plaque depicted 'Plenty'.<sup>39</sup> On the entrance front

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37 G. Richardson, New Vitruvius Britannicus, I (1802) pl.57

38 Bucks R.O., Drake MSS, D/DR/5/2, Sketch plan of Hooton by William Drake

39 Henry Cley, 'Coade's Artificial Stone', Connoisseur LXXXII (1928) 79

the three central bays carried a pediment while on the garden front there was a central domed bow. The compact form of the house left room for only one window on either side of the bow. On the piano nobile these were tripartite under segmental blank arches. This was the precursor of Wyatt's most common facade design, the first version of his own adaptation of the anglo-palladian villa. At Hooton the staccato rococo character of earlier villas has given way to Wyatt's own neo-classical blend of semi-circles, rectangles and cubes. He repeated this design at least ten times in the following twenty years.

The piano nobile at Hooton enabled Wyatt to produce a dramatic piece of internal planning. The entrance was in the basement storey. A small low vestibule gave access to the vast circular Staircase Hall. This rose through all three storeys and formed the core of the house. It created a highly effective spatial contrast of a type that Wyatt was to repeat on future occasions. The combination of an insignificant Entrance Hall with a grandiose Staircase Hall became a regular feature of his plans. The resemblance between the staircase at Hooton and James Paine's at Wardour Castle is too close to be coincidental. As Paine did not publish his designs for Wardour until 1783 the influence was probably due to personal contact between Wyatt and Paine at Kedleston and possibly at Thorndon in 1776. Round the staircase on the piano nobile

at Hooton were grouped the state and private apartments in two separate suites. This continued the policy of convenient division between the two begun by Wyatt at Doddington. The state rooms at Hooton comprised an oval Saloon of 24 feet by 20 feet flanked by rectangular Drawing and Dining Rooms each thirty feet long.<sup>38</sup> These were connected by the library to the private suite along the entrance front. No record of the appearance of these rooms survives but Watts described them as being 'elegant and commodious ... finished in very fine taste'.<sup>40</sup>

Hooton was the last of Wyatt's country houses to have a piano nobile. Such an arrangement suddenly went completely out of fashion at the time that it was built. In place of the traditional arrangement it became standard to have the main rooms on the ground floor. This was partly a matter of greater attention to domestic convenience and partly the result of an increasing desire for closer contact with the landscape. This made it desirable to have large windows opening straight into the surrounding grounds. Wyatt responded to this with a design that had two large bow windows at either end, like belvederes. The principal façade with bows was never the entrance front so that the landscape foreground was not

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40 W. Watts, Views of Seats (1779-86) pl.XXIII

cluttered with the impedimenta of access. The earliest of Wyatt's belvedere designs was built at the same time as Hooton and like it was to be the model for a series of later Wyatt houses. This was Herstmonceux Place in Sussex. It too was the successor to an ancient mansion. Herstmonceux Castle, the finest surviving fifteenth century house was acquired by Hare Naylor in about 1777. Although 'in no dilapidated state' he had it dismantled under Wyatt's direction.<sup>41</sup> The shell was retained, however, as a romantic feature. For his own residence Naylor chose a smaller house with a better site high up on the edge of the park. It was an early eighteenth-century provincial baroque building three storeys high. The choice of the new site was obviously dictated by the fine view it commanded. Wyatt designed two new fronts to the south and east of the old house. He treated the south front, which overlooked the view, as the chief one. He gave it two large semi-circular bow windows with shallow lead domes flanking a four-bay centre. The even number of bays is unusual and stresses that the side bows are the principal feature of the façade. Like most of Wyatt's early houses Herstmonceux is decorated with Coade plaques. Their comparatively early

XXVIII A

XXVIII B

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41 J. Dallaway, Discourses (1833) 330

date is made clear by the boldness of their design. The large shell and urns appear almost clumsy compared to the delicate plaques on later houses like Belmont. This twin-bowed facade with its even centre is highly satisfying. The ample proportions exude ease. The white-painted plaques contrast crisply with the plum colour of the brick. As an ultimate refinement the 'oculi' crowning the domes are fluted and painted white. These tops give the bows the appearance of eighteenth-century tea canisters. Not all contemporaries found the house disarmingly attractive. Lord Torrington, who visited it in 1788, dismissed it as a 'paltry citizen-looking house' in contrast to the abandoned feudal grandeurs in the valley below.<sup>42</sup> It is symptomatic of Wyatt's complete lack of sympathy with gothic architecture that he should have designed this neat neo-classical house within a 'stone's throw' of one of 'the largest ... seats of antiquity in the kingdom' and should not have been inspired by the genius loci to persuade his client to build in a gothick manner.

Herstmonceux was the progenitor of a series of belvedere houses including Dropmore (Buckinghamshire), Belmont (Kent) and an unexecuted design for Digswell (Hertfordshire). It

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42 A. Bryant, Ed, The Torrington Diaries (1954) 123

was also copied by other architects: Rudding Park in Yorkshire by an unknown architect is a typical example.<sup>43</sup> The most immediate successor to Herstmonceux was Penrhyn Castle (Caernarvonshire) designed by Wyatt in 1782 for Richard Pennant (created Lord Penrhyn in 1783). At Penrhyn, unlike Herstmonceux, Wyatt's patron forced him to work partly in gothick to perpetuate the aura of antiquity pertaining to the seat. It is frequently forgotten that Penrhyn had a principal facade with two bows. The facade usually illustrated is the turreted one facing the court-yard. The main east facade of the castle overlooked the sea and was not gothick. Like Castleward and Castle Goring Penrhyn was a Janus-faced house, half classical and half gothick. Unlike them, however, it was a dull design. It is hardly surprising that the gaunt white brick building was obliterated by Hopper's neo-Norman pile in the nineteenth century. The failure of Penrhyn was not Wyatt's fault but that of Lord Penrhyn who insisted on retaining the old shell and having one front gothick. As a patron Lord Penrhyn remains an enigma. He was a man of vision endowed with great abilities. He developed the Penrhyn slate quarry from nothing to one of the wonders of the eighteenth century. He developed

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43 There is no evidence for the frequently repeated attribution of Rudding to Samuel Wyatt. He died in Feb. 1807.

sugar plantations in the West Indies and salt mines in Cheshire. He built roads over the mountains, a town and a harbour. He created a well-wooded agricultural landscape out of wilderness. Compared to his epic achievements his houses were paltry affairs. Perhaps he had no energy left to devote much care to them. Before reconstructing Penrhyn he had remodelled his other seat, Winnington Hall (Cheshire). There he employed James Wyatt to design a large asymmetrical addition in the 1770s. Externally it was even more unsatisfactory than Penrhyn. Winnington has been attributed to Samuel but stylistically it is undoubtedly by James. The Wyatt-Penrhyn connection is a perfect example of the dynastic way in which the Wyatts helped each other to employment. James Wyatt designed Winnington Hall, Samuel Wyatt designed Penrhyn Castle as well as subsidiary buildings there and at Winnington, and when Lord Penrhyn needed a new agent in 1786 Samuel suggested his younger brother Benjamin. When Benjamin died in 1818 he was succeeded by one of his sons.

Wyatt's designs for Penrhyn are dated 1782.<sup>44</sup> He had been consulted already in 1780. In that year Thomas Pennant,

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44 National Lib. of Wales, PD 9870. Thomas Pennant, Tour in Wales (MSS), opp 286, elevation for west front of Penrhyn Castle signed 'Sam Wyatt' and dated 1782.

the Welsh historian, wrote that 'the place will be restored to its former lustre under the auspices of the present worthy owner and the plan of that able architect Mr. Samuel Wyatt'.<sup>45</sup>

Wyatt seems to have been completely out of sympathy with the project and produced a pedestrian design. The west front incorporated a genuine medieval tower but it was recased and

LIB

duplicated for symmetry's sake. The result was considered to retain 'the character of a castle though in court dress'.<sup>46</sup>

LIA

It proved Wyatt's lack of interest in gothick design. It was simply a two-dimensional stage-set. There was no exploitation

of those possibilities of irregular composition or interest in accurate detail to be found in the gothick work of James

Wyatt. The east front, with the twin segmental bows, was positively unattractive. It was three storeys high and devoid of decoration. The result was more factory-like than the

LII

Albion Mill. The reconstruction of the castle was carried out in white brick. There were no brick-works in the north producing that type of brick, and it is possible that it came

from Holkham in Norfolk. One of the best brick-works in England was then situated on that estate. Many ship-loads

of slate were sent to Holkham from Port Penrhyn, and it is in-

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45 T. Pennant, Tour in Wales (1781)

46 W. Daniell, Round the Coast of Great Britain II (1814) 36

conceivable that they made the return journey empty. The tradition that Lewis Wyatt supervised the construction of the castle cannot be maintained as he was only four years old at the time.<sup>47</sup>

Contemporaneously with his work at Penrhyn Wyatt was employed on one of his largest country house designs. This was the 'grand design' for Tatton Park. On the death of Samuel Egerton in 1780 the estate passed to his nephew William then aged 31. William Egerton immediately took up the schemes for enlarging the house where Samuel Egerton had left off six years previously. In February 1781 Wyatt surveyed the existing house and produced a signed plan of it.<sup>48</sup> In June he made designs for new lodges at the Rostherne entrance to the park, which were not executed.<sup>49</sup> Wyatt tried to interest William Egerton in the 1774 proposal for the house. A 'sketch for the south front of Tatton' drawn in 1783 shows a three-storeyed facade with a recessed Ionic colonnade in the centre identical to that proposed in 1774.<sup>49</sup> There can be no doubt LXXXVIA that if executed this would have been unsatisfactory. 'Another sketch for the south front of Tatton' produced at the same time

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47 He was born c1778.

48 Tatton Park, Wyatt drawings in library

49 Ibid, Wyatt drawings in Bedroom 6

without the colonnade and with too many windows is even worse. William Egerton obviously felt this. Having concluded that extending and disguising the old house would be expensive he decided on a complete reconstruction. Only Pritchard's two large mid-eighteenth-century rooms with their elaborate decoration were to be retained. Their positions at the extremities of the old house dictated the large scale of the new.

The problem was to raise enough money for such a building venture. On 8 June 1784 William Egerton and his two trustees, Thomas, Lord Grey de Wilton (of Heaton) and John Crewe, petitioned the House of Lords to bring in a bill enabling them to lease part of the estate and to sell timber to pay for a new house at Tatton.<sup>50</sup> A committee was set up to consider the matter. Wyatt submitted evidence concerning the estimated cost of the new house.<sup>51</sup> A private act enabling the Egerton estate trustees to raise money on leases and timber received the royal assent on 30 July 1784.<sup>52</sup> Wyatt must have already prepared his designs for the house. They were on an ambitious scale; the principal façades were to be eleven bays and 171 feet wide and the side elevation 80 feet. The house was planned around

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50 House of Lords Journals, XXXVII (1784) 88, 119

51 R.L., Boulton & Watt Coll., Box 36, Wyatt to Boulton,  
8 June 1784

52 House of Lords Journals, XXXVII (1784) 120, 140

a central axis of Hall and Saloon. On either side were to be duplicated staircases with the state rooms to north and south. Most of the east end of the house was to contain a library 72 feet long. At the west end were to be private rooms.<sup>48</sup> This was similar to the plan of Doddington. At Tatton, however, there was no piano nobile and the layout was larger in scale. The Saloon at Tatton was a straightforward rectangle. The omission of the piano nobile and central bow gave the exterior a completely different character from that at Doddington, despite the similarity of plan. The walls were of ashlar punctuated by panels with festoons and overarched tripartite windows. This neo-classical austerity was relaxed on the south front. The central feature of that was a tetrastyle Corinthian portico of unexpected grandeur. ↳ XXX VII It is possible that the portico was a special desire of William Egerton, since it was to remain a constant element in all the later fluctuating designs. It may have been the result of a neighbourly rivalry; the portico at nearby Tabley then boasted the largest monolithic columns in England.<sup>53</sup> When the portico at Tatton was finally completed by Lewis Wyatt its monolithic columns were eight inches higher than those of Tabley. To the west of Wyatt's main block was to be a long

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53 J. Aiken, Country Around Manchester (1795) 424

range of subsidiary offices similar in concept to the 1774 plan.

Building work began immediately after the go-ahead from the House of Lords. In March 1785 Wyatt's office produced sectional drawings showing the curious construction of the foundations.<sup>54</sup> These were to contain 'oak bond timbers' coated in mortar to prevent rotting.<sup>48</sup> Such a form of construction is not found in others of Wyatt's buildings for which working drawings survive. It is possible, therefore, that the Tatton foundations were specially designed to prevent subsidence from subterranean brine extraction.<sup>55</sup> On 12 December 1785 Wyatt left London for Tatton where he spent several weeks organising the building programme for 1786. The conduct of building operations was organised in a practical way. The new house was built in two parts; the west end and offices were built first while the east end of the old house was kept habitable for the family. It was proposed that when the west part of the new house was completed the family would move in and the east end would in turn be demolished and

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54 One of the designs is inscribed with the name of Mr Harvey, Wyatt's chief pupil.

55 Brine was being extracted on a comparatively large scale round Northwich in the late 18th cent.; e.g. Lord Penrhyn greatly developed the method of salt production on his estate at Winnington.

rebuilt. The first part of the new house to be completed was the office wing. It was the same height as the ground floor of the main house but contained two storeys. The whole of the south side was taken up by a seven-bay orangery. Wyatt produced several designs for this, including one with Ionic pilasters and rectangular panels over the tripartite windows of the end bays. They foreshadowed the design for the Trinity House facade. The executed design had pilasters with simple foliated capitals and overarched tripartite windows at either end. The integration of the orangery into the fabric of the main house was a development from the 1774 plan. It was also an innovation of Wyatt's that was to become a standard practice. The west wing at Tatton, however, did not remain an orangery; while work was in progress Wyatt converted it into private family rooms by the simple expedient of inserting smaller windows with blank panels over into each of the large openings between the pilasters. West of the orangery wing were further offices forming an L-shape, then the stable quadrangle. These were completed by 1789 when a 'general plan of the house and offices at Tatton' as existing then shows them as now. All building activity came to a sudden halt in 1791, presumably through lack of finance.<sup>56</sup>

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56 None of Wyatt's designs after 1791 were executed. Repton's red book shows half the old house and half the new house existing side by side.

Only just over a third of the intended main block had been constructed and the central Hall and Saloon were not even begun. Nor were the two completed state rooms decorated, though designs for them were prepared. The north-west room, for instance, was intended to be a Music Room. The walls were to be divided by pilaster-strips, and the chimneypiece and frieze were of a complementary design incorporating lyres. (Wyatt re-used this frieze design in the Great Drawing Room at Shugborough.) At one end of the room was to be a tripartite organ similar to that which he designed for Heaton in 1790. Of the rooms completed by Wyatt the Staircase Hall is the most impressive with its coved ceiling and geometrical wall decoration. After 1791 nothing further was done at Tatton for fifteen years. One of Wyatt's most ambitious projects was therefore frustrated.

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Wyatt's most original country house type and the one he used most often was a version of Hooton Hall without the piano nobile. This particular design was foreshadowed by James Wyatt's Heaton but probably derived originally from Paine's design for the south front at Kedleston. Having worked under Paine at Kedleston in 1759 and 1760 Wyatt must have known the design even though it was not published until 1783. As adapted by him it produced a new version of the villa form evolved by architects such as Sir Robert Taylor in the mid-

eighteenth century. Whereas Taylor's villas had canted bay windows as their main feature Wyatt's had semi-circular bows. This was an act of deliberate substitution on his part for he disliked angular bows. This is made clear in a letter to the Earl of Buckinghamshire about alterations to Marble Hill in 1783. He advised him to 'execute the circular bow in preference to the angular one as it will be more gracefull in appearance'.<sup>57</sup> Naturally the central bow culminated in the shallow dome that Wyatt had learnt to build at Kedleston. Flanking the bow, rather than the conventional Venetian windows of James Wyatt's Heaton and Paine's Kedleston, Samuel placed the new type of overarched tripartite window. The curves of the segmental bow, dome and window arches contrasted strikingly with the cubic shape of the house as a whole and produced a satisfying effect. Wyatt was fully conscious that he had evolved a novel design. For instance, in his letter accompanying the unexecuted 1789 design for Heathfield House for James Watt he described it as 'a little out of the common road'.<sup>58</sup> Among the Drake sketches is one for a villa seventy-four feet by forty-eight feet with a central bow and flanking tripartite

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57 Norfolk R.O., Hobart MSS, 21089 72X5. Wyatt to Earl of Buckinghamshire, 24 July 1783

58 R.L., Boulton & Watt Coll., Box 36, Wyatt to Watt 1789

windows. It is inscribed 'a plan for a House by Mr. S. Wyatt'.<sup>59</sup> It is not dated and is presumably an imaginary scheme. It may date from the 1770s when Wyatt was working at Shardeloes and Amersham church. The inclusion of this sketch in a group of imaginary plans suggests that the proposal was considered by Wyatt to be an ideal design for a small country house.

The first executed design of this type was Delamere Lodge (Cheshire) built in 1784 for George Wilbraham, a member of the Nantwich branch of the Wilbrahams. It is possible that Wyatt was introduced to the Wilbrahams by James Tomkinson who had bought Dorfold Hall from them. Wyatt also seems to have known George Wilbraham's cousin Richard Wilbraham-Bootle of Rode Hall. Wyatt visited Rode in 1783 but nothing there was executed to his design.<sup>60</sup> In 1780 Richard Wilbraham-Bootle's daughter married William Egerton of Tatton so Wyatt's employment may have been the result of recommendation from that quarter. The nature of George Wilbraham's connections make it likely that he would have employed Samuel rather than James Wyatt. This is important as hitherto Delamere has been attributed to James purely on the grounds that Twycross and Ormerod state that the house was by 'Wyatt' without specify-

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59 Bucks R.O., Drake MSS, D/DR/5/52

60 A.O., Wyatt to Boulton 1784

ing which. Samuel's authorship is proved beyond doubt by the appearance of the house. Its sparsely ornamented ashlar surfaces were quite different in feeling from James Wyatt's more ornate style. Delamere consisted of a rectangular main block of five bays by three with a long office wing at the back making the total layout a reversed T. As at Doddington and Tatton the office wing was of brick while the main block was stone-faced, thus stressing the subsidiary character of the former. The façade had a central domed bow flanked by windows set in blank arches. The east side of the house consisted almost entirely of a wide segmental bow like that added by Wyatt to Sandon Hall in 1777. The west side had the entrance. The porch was placed asymmetrically at the north end of the main block in the first bay of the recessed office wing. There is no doubt that the house was built all at once to a unified design.<sup>61</sup> The asymmetrical layout and the unfinished appearance of the entrance front were therefore deliberately contrived by Wyatt. Thus Delamere marks an important stage in the break away from total symmetry that had begun at Hooton and Doddington. In those houses the central block was much larger than at Delamere, so its dominance was not challenged by the lesser wings. At Delamere the subsidiary wing is

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61 Cheshire R.O., Transcript of the Wilbraham family diary

larger than the main block. The dominance of the main block is assured not by its size but by the superior quality of its detailing and the fact that the office wing is at the back rather than the side.

This experiment in greater freedom of layout was another of Wyatt's innovations in country house design. It is symptomatic of the breakdown of classical discipline in the late eighteenth century under the impact of the 'Picturesque'. This was partly the result of a desire for comfortable informality and partly a closer response to the landscape. Thus bow windows were contrived to catch the light and as a viewing place whence the landscape composed most happily, without too much concern for the effect on the external symmetry of the house itself. At this period there was still a balance between symmetry and irregularity. In all Wyatt's houses, although the total layout may be irregular and porches and bow windows erupt asymmetrically at the sides, there is always at least one facade that is completely symmetrical.

Very similar in design to Delamere was Coton House (Warwickshire), designed at the same time. Wyatt twice visited Coton in 1784 so it is possible that the house was designed then.<sup>62</sup> On the other hand the house is reputed to have been

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62 A.O., 135, Wyatt to Boulton 1784

built by Abraham Grimes who only succeeded his father, William Dixwell Grimes in 1787.<sup>63</sup> William Grimes may have made the house over to his son before his death, which would resolve the chronological discrepancies.<sup>64</sup> Coton has a main façade composed of a domed bow flanked by tripartite windows under blank arches. It also has a long office wing at the back and an asymmetrical entrance porch at the side. Coton is, however, a larger house than Delamere. The office wing is not treated as one unit but is broken up into a series of rectangles diminishing from east to west. Seen side on the house looks as if each bit could be pushed into the next like a telescope. This is reminiscent of the 1774 Tatton design. The office wing is handled informally; there is, for instance, a large asymmetrical bow window on the south side. Despite this Coton has a more monumental character than Delamere. This is particularly obvious in the scale and decoration of the interior. The plan is highly lucid: the core of the house is a large rectangular Staircase Hall round which are grouped the principal rooms comprising the Library, Drawing Room, Dining Room and a circular room in the bow. The Staircase Hall rises the full height of the house. It has a coved ceiling and is

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63 V.C.H. Warwickshire VI (1951) 63. Whites Directory 1850

64 J. Britton, Ed, Beauties of England & Wales XV (1814) 80

top-lit through a central glass dome. The staircase itself is of the 'imperial' type beginning in one flight and returning in two. All the Wyatts made extravagant use of this design, which derived from that used by Sir William Chambers for Carrington House in Whitehall. James was the first of the Wyatts to adopt it in 1772, at Heaton, and Samuel introduced it for the first time at Coton. He was probably directly influenced by that at Heaton where he was working in the 1730s. His earlier staircases at Doddington, Tatton and elsewhere were of the 'geometrical' cantilevered type. Only at Hooton was there an 'imperial' staircase and it was circular not rectangular. The major difference between the staircases at Heaton and Coton is the treatment of the upstairs landings. At Heaton they open directly onto the staircase through columned screens, while at Coton Wyatt partitioned them off to form closed corridors and gave them groined plaster tunnel vaults. The staircase enabled Wyatt to solve the problem of the difference in floor levels between the main block and the back wing. He did this neatly by forming the half-landing at the same level as the first floor of the office wing.

The interior decoration at Coton is of high quality.

There are delicate stucco friezes in all the main rooms composed of appropriate emblems such as amphorae in the Dining

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Room, fans in the Drawing Room and astralobes in the Library. This pursuit of iconological appropriateness in the decoration of all the main rooms is typical of Wyatt's rationalising approach to design. Traces of the original colour schemes were uncovered during the recent restoration. These were restrained and delicate. The circular Bow Room had pale green walls while the frieze was lavender, white and gold. The principal ground colour in the Dining Room was French grey, the Drawing Room was originally hung with fabric or paper and the Library lined with bookcases which remain. It is interesting that the Dining Room walls have stucco panels and were painted. This was almost standard in Wyatt's houses and shows that, like Adam, he wished his eating rooms to be free from fabric to which stale food smells could cling. Another feature of Wyatt's dining rooms that derived from Adam was the provision of a special alcove for the sideboard. At Kedleston Adam had contrived a large apse with specially designed side-tables in the Dining Room. This was widely copied by both James and Samuel Wyatt; the Dining Room apse at Heaton, for instance, was obviously derived from Kedleston. Samuel sometimes introduced an apse-shaped alcove as, for instance at Delamere. He also used simple rectangular alcoves and that at Coton is of the latter variety.

The third of the similar villas with domed bows was un-

fortunately not executed. This was Wyatt's 1785 design for Somerley Park in Hampshire.<sup>65</sup> The Somerley estate had been acquired by Daniel Hobson, a manufacturer from Salford in Lancashire. Either his source of income was subject to temporary fluctuations or he was not as rich as Wyatt had hoped, for the house was not begun until 1792 and then to a much modified design. In the 1785 design the main block was a duplicate of Coton in both elevation and plan. Likewise there stretched away at the back an absurdly long string of offices. The main block was sixty feet deep and seventy feet wide. The back wings, however, made the total layout 698 feet long from north to south. As at Coton the offices receded telescopically. At Somerley, however, the order was reversed so that the narrowest building was the link between the kitchen wing and the main block, and the widest part was in the far north. On paper the long procession of diminishing rectangles creates a staggering effect. At the northern extremity was to be a walled garden of half an acre. Adjoining to the south in the following order were the stack yard, cow house, farm yard, stables, stable yard, poultry yard, dung yard, office court, kitchen wing, link building and then the main block. The suggested inclusion of the farm buildings

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<sup>65</sup> Somerley Park, Normanton MSS, Wyatt's design for house 1785

in the same layout as the house was without precedent and a striking illustration of Wyatt's interest in the design of subsidiary estate buildings. This design makes the executed house at Somerley seem tame. The exterior as built between 1792 and 1795 was a two-storeyed version of the central block of the Commissioner's House at Portsmouth. Its plainness was quite incommensurate with its size. The plan was also astonishingly simple. It was a mere grid of six identical rectangular rooms.<sup>66</sup> Daniel Hobson was obviously suffering from over-reaction against the endlessly receding ranges of the 1785 proposal. It seems that he had vetoed anything 'out of the common road' and demanded a design untainted by any whiff of neo-classical megalomania.

The grandest version of Wyatt's villa plan was Culford Hall (Suffolk). This was designed in 1790 for Charles, Earl Cornwallis (created Marquess Cornwallis in 1792). According to Repton the new house was a reconstruction of an older one and the overall dimensions were dictated by retaining the old walls.<sup>67</sup> No visible trace of the old house survived Wyatt's remodelling and visually the house appeared to be entirely his work. As the principal seat of an earl, created a marquess

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66 C. Life, 16, 23, 30 Jan. 1958

67 Morton Arboretum Lib., U.S.A. H. Repton, Red Book for Culford, cl792

while work was in progress, and a great public figure, Culford was not strikingly large. Repton succinctly summed up its character as 'an union of Elegance, Convenience and Simplicity with so much of importance only as ought to distinguish a Noble Residence in a sporting country where the character of great dignity or magnificence is seldom attainable'.<sup>67</sup> The unpretentious character of Culford was deliberately contrived by Wyatt. It reflected both the character of his employer and his own architectural taste. On the whole he preferred his country houses to appear informal and comfortable rather than overwhelmingly magnificent. This is very clearly seen at Culford in the treatment of the large two-storeyed office wing on the east side of the house. It represents a complete contrast to the proposed offices at Somerley and was perhaps influenced by his failure to have his design there executed. At Culford the scale of the new wing was disguised. The wing was placed in a large court-yard sunk one storey below ground level so that only the upper part was visible, and that was screened by plantations of trees and shrubs. To the approaching visitor, therefore, only the main part of the house could be seen, giving a completely false impression of the true size of the layout. As at Somerley, however, the plan of the offices formed a neat geometrical pattern. The rectangular wing divided the sunken area into two rectangular yards while at

the east end was another semi-circular yard. There the tradesmen's entrance was axial with the end of the wing and flanked by a symmetrical arrangement of two cottages.

Repton approved of 'the disposition of the offices at Culford so ingeniously executed by my friend Mr. S. Wyatt'.<sup>67</sup>

The main block was three storeys high, and was handled with characteristic austerity. The windows were simply cut in without architraves. There was only a blocking course at the top of the walls and not a balustrade. The pediment on the south front was completely plain, and the string-course below the second-floor windows was so thin as to be scarcely noticeable. Nor were there quoins or lavish stone dressings of any kind. (It is amusing to note that when the house was altered in the late nineteenth century every one of Wyatt's careful understatements was reversed. Baroque window architraves, rococo pedimental sculpture and a crowning balustrade were added.) The ground floor of the west side of the house was screened by a projecting orangery (demolished in 1894). This was a further early example of Wyatt's integration of this feature into the fabric of the house. All the windows of the library opened directly into it, creating an almost mid-Victorian effect. At Culford the entrance front had the central domed bow and flanking tripartite windows.<sup>68</sup> The

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68 Neale IV (1821). The colonnade shown encircling the bow

garden front was flat with a pedimented three-bay centre, which was a reversal of Wyatt's usual practice. The work of construction at Culford was executed by John and Benjamin De Carle of Bury St Edmunds, which has given rise to the tradition that they designed the house. Repton's remarks, however, and the stylistic evidence make it absolutely certain that Wyatt was responsible for the design. Only the De Carles' accounts survive; the sum of £2,020 0. 8 was paid for masonry on the house and offices between 1790 and 1794.<sup>69</sup> The exterior of the house was clad in white mathematical tiles to look like Woolpit brick. This supports Repton's statement that the walls of the old house were retained.

The plan of Culford was typical of Wyatt. A central Staircase Hall formed the focus of the house. The major rooms were grouped round this to the west and south, and to the east were offices and private rooms. A curious aspect of Culford is the fewness of the principal rooms; there were only three. The south front was taken up by the Dining and Drawing Rooms while the whole of the west side was occupied by the Library.

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was added by the 2nd Marquess in 1807-8 and was not designed by Wyatt.

69 Bury St Edmunds, West Suffolk R.O., Au 2285 De Carle Wage Book 1790-1811, Au 468 De Carle Letter Book

The rooms as a result were very large. Wyatt's decoration which, apart from that in the Entrance Hall, survives completely is splendid. The ceilings are all stuccoed, probably by Joseph Rose II. The chimneypieces are exquisite, particularly that formerly in the Dining Room with three inset Wedgwood plaques. The Library has bookcases designed by Wyatt and grisaille panels over the windows in the style of Rebecca. The finest interior is the Staircase Hall which rises the full height of the house into a magnificent stuccoed dome with diagonal coffering, imperial eagles in the pendentives and trompe l'oeil drapery in the tympana. It is almost identical to the contemporary staircase dome at Lichfield House in London but considerably larger and more impressive. It is the finest of Wyatt's staircase halls. The spaciousness of this central hall in relation to the comparatively few rooms on the ground floor is almost anomalous yet a typical feature of Wyatt's country house plans.

Wyatt's country houses were distinguished by the modernity of their fittings. He gave considerable thought to heating. At both Soho House and Belmont he introduced forms of central heating. All his houses were provided with large numbers of Bramah water closets. As a rule there was at least one on every floor and often very many more. The need to ensure an adequate supply of water for water closets was one of the reasons

why he became interested in Boulton and Watt's steam engines. It was probably on his advice that they developed small steam engines for pumping water in 'gentlemen's houses'. Wyatt also introduced permanently fitted Bathrooms into some of his houses. At Soho House, for instance, he built a special addition to contain the Bathroom, Dressing Room and Water Closet for Matthew Boulton. Culford was graced by the most modern Bathroom of the period. In 1798 Wyatt installed for Viscount Brome, Lord Cornwallis' eldest son, what was probably the first steam-heated bath in an English country house. It was not entirely successful and it is not known whether the initial difficulties were overcome. These were described in a letter to Matthew Boulton : 'I have been in expectation of seeing you sooner as I am got into a scrape at Lord Cornwallis's house in Suffolk, where I have made at the request of Lord Broome a warm Bath. At least it was intended to have been one - the situation of it is in the Bedchamber story. It is about 7 feet long and 3.6 wide and 4 feet 6 inches deep. The case is wood lined with copper which is covered with grain tin and burnished that it appears little inferior to silver. The boiler is in the basement story about 2 feet 6 diam. with a domed top. I ordered an inch and  $\frac{1}{4}$  lead pipe from it to convey steam to the bath which is about 24 feet long. Mr. Burgstrom finding the Inch and  $\frac{1}{4}$  did not warm the bath fixed

another pipe of 3 In. diam. which did not warm it better and it makes a horrid roaring noise. The steam condenses and loses its effect before it reaches the water in the bath. Now my Dear Sir you must help me out of this difficulty which I know you can do for Mr. Watt tells me you can and I never can see Lord Broome without being able to give him satisfaction on this subject.<sup>70</sup>

It is not absolutely clear how Wyatt came to be employed by Lord Cornwallis. It may have been through a Staffordshire connection as one of the Cornwallis family was then Bishop of Lichfield. As was often the case between Wyatt and his patrons they became firm friends. For instance, Wyatt personally went to say Goodbye to the Marquess when he was appointed Commander-in-Chief in Ireland in 1798.<sup>71</sup> Wyatt's work for Lord Cornwallis may have led to simultaneous employment by one of his subordinates. Colonel George Harris (created Lord Harris in 1815) had served under Cornwallis in the war against Tipoo Sahib. On his return from India in 1787 he settled at Belmont in Kent. It was then a small red brick house built in 1769 with ranges of low outbuildings, at the back, enclosing a slightly irregular quadrangle. In about 1790 he asked

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70 A.O., Wyatt to Boulton, 13 Feb. 1799

71 Ibid, Wyatt to Boulton, 23 June 1798

Wyatt to build a new house adjoining the old one which was partly retained as offices.<sup>72</sup> The designs for Belmont survive.<sup>73</sup> They are by one of Wyatt's office assistants. The same hand is recognisable in designs for Lutterworth Rectory, Digswell House, the estimate for building Stornoway House in Cleveland Row and the plan signed by Wyatt for the barn at Doddington. It is probably that of Noah Siddons who eventually succeeded John Harvey as Wyatt's chief clerk. One of the Belmont drawings is also inscribed in Wyatt's own hand.

The plan of Belmont as executed is distinctly unusual. So unusual, in fact, that it has been suggested that the house is only part of a much grander scheme curtailed while building was in progress.<sup>74</sup> This hypothesis is based on the asymmetry of the plan and the unobtrusive character of the entrance. The entrance front is only three bays wide, and the entrance itself is in the left-hand bay and not in the centre. It is suggested that this front was intended to extend two bays further west where Wyatt's orangery is. This, however, is to misjudge the house entirely. The lack of symmetry is not the result of curtailment of a more grandiose plan. The

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72 A Coade plaque is dated 1790.

73 In the possession of Lord Harris. Deposited in the head office of Coutts Bank.

74 J. Newman, North East & East Kent (1969) 134-5

freedom of the plan is too pervasive to be explained away so simply. For example, at the north-west corner the main house extends at ground-floor level along the office court whereas at first-floor level it does not. The two side 'fronts' of the house are of different widths and the spacing of the bays also differs. If further symmetrical bays were added to the south front it would still not make the overall shape of the house an even rectangle. Nor is Wyatt's house related axially to the old quadrangle. It merely abuts informally on to its south-east corner. Even if the entrance front were extended it would not resolve the completely asymmetrical relationship between the courtyard and the new house. Another feature which has been cited as evidence for curtailment is the vastness of the Staircase Hall compared to the other rooms. As has been seen, however, such disproportion between large staircase halls and other rooms is a standard feature of Wyatt's country houses. At Belmont the Entrance Hall is no more than a vestibule and the Staircase Hall is therefore the main assembly point of the house, a function clearly indicated in the designs where it is called the Saloon. This tendency to have a small entrance hall and some other large room beyond is again characteristic of Wyatt. It is seen at its most extreme in the first plan for Trinity House where there was no entrance hall at all but just a

narrow passage leading to the large Staircase Hall. He favoured this arrangement for the element of spatial contrast and surprise it created. To have the main entrance unobtrusively tucked away at the side is also common in Wyatt's work as has been seen already at Delamere and Coton. Quite apart from these inbuilt arguments against curtailment the designs for the house show it as executed with a few minor exceptions. These suggest that the plans were drawn up before the house was built and were not a survey after completion. They contain no suggestion that they are the result of drastic amendments. If it is accepted that Belmont was designed as executed it makes it one of the most interesting house plans of the late eighteenth century. It is in their plans that the chief interest of Wyatt's country houses lie. Belmont's plan was revolutionary for a classical house of moderate size in its freedom and carefully balanced asymmetry. It is, however, only the most extreme expression of tendencies that were latent in many of Wyatt's earlier house plans. From Doddington onwards the office wing had rendered the total layout asymmetrical. The sides of his villas such as Delamere were handled with a complete lack for formality. As has been seen those houses had only one 'show' front and that nearly always designed to take advantage of the finest view as was the case here.

Belmont, like Herstmonceux and Penrhyn, was another of the 'belvedere houses' with two principal bow windows. The belvedere function of the bows is particularly obvious here because they actually have glazed gazebos on top. These look remarkably like lighthouse lanterns. The view is one of the two factors that governed the design of Belmont. This explains the unusual orientation with the main facade to the east and the entrance on the south side. Before the trees grew up there was a wide eastern prospect over Kent and the Thames estuary to Essex. The other factor governing the design was the decision to retain the old house in part and to build the new one adjoining. This made it impossible for the new house to have any formal relationship with the old courtyard. Wyatt made a virtue of this forced irregularity by experimenting with a completely irregular plan. Thus bow windows protrude asymmetrically at side and back. In the courtyard there are two bow windows side by side, both detailed differently. Only the main east front was symmetrical. Despite this basic irregularity and fluidity the design is carefully balanced. There is no exploitation of asymmetry for its own sake as was to be the case in the mid-nineteenth century. Belmont is an early example of informal classical planning and represents a balance between freedom of plan and regular composition.

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The external detailing is typical of Wyatt with its play on segmental curves and inset Coade plaques. The Coade decoration at Belmont is particularly fine. Apart from stock panels with festoons of flowers, oak leaves and acorns there are delicious roundels of the four seasons and a plaque depicting the house itself amidst a grove of palm trees. This was a direct reference to Lord Harris' Indian interests. The Ionic capitals of the two side porticoes are also of Coade. The forms of construction throughout the house make it a textbook example of Wyatt's interest in new inventions and building methods. The domes are ingeniously clad in patent slating, not lead. The tops of the 'lanterns' and the flat of the roof are covered in copper prepared, presumably, according to Charles Wyatt's patent method. The exterior is clad in mathematical tiles of an unusually beautiful yellow colour. The interior is equipped with Bramah water closets. Wyatt also introduced a form of central heating. He placed a stove at the foot of the back stairs and contrived its flue so that it serpented under the floor of the 'Saloon' before climbing upwards. The interior decoration was neat and restrained. Comparison with that of Henry Holland is inevitable. It is typical of Wyatt's work for less extravagant clients when he abstained from ornate stucco and rich chimneypieces. The Library is the finest room with fitted bookcases, an astralobe frieze and trompe l'oeil

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grisailles of Shakespeare, Milton, Homer and Virgil.

It would be easy to overstress the originality of the plan at Belmont. As so often when Wyatt was strikingly innovatory it was an empirical response to a particular problem rather than a conscious attempt to exploit some new form of architectural composition. This is true also of Wyatt's other 'revolutionary' plan of the 1790s. This was Sundridge Park also situated in Kent. There Wyatt was called in when the house was already partially built and he was faced with the problem of creating a magnificent interior within the existing half-hexagonal shell. (The two side wings were added at different dates in the Victorian period and do not form part of the eighteenth-century house.) The problem of creating a practicable interior inside such an unusual shape inspired him to evolve an ingenious interlocking geometrical plan. The result was highly original. Before discussing this plan it is necessary to unravel the building history of the house and Wyatt's share in it. This is far from clear and unfortunately no connected documentary material survives. There was both a change of owner and of architect while construction was in progress. The house was begun by Edward George Lind who acquired the Sundridge estate in 1792.<sup>75</sup> He employed John

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75 D. Lysons, Environs of London IV (1796) 310

Nash and Humphry Repton.<sup>76</sup> Repton advised on the choice of site and its preparation. He was probably responsible for the unconventional shape of the house which was evolved so that the principal rooms could enjoy the fine oblique views up and down the valley. The external detailing with heavy Corinthian columns is typical of Nash. That the exterior was the result of a Nash-Repton collaboration is confirmed by Angus.<sup>77</sup> He states that the form of the house was fixed and planned on the ground at the time when Mr. Repton and Mr. Nash mutually assisted each other'. In 1796 Lind was forced to sell the estate while building was in progress. The incomplete house was bought by the banker Mr (later Sir) Claude Scott. Scott already knew Wyatt. He was connected with the Customs and had met Wyatt when the latter was trying to dispose of the Albion Mill. The relationship seems to have been more than mere acquaintance. James Watt writing to Wyatt in 1789 referred to 'your friend Mr. Scott'.<sup>78</sup> Scott was also on the Thames Tunnel committee and it was probably he who advised the committee to consult Wyatt in 1799. Angus states that the 'interior fitting up of the house' was done by Samuel Wyatt

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76 J. Summerson, *John Nash* (1935) 63

77 W. Angus, *Views of Seats* (2nd Series 1804) LVI

78 R.L., Boulton & Watt Coll., Box 36, Watt to Wyatt,  
3 Dec. 1789

after Nash and Repton had begun the house.<sup>77</sup> As Scott knew Wyatt he presumably consulted him immediately after acquiring the house. The extent to which Wyatt was responsible for the internal planning depends on how far building had progressed when Scott acquired it. As Lind had only been in possession of the estate since 1792 and as vast earth-moving operations were necessary to prepare the site<sup>76</sup> building work cannot have progressed very far. Repton tells us that it was necessary to dig away thirty feet before building began.<sup>76</sup> It seems highly likely, therefore, that only the outer walls had been built in 1796 and that the shell was still roofless. The constructional evidence suggests that the roof was built by Wyatt. In the centre, for instance, is a sunk 'well' around the staircase dome, the walls of which are lined with Wyatt's patent slating. The ingenious timber construction of the roof is likely to be by Wyatt. Also the shallow dome over the bow seems to be his work. It looks an afterthought and is characteristic of his style. The interior of the house also displayed examples of specifically Wyatt building techniques. The skirting boards in the bedrooms, for instance, were originally of slate.<sup>79</sup> The widespread use of slate in an unconventional way was unique to Wyatt. The wine cellar is also lined

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79 J. Hassell, Picturesque Rides and Walks II (1818) 100

and shelved with slate slabs. The evidence of the internal construction therefore suggests that Wyatt was responsible for the fabric of the interior, and therefore its plan, as well as the original decoration. Apart from the constructional evidence there is also that of style. The plan consists of neatly interlocking geometrical forms cleverly packed into the half-hexagonal shell. This is not what one would expect of Nash or Repton. Such skilful handling of an intricate geometrical composition is, however, apparent in many of Wyatt's designs.

The core of the Sundridge plan, like most of Wyatt's plans, is the Staircase Hall. This forms a cylinder in the centre of the house. Wrapped round the outside of this on both floors are U-shaped corridors from which the main rooms open off to the south. These are fitted into the space available by the simple and typically Wyatt expedient of apsed ends. This is particularly so on the first floor where many of the bedrooms are semi-circular or half-hexagonal. The south bow contains a circular room on each floor including a third one under the dome approached by a narrow staircase inside the cylindrical shell of the staircase hall. This finesse in the handling of spatial effects is delightful. It makes Sundridge one of the most enjoyable as well as the most ingenious of Wyatt's plans. The detailing of the interior was equally fine.

However, it was greatly altered in the late nineteenth century. Most of the clever Adam-type stucco work and the Italian Renaissance doorcases and chimneypieces date from then. Wyatt's staircase and several of his ceilings survive untouched. The staircase, as at Hooton, is of the 'imperial' type within a circular well. There are screens of Sienna scagliola columns at its foot and head. The French-looking brass balustrade is almost identical to LXXXIVA Henry Holland's at Carlton House. This supports the impression created by the Doddington Saloon that Wyatt knew and was influenced by Holland's interiors there. The ceilings of the principal rooms represent the last and most sumptuous flowering of the early Wyatt style. They are almost certainly the work of Joseph Rose II. On his death in 1799 this type of work was to go out of fashion immediately. Wyatt always produced such elaborate Adam-inspired stucco ceilings for his richest clients. All his finest ceiling designs in this style date from the 1790s, and include those at Culford, Somerley, Shugborough and Lichfield House. These at Sundridge are amongst his finest to survive. Those in the U-shaped corridors are particularly pretty. The ground-floor corridor has shallow saucer domes and delicate anthemion decoration, and the first-floor corridor is tunnel-vaulted with three groin-vaulted vestibules. They have circular plaques in the

tympans. Many of the motifs in the stucco work are identical to those in Wyatt's other houses. The first-floor bow LXXXIVB room, for instance, has a convolvulous frieze like that in the Music Room at Heaton and in the Drawing Room at Doddington. The coved frieze in the east room on the ground floor is an enlarged version of that in the Dining Rooms at Delamere and Admiralty House, Portsmouth. Three of the Sundridge ceilings also have inset paintings, probably by his favourite decorative painter Biagio Rebecca.

The 1790s were the peak of Wyatt's career as a country house architect. Most of his largest and most interesting houses date from this time, including the largest of all, Shugborough in Staffordshire. His work there was carried out in two distinct phases between 1790 and 1798 and 1803 and 1806. The first phase was devoted entirely to remodelling and enlarging the house. The second phase, while it saw a further addition to the house, was chiefly occupied with subsidiary estate buildings which will be described separately.<sup>80</sup> Wyatt's work at Shugborough is distinguished partly for its remarkably comprehensive character and also for the very pure Grecian style adopted in deference to the work of his predecessor, 'Athenian' Stuart. He had strewn the park with a three-

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80 Staffs. R.O., Anson MSS, D615/E(H)2/1,2,5. Shugborough building accounts 1790-1806

dimensional version of the Antiquities of Athens in the 1760s.<sup>81</sup> Stuart's and Wyatt's work together make Shugborough one of the most interesting monuments of the early Greek Revival in England.

Thomas Anson (created Viscount Anson in 1806) inherited Shugborough in 1789 and almost immediately called in Wyatt to transform the house. The choice of Wyatt was almost inevitable; he had already done a great deal of work at Shugborough's neighbours in south Staffordshire, including Blithfield, Sandon and Tixall. The new wing at Tixall built in 1784 was clearly visible from Thomas Anson's park. Wyatt was also connected with the lately dead 'Athenian' Stuart, having worked under him at Greenwich Hospital, Blithfield and possibly at Shugborough.<sup>82</sup> Anson was a prominent member of that group of Whig aristocrats who supported Fox and included many of Wyatt's patrons such as Lord Spencer and Lord Petre. The most outspoken of this group, T. W. Coke, was Thomas Anson's father-in-law. The work that Wyatt had done for T. W. Coke at Holkham was to be an important influence on the schemes undertaken at Shugborough, particularly in the second phase after 1803.

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81 C. Life 22 April 1954

82 Staffs. R.O., Anson MSS, D615/E(H)1/2. Stuart's accounts 1763-1768

The house that Thomas Anson asked Wyatt to improve was basically late seventeenth-century. It had wings added in about 1748 and had been modified in various ways by Stuart in the 1760s. He had added an extra storey to the links and a cresting of 'antefixae' to the wings.<sup>82</sup> This piecemeal growth had resulted in a façade without much unity or dignity. In particular Stuart's external alterations created an unpleasant dichotomy between the high narrow central block and the low spreading wings. The purpose of Wyatt's alterations was to pull the house together and increase the accommodation. He solved the accommodation problem by enlarging the wings. This made it possible to create a large drawing room 46 feet long in the north wing and to enlarge many of the other rooms. He completely transformed the exterior, giving it a new simplicity and unity. His changes reveal a great deal about his architectural taste. The wings and centre were brought into better relationship with each other by the removal of the balustraded parapet from the centre and the addition of one to the wings in place of Stuart's small-scale cresting. His principal innovation was to carry the cornice level of the wings right across the east front in the architrave of a new portico. This was a vast octostyle Ionic structure without a pediment. It covered the whole width and lower two storeys of the centre block. It completely altered the proportions

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of the house by disguising the high narrow centre which became, at least from close up, simply a portico with insignificant attic over. Thus with the minimum of alteration the character of the façade was changed. Vertical emphasis gave way to a comfortable horizontal effect typical of Wyatt's best buildings. The external detailing of the house was considerably simplified. The oddly-placed pediment with rococo carving on the east front was removed. The central arched windows on the ground floor of the bows were made square-headed, an angular bay window at the end of the north wing was demolished, and the heavy aedicules with attached columns in the links on both fronts were replaced by Wyatt windows.<sup>84</sup> The old thick sash bars in the windows gave place to new more slender ones of copper in mahogany frames.<sup>85</sup> Thus thick and intricate details were pared away and replaced by those qualities of austerity and attenuation which are an inherent part of Wyatt's style. The external transformation was completed by cladding the whole house in a skin of slate, polished, painted and sanded to represent ashlar of mechanical smoothness and precision. The slating account including

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84 Shugborough, Watercolours by Moses Griffiths c1780

85 Staffs. R.O., D615/E(H) 2/5, Wyatt's account 1792-6

(There is no note 83)

'common slating' the roof, and 'slate casing' the whole of the exterior, the interior of the cellars and the eight columns of the portico came to £2,295 17. 9½, nearly half the total cost of the first building phase. This was £5,539 13. 0. excluding Wyatt's commission of £106 9. 0. and £420 for his 'designs of the alterations and additions, various drawings for the workmen' and travel expenses.<sup>86</sup> In resorting to the costly method of slate casing on this scale Wyatt was probably influenced by the failure of 'Athenian' Stuart who had tried to stucco the exterior. Because of the damp situation of the house in low-lying land next to the river he had failed.<sup>87</sup> Shugborough is therefore a large-scale example of Wyatt's faith in the constructional possibilities of slate.

The construction of the portico was particularly novel. Each column consisted of a wooden core with a slate covering formed of twenty-four flutings in beaded fillets, and the capitals were of Coade stone. The columns have been seen as an exercise in 'primitive architecture' by Wyatt, but anything less rustic than these attenuated columns with their precise detailing would be hard to imagine. The construction of the portico had no stylistic symbolism for Wyatt. Rather

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86 Ibid, D615/E(H) 2/1,2. Wyatt's account 1790-6 and 1794-6

87 G. Beard, Georgian Craftsmen (1966) 73

it was typical of his experiments in the use of new materials and building methods.

Wyatt's remodelling of the interior was equally comprehensive. Only the rococo Library and Drawing Room (the latter re-furnished as a Dining Room) were retained. Apart from increasing the accommodation Wyatt successfully introduced variety into the plan. Square rooms were converted into circles or enlivened by apses. The transformation of the Entrance Hall was particularly ingenious. Wyatt introduced a ring of eight scagliola columns made by William Allcott.<sup>86</sup> As well as giving the room an ambiguously oval effect this disguised the differing proportions of the doors. The two finest interiors created by Wyatt at this time are the Great Drawing Room and the Bird Room. Both these have excellent stucco ceilings and friezes by Joseph Rose II.<sup>88</sup> The Drawing Room is Wyatt's grandest surviving interior. All its fittings are of the highest possible quality, particularly the white marble and ormolu chimneypiece supplied by Richard Westmacott.<sup>86</sup> This is almost identical in design to those by Wyatt for Livermere Park (Suffolk) and Trinity House at the same time. The handsome marble chimneypieces in the other

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LXXII  
LXXI  
LXXB  
LXXIV

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88 Staffs. R.O., D615/E(H)2/4. He was paid £859 8. 10 for them.

principal rooms were supplied by John Deval, John Bacon and Peter Matthias Vangelder.<sup>86</sup> The walls were hung with paper or fabric mainly satin striped in fawn or salmon and silver from Messrs Eckhardt and Co. of London.<sup>89</sup> Biagio Rebecca also did some unspecified painting, possibly the Victorian-looking floral decoration on the boudoir ceiling.<sup>86</sup> In re-planning the interior Wyatt effected a division between the state rooms and family rooms similar to his arrangement at Doddington, Hooton and Tatton. The whole of the ground floor of the centre and north wing was given over to rooms of parade. In the south wing he contrived a completely self-contained series of small, comfortable private rooms. These were conveniently close to the service wing. He also provided them with their own staircase and independent entrance directly from the stable forecourt. This division between the private family 'flat' and the state rooms, which is a standard feature of Wyatt's larger house plans is particularly obvious and clear-cut at Shugborough.

The second phase of Wyatt's activity at Shugborough between 1803 and 1806 saw a further addition to the house reputedly in preparation for a visit of the Prince Regent. This involved extending what had been the Dining Room in the centre

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89 Ibid, D615/E(H)2/3,6

of the west front to create a Saloon 52 feet long. Externally the new addition took the form of a narrow projecting wing rising the full height of the house and terminating in a flat bow. Internally it was a great improvement, providing a large central place of assembly on axis with the Entrance Hall. It probably derived from James Wyatt's similar axial saloon at Broome Park (Kent).<sup>90</sup> Externally, however, the new centre-piece was not an improvement. The west front at Shugborough is an unsuccessful composition even if the irritating twentieth-century alterations are discounted. The central projection breaks the unity of the front. Its shape, with the flat bowed end and tall thin proportions, is unattractive. These proportions were, however, forced on Wyatt. He attempted to integrate the bow into the front by linking it to the projecting wide wings with trellised verandahs. This also was a device that James had used at Broome. Although pretty in themselves they do not have a strong enough architectural character to resolve the incoherence of the façade. The interior of the new Saloon was austere monumentally. It contrasts strongly with the pretty Grecian decoration in Wyatt's earlier rooms

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90 Built in 1778 for Sir Henry Oxenden (Colvin, 128). The resemblance is made clear in a sketch plan among William Drake's drawings (Bucks. R.O., D/DR/5/52).

at Shugborough. It is a sign of the change in his architectural style which occurred in about 1800. There is no elaborate stucco, and even the twin chimneypieces are of the simplest rectilinear design. Of white marble and brass, these chimneypieces are by Charles Rossi, one of the two most important craftsmen who contributed to this new phase of the Wyatt style. The other was the stuccoist Francis Bernasconi who made the capitals of the 12 columns in the Shugborough Saloon. The columns are the room's principal feature. They are of 'yellow antique' scagliola provided by Joseph Allcott.<sup>91</sup> The capitals are of simplified Corinthian design derived from the Temple of the Winds at Athens.

As well as becoming more monumental after 1800 Wyatt's houses also became more idiosyncratic. This is demonstrated particularly in the final evolution of his villa plan at Hurts Hall (Suffolk). It was designed in 1803 for Charles Long. In general form Hurts Hall resembled Culford. It was a square building three storeys high. The main front had the standard central bow with a dome. It was not, however, flanked by tri-partite windows. Instead there were two further bow windows. The whole nine-bay façade was therefore composed entirely of three bows creating the most extraordinary

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91 Staffs R.O., D615/E(H)2/3, Building Account 1804-1806

appearance.<sup>92</sup> This was the ultimate in Wyatt's preoccupation with bows. It represented a blend of his 'belvedere' house with two flanking bows and the villa plan with one central bow. Not surprisingly this strange elevation was not copied by other architects.

Not content with composing a facade entirely from three semi-circular bows Wyatt proceeded to produce a design for an end 'front' composed entirely of one huge bow 70 feet wide. This formed part of one of the alternative designs for completing Tatton Park in 1806. William Egerton, then in his fifty-seventh year, seems to have been afraid that he would die leaving half a house. So after a lull of fifteen years Wyatt produced a further series of plans and elevations for this house that had spanned his whole country house career.

In his first plan for completing Tatton in January 1806<sup>93</sup> only one more bay was to be added to the existing part of the main block making it only five bays wide as opposed to the eleven originally proposed. The Corinthian portico was to be added to the plain three-bay stretch already built. Flanking this compressed centre were to be one-bay links and windowless end pavilions. These were to be detailed in a strongly

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92 H. Davy, Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen in Suffolk (1827)

93 Tatton Park, Wyatt drawings

monumental key with niches and aedicules containing statues. One of these pavilions was a dummy obscuring the orangery wing. The other was to contain the library. The most striking aspect of this scheme was the proposed central feature of the north front. A projecting portico of four Corinthian columns was to carry a square attic and shallow dome. This distantly echoed the south front at Kedleston which Wyatt had built to Adam's design forty years earlier. Of all the proposals for the north front this was the finest and it is regrettable that it was not executed. The proposed compression of the house considerably affected the interior. The addition to the main block was to contain an interconnecting Drawing Room and Music Room (as executed by Lewis Wyatt after 1807). What was originally intended as the Music Room was now to be the Entrance Hall with the one completed staircase hall beyond and a saloon behind the portico on the south front. All this was very neatly managed and gave no impression that it was the result of a drastic reduction in plan. The unsatisfactory aspect of this proposal was the dummy pavilion in front of the orangery wing reflecting the proposed library. To avoid this Wyatt produced a further design in April that would have made it possible to have an eastern library extension and a dignified south front without building a flanking dummy. In place of the eastern

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pavilion he proposed a great semi-circular one-storeyed library the whole width of the house. The exterior of this vast semi-circular bow was handled monumentally. It was encircled by attached columns with 'Temple of the Winds' capitals like those in the Shugborough Saloon. This introduced a Greek note into the otherwise grandly Roman detailing of the 1806 designs. If executed this library would have been the largest of all Wyatt's external bowed features. Although smaller in scale than the 1785 design the 1806 Tatton designs are among Wyatt's most grandiose with the Corinthian south front portico echoed in the north, the large dome, the end pavilions with aedicules containing statues and the alternative semi-circular library with attached columns. It is as if Wyatt were trying to make up for the contraction in size by a more monumental architectural style. The plans did not come to anything because William Egerton died in 1807, followed almost immediately by Wyatt. It was left, therefore, to William's son Wilbraham Egerton and Wyatt's nephew Lewis to complete the house.<sup>94</sup> Lewis Wyatt produced five different designs, including Samuel's two 1806 schemes. That adopted was a seven-bay version of the 1785 design. Apart from the

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94 Jeffry Wyatt also submitted a design for completing the house but as it involved altering what had already been built it was not accepted.

pilasters on the east front and the insignificant north entrance porch Lewis added nothing externally to Samuel's design. Thus although the interior of Tatton is one of Lewis Wyatt's major works the exterior is largely Samuel's.

At the time of his death in February 1807 Wyatt was working on several other country houses as well as Tatton. One of these, Hackwood Park (Hampshire), was also completed by Lewis Wyatt. Indeed until recently the whole of Hackwood has been attributed to Lewis. The building accounts preserved among the Bolton MSS in the Hampshire Record Office make it possible to unravel exactly what was built to Samuel's design up to 1807 and what was designed afterwards by Lewis. Samuel Wyatt was called in to reconstruct Hackwood early in 1805 by the first Lord Bolton. Lord Bolton had inherited the Hackwood estate through his wife, the daughter of the last Duke of Bolton. He determined to transform the comparatively small seventeenth-century house into a mansion worthy of his new title and position. The house before 1805 was a baroque brick structure only one room thick.<sup>95</sup> The main object of Wyatt's plan was to add a range of rooms on the north side of the house, doubling its width and creating a new entrance hall 40 feet long. The old screen walls flanking the north forecourt

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95 Bodleian, Gough Maps 10 Fol 52 Hants.

were replaced by quadrants with 'a sweep of more grace and utility'.<sup>96</sup> The terminal pavilions gave way to large office wings. In the course of these changes the exterior of the house was transformed. Gables gave place to a continuous blocking course. Two angular bay windows were demolished and the red brickwork covered in stucco. Wyatt's scheme at Hackwood was very similar to that executed by him in 1795 at Livermere Park in Suffolk. There a similar early eighteenth-century house had been doubled in width and encased in restrained neo-classical dress.<sup>97</sup> XXIV

Building at Hackwood began in 1805 and proceeded rapidly. By Wyatt's death in 1807 the shell of the new north front was finished and roofed. Only one interior, however, was completed. That was the staircase hall with its coved ceiling and restrained decoration. Even there the staircase itself was only set up after Wyatt's death, under Lewis Wyatt's supervision. Likewise the shell of the curving links and office wings was complete by 1807, though their external finishing and interior fitting-up was to be continued under Lewis Wyatt's direction. Many of the craftsmen employed by Samuel Wyatt at Hackwood were the same as at Shugborough including John Mackell

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96 John Britten, Ed, *Beauties of England & Wales IV* (1805)

97 See appendix

for ironwork, and Bernasconi for stucco.<sup>98</sup> After Samuel's death they continued at Hackwood under Lewis Wyatt. Lord Bolton also died in 1807, so it was his son who completed the house to Lewis Wyatt's design between 1807 and 1825.<sup>99</sup> The north front and offices were finished as Samuel had intended. He had produced a whole series of detailed drawings, for which he had been paid £70, so there was no need for Lewis to introduce innovations of his own on the north side of the house. The two dummy triumphal arches at the north ends of the office wings may have been added by him, however, since they are not fully integrated into the rest of the design. The interior of the house was completely remodelled by Lewis in the most expensive manner including much neo-seventeenth-century 'Gibbons' carving by Edward Wyatt. The south front was also entirely by Lewis Wyatt.<sup>99</sup> All this was quite different from the austere neo-classicism of Samuel's north front and staircase hall. The north front is a perfect illustration of the more monumental character of his style after 1800. All the pretty decoration of his earlier buildings, such as the Coade plaques, has been eliminated. The five-bay office wings are completely plain and the quadrants are punctuated only by exedrae with

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XXVB

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98 Hants R.O., Bolton MSS, 11M49/366, Hackwood accounts 1806

99 Ibid, 11M49/368-392, Building accounts 1808-25

Tuscan columns in antis. The main block of nine bays is distinguished principally by a large Ionic portico. C. R. Cockerell who visited the house in 1825 found it difficult to admire. It was, he said, a 'house of considerable extent much increased by the late Samuel Wyatt and continued by Lewis Wyatt. The whole cemented except for the columns and cornices. The external architecture is by no means recommendable, heavy ill-proportioned and totally deficient in style ...'.<sup>100</sup> This unkind criticism contains an element of truth that is applicable to all Wyatt's houses after 1800. The charm and originality of his work up to the 1790s gave way to houses that were more monumental but less inspired. There is very little to distinguish his last works from the dignified anonymity of a whole series of early nineteenth-century houses. In some cases the detail was so pared away that there was hardly anything left. This vapidness is painfully apparent in another of the last houses, Panshanger (Hertfordshire). Wyatt's executed design for this was so plain that it is almost impossible to tell whether it was gothick or classical. It was merely a utilitarian rectangular block.

Panshanger was chosen by the fifth Earl Cowper as his principal seat. A new house there was begun by Samuel Wyatt

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100 John Harris, 'C. R. Cockerell's Iconographica Domestica', Architectural History (1971) 16

in 1806 and completed after his death to a different design by William Atkinson, a pupil of James Wyatt's. The old Hertfordshire seat of the Cowpers was Cole Green Park. It was a seventeenth-century house, much too old-fashioned for a family as important as the Cowpers had become by 1800. From the moment of his accession in 1799 Lord Cowper determined to replace it by something more modern on a more picturesque site. His adjoining estate of Panshanger seemed the perfect situation. Humphry Repton was consulted in 1799 about the capabilities of Panshanger park and the best site for the new house. He presented a Red Book in 1800.<sup>101</sup> In it he suggested widening the River Mimram to form a lake and cladding the slopes of the valley with new plantations. He considered the site of the small existing house good but suggested that the new one be built in front of it on the slope of the valley itself. This would have involved a great deal of levelling and terracing. It was therefore decided to keep the old site. Repton also included two elevations, one gothick and one classical, showing the effect of the new house in the landscape. He may have suggested his friend Samuel Wyatt as a suitable architect for the new house. Certainly in October 1801 Wyatt visited Panshanger at Lord

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101 Herts R.O., Acc 1287. H. Repton, Red Book for Panshanger, Feb. 1800

Cowper's request to survey the old house and to prepare plans for the new one.<sup>102</sup> Lord Cowper burnt his boats that winter when he demolished Cole Green House. Some of the fine seventeenth-century wood-carving was saved for incorporation in the new house at Panshanger.<sup>103</sup> Wyatt's plans for the new house were dispatched to Lord Cowper in August 1802.<sup>102</sup> They were not executed, presumably for financial reasons. When building did begin in 1806 it was on a more modest scale than originally intended. The old house was retained and reconstructed and a rectangular block of five bays by four bays added. The chief interior of the new wing was a large Library. In the old house the former library was converted to another use, its ceiling raised in height and bookcases removed. The old Drawing Room was re-decorated with stucco by Bernasconi. Wyatt's account up to 1807, including the expenses incurred over the abortive 1802 design and the commission on building bills in 1806, amounted to £4,847 12. 6.<sup>102</sup> Many of the workmen employed were his regular employees such as James Waller, bricklayer, Lawrence Burgstrom, copper smith, Thomas Hancock, plumber, and Francis Bernasconi, stuccoist. The clerk of

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102 Ibid, Cowper MSS, Box 49. Account between Lord Cowper and Samuel Wyatt

103 H. M. Colvin & John Harris, Ed, The Country Seat (1970) 77 (L. Stone, Cole Green Park)

works was Thomas Holbrook.<sup>102</sup> Wyatt's executed work at Panshanger was neither demonstratively gothick nor classical. The exterior was quite plain. The accounts suggest that it was faintly gothick. For instance, James Waller specified in his bricklaying bill 'circular cutting to gothick architecture worked to a mould'.<sup>102</sup> The overall form of the house after Wyatt's extension was irregular with the old four-bay house connected to Wyatt's five-bay block by a one-bay link. There is a print of the house in 1810, before the addition of the wings that were to transform it into a rambling picturesque pile 350 feet across.<sup>104</sup> It shows a moderate-sized gothick building. All the gothick details depicted, including the buttresses, battlements, turrets and polygonal bay windows, were not by Wyatt but were added by Atkinson between 1807 and 1809.<sup>105</sup> If Atkinson's trimmings are removed to reveal Wyatt's house there is nothing left but an undecorated box. There is no clue as to the appearance of Wyatt's interiors. They were destroyed by fire in the mid-nineteenth century.

Digswell House for Lord Cowper's younger brother, the Hon. Edward Spencer Cowper, was more successful than Panshanger.

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104 Herts R.O., Hertingfordbury Album /8. Print of Panshanger 1810

105 At a further cost of £3,541 18. 9½. Stucco by Bernasconi (Panshanger MSS, Box 49, accounts 1807-10)

It was built at the same time and at Lord Cowper's expense. The same workmen were probably employed at both houses as the Panshanger accounts refer to carting timber and scaffolding backwards and forwards between the two. After Wyatt's death the accounts for both Panshanger and Digswell were submitted by Lord Cowper to S. P. Cockerell's scrutiny before being settled.<sup>102</sup> Whereas Wyatt's work at Panshanger was just an addition Digswell was a completely new house. It replaced an ancient manor house bought by the third Earl Cowper in 1785.<sup>106</sup> That was demolished entirely. Digswell was Wyatt's last complete country house. His fatal 'stroke' occurred while preparing to leave for Hertfordshire to inspect Digswell.<sup>107</sup> Wyatt's first plan for the house was not adopted. It was a synthesis of many of his favourite elements.<sup>108</sup> The south front was of the belvedere type with twin bows, shallow domes and two tripartite windows under blank arches. The belvedere character was stressed by a raised terrace or balcony running the length of the front outside the windows

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106 R. Clutterbuck, History & Antiquities of Hertfordshire II (1821) 323

107 Farington, 3593, 13 Feb. 1807

108 Herts R.O., D/EP T24 OSB. Unsigned elevation for south front of Digswell House. (In the same office hand as the design for Belmont, Lutterworth Rectory, Doddington barn and the estimate for Stornoway House.)

of the principal rooms. To the west, screening the office wing, was the now standard orangery. This design represents the final evolution of the house-type first introduced by Wyatt at Herstmonceux in 1778. As executed the design of Digswell was quite different. There are no bows or domes. The main block is a plain rectangle of five bays by three, smoothly coated in stucco to represent stone. The principal feature is the central portico on the garden front. This has four great Ionic columns and just a straight architrave and blocking course without a pediment. The only distinctively Wyatt motifs are the flanking tripartite windows. The interior is absolutely plain with straightforward rectangular rooms and no stucco work of any kind. It is appropriate that the exterior of his final house should be a good example of his plainer more monumental late style.

XVIII

CHAPTER V

FARMS AND SUBSIDIARY ESTATE BUILDINGS

As aspect of late eighteenth-century English architecture that has been largely overlooked was the design of farm and other subsidiary estate buildings. Vast numbers of such buildings were, however, constructed to the design of distinguished architects in this period of great agricultural development. The provision of splendid farm buildings was one of the most important activities of improving landowners. They were encouraged in their endeavours by a whole series of writers on agriculture including Arthur Young, Nathaniel Kent and William Marshall.<sup>1</sup> All these writers stressed that well-designed farm buildings were just as important as enclosure, marling, draining and tree planting. They were the first theorists to study farm plans in a rational and methodical way in order to evolve the most convenient layouts in pursuit of 'the great objects to prevent waste and save labour'.<sup>2</sup> This interest in farm buildings was symptomatic of the

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1 Nathaniel Kent, General View of Agriculture in Norfolk (1796), William Marshall, Rural Economy of Norfolk, 2 vols (1787), R. Beatson, On Farm Buildings, Communications to the Board of Agriculture 1796, Arthur Young's Agricultural surveys of different English counties, R. W. Dickson, Practical Agriculture (1805)

2 A. Young, Ed, Annals of Agriculture II (1784) 382

utilitarian philosophy of the period with its stress on practicability. There was also a streak of 'petit hameau' feeling. A romantic attitude towards rural life, exemplified in Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield, made humble farm buildings, cottages and dairies worthy objects of architectural embellishment. This aspect is clearly portrayed in the stream of books, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, dealing with the design of 'rural buildings' purely on aesthetic grounds. The most notable of these were Joseph Gandy's and John Plaw's books of farm and cottage designs.<sup>3</sup>

As Kaufmann has shown the designs for subsidiary estate buildings were amongst the most original works of English neo-classical architects.<sup>4</sup> Although he based this theory mainly on the imaginary designs to be found in such books as Gandy's and Plaw's his comments are equally applicable to the buildings executed at the time. Such subsidiary buildings were often on a small scale and with a less clearly defined traditional architectural character than larger buildings. Architects,

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3 J. M. Gandy, Designs for Cottages suggested by Hints in Communications to the Board of Agriculture (1805) and The Rural Architect (1806), John Plaw, Rural Architecture (1794) and Ferme Ornee (1795).

4 E. Kaufmann, Architecture in the Age of Reason (New York 1955)

therefore, were able to experiment in unconventional geometrical composition that would have been unacceptable on a larger scale. Also the more utilitarian character of such buildings ensured that they were detailed with neo-classical austerity. This can be well illustrated by the work of Soane. While his larger, more grandiose designs, such as those for Buckingham Palace and the Houses of Parliament, were comparatively traditional, his designs for dog kennels and such subsidiary buildings were highly original. Most of the important architects of the late eighteenth century designed farm buildings often of great architectural interest. Good examples are Robert Adam's complex geometrical layout at Culzean Castle (Ayrshire), George Saunders' octagonal farm of about 1793 at Kenwood and John Soane's circular cow-house of 1783 at Marlesford Hall (Suffolk). The most prolific designer of late eighteenth-century farm buildings was, however, Samuel Wyatt. Some of his farms and cottages are his most advanced neo-classical designs. His preference for austere surfaces, sparse ornament and geometrical composition found an ideal outlet in the design of subsidiary estate buildings. His interest in the most durable forms of building construction and materials was also particularly relevant to buildings which had to withstand a greater amount of wear than the country house itself. Wyatt's family background made him suitable as an architect of farm buildings. Many of his relations were agents on great estates. His

Uncle William, for instance, was agent to Lord Paget at Beaudesert in Staffordshire. His younger brother was agent to Lord Penrhyn in Wales. His father-in-law was agent to Lord Scarsdale at Kedleston. Others of his family were farmers including his father and elder brother William. He had been brought up on a farm. Some of the Wyatts were agricultural surveyors involved in the enclosure movement, then in full swing. This agricultural background made it almost inevitable that he should be interested in estate buildings. It also gave him a sound practical knowledge of farming methods that few of his architectural contemporaries possessed and which made him a reliable farm designer.

Wyatt was involved in farm building from the beginning of his career and seems to have built up a special reputation for himself as a designer of subsidiary estate buildings.<sup>5</sup> He was often called in to design stable blocks or farm buildings when the house itself was designed by another architect. In 1777, for instance, he was employed by Thomas, Lord Grey de Wilton to design the stables and adjoining farm buildings at Heaton although the house there had been designed by James Wyatt

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5 Wyatt built the farm at Kedleston in the 1760s to Adam's design. 'Benj. Wyatt & Sons' designs a farmhouse for the Earl of Suffolk & Berkshire at Elford in Staffs in 1767 (R.I.B.A. K8/30).

in 1772. Although all the architectural drawings for Heaton have been lost the date of the design for the stables is known from an inventory of plans that used to be in the estate office. It lists a design for the stables and gives its date as 1777. The bell of the stable clock is dated 1777.<sup>6</sup> The attribution of the stables at Heaton to Wyatt is stylistic. The building is a tripartite composition with two-storeyed end pavilions, three-bay one-storeyed links and a two-storeyed centre. The design of the centre, though simple, is unusual; it has a strange dual character. Both the bays flanking the central carriage arch carry little pediments. The roof of the central pavilion forms an eight-sided cone crowned by an octagonal clock cupola. Stylistically this is quite different from any of James Wyatt's stable blocks. The central pavilion roof echoes that in William Wyatt's design for the Soho Works. The whole block is nearly identical to a series of Samuel Wyatt's stables including those at Penrhyn, Tatton and Somerley. The strange arrangement of the three-bay centre with its twin pediments is probably derived from Robert Adam's Bath House at Kedleston which also has twin pediments. The farm buildings behind the stables at Heaton were probably also by Samuel Wyatt. They are utilitarian brick buildings. A distinctive feature,

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6 Inf. Timothy Clifford

however, is the first floor hay loft, the roof of which is supported by round columns built of specially-made bricks. This open hay loft is interesting because it incorporated the principle that hay should be stored so that air could blow through. It foreshadowed the development of the 'Dutch barn' in the nineteenth century.

Brick columns were to be a feature of Wyatt's first grand farm plan. This was Hatch Farm in the park of Thorndon Hall (Essex) designed for Lord Petre in Spring 1777. Wyatt's elevation for the farm survives among the Petre MSS.<sup>7</sup> It is not signed but is definitely in his hand. It is inscribed 'East front of a Farm Yard designed for the Rt. Hon. Lord Petre 1777'. Thorndon Hall itself had been built between 1763 and 1770 to the design of James Paine. Presumably Lord Petre had met Wyatt and been impressed by his knowledge of agricultural matters. This may have been at Lord Harrowby's in London for he and Lord Petre were friends and Wyatt was working at Lord Harrowby's London house in 1776.<sup>8</sup> Wyatt's plan for Hatch Farm was grandly palladian. Low ranges of buildings formed a great quadrangle, 148 feet square. In the centre of this,

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7 Essex R.O., Petre MSS, D/DP/P146, Wyatt's elevation for Hatch Farm, Thorndon Park 1777

8 See appendix

higher than the enclosing ranges, was a large barn. The outer ranges had four corner turrets with pyramidal caps and recessed blank arches. They were in the anglo-palladian tradition and similar to corner towers at Holkham and Hagley. Wyatt would have known this feature from Fisherwick in Staffordshire. In the centre of the west front was a pedimented gatehouse. The east front was open. The north and south fronts also had central pedimented pavilions but they were cottages not gatehouses. Connecting the corner turrets and centre pavilions were long colonnades with brick columns like those at Heaton. These provided shelters for cows. The whole layout, therefore, exemplified those practical precepts advocated by the agricultural improvers. The barn in its central position with the surrounding cow sheds meant that fodder need not be carried great distances. The inclusion of cottages for farm-labourers in the layout itself made it easier for them to attend to the animals, should they need to, at night. The detailing of the building with its pediments, lunette windows, and long colonnades is symptomatic of the new architectural grandeur of such subsidiary buildings. Previously farm buildings had been considered humble objects to be screened from view like the kitchen garden and tradesmen's entrance. Hatch Farm at Thorndon marks the beginning of a new trend whereby farms came to be prominently sited and treated

monumentally as objects in the park. The architecture of Hatch Farm is still in the palladian tradition. Compared to Wyatt's later, more neo-classical farms it was slightly old-fashioned. With the brick colonnades and red pantiled roofs it is close in spirit to the Palladian Villas of north Italy. No building accounts of this date survive among the Petre MSS but Wyatt told Lord Harrowby that Hatch Farm was 'estimated in a hasty way' to cost about £2,000.<sup>9</sup> Wyatt also designed two sets of lodges in Thorndon Park. Stylistically these are later than the farm and are probably part of the work done in 1801 and 1802 at Thorndon, for which his accounts survive. They are much more neo-classical in feeling than the farm. The north lodge is a large octagon reminiscent of the octagon cottage at Holkham also built in 1801. The west lodge, known as the Lion Lodge, is composed of two cubes flanking rusticated piers with recumbent lions. The design for these lodges recalls the unexecuted 1781 elevation for the Rostherne Lodge at Tatton.

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While Hatch Farm was being built at Thorndon, Wyatt was consulted by Lord Harrowby over the proposed park farm on his newly acquired estate at Sandon in Staffordshire. Lord Harrowby

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<sup>9</sup> Sandon Hall, Harrowby MSS, 437. Estate Notes 1758-1802, Doc.67, 3

wished the farm to be placed in the central valley which formed the most attractive feature of the park. In April 1777 Wyatt's advice was sought on the best site in the valley for the farm. Lord Harrowby noted in his diary that Wyatt 'examined both the upper and lower end of the valley and gave rather the preference to the lower as being more out of sight and as a spot where the building need not be so elegant'.<sup>9</sup> In fact, this last consideration was ignored and the farm as built was exceedingly elegant. Wyatt's preferred site at the north end of the valley was, however, adopted. Building did not start until 1784. In December that year Wyatt visited Sandon to see how work was progressing. He found the new farm buildings 'very substantial and in the important parts well executed'. He gave directions for the conduct of work the following year. Lord Harrowby noted that Wyatt wished to have the 'air drains to the north and south front of the dairy house erected according to the plan he had before sent'. Wyatt also told Lord Harrowby that he 'preferred putting the rick yard in a corner under a rough bank rather than by the back front'.<sup>10</sup> This betrays a formal approach to farm design. Unsightly adjuncts were to be kept out of sight and not allowed to mar the architectural character of the layout. Lord Harrowby's summaries of his conversations

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10 Ibid, Doc.72, 21

show that Wyatt had some practical knowledge of farming methods. For example, in December 1777 Lord Harrowby recorded that 'Mr. Wyatt advises me always to have my hay truss bound'. On another occasion he wrote, 'Mr. Wyatt ... says his brother frequently feeds sheep upon turnips.'<sup>11</sup>

The great problem which faced Wyatt at Sandon lay in fitting the farm into the cramped site between the sloping sides of the valley. This he overcame by digging away part of the hillside to the west. He also made one of the two quadrangles that composed the farm smaller than the other. The result was considered to be a highly successful balance between the demands of the landscape, architectural elegance and farming convenience. Lord Harrowby's son recalled in his autobiography that 'the narrowness of the valley presented no small difficulty which was very dexteriously overcome by sinking a part of the western buildings in the bank above it, which was also cut away. I do not know any set of farm buildings better adapted to the purpose or where the mean is more justly taken between too much and too little architecture.'<sup>12</sup>

This neatly sums up the reasons for Wyatt's success as a designer of farm buildings. The 'elegant simplicity' of his

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11 Ibid, Doc.67, 27 and 28

12 Dudley, 1st Earl of Harrowby, Autobiography (privately printed 1891) 13

architectural style was specially appropriate for lesser estate buildings. Without too great extravagance he endowed them with a dignity appropriate to their setting. At the same time his first-hand knowledge of farming methods enabled him to produce plans that were practicable and not just 'romantic' confections.

The plan of the park farm at Sandon differs from that at Thorndon. Whereas at Thorndon the farm consisted of a large quadrangle with a detached barn in the middle, at Sandon the farm was composed of two distinct quadrangles with three cross buildings linked by cattle sheds and stables. Each of these three ranges was treated as a distinct architectural unit. The north range contained the dairy and was the show piece of the farm. Coming through the park from the hall it was the first part of the farm that was visible. The dairy was octagonal, flanked by loggias with Tuscan columns and pilasters which Wyatt had removed from the hall when he enlarged the wings.<sup>12</sup> The two-storeyed end pavilions were cottages. The parallel middle range dividing the two yards contained the stables. The south range was the barn. The whole of the farm was built of brick but was faced in stone of a beautiful pink-grey colour which happily the shelter of the valley has prevented from being blackened by smoke from the potteries. This stone facing and the use of columns gives the whole com-

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plex a monumental air. It is a more neo-classical design than Thorndon. It possesses all those characteristics which Kaufmann considers essentially neo-classical, particularly a feeling for pure geometrical shapes and the distinct self-containment of all the parts. Each of the three cross-ranges is treated as if it were an independent building. Also each of these buildings has a different geometrical theme. The dairy is octagonal. The stable block is a tripartite composition built up out of cubes with circular windows. The barn is rectangular with triangular pediment contracting with segmental openings at the same level.

Wyatt's interest in geometrical pattern-making found an ideal form of expression in farm plans. His most extreme experiment of this kind was a Poultry House to contain 600 hens for Lord Penrhyn at Winnington Hall in Cheshire. This was a large semi-circular layout 140 feet across. There is no documentary evidence to prove Wyatt's authorship, but it possessed characteristics, both stylistic and constructional, that were distinctively his own. He is known to have visited Winnington in 1785, when he visited Lord Penrhyn's salt works around Northwich.<sup>13</sup> The Wyatt work at the hall itself is

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13 R.L., Boulton & Watt Coll., Box 36, Wyatt to Watt, 27 Dec. 1785

probably earlier than this and is almost certainly by James and not Samuel. In 1785 therefore Samuel Wyatt must have been employed on some other building at Winnington and this was obviously the Poultry House. He was also working, in the 1780s, on Lord Penrhyn's other estate in Wales, which would confirm an attribution of the Poultry House to him. Stylistically the general composition of the front, with four tripartite windows under segmental arches, is typical of him. The whole exterior was clad in patent slating to look like 'the most beautiful freestone', a technique that was unique to Wyatt. The building has been demolished but is minutely described in an old newspaper cutting which deserves quoting at length. 'It consists of a handsome regular front extending about 140 feet; at each extremity is a neat pavilion with a large arched window. These pavilions are united to the centre of the design by a colonnade of small cast iron pillars, painted white, which support a cornice and a slate roof, covering a paved walk and a variety of conveniences for the poultry, for keeping eggs, corn, etc. The doors into these are all of lattice work, also painted white, and the framing green. In the middle of the front are four handsome stone columns and four pilasters ... between the columns is a beautiful mosaic iron gate; on one side of this gate is an elegant little parlour, beautifully papered and furnished and at the other end of the colonnade

a very neat kitchen so excessively clean and in such high order that it is a delight to view it. The front is the diameter or chord of a large semi-circular court behind, round which there is also a colonnade and a great variety of conveniences for the poultry. The court is neatly paved, with a circular pond and a pump in the middle of it .... This poultry place was built of brick, excepting the pillars and cornices, the lintels and the jambs of the doors and windows, but the bricks are not seen, being covered with a remarkably fine kind of slate from his lordship's estate in Wales.<sup>14</sup> Both in plan and construction this building was strikingly 'modern'. The semi-circular layout was a favourite feature of neo-classical architects and is to be found, for instance, in the semi-circular offices at Cairness (Aberdeenshire), one of the most original neo-classical buildings in Britain. The use of cast iron columns was an early example of such a form of construction.<sup>15</sup> The use of slate cladding was also one of the first examples of this technique which reached a peak in the stables at Penrhyn Castle. This was a form of construction evolved by Samuel Wyatt with Lord Penrhyn's encouragement.

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14 Quoted in A. S. Irvine, A History of Winnington Hall (ICI, 1951) 47

15 Earlier examples are the 'town hall' at Gatton Park (Surrey) 1765, St Anne's Church, Liverpool, 1770 and St James' Church, Liverpool, 1774.

It was particularly suited to stable buildings as it was tougher than stucco. It could therefore stand up better to the blows of horses' hooves and runaway carriages.

Very large scale estate developments were under way at Penrhyn in the 1780s. It was one of the best examples of model estate development of the period. The whole working of the Penrhyn estate was based on the slate quarry. It produced the money for the other estate developments. Also the new buildings there were partly considered as advertisements for slate construction, just in the way that Ralph Allen's Prior Park was a demonstration of the virtues of Bath stone. When Lord Penrhyn inherited the estate small scale slate quarrying was already in progress and about 1,000 tons a year were produced. In 1782 he opened up a vast new quarry employing 600 men. Thus slate production was stepped up to 100 tons a day.<sup>16</sup> By 1792 12,000 tons of Penrhyn slate were being exported every year to London alone.<sup>17</sup> In 1786, as we have seen, Benjamin Wyatt, Samuel's younger brother, became Lord Penrhyn's agent with full control of the development of the slate quarry and the improvement of the estate. In the early

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16 J. Britton, Ed, Beauties of England and Wales, XVII (1812)

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17 J. Summerson, Georgian London (1945) 65

nineteenth century a local historian noted that 'this part of the country has, within the last 30 years, been abundantly improved by the late Lord Penrhyn under the judicious management and direction of Benjamin Wyatt Esq. of Lime Grove, his lordship's agent.'<sup>18</sup> These improvements included the building of cottages for the slate workers in the Ogwen valley, the construction of a harbour with adjoining inn, customs house and cottages. There were also model farms, poultry yards, a dairy and several ornamental buildings such as Lady Penrhyn's 'marine bath' house and her cottage ornée at Ogwen Bank.<sup>19</sup> Most of these were designed by Benjamin Wyatt himself and not by Samuel.<sup>18</sup> It is possible, however, to disentangle Samuel Wyatt's contribution to the Penrhyn improvements both by means of his surviving designs and also by Lewis Wyatt's incomplete survey of the estate's new buildings in 1800 in which he describes which are by Benjamin and which by Samuel.<sup>20</sup> Lewis Wyatt, himself, seems to have had no connection with the design of the Penrhyn build-

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18 P. B. Williams, County of Caernarvon (1821) 32-38

19 R. Fenton, 'Tours in Wales 1804-1813', Archeologia Cambrensis 17 (1917) 210-213, 237-241

20 R.I.B.A. Library, EW72886, Lewis Wyatt, Architectural Designs Rural and Ornamental. (An incomplete series of printed plans and elevations of buildings at Penrhyn bound up later without letterpress.)

ings. He merely drew them after execution in the hope of producing a book on rural architecture like Plaw's or Gandy's. This was, however, never published. Samuel Wyatt designed three different types of estate cottage for Penrhyn.<sup>21</sup> They were all one-storeyed but two of the designs had raised centres with pediments. The elevations of these were very simple with plain pedimented doorways. One version had round and segmental windows. Both these motifs and the tripartite compositions recalled the farm at Sandon. Wyatt also designed those subsidiary buildings closely connected with the castle such as lodges and the stables. Unlike the castle itself these were not gothick but classical, a further sign of Wyatt's lack of interest in gothick architecture. The main lodge was in the form of a Roman triumphal arch, which the author of Beauties of England and Wales thought contrasted unhappily with the gothick architecture of the castle.<sup>16</sup> The stables were identical to those at Heaton except that the clock cupola was higher.<sup>20</sup> They were the most lavish example of Wyatt's constructional use of slate. 'The facing of the building is all of slate screwed to a wood batting ... everything here savours of slate, door and window casings, cisterns, horse block, nay

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21 Penrhyn, Lady Janet Douglas Pennant, Wyatt's album of designs for Penrhyn.

the very mangers are constructed of slate with only an edge of cylindrical wood that rolls. Much of the common paling is of slate .... Behind the stables there is a large square where are the stables for strange horses entered from behind. Coach Houses, and a long piazza to exercise the horses in rainy weather.<sup>18</sup> The pilasters dividing the stalls were also of slate. The stables as a whole were considered to be 'among the first in the kingdom for elegance and accommodation'.<sup>16</sup> The mangers with wooden rollers were possibly an invention of Wyatt's for they occur in others of his buildings and struck contemporaries as novel. For example, Arthur Young noticed that all the mangers in the farms at Holkham had front edges which were 'rollers covered with tin'.<sup>22</sup> Wyatt also designed a house in the park for his brother Benjamin, as agent to the Penrhyn estate, which still stands. It consisted of a two-storeyed main block containing the principal rooms flanked by lower pavilions on each side. One of these contained the domestic offices and the other the administrative offices, a neat and rational arrangement. The south front of this house is a fine design with tripartite Wyatt windows and a doric porch. The flanking pavilions are pedimented. It had all the qualities that the castle lacked. This was apparent to contemporaries.

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22 A. Young, Norfolk Agricultural Survey (1804) 20

Their views were best put by P. B. Williams: 'Lime Grove, the neat and appropriate residence of Mr. Wyatt the agent of Mr. Pennant ... is situated in the lower part of Penrhyn Park to the west; this house was also planned by the late S. Wyatt, Esq. and in point of chasteness and technical purity is more creditable to his taste than the greater work at Penrhyn Castle.'<sup>18</sup> This house was the model for Wyatt's later houses for estate agents and larger farm houses. He produced a more austere version of the design in 1790 as the Steward's Lodge in Wimbledon Park (Surrey) for Lord Spencer.<sup>23</sup> Park Farm near Culford on Lord Cornwallis' estate in Suffolk has a house which is another version of this design. It was probably built in the 1790s.<sup>24</sup> Wyatt was also to build several versions of this type of house for T. W. Coke in Norfolk, as will be seen. It was an ideal design. It combined a degree of architectural dignity with a sensible and practical plan. The threefold division between service rooms, living rooms and administration recalls his sensibly zoned plans for large country houses.

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23 Althorp, Spencer MSS, 2 elevations and 2 plans for Steward's Lodge at Wimbledon Park in Wyatt's hand (unsigned).

24 This house appears to be undocumented. Its remarkably Wyatt appearance and proximity to Culford make it probable that it was a by-product of his work at Culford Hall between 1790 and 1799.

Another estate where Wyatt designed cottages and farm buildings in the 1780s was Somerley (Hampshire) for Daniel Hobson. Wyatt's plan for Somerley was unique. He intended to incorporate the house itself and all its dependencies, including the kitchen garden, farm, stables and poultry yard, in one vast layout over 600 feet long. This plan and the fact that it was not executed has already been discussed. It was, however, a very bold suggestion. It is symptomatic of the increasing importance of the park farm in the late eighteenth century that Wyatt should have envisaged incorporating it in the same layout as the house itself. Such a plan would have had some practical advantages. To have the house garden, farm, stables and poultry yard together would save a great deal of labour and waste. Manure from the stables and farm could be taken easily to the garden, also scraps from the kitchen to the poultry yard. The plan was also architecturally interesting. It enabled Wyatt to indulge on paper in a large neo-classical scheme of geometrical pattern-making. The total subsidiary layout formed four diminishing rectangles. At the same time Wyatt produced designs for cottages at Somerley.<sup>25</sup> One of these inscribed 'elevation of a game-keeper's cottage'

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25 Somerley Park, Normanton MSS, Wyatt designs for the house and subsidiary buildings (most of them signed and dated).

and signed 'S. Wyatt' is very similar to his designs for the Penrhyn cottages. It too is one-storeyed with a two-storeyed pedimented centre. Another 'sketch of cottages for Somerley, 1785' is for a group of semi-detached two-storeyed cottages identical to cottages built by T. W. Coke at Holkham at about the same time.<sup>26</sup> When building work actually began at Somerley in 1794 after a delay of nine years it was to quite different plans. The house itself was differently orientated and did not have any estate buildings attached. The stables were built about two hundred yards away on the north side. They formed a self-contained group similar in design to those at Heaton, Penrhyn and Tatton. They have the same central feature with twin pediments and low pyramid roof. The home farm, called Ney Farm, was built separately on the edge of the park. The farm house and many of the lesser buildings have been altered but the barn survives in good condition. It is of the type that Wyatt had evolved at Holkham and is a smaller version of the Great Barn there. It had only one projecting pedimented porch on each side. There are, however, the same lean-to cattle sheds, lunette windows in the 'clerestory' and pedimented end gables. This compact barn-plan with cattle

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26 See A. Young, Ed, Annals of Agriculture XX (1793)

sheds and fodder storage under one roof was an innovation of great practical significance. It meant a great gain in convenience over the looser quadrangular layouts at Thorndon and Sandon. The detailing of the barn at Ney Farm is handled with great refinement. It is built of red brick, but the windows are outlined with bands of black brick. Wyatt also designed the Duncombe Lodge at Somerley in 1794. It was a large, plain, pedimented triumphal arch built of white brick. Its interest lay in the subterranean offices which were grouped around a semi-circular area.<sup>25</sup> This geometrical composition is typical of the modest neo-classical character of Wyatt's subsidiary buildings. Not that all his lodges were modest. The Childer Thornton lodge at Hooton, for instance, with its hemi-cycle of Ionic columns and elegant domed lodges, is the grandest eighteenth-century gateway in Cheshire.

A subject in themselves are the estate buildings erected by the greatest improving landlord of the late eighteenth century, Thomas William Coke, at Holkham in Norfolk. As a group of nearly fifty buildings these form Wyatt's largest single architectural commission. Their authorship has in the past been entirely overlooked. The park lodges designed at the same time have been wrongly attributed to James Wyatt on the usual ground that any reference to 'Wyatt' must mean James Wyatt. Although none of Samuel Wyatt's designs for executed

buildings at Holkham survive there is conclusive evidence that he designed most of the late eighteenth-century buildings in the park and on the estate. T. W. Coke inherited Holkham in 1776. He was then only 21 years old. He did not embark upon a scheme of improvement immediately. He waited four years until he had a greater understanding of his position. He then proceeded to rebuild almost every farm on the estate and many of the cottages. He more than doubled the size of the park, furnishing it with a completely new series of lodges. It is not known how Coke came to be introduced to Wyatt but it was possibly through his midlands connections. Coke owned the Longford Hall estate in Derbyshire near Burton-on-Trent. He had lived there until his father inherited Holkham in 1775. It is possible that some of the Wyatts may have been employed by his father, Wenman Roberts, either as builders or agricultural surveyors at Longford. Wenman Roberts was a keen agriculturist and carried out many improvements at Longford including new farm premises in 1770.<sup>27</sup> There is, however, no reference to the Wyatts in the Longford estate papers deposited in the Rylands Library. T. W. Coke did have connections with other members of the Wyatt family. For example, in 1782 an agreement

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27 A. Young, Tour through the East of England I (1777) 175

was drawn up between Coke and one of his Norfolk tenants by William Wyatt, who was almost certainly one of Samuel's cousins from Burton-on-Trent.<sup>28</sup> Nor is it absolutely certain when Wyatt was first employed at Holkham. It was probably about 1780. This reflects the inadequacy of the source material. The only one of Wyatt's designs for Holkham to survive is an elevation for a boathouse in the Colman Collection at the Norwich City Library. This was provided in 1789 for Repton's Red Book and is inscribed in Repton's hand 'Saml. Wyatt's design for Holkham'. Neither this nor any other of Repton's proposals were executed. The main source is the Holkham estate account books. These are divided into two groups, the Audit Books and the Household Accounts. The Audit Books comprise the general estate accounts. They show which farms were being rebuilt and give an idea of the amount spent each year.<sup>29</sup> They do not refer to any architect nor do they contain detailed building accounts. The Household Accounts are misleadingly named as they cover developments in the park and include detailed payments to builders, carpenters and other tradesmen for work on particular buildings. They show that most of the tradesmen employed, particularly bricklayers, carpenters and masons, were

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28 R. A. C. Parker, Coke of Norfolk : An Agricultural and Financial Study (not yet published) f172

29 Holkham Hall, Coke MSS, Audit Books 1780-1806

local and were supervised by the estate's resident Clerk of Works, Francis Crick. Specialists such as stuccoists, firstly Joseph Rose then Francis Bernasconi, and slaters came from London and were paid directly by Samuel Wyatt.<sup>30</sup> The Household Accounts also include payments to Samuel Wyatt for architectural drawings, for journeys to Holkham from London, and for special materials such as Parker's Cement and slate from Penrhyn. On 23rd December 1784, for instance, Samuel Wyatt was paid £85. On 17th September 1785 he was paid £4 4. 0. on the slating account with a note that 'this is the first money on account since Mr. Coke settled with Mr. Wyatt'. No record of that transaction exists as the money involved came from the 'privy purse'. On 4th August 1794 'Mr. Sam. Wyatt' was paid £323 11. 3. on his general account for 1792 to 1794. This included £73 10. 0. for 'Drawings and Journeys'. On 22nd October 1799 he was paid a further £100 for 'Drawings and Journeys to Holkham'.<sup>30</sup> From these two series of accounts it is possible to discover what was built each year in the park and on the estate.

Where the buildings survive it is easy to decide on stylistic grounds whether they are by Wyatt or not. A general

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid, Household Accounts 1780-1792, 1793-1800, 1801-1814

pattern can thus be evolved. All the new park buildings between about 1780 and 1807 were designed by Samuel Wyatt. All the most expensive new estate buildings from the mid 1780s to his death were also by Wyatt. By that is meant farm premises and houses which cost about £1,000 or more. Lesser sums in the audit book indicating repairs or minor new building nearly always indicate vernacular-type work by local builders. Altogether it is possible to compile a list of nearly fifty individual works designed by Wyatt for T. W. Coke. There may have been more originally but if so they have disappeared without record.<sup>31</sup>

Contemporaries were struck by the scale of Wyatt's work at Holkham. Trinity House, for instance, saw his role there as almost that of an official position. They referred, on occasion, to 'Mr. Wyatt, Surveyor to Mr. Coke'. Farington noted in his diary that Wyatt had done a considerable amount of work for Mr Coke.<sup>32</sup> Relations between T. W. Coke and Samuel Wyatt seem to have been very good. Farington also noted that Wyatt had a 'high regard for Coke'. Wyatt in letters to Matthew Boulton refers to 'my friend Mr. Coke'.<sup>33</sup> No doubt

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31 For a complete list see appendix.

32 Farington, 639, 27 May 1795

33 A.O., Wyatt to Boulton, 17 June 1798

they too had engrossing conversations about the best way to bind hay and the merits of feeding sheep on turnips.

T. W. Coke certainly recommended Wyatt to his friends. For instance, he introduced Wyatt to the Duke of Bedford, as a result of which Wyatt was invited for dinner at Woburn and stayed there a week, although no architectural commission resulted.<sup>33</sup> It was probably a result of T. W. Coke's recommendation that Lord Spencer asked Wyatt to design the Steward's Lodge at Wimbledon Park in 1790, despite his simultaneous employment of Henry Holland at Althorp.

The dual nature of the Holkham accounts makes it natural to deal with the developments in the park and on the estate separately. Also work began inside the park before spreading to the other buildings. From 1780 onwards T. W. Coke greatly enlarged the park. This was to a consistent plan that was probably his own. Repton, for instance, refers in his Red Book to 'the great outline that Mr. Coke is pursuing in the improvement of the park at Holkham'.<sup>34</sup> Repton's own suggestions were confined to the banks of the lake and were not executed. Two other professional landscape gardeners were employed, William Eames between 1784 and 1786, and John Webb from 1801

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<sup>34</sup> Holkham, H. Repton, Red Book for Holkham, 1789

to 1803.<sup>30</sup> (John Webb was a Staffordshire man who had worked in several of the parks of Wyatt's midland houses and so may have been employed at Holkham at Wyatt's suggestion.) Both these gardeners were concerned entirely with work on the lake and there is no evidence that they had any part in the overall plans for the park. The park was enlarged first to the west in about 1780 and then far to the south in 1790 when Longlands Farm was taken in.<sup>35</sup> This more than doubled its size, bringing it to about 3,000 acres. The whole area was slowly environed with a great tree belt. Fifty acres were planted each year until the whole circuit of nine miles was completed. This rendered the original Kent lodges useless as they were stranded inside the new park boundary. All were demolished except the North Lodges in axis with the entrance front of the house. They were converted into a cottage, before 1789.<sup>34</sup> This was probably to Wyatt's design but this is not certain as it in turn was demolished to make way for the monument in 1845. Five new sets of lodges were designed by Samuel Wyatt: Church Lodge 1784-87, West Lodge 1790, East Lodge 1799-1801, Wells Lodge 1803-5 and Branthill Lodge 1805-6. Of these West Lodge, Church Lodge and Branthill Lodge were octagonal. The Wells Lodge was a simple cube. The East Lodge (now called Palmer's Lodge) was

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<sup>35</sup> Parker, f195

a tripartite composition with a pedimented central arch flanked by Tuscan colonnades and cubic lodges. This was the only one of the new lodges treated monumentally. The stucco work and the Coade plaque with the ostrich crest in a wreath of oak leaves was by Francis Bernasconi.<sup>30</sup> The other lodges are of interest for their geometrical character. This is well illustrated by the West Lodge; the main part is a two-storeyed octagon, and behind, at right angles to the octagon, are the semi-circular offices. This perfectly illustrates Kaufmann's definition of neo-classical composition with its pure geometrical shapes and a complete absence of relation between the two parts. The porch has primitive baseless doric columns. This was a motif that Wyatt only used in small subsidiary estate buildings, deliberately for its rustic quality. This cultivated rusticity is also expressed in the deep overhanging eaves of the Church Lodge and Branthill Lodge.

Wyatt's first work at Holkham was the design of the kitchen garden. This was a direct result of the western expansion of the park. The old kitchen garden was much nearer the house and is now covered by the southern extension of the lake dug in 1801 to 1803.<sup>30</sup> The old garden was demolished in 1780 and a new garden on a grand scale begun further west at Howe Hill. The new garden took six years to complete and cost £10,000.<sup>36</sup>

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36 Mrs. A. M. W. Stirling, Coke of Norfolk and his friends  
(2nd ed. 1912) 150

It covers six acres and is enclosed by walls fourteen feet high.<sup>37</sup> It is divided into five compartments, four squares each of one acre and a rectangle of two acres behind. The red brick walls are punctuated by eight pedimented doorways of white brick. Adjoining is the Vinery. It has a white brick front range designed as accommodation for lesser garden employees. In the centre is a porch with Ionic columns 'in antis' and a large delicate fanlight. The string course, paterae, and Ionic capitals are all of Coade stone, and the columns are wooden. XXIX XXXVB

The enlargement of the park to the west led to other architectural developments in the area, including the 'reparation' of the parish church. This was quite ambitious; for example, the interior was decorated by Joseph Rose.<sup>38</sup> Not a trace of Wyatt's work, however, survived the nineteenth-century reconstruction. On the extended west boundary of the park the 'New Inn' was built between 1786 and 1788, to Wyatt's design.<sup>30</sup> It replaced the old 'Ostrich Inn' as a place of accommodation for visitors to Holkham. It is a large plain white brick building that introduced the type of design that was to be almost standard for the farm houses on the estate. The entrance front is of

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37 H. W. Stacy, Guide to Holkham (Norwich 1861)

38 Holkham, Household Accounts 1780-1792. This was the second 18th-century restoration. The Countess Dowager had repaired the church in 1767.

three widely-spaced bays with over-arched tripartite windows flanking the porch. In 1790 the park was extended to the south to include Longlands Farm.<sup>35</sup> This made the park farm the largest on the whole estate. It was decided to replace all the buildings by new ones on a grand scale. They were to be a model of what T. W. Coke thought farm buildings on a great estate should be. These new buildings were scattered throughout the park but the principal congeries was at Longlands itself, near the south end of the avenue. Between 1790 and 1798 a new barn, stables, hoggery, dove cote and bailiff's house were built there. The bailiff's house was another version of the plan that Wyatt had first used for the Agent's House at Penrhyn. It had the same lower pedimented side wings. A characteristic piece of geometrical planning which has now disappeared, was the hexagonal 'keeping room' that formed part of the offices. The stables, dated 1792, were a distinctive design with raised angle pavilions like those on Hatch Farm at Thorndon. One of these was the stock-keeper's cottage. Wyatt was able to indulge in his predilection for small pediments such as those on the stables at Heaton, Penrhyn and Somerley. At Longlands, there were no fewer than four little pediments above the cornice on either side of the stables. The barn at Longlands was a large utilitarian structure of little architectural interest. It does, however, represent an intermediary stage in the evolu- XXXVA

tion of Wyatt's most compact barn plan. All along the south side it has one-storeyed lean-to fodder stores. This creates an aisle and clerestorey effect punctuated by the projecting entrance porches. From this it was only a short step to the barn with lean-to cattle stalls all round, such as those at Somerley. Unlike Longlands' Barn the other three barns in the park were distinctively architectural. They were Skoyles Barn, near the West Lodge, Wells Barn near the Wells Lodge, and the Great Barn a mile south-east of the house. All three were of white brick with slate roofs. These materials are always a sign of architectural superiority at Holkham. The Wells Barn and Skoyles Barn were almost identical.<sup>39</sup> They were demolished in the nineteenth century, but Wyatt's authorship is confirmed by an unflattering reference to 'specimens of such classes of buildings as approved of in the days of Wyatt their architect'.<sup>37</sup>

Much more magnificent than those or any other barn on the Holkham estate was the Great Barn. This was clearly visible XXXIVA, B from the windows of the house, a striking example of the increasing importance of farm buildings in this period. No building accounts survive but a date around 1790 seems probable. It was not there at the time of Arthur Young's 1784 visit to

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39 Holkham, H. W. Keary, Report on the Holkham Estates, 1851, 2 vols (MSS)

Holkham but was there in 1792. After that visit he wrote enthusiastically: 'Mr. Coke, since I was last at Holkham, has built several barns such as can be erected only by men of the first fortune in the kingdom. He has raised on his own farm one which is 120 feet long by 30 broad and 30 high; it is capitally executed in white brick and covered with fine blue slate; it is therefore an object for the surrounding grounds and for that purpose is very advantageously placed.'<sup>40</sup>

In this barn Wyatt progressed from the Longlands barn to a design with lean-to's on all sides. The clerestories have lunette windows and the end pediments circular windows. On each side are two projecting porches with pediments. This was the design that he was to use at Somerley and again at Doddington in about 1800. Magnificently proportioned and finely detailed the barn provided a fitting setting for the internationally famous sheep shearings held annually at Holkham. The barn itself was placed in a rectangular enclosure with further low cattle sheds round the sides. At the south end an exedra framed a circular pond. The whole building was designed as a model of its kind, both architecturally and agriculturally. This was summed up by a nineteenth-century

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40 A. Young, Ed, Annals of Agriculture XIX (1793) (By the Editor, 'A week in Norfolk', 29 Oct. 1792)

farming theorist. 'The main object in the construction and erection of all agricultural buildings ought to be centralisation, convenience, accommodation and economical arrangement, and all the yards and offices should be placed as much under the farmer's eye as possible. In the arrangement of the yards for cattle attention should be paid to keep them dry and warm and as free from disturbance as possible. In the ground plan of Holkham Great Barn this point will be found to be provided for while the yards at the same time are so placed that the cattle have plenty of air and, are protected from the extreme cold.'<sup>41</sup> The Great Barn at Holkham is Wyatt's finest agricultural building. Even in the mid nineteenth century, when his work at Holkham was out of fashion, this was considered to be the 'handsomest and best proportioned barn in England'.<sup>39</sup>

Another aspect of Wyatt's work at Holkham which parallels his activities at Penrhyn and Somerley was the design of model cottages. This concern for the housing of the lower classes was a completely new phenomenon in the late eighteenth century. Whole villages had, of course, been rebuilt earlier in the century, but that was because the appearance of the cottages was considered to be offensive, not because the landlord considered them sub-standard for their inhabitants to live in. T. W. Coke was one of the pioneer landlords in this field. The provision

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<sup>41</sup> R. N. Bacon, Report on the Agriculture of Norfolk (1844) 395

of decent housing for the lower classes was also an interest of Wyatt's. It was perhaps a result of the influence of Matthew Boulton who had provided model housing for his employees at Soho. T. W. Coke's policy of cottage building was, however, on an unprecedentedly large scale and was to earn the approval of, amongst others, Karl Marx himself. Arthur Young naturally admired the new cottages and was prompted to remark complacently: 'The time was when the dreary mansions of the great were surrounded by the poverty and ruin of dependents and retainers. The milder genius of diffusive freedom has banished the magnificence that was built on slavery. The fault of modern luxury is the concentration of wealth, praise is therefore justly due when it flows in a liberal stream that connects the ease and comforts of the tenant with the taste and pleasure of his landlord.'<sup>42</sup> Concern for the housing of the poor was widespread in the 1790s, as is confirmed in Repton's remarks to Lord Cornwallis in the Culford Red Book: 'The village hovels often obtrude on the dignity of the mansion and in many cases have been sacrificed without mercy to the necessary parade of solitary pomp .... Benevolence will surely commiserate those who are frequently obliged to walk many miles after a hard

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42 A. Young, Ed, Annals of Agriculture II (1784) 382

day's labour .... In several cases ... I have dared to advise that by neatness of repair and some attention to the buildings it should become part of the improved scenery ... by giving each house some simple degree of ornament which shall mark the attention of affluence, to the comfort of its poor dependents'.<sup>43</sup>

The philosophy behind the interest in the housing conditions of the poor was not just a matter of disinterested benevolence. It was connected with a definite fear of social revolution stimulated by the spectacle of contemporary events in France. This is borne out by the advice offered T. W. Coke by the great agricultural theorist Nathaniel Kent in 1789: 'I own I think it necessary to provide plain and comfortable habitations for the poor as it is to provide comfortable and convenient buildings for cattle .... In point of policy the Landlord will ultimately find his advantage in this measure for these sort of cottages will tend to enhance his property for they will be permanently fixed to the soil and having some interest in their dwellings and possessing comforts superior to those who have not the same advantages will be the last men to risk them by joining in occasional tumults but will on the contrary be the best props a farmer can lean upon in case of any such calamity

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43 Morton Arboretum Library, USA, H. Repton, Red Book for Culford, cl792

and will be the least likely to become a burden on the parish.'<sup>44</sup>

The first cottages built by T. W. Coke date from 1785 to 1786.<sup>30</sup> These were probably Rose Cottages near the church, as that is the area where most of the building in the park was taking place at that date. They form a group of four, back to back, almost identical to Wyatt's 1785 design for Somerley. There were probably more of these originally. For example, cottages of similar design were illustrated in Volume XX of the Annals of Agriculture in 1793 as recently built at Holkham by T. W. Coke.<sup>45</sup> The most important group of new cottages designed by Wyatt at Holkham was a completely new village of fourteen dwellings and a school built between 1794 and 1795 on the south edge of the park.<sup>31</sup> It was originally called Longlands Village but is now known as New Holkham. It was unfortunately rebuilt in 1913, but the original plan can be re-constructed from old maps. It formed a very interesting geometrical layout foreshadowing such imaginary neo-classical layouts as Gandy's circular 'cottages of the winds'.<sup>46</sup> The area of the whole village was semi-circular. The fourteen cottages were arranged in five groups of three, two, four, two and three. Their facades and

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44 Holkham, N. Kent, Holkham Estate Valuation, Michaelmas 1789, 53 (MSS)

45 A. Young, Ed, Annals of Agriculture XX (1793)

46 J. M. Gandy, Designs for Cottages (1805)

the connecting walls formed an elaborate shape equal to half an eighteen-sided polygon or a nine-faceted semi-circle. There are no illustrations of these cottages but it is clear that each of the five groups was treated as a single unit. The central block of cottages and the two terminal blocks had projecting centres which probably carried shallow pediments. Some of the windows must have been lunettes, for in 1794 'iron circular casements' were bought for Longlands Village.<sup>47</sup> This must have been one of the most interesting neo-classical layouts of the time. It was a cottage version of Michael Searle's Polygon at Blackheath. The cottages at Holkham Staithe, the old village on the north side of the park, were also largely rebuilt in 1805 and 1806. The rebuilding there seems to have been piecemeal but the appearance of the cottages is not known because they were rebuilt again later in the nineteenth century in a 'Tudor' style. The most interesting group of cottages at Holkham Staithe, however, survives. This is the Octagon built in 1802. It consists of two cottages back to back in the form of a large solid octagon with a conical roof and central octagonal chimney-stack. It was the group of cottages nearest to the park and was given this interesting geometrical treatment to make it an

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47 Holkham, Household Accounts, 1793-94

agreeable object when viewed from inside the park.

T. W. Coke's reputation as an improving landlord, and Wyatt's as a designer of estate buildings, rests not just on the model cottages built round Holkham park but also on the new farm houses and attached buildings provided for tenants all over the Coke Norfolk estates. In his lifetime nearly every farm on his land was rebuilt with the result that today there is not a single pre-eighteenth-century farmhouse on the whole vast estate. Not all those built between 1780 and 1807 were designed by Samuel Wyatt. It is easy, however, to differentiate between Wyatt's work and the vernacular of the local builders. The most important of the estate farms built by Wyatt was Leicester Square Farm at Syderstone near South Creake. This was built between 1791 and 1793 with further work in 1798 and 1799. It cost £2,325 9. 2., a huge sum to spend on one tenant farm.<sup>48</sup> After the Great Barn this was the agricultural complex on the estate that most excited the admiration of contemporary visitors. A typical description is that of Mr Boys of Betshanger in Kent. He visited Holkham in 1793 and was impressed by 'several new farm houses in a most capital style, one in particular designed by Wyatt; the yard a square, barn in front of the entrance 144 feet long, 27 feet

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48 Ibid, Audit Books, 1787-94, 1795-1803, 1804-7

wide 24 feet long, stables at one side; hoggeries etc at the other. Nothing can exceed the convenient arrangements of these buildings for the farmer.<sup>49</sup> Contemporaries were greatly struck by the convenient arrangement of this type of quadrangular layout with the farmer's house on one side so that he could easily oversee the activity of the farm. The architectural grandeur of the farm is also impressive, with its vast quadrangle and immensely long barn. The house itself is like a palladian villa with a pedimented centrepiece, pyramidal pantiled roof, porch with columns in antis and sweeping quadrant walls enclosing the fourth side of the farm quadrangle. The other farms completely rebuilt by Wyatt also had quadrangular plans. The most notable were Wicken Farm, 1794-97 and Lodge Farm, 1797-1800, at Castle Acre. These cost £2,249 3. 6. and £2,604 6. 5. respectively.<sup>48</sup> The layout of both was similar, with the barn opposite the house and flanking lower ranges with stables and cow-sheds. There were lunette windows, shallow pediments and little other detailing. The houses at Wicken and Lodge farms were even larger than that at Leicester Square. Indeed the former is now a considerable country house in its own right. The surprisingly large scale of the houses provided by Coke for his tenant farmers was commented on at the time.

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49 A. Young, Ed, Annals of Agriculture XIX (1793)

Arthur Young, for instance, noted that 'very many of them are erected in a style much superior to the houses usually assigned for the residences of tenants.'<sup>50</sup> The most notable of the farm

houses designed by Wyatt for T. W. Coke was that at Kempstone XXXVIII A

Lodge Farm. It was built between 1788 and 1793 at a cost of £1,759 17. 3.<sup>48</sup>

The design is that which he had evolved for agent's houses, with lower pedimented side wings. The centre of three widely-spaced bays had tripartite windows under blank arches flanking the pedimented porch. The internal accommodation was comparatively lavish. It comprised, as well as kitchen offices and servants' rooms, a drawing room, dining room, ante room, breakfast room, study, six bedrooms and six dressing rooms.<sup>39</sup>

An even vaster farm house, now altered, was that built at Crabhall Farm between 1803 and 1807. This house alone cost the sum of £2,340 12. 10., more than the total spent on all the farm buildings at Leicester Square.

Part of T. W. Coke's agricultural policy was to sell out-lying estates and to buy land adjoining his own in Norfolk, thus concentrating his holdings. Often when a new estate was acquired he proceeded to rebuild its buildings 'in toto'. For example, the Warham estate was acquired in 1785,<sup>51</sup> and in the

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50 A. Young, Norfolk Agricultural Survey (1804) 19

51 Parker, f156

following years several new farm houses and a new rectory were built to Wyatt's design. The rectory was built between 1801 and 1803 at a cost of £2,248 17. 2.<sup>48</sup> and is typical of Wyatt's houses at Holkham, with a pedimented porch and flanking tripartite windows. Northgate Farm north-east of the village was rebuilt between 1795 and 1799.<sup>48</sup> The house is the strangest example of Wyatt's preoccupation with over-arched tripartite windows; the façade is composed of no fewer than five of these closely juxtaposed.

XXXVIII B

XXXIX B

The materials used in Wyatt's farm buildings at Holkham were also of interest. They were all built of brick made in T. W. Coke's own kiln at Peterstone, west of Holkham park. This brick-works was considered to be one of the finest in England and produced bricks of the highest quality. Apart from the three barns in Holkham park all the farm buildings were of red brick. Details such as string-courses, pediments and doorways were often, however, of white brick creating an attractive polychromatic effect. The roofs were of red or blue pan tiles, also made at Peterstone. The houses and cottages were of white brick or faced with white mathematical tiles. The most important ones such as Kempstone Lodge had slated roofs. Huge quantities of slate were imported under Wyatt's direction from Penrhyn.<sup>30</sup> Only a small portion of this was for roofing; most of it was employed in more novel ways. For instance, Wyatt

used it instead of lead for 'flashings' in the East Lodge, for copings on the kitchen garden walls, for cisterns, shelves and window-sills in all his buildings on the estate, and for stall divisions in stables and cowsheds. Arthur Young commented upon the distinctive use made of materials in the farm buildings at Holkham: 'In all Mr. Coke's new barns and other offices he has substituted milled lead for ridge tiles to the roofs which is far more durable .... The front edge of his own mangers are rollers covered with tin; the mangers themselves are plated with iron; and the bottoms of the stall fences are of slate. All these circumstances are found very economical in duration.'<sup>50</sup> These devices were mainly Wyatt's, as is suggested by similarities with his work at Penrhyn. There also the fronts of the mangers were wooden rollers and the stall fences were of slate.

The subsidiary estate buildings designed by Wyatt for Holkham between 1780 and 1807 are therefore of great interest architecturally and structurally, and also because of the progressive ideas that they embodied. They represented an attitude that foreshadowed mid-nineteenth-century philanthropic estate developments. Such activity seems to have been typical of those families with Foxite sympathies, as is demonstrated by the estate improvements of Samuel Whitbread at Southill in Bedfordshire and, among Wyatt's patrons, Lord Petre and Earl

Spencer. Another member of this group was Thomas Anson of Shugborough in Staffordshire. Not only did he share T. W. Coke's liberal sympathies and zeal for agricultural improvement, but he had married Anne Coke, his eldest daughter.

Thomas Anson too was one of Wyatt's most important patrons. As has already been seen, Wyatt's work at Shugborough fell into two phases, and that after 1803 was mainly concerned with subsidiary estate buildings. The buildings then executed at Shugborough were in direct emulation of what had already been achieved at Holkham. Thomas Anson set about enlarging his park with a ruthlessness that made contemporaries gasp with admiration.<sup>52</sup> The line of the main Stafford-Lichfield road was diverted across Cannock Chase. The old village which was situated inside the new park was demolished and replaced by two groups of new cottages to Wyatt's design at Great Haywood.<sup>53</sup> LXVIIIA Both these groups were treated in a decidedly architectural manner and were among Wyatt's most interesting cottage designs. Outside the new Lichfield Lodge twelve cottages were arranged symmetrically. They made a formal approach, with low two-

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52 e.g. Neale IV (1821), T. Clifford, Tixall (1817) 66-67, W. Pitt, Staffordshire II (1817) 90

53 T. B. Stitt, 'Shugborough, the end of a village', Staffs Record Soc., IV, ii

storeyed terraces flanking the road. These terraces were punctuated by one higher cottage on each side with pedimented porches of baseless doric columns. The other cottage doors were simply pedimented without columns, like those in the design for cottages at Penrhyn. The charm of these cottages lies in their combination of small scale and decidedly monumental intentions. Wyatt's other group of cottages was demolished by the Staffordshire County Council in 1965. It was the most interesting layout of its type in England, comparable to those geometrical fantasies of Plaw and Gandy which never got beyond the drawing board. There were sixteen cottages treated as one simply-detailed unit enclosing an open courtyard with a bake house in the centre. The overall shape was a large hollow heptagon, making it the largest of Wyatt's geometrical compositions. It paralleled the octagon and half-polygon at Holkham and his plans for concentric lighthouse dwellings at Ramsgate and Flamborough Head. They were reminiscent, on a simpler scale, of Ledoux's contemporary schemes for housing the lower classes in buildings of extreme geometrical fantasy.

As at Holkham the enlargement of the park entailed the construction of new sets of lodges. Two of these were simple brick buildings in the style of the Great Haywood cottages. The two principal sets of lodges are, however, among his most accomplished designs. The nature of Wyatt's style made it

ideally suited to the small scale of such subsidiary buildings. Whereas some of his larger buildings seem slightly austere and dull his small buildings are always felicitous. This is particularly true of the Stafford and Lichfield Lodges at Shugborough.<sup>54</sup> The design of these two main entrances to the park is identical, although they were not built at the same time. The Lichfield Lodge was built in 1804<sup>55</sup> but the LXIVB Stafford Lodge must have been completed after 1806 as it is decorated with the coronet that was bestowed in that year. The design consists of triple iron gates flanked by twin cubic lodges. These are two-storeyed but the upper storey is disguised. The three visible faces of each of the lodges has a recessed centre with Tuscan columns 'in antis'. This is a common Wyatt device to be found, for instance, in the entrance hall at Trinity House. Here it is exceptionally successful. This is partly a matter of excellent proportions and partly the detailing. Each is faced in beautifully smooth ashlar with niches scooped out of the corners and cameo-like medallions of Coade stone. On the Lichfield lodge these contain the LXIIIA

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54 The Lichfield Lodge was originally built at Great Haywood but was removed to make way for the railway and rebuilt exactly on the other side of the park on the Cannock-Stafford road. (Inf. J. B. Stitt)

55 Staffs R.O., Anson MSS, D615/E(H)2/6, Accounts 1793-1813

Anson crest and on the Stafford Lodge the full arms of the viscountcy. They were modelled by Charles Rossi who had also made the chimneypieces in the new saloon.<sup>55</sup> He was a sculptor with midlands connections, having worked for a time in the Derby porcelain factory.<sup>56</sup> Wyatt admired him and used him a lot in his later buildings. In 1799 he had described him as 'an ingenious artist ... lately begun in the artificial stone way on his own account, after being seven years the principal artist at Coade's manufactory.'<sup>57</sup> The ironwork of the gates with 'ring friezes, halberd head spikes, and strong framed ornamental pilasters' to carry the gates was made by John Mackell,<sup>55</sup> a London smith frequently employed by Wyatt and also by Henry Holland.<sup>58</sup> At the Lichfield Lodge the three-dimensional form of the Anson crest used as finials on top of the iron gateposts was not of iron but of Coade stone also supplied by Rossi.<sup>55</sup> This is another of Wyatt's experiments in the unconventional use of materials and a most unusual combination. Apart from the principal outer lodges Wyatt also designed the solitary Stafford Wood Lodge inside the park. It was another of Wyatt's geometrical compositions. The main part of the lodge was an octagon with a hexagonal

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56 Gunnis, 326

57 A.O., 201, Wyatt to Boulton, 24 March 1799

58 D. Stroud, Henry Holland (1966) 98, 99, 113; e.g. at Althorp and Woburn

extension behind. Seen from the side this gave the building a curious concertina-like appearance. The general form of the building is similar to the West Lodge at Holkham. The similarity is re-inforced by the pedimented porch with appropriately bucolic baseless doric columns. With its geometrical composition and primitive columns this was a very 'modern' building reminiscent of the work of advanced neo-classicists such as Ledoux. The sources of Wyatt's two-storeyed octagonal lodges was not, however, contemporary French architecture but Stuart's version of the 'Tower of the Winds' in the park at Shugborough. It created the pattern of a two-storeyed octagon combined with a pedimented porch. LXVA

As at Holkham Wyatt also designed the kitchen garden and home farm at Shugborough. The farm buildings were in two separate groups, one known as Park Farm and the other Whitebarn Farm. The latter comprised the barn and flanking cottages forming a large open U-shaped layout. Park Farm itself was a large quadrangular layout with colonnaded cow-sheds. Its pattern-book layout is best described by a contemporary: 'A farmyard has been constructed at a convenient distance from the family seat under the direction of Mr. Wyatt the architect consisting of the farming steward's house on one side, a range of buildings on another contains the brew-house ... a water corn mill for the use of the family and farm and in which corn is LXVIB

ground for the neighbouring poor gratis and also a malt house. The opposite side and end are occupied by stalls for feeding cattle, store-rooms, stables and other appendages. In the middle of the yard is a very complete hoggerly built of large stones set edge-wise and covered with slate, with a boiler for heating hog-food and a cold bath supplied by the mill stream for giving an occasional washing to the pigs.<sup>59</sup>

The Steward's House was of the standard Wyatt variety with LXVIA  
a three-bay centre flanked by lower pedimented wings. It  
turned its back to the farm yard and looked towards the Tower  
of the Winds. Wyatt incorporated this into the farm, con-  
verting it into the dairy. In 1803 he prepared a wooden model LXVB  
of his proposal and this was executed.<sup>55</sup> The conversion of a  
purely decorative building into something more practical is  
symptomatic of the elegant utility of this phase in the devel-  
opment of Shugborough. The internal fittings of the dairy  
were lavish. The principal room had a shallow domed ceiling  
and was lined with Derbyshire alabaster just like Wyatt's game- XXXI  
larder at Holkham executed two years before. It was 'worked  
into mouldings arches, bevils and flatt slabs' by Richard Brown  
of Derby who also provided the black marble skirting.<sup>55</sup> The  
room was given a faintly ambiguous shape by the introduction

of shallow arched alcoves on all eight sides carrying a circular cornice whereas the skirting is octagonal. This is a good example of Wyatt's finesse in the contriving of subtle spatial effects. The red and black Egyptian-style dairy pottery was supplied by Wedgwood. The farm buildings were all of red brick with stone dressings and slate sills and copings. Architectural features were sparse and consisted chiefly of shallow pediments, segmental arches and lunette windows. The Whitebarn complex was equipped with a powerful threshing machine worked by the same stream as the corn mill at Park Farm. This threshing machine was the most advanced of its kind and the first stationary threshing machine to be installed in Staffordshire.<sup>60</sup> It was an example of Wyatt's interest in new inventions and progressive machinery that was a particular feature of his family, stimulated by their friendship with Matthew Boulton. This threshing machine was far ahead of anything else in Staffordshire. It was not until 1836 that water power was again used to drive farm machinery in the county.<sup>61</sup>

Another estate where Wyatt had already built the house and after 1800 proceeded to design the other estate buildings as

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60 J. E. C. Peters, Development of Farm Buildings in Western Lowland Staffordshire up to 1880 (Manchester U.P. 1969) 88

61 Ibid, 102; at the Littleton estate on Cannock Chase

well was Doddington (Cheshire) for Sir Thomas Broughton.<sup>62</sup>

In about 1802 he designed the stables, lodges and hot houses.<sup>63</sup>

More important than these, however, was the Demesne Farm in the north-west corner of the park. It is Wyatt's most interesting

XXB

farm layout. The ground plan forms a fascinating pattern of interlocking geometrical shapes. Wyatt's farm plans fall into

two groups. One of these has an open central quadrangle, such as Sandon Park Farm, Leicester Square Farm (Holkham), and

CV, CVIII

Shugborough Park Farm. The other has a nucleated plan with a central barn and lower buildings grouped around, such as Hatch

CIV

Farm (Thorndon), Ney Farm (Somerley), and the Great Barn and Longlands Farm (Holkham). Demesne Farm at Doddington is of the

CVI

CIX

nucleated variety. In the centre is a barn 150 feet long,

larger than any of the barns at Holkham. Its detailing is

similar to the Great Barn at Holkham with two pedimented porches on either side and lunette windows in the clerestory. It is,

however, built of red brick and does not have the refined architectural finish of the barns at Holkham and Somerley.

Doddington barn has the open lean-to cattle sheds that were a standard feature of Wyatt's later barns. From the four corners,

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62 Cheshire R.O., Delves Broughton MSS, D DB/Q/3. Wyatt's designs for Doddington including lodges and plan of barn.

63 G. Richardson, New Vitruvius Britannicus I (1802) 17

however, project long low wings containing fodder stores, making the overall plan of the barn a vast St Andrew's cross. This distinguishes it from all Wyatt's other barns and is responsible for the unique layout of the farm as a whole. Facing the ends of the barn are rows of plainly detailed cottages with central pediments reflecting the gabled pediments of the barn. Low brick walls connect these with the ends of the angular projections. These in turn are linked to walls parallel to the sides of the barn. This forms four hexagonal yards at the side and ends of the barn and makes the external perimeter of the farm octagonal. No doubt this plan was evolved for reasons of convenience. The angular wings containing fodder stores cut down the distance which fodder had to be carried to the stabled cattle. Also having cottages as part of the layout, as at Whitebarn, Hatch Farm and Longlands, meant that there were always farm labourers on the spot. Nevertheless this plan was first and foremost a piece of geometrical pattern-making on Wyatt's part. The result is one of the most interesting neo-classical farm layouts in England.

CHAPTER VI

PUBLIC OFFICES AND WORKS

Samuel Wyatt's career as an official architect has been largely overshadowed by the greater successes and notoriety of James Wyatt's. James became, amongst other things, surveyor-general and comptroller of the office of works, architect to Westminster Abbey and surveyor to the board of ordnance. His management of the affairs of these bodies attracted a great deal of adverse criticism. His restoration of Westminster Abbey, for instance, was bitterly if unfairly attacked by John Carter. He allowed the finances of the office of works to degenerate into such chaos that a parliamentary enquiry was needed after his death to sort them out. Samuel Wyatt's public career was more discreet. He did not rise to the highest positions nor did his official conduct inspire controversy. Nevertheless he held many public architectural positions and designed a number of fine public buildings, including Trinity House and Admiralty House, Portsmouth. It might be supposed that his official appointments and commissions were a result of his brother's influence. This was not the case. His public career was largely independent, and began before that of James. He received his first government building contract in 1776. By the time of James' appointment as surveyor-general in 1796 Samuel had received all his important posts including three surveyorships and a clerkship of the works, as well as

a host of carpentry contracts. Samuel received only one public contract directly from James Wyatt. That was for carpentry at the Lazaretto at Chetney Hill in Kent. The other carpentry contracts were a result of his personal reputation and followed each other naturally. His more important appointments, such as the surveyorship to Trinity House, were entirely a result of his own reputation as architect and engineer and his connections in maritime circles where James Wyatt had no influence. Wyatt was therefore a public architect and builder in his own right. His advancement in this field owed nothing to his brother. Although James allowed him to continue as carpenter at Westminster and Somerset House after 1796, when strictly it was illegal for relations of the surveyor-general to hold such posts,<sup>1</sup> Samuel's employment was of such long standing that this was understandable. By Wyatt standards it was hardly a flagrant act of nepotism. James Wyatt's succession to the post of surveyor-general in 1796 was certainly not to Samuel's advantage. James' lack of control over the office of works finances was to affect Samuel considerably. He was not paid for any of his carpentry

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1 H. M. Colvin, Ed, History of the King's Works V (not yet published) f97

work at Somerset House, Westminster or Chetney Hill between 1796 and 1807, and at the time of his death he was owed £30,000 by the office of works.<sup>2</sup>

Wyatt's official employment and positions fall into two main groups. There were those that were primarily carpentry contracts, and those that were architectural or engineering. He received most of the carpentry contracts in the 1770s and early 1780s, and then in the early 1790s his most important official appointments followed each other in rapid succession. They marked the culmination of his career and consoled him for the loss of the Albion Mill.

Wyatt's official career began relatively humbly with a series of carpentry contracts. The first and most important of these was at Somerset House. He received the principal carpentry contract there from Sir William Chambers in 1776. Chambers had been appointed sole architect of the new Somerset House by royal warrant on 27 November 1775. This warrant specifically stated that he alone had the right to choose the craftsmen for the new building.<sup>3</sup> It is not certain how Chambers knew of Wyatt or why he gave him the most important carpentry contract then available in London, rather than employing one

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2 Ibid, f98

3 P.R.O., T52/64, Treasury Minutes, 27 Nov. 1775, 126-7

of the established office of works artificers, such as George Shakespeare. This was comparatively early in Wyatt's career, and he had only settled permanently in London two years before. His employment at Somerset House therefore involves the more general question of the growth of his timber and building business in London between 1769 and 1776. He leased a timber yard of considerable size, with access to Oxford St, from the Duke of Portland in 1774. This suggests that his business was then flourishing. If so it must have grown rapidly. Between 1769 and 1774 he was still based in Staffordshire and only paid short visits to London, where he stayed with his brother John. It is possible, however, that in this period part of the Berwick St timber yard was sub-let to him by the existing tenant. For instance, a few of the Pantheon vouchers witnessed by Wyatt between 1769 and 1772 give Berwick St as his address. Despite the lack of documentation it seems almost certain, therefore, that Wyatt's London timber and carpentry business was an immediate success. It is possible that in a time of timber shortage, as illustrated in the difficulties over the roof at Greenwich Hospital chapel, he was able to provide an adequate supply of timber from the midlands. He could have used his Staffordshire connections to ensure a monopoly of timber from the woods at Beaudesert, Bagot's Park and the Forest of Needwood. In the eighteenth century Staffordshire was one of the most richly

wooded counties in England. The building of canals in the late eighteenth century made it possible to transport timber from the midlands to London. The manner in which Wyatt later secured an interest in the Welsh slate market would support the theory that he had already achieved a similar arrangement in the timber trade. Following the appointment of his brother Benjamin as agent at Penrhyn and the spectacular development of the slate quarry there, Wyatt became a chief London supplier of Welsh slate. By building up large stocks of slate in his different yards he was able to supply other architects and builders. This was obviously to the advantage of his own building business, as he often received the slating contract involved. It is possible that he built up his London carpentry business in the same way.

Between 1770 and 1776 he executed several large carpentry contracts from his London base, including those at Shardeloes (Buckinghamshire) and Canterbury Quadrangle, Christ Church, Oxford for James Wyatt and 21 Portman Square for James Adam.<sup>4</sup> The most important of these was that at the Pantheon itself. His timber construction was largely responsible for the extraordinary effect of the domed rotunda in that building. In 1776 the Pantheon was still the best known recent building in London.

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<sup>4</sup> Bucks R.O., Drake MSS; Christ Church Library; R.I.B.A.

The rapid build-up of Wyatt's carpentry business and particularly the timberwork at the Pantheon probably explain why Chambers considered Wyatt a suitable carpenter to tackle the vast Somerset House project. Three other carpenters were employed, Charles and Martin Cole and James Filewood,<sup>5</sup> but they executed only a small part of the carpentry work. The major portion was Wyatt's. The total of his account between 1776 and 1802 was £24,334 6. 1.<sup>5</sup> The carpentry contract at Somerset House stretched over most of his career, and after the completion of the building in 1802 he retained the repair contract. The Strand block was the first to be built. The foundation stone was laid in 1776. Wyatt's work there included the complex timber framing of the plaster vaults in the entrance loggia. The west or navy block was the next portion built; it was completed in 1786. Then the east wing followed and the great south front was completed last of all.<sup>6</sup> Many of the features above the cornice, including the cupolas, dome and dormers with lunette windows were constructed entirely of timber to reduce the weight of the building. Wyatt's carpentry, like all the craftsmanship

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5 H. M. Colvin, Ed, History of the King's Works V (not yet published), Appendix with summary account for building Somerset House derived from accounts in R.I.B.A. Drawings Coll.

6 John Harris, Sir William Chambers (1970) 229-32

at Somerset House, was of the highest quality. There was, however, one failure. In 1790, during the last of Sir Joshua Reynolds' celebrated discourses a beam supporting the floor of the Great Room in the Royal Academy gave way. Although nobody was hurt the incident called forth adverse criticism of Chambers' architectural competence. In February 1791 Wyatt and Chambers inspected the damage and found a 'rent in the floor nine inches long'.<sup>7</sup> An enquiry was initiated. All the most distinguished contemporary architects, including James and Robert Adam, James and Samuel Wyatt and Robert Mylne inspected the floor. Mylne's was the only dissentient voice. The other architects were unanimous in their opinion that the failure was an unavoidable accident and was not the fault either of the architect or the carpenter. The timber and workmanship were found to be excellent.<sup>8</sup>

Wyatt's employment at Somerset House led to several other government carpentry contracts. In May 1780 he succeeded William Arrow as carpenter to the victualling office.<sup>9</sup> On 8 August 1780 he received the office of works carpentry contract at the Palace of Westminster in place of George Shakespeare.<sup>10</sup>

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7 P.R.O., T29/62, Treasury Minutes, 11 Feb. 1791, 444

8 Ibid, 448, 469; T29/63, Treasury Minutes, 31, 195, 222

9 P.R.O., ADM 111/83, Victualling Office Minutes, 17 May 1780

10 P.R.O., Works 4/16, Minutes, 8 August 1780

Although the victualling office was independent of the office of works, with its own surveyor (at this period James Arrow), it was one of the government departments housed in the new west wing (navy block) at Somerset House. The board of the victualling office was therefore in a position to judge Wyatt's carpentry at first hand in their new premises. Wyatt's employment at Westminster was probably due directly to the recommendation of Sir William Chambers who was then comptroller of the office of works. (He became surveyor-general in 1782). The carpentry at Westminster was mainly of a minor character. The bulk of the work consisted of routine repairs to floors and roofs, and unimportant jobs like putting up shelves and garden sheds. None of this was financially rewarding. Wyatt was paid no retaining salary, just the usual percentage on his bills. The work done amounted, on average, to no more than £100 a year which gave him an income of about £5.<sup>11</sup> The value of the post lay not in routine repairs but in 'extraordinary' work such as the carpentry in any new buildings within the palace precincts and, more importantly, in temporary settings for state occasions. Wyatt, however, was not particularly lucky over the incidence of extraordinary jobs. The only new

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11 P.R.O., Works, 5/68-96, Accounts, 1780-1807

building erected while he was carpenter was the Speaker's House designed by James Wyatt after 1796. The main scope offered the carpenter lay in the preparations, particularly in Westminster Hall, for state occasions. During Wyatt's time, however, there was no coronation or lying-in-state of the monarch. The main royal event was the funeral of Princess Amelia, the daughter of George II, in December 1786. For this Wyatt constructed a temporary gallery in Henry VII's Chapel and 'a machine to lower the corpse into the vault'. He was paid £442 19. 7. for these.<sup>12</sup> The most important state occasion of these years was the trial of Warren Hastings, which opened in Westminster Hall on 13 February 1788. For this the hall was transformed into 'a vast improvised theatre' with tiers of seats upholstered in red for peers and green for the commons.<sup>13</sup> At one end was a throne under a canopy of red and gold, and at either side were galleries for peeresses and ticket-holding onlookers.<sup>14</sup> All this was constructed of timber by Wyatt, as was the underlying scaffolding. The total cost was

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12 P.R.O., Works, 5/75, Accounts 10, Extra at Westminster, Dec. 1786

13 Sir K. G. Fielding, Warren Hastings (1954) 352-67

14 Trinity House, Wyatt drawings, Section of Westminster Hall showing arrangement for Hastings trial. (Used by Wyatt as scrap paper.)

£3,758 19. 4½ of which Wyatt's share amounted to £2,263 16 8¼.<sup>15</sup>

These preparations took up a great deal of his time in winter 1787 and early in 1788. He complained to Matthew Boulton in December that he had 'been much engaged with ... scaffolding in Westminster Hall for the Tryal of Mr. Hastings'.<sup>16</sup> The trial dragged on until 1795 when Hastings was finally acquitted. During all that time Wyatt was responsible for maintaining the huge timber structure.

The carpentry post with the victualling office was more important as many of its buildings were of timber. The carpenter on occasion had the chance to design as well as construct these. This post offered great scope as much of the timber construction was on a large scale and akin to engineering. It was also potentially lucrative. As at Westminster the carpenter received no salary but was allowed 5% discount on all bills.<sup>17</sup> Wyatt's appointment came at an auspicious moment during the American War of Independence when the victualling office was in the process of enlarging and re-building its premises. It was to continue this policy of expansion until the end of the century. As a result Wyatt, in his first few years as carpenter to the

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15 P.R.O., Works, 5/77, Accounts 12, Extra at Westminster, March 1788

16 Birmingham Assay Office, Lew MSS, Wyatt to Boulton, 26 Dec. 1787

17 P.R.O., ADM 111/84, Victualling Office Minutes, 9 June 1780

office, was fortunate in the number of large-scale timber structures that he was asked to build. His first job, in May 1781, was the construction of three new storehouses at Weevil near Gosport. These were each 295 feet long and 25 feet wide. The contract was worth £7,000, three times the sum involved in the Hastings trial, his only large-scale job at Westminster.<sup>18</sup> The new stores were entirely of timber except for iron tie-bars. These enabled Wyatt to reduce the amount of timberwork necessary, a device he also used in a warehouse for Matthew Boulton and the roof of Greenwich Hospital chapel. Wyatt also built a quay in front of the stores and dug a new channel from Portsmouth harbour. These were ambitious projects amounting almost to works of engineering and they took him over three years to complete. In 1783 18,346 tons of mud and gravel were excavated from the channel under his direction. In 1784 the sides of the channel were secured with wooden piles. This was something of an engineering feat as the posts had to be driven in from a boat.<sup>19</sup> Later in 1781 he embarked on an even more ambitious group of new storehouses in King St, Portsmouth, to replace the existing ones which were 'very antient and in so

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18 P.R.O., ADM 111/86, Victualling Office Minutes, 18 May 1781

19 P.R.O., ADM 111/96 and 99, Minutes, 17 Dec. 1783, 1 Sept. 1784

ruinous a condition as not to admit of any repair'.<sup>20</sup> The new ones cost £8,600. Apart from his five per cent discount Wyatt was also given all the salvageable materials from the old buildings for his own use. The following year he built another large timber structure to his own design in another of the victualling yards. This was a barn at Deptford, 120 feet long. Wyatt covered its timber frame with patent slating.<sup>21</sup> This was one of the earliest large-scale uses of this form of construction which he seems to have invented himself. Although he always refers to it as 'patent slating' it was never registered at the patent office. Wyatt's fourth large wooden structure for the victualling office was a new brewery at Weevil. He surveyed the old brew-house in March 1782 and found it 'in a bad state of repair, the situation of it very inconvenient as it blocks up the principal avenue and crowds that part of the premises exceedingly.' He recommended 'an entire new brew-house upon a larger scale'. The board agreed and he was ordered to execute his plan. The estimated expense was £8,800.<sup>21</sup> Thus in his first four years with the victualling office Wyatt received several financially worthwhile contracts. There were also smaller works, such as the 'moveable offal shed' for use at Portsmouth

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<sup>20</sup> P.R.O., ADM 111/87, Minutes, 13 July 1781

<sup>21</sup> P.R.O., ADM 111/89, Minutes, 6 March 1782

and routine repair work. This contrasts strikingly with the leanness of the Westminster contract.

The profit Wyatt made out of the victualling carpentry contract seems to have been slightly irregular. In theory the office's carpenter was not eligible for the large contracts involved in new buildings. These were supposed to be advertised and granted to whoever could execute the work most cheaply. Wyatt sometimes obtained these large contracts by applying for them through one of his employees. This irregular behaviour was discovered in one of the carpentry contracts for the new victualling yard at Deptford. In 1783 the board decided to concentrate all the victualling premises in London, at the Redhouse, Deptford. New buildings were erected there on a vast scale. They covered twenty acres with a river frontage of 1,150 feet.<sup>22</sup> Wyatt had no hand in the design of these premises. The design was entirely the work of the surveyor, James Arrow, including the main gate attributed to Wyatt by Sir John Summerson.<sup>23</sup> The estimated cost of this new yard was £92,183 16. 0.<sup>24</sup> The various building contracts involved were put out to tender. Many of them went to outside artificers. Wyatt and the office bricklayer, Archer Wilson, tried to obtain

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22 Sir John Rennie, British and Foreign Harbours I (1854) 63

23 N. Pevsner, London II (1952) 107

24 P.R.O., ADM 111/93, Minutes, 17 Feb. 1783

as many of the contracts as possible for themselves. In 1783 Wyatt was able to secure that for the wharf along the river front. In 1786 the bricklaying and carpentry contracts for the slaughter-house were publicly advertised, and Wyatt and Wilson both submitted tenders in the names of their employees. The carpentry contract was awarded to Noah Siddons, one of Wyatt's oldest employees who had accompanied him to London from the midlands. Two days later Siddons pretended that he was unable to fulfil his contract and suggested that Wyatt should take his place and execute the work for £3,460.<sup>25</sup> The board agreed. The details of this transaction were discovered a year later. Both Wilson and Wyatt were sacked for their 'highly improper conduct'. It was argued that such trickery would prevent bona fide tenders coming forward in future, and would 'prejudice the Board in the eye of the world, seeing contracts go to their established workmen under other names'.<sup>26</sup> Wyatt and Wilson, however, apologised and were both reinstated on the condition that they behaved themselves in future. From that time Wyatt was employed only for routine carpentry. On his death in February 1807 both the Westminster and victualling

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25 P.R.O., ADM 111/105, Minutes, 22 Feb., 24 March, 27 March, 29 March 1786

26 P.R.O., ADM 111/109, 2 March 1787

office carpentry contracts were granted to his nephew Jeffry Wyatt.<sup>27</sup>

Wyatt received his fourth official carpentry contract in 1781. This was for the chapel at Greenwich Hospital. Although the hospital was completely independent of the office of works, having its own surveyor and clerk of works, Wyatt's employment there was a direct result of his work under Chambers at Somerset House. The Queen Mary Building at Greenwich, including the chapel, had been gutted by fire in 1779. The main part was restored over the following two years, employing the usual contracting artificers of the hospital under the direction of the surveyor, 'Athenian' Stuart, and the clerk of works, Robert Mylne. The restoration of the chapel was, however, a work of much greater importance than the utilitarian interiors of the rest of the block, and Stuart was determined that the new chapel should be fully worthy of the hospital and a fitting complement to the Painted Hall. For this grandiose project other more highly-trained craftsmen were needed. Such men could be found at Somerset House, the exemplar of late Georgian craftsmanship. Stuart explained all this in a letter to the hospital board in 1781 : 'The chapel should be completed in such a manner as may

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27 P.R.O., ADM 111/82, Victualling Office Minutes, 10 Feb. 1807  
Works, 4/20, Minutes, 20 Feb. 1807

do credit to the hospital .... This intention we are of the opinion cannot possibly be accomplished if the execution be assigned to the present set of contracting artificers who if they had sufficient skill cannot possibly perform the work at the prices now allowed them. At present there may be found in London artificers who have been trained to perform works of great elegance under the most eminent architects and who may be truly said at this time to equal if not surpass the artificers of any other part of Europe. The artificers employed at Somerset Place are of this number. We would therefore wish to employ them because we have no reason to doubt that they would acquit themselves as well in the execution of the designs from which they are to finish the chapel as they have done in that high finished building ...'.<sup>28</sup> The Somerset House artificers, including Wyatt as sole carpenter, were therefore appointed to execute the new chapel.

Work began in summer 1781 but progressed very slowly at first. One of the problems lay in obtaining timber of sufficient length for the wide span of the chapel. Because of the American War there was no suitable timber in the London docks. After several sources had been investigated Wyatt found trees of sufficient stature on the Bagot estate in Staffordshire. Stuart

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28 P.R.O., ADM 65/106, Greenwich Hospital MSS. In-letters, Stuart to Board, 1781

reported this to the board : 'Mr. Wyatt, the carpenter, took a journey for this purpose to Lord Bagot's seat in Staffordshire where he procured a sufficient quantity of fine oak for our roof .... It will be cut down and sawed into scantlings and sent from there to Greenwich.'<sup>29</sup> The timber shortage was not the only reason for slow progress. Another was the increasing friction between Stuart and Mylne. The arrangement of works at the hospital, with two eminent architects in duplicated positions, was an obvious source of jealous rivalry. In theory Stuart was the architect and Mylne was expected to conduct the execution of Stuart's designs. In practice Stuart's laziness often caused long periods when there were no designs to execute. Mylne, therefore, produced designs himself, which naturally annoyed Stuart who felt that his functions were being usurped. Bad relations between the two architects reached a state of open quarrel in summer 1782. In September Mylne was dismissed at Stuart's request. He was replaced as clerk of works by William Newton.<sup>30</sup> Mylne, however, took the designs for the chapel with him, and the whole business culminated in a lawsuit between Mylne and the hospital to recover

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29 Ibid, Stuart to Board, 4 May 1782

30 R.I.B.A. Drawings Coll., NEW/1-84 (Newton MSS), Box of notes, accounts and letters related to Greenwich Hospital chapel

them.<sup>31</sup> From September, however, work on the chapel proceeded more rapidly. By 1784 the framework of the roof was in place and all structural work was completed in 1785.<sup>30</sup> The beautiful interior decoration took another three years to complete. It is probable that the design of much of it was Newton's, as Stuart was ill and then died in 1788.<sup>32</sup> Wyatt's main contribution to the chapel was the roof. As in his work for the victualling office this was more a piece of engineering than straightforward carpentry. The roof presented two related problems. One was its comparatively wide span. The dimensions of the chapel were 120 feet by 52 feet.<sup>30</sup> The other problem was the shortage of timber suitable for such a span. Wyatt overcame these by evolving a new type of roof structure. This was a simplified form of the traditional truss roof in which many of the straining beams and ancillary rafters were eliminated. To reduce the amount of timber necessary the central part of the roof was made almost flat like a mansard roof. In place of straining beams Wyatt used iron tie rods to reinforce each struss and to prevent the transverse beams from sagging. The result

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31 P.R.O., ADM 65/106, Greenwich Hospital MSS, In-letters concerning rebuilding hospital chapel

32 Lesley Lewis, 'Architects of the Chapel at Greenwich Hospital', Art Bulletin, XXIX (1947) 260

was a well-planned roof containing less timber than other roofs of the same dimensions, yet equally strong. This can be clearly seen, for example, by comparing it with Thomas Hardwick's roof at St Paul's, Covent Garden.<sup>33</sup> The elimination of unnecessary beams and the use of tie rods was similar to that in Wyatt's roof designs for the victualling office stores at Weevil and Matthew Boulton's warehouse in Birmingham. The Greenwich roof was considered to be a model of its kind and was frequently illustrated in handbooks of building methods.<sup>34</sup> The novelty of the structure was another reason for the slowness of work on the chapel. Newton explained this to the hospital board in 1787: 'It is observed that the greater part of the ... works are of a kind and in a style not in common use so that everything was to be studied and Invented, not only the Designs of the several parts and members but even in many cases the methods of executing them'.<sup>30</sup> Wyatt and the other artificers employed at the chapel were paid not by contract as was customary at Greenwich Hospital and in most public works including the victualling office, but 'by measuring the quantities and valuing the materials' used after work was executed. This system of payment according to measure was modelled on that in force at

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33 Peter Nicholson, Architectural Dictionary II (1819) 659

34 e.g. A.P.S.D.; Peter Nicholson, Architectural Dictionary (1819); Gwilt's Architectural Dictionary

Somerset House; it is made clear in a letter from Stuart to the secretary in 1781. 'Works and Materials [are] to be paid for on the same Terms and Conditions according to measure, work and value as are now paid and allowed for Works and Materials of the like kind at the new buildings of Somerset House under the Direction and Control of Sir William Chambers ...'.<sup>30</sup> The total cost of the chapel was £44,189 0. 8. The amount paid to Wyatt is not known as the detailed accounts are incomplete and cease in 1783.<sup>35</sup>

The last of Wyatt's official carpentry contracts in the 1780s is rather mysterious. This was the order he received from the treasury for twelve 'moveable hospitals' in December 1787. There is nothing in the treasury minutes for 1787 and 1788 about this project so there is only Wyatt's own description of the contract: 'I have received an order from the Treasury for twelve moveable hospitals each 83 feet long and 20 feet wide ... My plan is approved and I propose to cover them with copper of  $\frac{1}{2}$ lb to the foot, for which I shall want 24,000 feet. The sheets must be 3 feet wide and either 4 or 6 feet long ... These hospitals are so contrived as not to require artificers

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35 P.R.O., ADM 68/877-881, Greenwich Hospital MSS, Accounts, 'Book of Works done in restoring Queen Mary's building on account of the great fire', 1779-83

of any kind to fix them up or take them down, not even a hammer will be necessary ... these hospitals are for His Majesty's distant possessions'.<sup>36</sup> The project was an unusual example of large-scale pre-fabrication. The copper sheets for the external cladding were provided by Matthew Boulton, who also commissioned two of Wyatt's 'moveable' buildings for his own use at Soho. Wyatt built one of the hospitals as a demonstration model early in 1788. He took this to pieces and put it up again in one hour before an audience that included the king. This gave 'general satisfaction' and presumably the project went ahead, but there is no further reference to it.<sup>37</sup>

The only office of works contract that Wyatt received directly as a result of James' appointment as surveyor-general was that for carpentry at the lazaretto at Chetney Hill in Kent. The employment of any contractor related to the clerk of works or the labourer in trust had been expressly forbidden when the office of works was reformed under Shelburne.<sup>38</sup> Wyatt's continuing employment at Somerset House and Westminster after James' appointment was condonable. He had received those from Sir William Chambers and had held them for twenty and sixteen years

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36 A.O., Wyatt to Boulton, 10 Dec. 1787

37 Ibid, Wyatt to Boulton, April 1788.

38 H. M. Colvin, Ed, History of the King's Works V (not yet published) f97

respectively before James Wyatt's succession to the surveyorship in 1796. The award of the valuable Chetney Hill contract to Wyatt was, however, a clear-cut case of nepotism, as was the employment of other Wyatts on this and other buildings. The astonishing thing is not that James favoured Samuel on this one occasion but rather how little public employment came to him through James, in view of the closely knit connections within the Wyatt clan. The decision to build a quarantine colony for troops with contagious diseases was inspired by the continuing war with France, then in its eighth year. The site chosen was an island in the salt marshes of the Medway estuary. This site had belonged to the government since 1772 and was considered remote enough for a lazaretto. The need for isolation overcame the practical considerations of building on an inaccessible site in the middle of a marsh. Work began in 1801 and continued intermittently for fifteen years. It was never completed. On James Wyatt's death in 1813 it was not even half-finished and £200,000 had been spent.<sup>39</sup> Thus it became one of the major scandals of James Wyatt's surveyorship. His design for the lazaretto envisaged an open layout with eighteen independent pavilions. These were built entirely of timber above a solid foundation and were constructed so as to ensure maximum ventil-

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39 J. Newman, North East and East Kent (1969) 349

ation. Each of the wooden buildings was covered in copper prepared according to Charles Wyatt's patent method, another example of nepotism.<sup>40</sup> In fact only eight of the pavilions were completed before the whole project was abandoned.<sup>40</sup> The form of the individual buildings may have owed more to Samuel than to James Wyatt. The constructional technique of a pre-fabricated wooden frame covered in copper sheeting would seem to be identical to that which Wyatt had invented for 'moveable' hospitals. It is possible, therefore, that the Chetney Hill scheme was for a large-scale colony of Wyatt's 'moveable' hospital buildings and that only the general plan and layout was James Wyatt's.

James Wyatt allowed the office of works finances to degenerate into chaos. One of the sufferers from this was Samuel Wyatt. He was not paid for his work at Chetney Hill between 1801 and 1807, nor at Somerset House and Westminster after 1796. On his death his widow claimed that he was owed £30,000 by the office of works.<sup>41</sup> Most of this was due for work at the lazaretto and gives an idea of the value of this contract. It also gives an impression of Wyatt's success as a builder and the scale of his business, that he was able to

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40 Parliamentary Papers 1812-13, Inquiry into ... the Office of Works V, 507

41 H. M. Colvin, Ed, History of the King's Works V (not yet published) f98

carry such a huge debt.

As well as his carpentry contracts and the more important official architectural positions of the 1790s Wyatt was involved on an informal basis on several public works for maritime clients. These included the design of a new house for the commissioner and alterations to the superintendant's house in the royal dockyard at Portsmouth. He also acted as an expert on steam-engines for the victualling office. This developed out of his post as carpenter to the office and was probably a result of his close connection with Boulton and Watt. They had written to the office in April 1781 describing their 'new-invented steam engines' and pointing out possible uses to the victualling office.<sup>42</sup> As a result Wyatt was appointed to survey various of the victualling yards and to report on the possibilities of introducing steam engines. The first to be surveyed was at Dover. Wyatt described his survey to Boulton : 'I have lately been at Dover to survey the Victualling Office premises. Amongst other improvements I have proposed a small fire engine to raise the water for the use of his majesty's ships. 'Tis now pumped by hand which is very laborious and is equal to the employment of 3 men the year round. The well is 24 feet deep .... I am ordered by the Victualling Board to prepare an estimate of the whole

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42 P.R.O., ADM 111/86, Victualling Office Minutes, 30 April 1781

of the improvements according to my plan of which this business makes a part, therefore I shall be much obliged to you for an idea of the expense of a small engine suitable for such a purpose.'<sup>43</sup>

Nothing came of this but the steam engine issue arose again the following year when Wyatt, after surveying the bakehouses and water mill at Weevil, near Gosport, proposed rebuilding them entirely with a steam mill. His plan was approved by the commissioners for victualling and the admiralty board. Wyatt then wrote to Watt for further details : 'I want very much to consult with you upon the project of the mill having already given assurances of its being made the completest in the world!'<sup>44</sup>

Wyatt had made extravagant claims for the steam engine, and had even suggested that it would be cheaper than a water mill.

This stirred up a host of official doubts and queries. Boulton was away in Cornwall which left Wyatt in an uncomfortable position as he had not enough technical knowledge himself to support his case. To gain time he wrote to the board : 'Mr. Wyatt wishes he has not been misinformed but still wishes the Board to make every enquiry and to obtain the fullest satisfaction with respect to every part of the scheme before they attempt to put the plan into execution.'<sup>45</sup> Fortunately James Watt was able

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43 Birmingham Assay Office, Lew MSS, Wyatt to Boulton, 6 Oct. 1781

44 R.L., Boulton & Watt Coll., Box 36, Wyatt to Watt, 4 Dec. 1782

45 Ibid, 'Copy of official objections to Sam Wyatt's above calculation and his answers'

at this stage to supply Wyatt with the necessary technical information to uphold his case. Wyatt reported to Boulton with a certain wry humour that he had received a letter from Watt and 'on the basis of it I ventured to assure the Board that I shall be able to support nearly all that I have set forth in calculation.'<sup>46</sup> By January 1783 all doubts had been resolved. Wyatt sent a copy of his plans for the mill and bakery to Watt with the words 'I have orders to begin the work immediately .... I mean to consider Mr. Wates as principal millwright ... I am going early in the morning to Portsmouth to take a cursory view of the Yard to see what your engines may be applicable to. I have already told the Comptroller that all kinds of pumping and mill work may be done ...'.<sup>47</sup> Then just as Wyatt's steam engine project seemed well under way the war ended and the victualling office returned to its more restricted peacetime routine. Watt, whose habitual pessimism was a good counter to Wyatt's excessive optimism, immediately assumed that the whole project would be shelved indefinitely. He was proved right in the long term but not immediately. The commissioners assured Wyatt in February that 'the Peace' was not likely to affect the steam engine project.<sup>48</sup> In March John

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46 Ibid, Wyatt to Boulton, 12 Dec. 1782

47 Ibid, Wyatt to Watt, 18 Jan. 1782

48 Ibid, Wyatt to Watt, 4 Feb. 1782

Smeaton, the great engineer, was 'consulted on the subject of Mr. Wyatt's plan for building at Weevil a new bakehouse and firemill'.<sup>49</sup> In general Smeaton supported Wyatt's plans. When asked about the viability of Boulton and Watt's engine he replied that 'he had no scruple to declare from his opinion of the ingenuity and honour of Messrs. Boulton and Watt that they could furnish an engine which would easily do all the work set forth in Mr. Wyatt's proposals'.<sup>49</sup> On being asked whether the existing water mill could be improved he replied that it could but that it could not be made to grind 31,500 quarters of wheat in a year like the steam mill. With regard to the expense of any improvement he told the 'Board what it would amount to at Leeds or at London but he could form no judgement at Portsmouth because everything was dearer there than at any other place'.<sup>49</sup> Wyatt was delighted and felt that Smeaton had 'behaved very handsomely'.<sup>50</sup> Later in March Wyatt was asked to draw an expanded plan with twelve rather than eight ovens.<sup>51</sup> He reported that only one member of the board remained unconvinced.<sup>51</sup> That member must have swayed the rest of the board, however, for the whole project was quietly dropped at the end of 1783

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49 P.R.O., ADM 111/93, Victualling Office Minutes, 7 March 1783

50 A.O., Wyatt to Boulton, 13 March 1783

51 Ibid, Wyatt to Boulton, 26 March 1783

and not revived until 1790 when there was a renewed possibility of war with France.

This time it was proposed to install a steam engine in the new brewery planned for Deptford. Wyatt was consulted. By that time he could point to several working engines in London including at least two in breweries and his own Albion Flour Mill.<sup>52</sup> In February Wyatt conducted the commissioners for victualling on two guided tours. The first of these was of the Albion Mill so that they could see the engine grinding wheat. The second was of Whitbread's brewery in Chilswell St. A Boulton and Watt engine had been installed there in 1784 and was famous enough to have been visited by George III himself in 1787.<sup>52</sup> This practical demonstration was successful. Wyatt told Watt that the commissioners were 'very much pleased' with what they had seen and had 'it in contemplation to put the plan in execution that I concerted at the close of the war to build a steam mill on their premises at Gosport and they will certainly have one at Deptford where they are going to erect a brewery this year'.<sup>53</sup> Watt replied with the hope that 'in the midst of preparations for war ... the necessity of the mill at Weevil

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52 Peter Mathias, The Brewing Industry in England 1700-1830 (Cambridge 1959) 80-97

53 R.L., Boulton & Watt Coll., Box 36, Wyatt to Watt, 25 Feb. 1790

will now be apparent'. The proposal for the engine at Deptford brewery was definitely approved. There seemed nothing that could obstruct it. Then disaster struck. Early in the morning on 2 March 1791 the Albion Mill burned to the ground. This was caused by overheating of the machinery. As a result, after careful consideration the commissioners rejected the plan for the steam engine as it was 'very subject to accident in its operation not only as relating to the machinery but to the serious consequences of fire'.<sup>54</sup> Despite Wyatt's enthusiastic propagation of the steam engine for pumping, brewing and milling, therefore, none was installed in any of the victualling yards in his life-time. It was left to John Rennie the elder to install steam engines at Deptford and Gosport after 1819.<sup>55</sup>

Wyatt received a very different kind of commission as a result of his surveys of the victualling office premises at Portsmouth in 1782 and 1783. This was the design of a new house for the commissioner there. The recently appointed commissioner of the royal dockyard, Henry Martin, was dissatisfied with the old house. It was a seventeenth-century brick building in 'bad condition'.<sup>56</sup> Martin determined to replace it with a

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54 P.R.O., ADM 110/38, Victualling Office Letter Book, 16 August 1792

55 Sir John Rennie, British and Foreign Harbours I (1854) 64

56 C. Hussey, 'Admiralty House, Portsmouth', C.Life, 2 April 1964, 775

more ambitious house, ostensibly to provide a fitting place of reception for royal visits to the dockyard. It is clear from the correspondence between Martin and the navy board that the new house was his own idea. There seems no doubt that the choice of architect was also his. Presumably he met Wyatt on one of his victualling office surveys and decided that he would be a good architect for the new house. The resident admiralty surveyor, John Marquand, was passed over. In January 1783 the navy board gave their assent for the new house. Wyatt was in Portsmouth at the time 'on acct. of a new house ... for the Commiss<sup>n</sup>.'. <sup>57</sup> A site was chosen in the 'commissioner's mead', part of which was occupied by the dockyard chapel. This was approved by the board and the old chapel demolished. It was replaced by St Ann's church which is certainly not by Wyatt but probably by John Marquand. <sup>58</sup> Wyatt's estimate for the new house was drawn up in 1784. It specified that it was to be completed by 25 March 1786 at a cost of £9,400. Wyatt was granted the unusually high commission of 10% 'of the real cost of the works'. <sup>56</sup> This was double the 5% that was habitual in public and private works at that date.

Construction did not begin immediately because of a delay

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57 R.L., Boulton & Watt Coll., Box 36, Wyatt to Watt, 18 Jan. 1783

58 N. Pevsner & D. Lloyd, Hampshire (1967) 436

over bricks. Those sent by Wyatt from London were rejected by Martin who considered them 'extremely bad'. He asked to substitute locally made bricks which were the 'same colour as washed malms from London but superior and cheaper'.<sup>59</sup> The navy board and Wyatt agreed.<sup>60</sup> That settled, the house rose rapidly. The structure was complete by the end of 1785 and Martin then turned his attention to the interior. On 1 January 1786 he wrote to the navy board: 'The new house ... being in such forwardness as to make it necessary for chimneypieces and stoves to be fixed in the rooms .... For the principal floor I should beg leave to recommend Brodie's stoves and if they are not too expensive they would certainly be the best for the house ... Mr. Brodie when down here some time ago mentioned his kitchen ranges or Grates as very convenient, and that he had fixed one or more in the houses of some of the members of the Board in Town. I should be glad to have one of the same kind.'<sup>61</sup> The board could hardly refuse! In April he wrote again about chimneypieces. He hoped that 'those designed for the Drawing Room and Dining Parlour shall correspond with the handsome fitting ... as those apartments will probably be

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59 Greenwich, Maritime Museum Library, POR/F/18, Transcripts of letters from Henry Martin to Navy Board, 30 April 1784

60 G. Richardson, New Vitruvius Britannicus II (1808) 3

61 POR/F/19, Transcript of letters, Martin to Navy Board, 1 Jan. 1786

occasionally occupied by different branches of the Royal family coming to the yard.'<sup>62</sup> In August the interior was ready for paper hanging and in October Martin announced that he would 'soon remove into the New House'.<sup>63</sup> Wyatt's bill dated 21 January 1787 came to £8,647 9. 8.<sup>64</sup> This did not include his own 10% commission or such fittings as Brodie's stoves. Even so, the total cost was probably less than his original estimate. This was due to the substitution of cheaper local bricks for those originally intended, and also to some modification of the internal plan. The central corridor, for instance, was executed in a simpler form than Wyatt at first envisaged. The craftsmen employed were those usually employed by Wyatt on the construction of private houses. They included John Devall, mason, John Bacon, sculptor, Rose for stucco, Bramah for water closets and Messrs. Underwood and Bottomley for the iron staircase railing.<sup>64</sup> The organisation of building work was complex. Wyatt and the admiralty were both represented on the site by foremen. Wyatt's was one of his permanent employees, a carpenter

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62 Ibid, 25 April 1786

63 Ibid, 11 October 1786

64 Greenwich, Maritime Museum Library, Wyatt's account for 'Building the Commissioners House and offices at Portsmouth between 3 April 1784 and 20 Jan 1787'

called Richard Chantry.<sup>65</sup> The admiralty's was the young Thomas Telford. He described his employment on the commissioner's house in his autobiography: 'The next step in my professional career was the superintendance of a house ordered to be built in Portsmouth Dockyard for the resident Commissioner, it was of considerable magnitude (as in contemplation of future visits of the King) and involved some degree of responsibility. This house was designed by Samuel Wyatt, one of a numerous family of architects; he also built it by contract and my superintendance afforded me experience on a greater scale than had previously been entrusted to me'.<sup>66</sup> As well as these two professional foremen Henry Martin acted almost as a clerk of the works, superintending every stage of the building. John Marquand, the admiralty surveyor was also involved. He assisted Wyatt in inspecting the work completed and checking the bills. His purpose was presumably to ensure that Martin's and Wyatt's enthusiasm did not become too expensive.

The house was an enlarged version of Wyatt's administrative plan. This was the design that he had evolved for steward's houses on great estates. At Portsmouth, however, the scale

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65 Greenwich, Maritime Museum Library, POR/F/19, Martin to Navy Board, 8 June 1784, 11 June 1784

66 John Rickman, Ed, Life of Thomas Telford (1838) 19-20

was much larger. The central block, for instance, was 64 feet wide.<sup>67</sup> There was the usual tripartite division according to the different functions of the building. In the centre block was the living accommodation of the commissioner while one of the flanking wings contained the kitchen offices and the other the administrative offices. The exterior of the house was characteristically austere. An unmistakeable Wyatt feature were the tripartite windows under segmental arches on the garden front (now altered). The centre block was almost identical to the house designed by Wyatt at Somerley for Daniel Hobson in 1792. The main feature of the internal plan was the central axis of octagonal vestibule and corridor flanked by the state rooms. This lucid arrangement reflected Wyatt's sensible attitude to planning. The interior decoration was restrained. Stucco enrichment was restricted to the friezes and the sideboard apse in the dining room, similar to the contemporary one at Delamere Lodge (Cheshire). The chimneypieces in the drawing and dining rooms were the most magnificent objects of the interior. Carved by John Bacon, their marine iconology foreshadowed the sculpture he was to provide for the façade of Trinity House. That in the drawing room also incorporated a plaque with low-relief profiles of George III and Queen Charlotte reminiscent

LVI A  
LVIII  
LIX  
LVII  
LVI B

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67 G. Richardson, New Vitruvius Britannicus II (1808) pl.17

of those on a coin. This was a neat allusion to the reason for the large-scale and sophisticated detailing of the house.

The superintendent's house in the dockyard was also remodelled at this time. A new staircase, for instance, was installed. No architect is recorded but it was almost certainly Wyatt. The staircase balustrade has his distinctive anthemion panels. The way it forms a semi-circular curve in an originally square well is also characteristic of his handling of space.

LV

Wyatt's most important official appointments all date from the early 1790s. The first of these was the surveyorship to Trinity House which he received in February 1792.<sup>68</sup> This was an important post. The surveyor was expected to have both architectural and engineering abilities. He was responsible for the design of new lighthouses and the repair of old ones. There were also routine duties such as the maintenance of Trinity House itself, its three sets of almshouses and the buildings on its estate at Southwark. He was also expected to design and build any new buildings that might prove necessary. There was no permanent deputy or resident workforce. The surveyor was expected to make his own arrangements. Wyatt employed local builders for work on the lighthouses. In London William

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68 Trinity House, Court Minutes, 2 Feb. 1790

Oldroyd, one of his carpenters, acted as foreman and he used his own carpenters and builders. Wyatt was fortunate in the timing of his appointment. The corporation intended to build a new headquarters and one of the factors governing their choice of surveyor was that he should be capable of designing the new house. At this time also Trinity House was beginning to exercise much closer control over the construction of lighthouses. The old system of leasing out new lighthouses to private builders was soon to come to an end. The expansion of London also rendered the corporation's estate at Southwark a potential area for planned urban development. This appointment, therefore, presented Wyatt with one of the greatest opportunities of his architectural career. He succeeded Richard Norris who had only held the post for a year. There were three other applicants who were passed over.<sup>68</sup> Of these only James Lewis, the elegant neo-classicist, is known today. Wyatt's success was undoubtedly a result of the magnificent lighthouse completed to his design the previous year for T. W. Coke at Dungeness (Kent). During its construction Wyatt had inevitably been in close contact with Trinity House, the body responsible for choosing the site and approving the finished building. Wyatt's lighthouse at Dungeness replaced a semi-fortified structure, with the appearance of a gothick folly, dating from 1635.<sup>69</sup> It had been rendered

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69 Trinity House Engineer's Dept. 20/19, Annotated drawing of old Dungeness Lighthouse

useless by the build-up of shingle on Dungeness Point. This had left it stranded 600 yards inland. Trinity House employed Robert Mylne to survey the site in 1787. He reported that the old light was obsolete and suggested a better site for a new one.<sup>70</sup> In 1790 two of the Trinity House elder brethren visited Dungeness 'to take a view thereof for the purpose of fixing on a proper situation for a new lighthouse'.<sup>71</sup> As a result of their report Coke was asked to build a new light on a different site. Work began almost immediately. Wyatt was granted £1,000 'on account of building the new lighthouse' by Coke's agent that year.<sup>72</sup> The choice of Wyatt as architect was an extension of his work on the Holkham estate in Norfolk. The lighthouse was completed in 1791 when the 'abstract of Mr. Wyatt's Account for building the New Lighthouse' was settled. It amounted to £3,022 1. 0. including 'Mr. Wyatt's commission for drawings, journeys etc' of £105.<sup>72</sup>

Trinity House gave permission for the display of a light in February 1792.<sup>73</sup> Building work did not cease then as the lighthouse was not entirely weather-proof. In 1793 it was 'new-cased' in mathematical tiles.<sup>74</sup> They were not a success and

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70 Robert Mylne, Diary, 13, 14 March, 12, 13 and 25 April 1787

71 Trinity House, Cash Book, 25 May 1790

72 Holkham, Ralph Cauldwell's Accounts 1787-94

73 Trinity House, By-Minutes, 9 Feb. 1792

74 Holkham, Audit Book 1795-1803

in 1801 had to be stripped off and the whole exterior stuccoed with Parker's 'Roman Cement' by Bernasconi, under Wyatt's direction.<sup>75</sup> The lighthouse was situated on the lowest point of Dungeness beach just above sea level. It was built of brick made on the Holkham estate with Portland stone dressings.<sup>72</sup> It was seven storeys high and tapered considerably, the diameter at the top being only half that at the base. The height to the top of the balcony railing was eighty-six feet. Smeaton's Spurn Light, upon which Wyatt closely modelled his design, was one hundred feet high. Wyatt's indebtedness to Smeaton's design was clear, particularly in the lantern. At Dungeness there was a pipe system of draught flues in the floor almost identical to that at Spurn.<sup>76</sup> The two lighthouses shared similar sites, except that the beach at Spurn was of sand and at Dungeness shingle.<sup>77</sup> The Dungeness lantern was a polygon nineteen feet in diameter. It was constructed entirely of cast iron including the conical roof and chimney.<sup>72</sup> Such a large-scale use of iron was unusual but typical of Wyatt. The lantern was stayed in the English manner by struts also of iron. This use of iron was the most original feature of Dungeness which

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75 Trinity House, Court Minutes, 7 March 1792

76 Trinity House, Engineers Dept. 20/18. Annotated Drawing of Wyatt's Dungeness Lighthouse

77 Trinity House, Court Minutes, 3 May 1792

otherwise was a straightforward structure.

Wyatt's great opportunity as surveyor to Trinity House lay in the design of a new headquarters for the corporation on Tower Hill. This was his first and most important work as their surveyor. Together with the Albion Mill it is the best documented of his buildings. Complete designs and building accounts survive, so it is possible to follow the process of design and construction in detail. By the end of the eighteenth century the old building in Water Lane, Deptford was in poor condition. The cost of repair was estimated at £6,000.<sup>75</sup> As neither site nor premises were good it was decided to build afresh elsewhere. A suitable site on Tower Hill was purchased by Wyatt on behalf of the corporation in 1792. The old house in Water Lane was sold to the commissioners of customs for £6,300.<sup>75</sup> At a general court on 3 May Wyatt was asked to draw up plans for two alternative schemes 'on different scales with estimates of the expense of each'. Wyatt produced one plan estimated to cost £7,500 and a larger to cost £10,000. It was unanimously agreed to 'adopt the plan on the largest scale'.<sup>77</sup> At a meeting of the general court on 6 July 1792 it was ordered that the new building be carried into execution 'with all convenient speed'.<sup>78</sup> Clearance of the site began in 1793 under the direction of

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78 Ibid, 6 July 1792

William Oldroyd, Wyatt's foreman, who superintended the building of Trinity House from beginning to end. Irish labourers were employed for the unskilled work of demolishing the existing buildings and removing the rubble. Bricklayers were hired in June when work started on the foundations and drains, and Wyatt was paid his first advance of £500 for wages and materials.<sup>79</sup> In July five stonemasons were hired, and Wyatt produced large-scale drawings of the basement rustication so that they could cut the Portland stone blocks into the right shapes.<sup>80</sup> The 'foundation stone' was laid by the Master, William Pitt, on 12 September 1793 at a ceremony attended by Wyatt. This ended in a free celebration supper for all the workmen employed on the building. The stone itself was a large block of Portland weighing eighty-one tons. Two inscribed copper plates and some coins were buried beneath it.<sup>81</sup> By the end of September the cellars were vaulted over and the bricklayers were raising the walls above ground level. The masons were 'working the plinth' and 'the rusticks' of the facade.<sup>82</sup> The accounts and constant stream of working drawings produced

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79 Trinity House, Cash Book, 6 June 1793. S. Wyatt's Account Book for building the new house, Feb.-June 1793

80 S. Wyatt's Account Book, 13 July 1793

81 Cash Book, 12 Sept. 1793

82 S. Wyatt's Account Book, 12 Oct. 1793

by Wyatt's office show progress on the shell throughout 1794. By March the masons had reached the pilasters of the piano nobile and in April the numbers employed reached a peak of 37 masons and 20 bricklayers, although these soon decreased to an unsteady average of about 25 masons and 12 bricklayers.<sup>83</sup> In June the balusters below the principal windows and the Ionic capitals for the columns by John Deval were set up. By August 'the great cornice' had been reached. Wyatt's office then produced detailed drawings for the timbering of the roof. On 4 December 1794 the chimneypots were set in place.<sup>84</sup> In 1795 work proceeded on the interior; a series of drawings was produced showing the detailed wall-treatment of each room from ground floor to attic. Designing finished in October, with the drawings for the stucco work on one hand and minor carpentry in the basement on the other. The close contact maintained between work on the site and Wyatt's office in Berwick St is illustrated by a letter from William Oldroyd, the foreman at Trinity House, to John Harvey, Wyatt's chief office assistant. Harvey acted as Wyatt's delegate, supervising the design and construction of Trinity House. For example, he sent in Wyatt's elevation to the Royal Academy in 1794.<sup>85</sup> Oldroyd in the

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83 Ibid, April-May 1794

84 Ibid, June-4 Dec. 1794

85 R.A. Catalogue 1794, No.547

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letter asks him to settle an ambiguity in the designs so that the carpenters and plasterers can proceed:

'Mr. Harvey,

I have sent 2 Rools with the Hight of the casements and a mould for the width of the same, the other Rool is half the Doors the Base line taken on top of the Cornice with the pallasters marked on it and the length from the base to the top of the Doors, likewise I have sent you the Drawings for the shutters and soffit for the Supervisor's Room, the ground is fixed to the Drawing if you compare the soffit with it they Do not agree I shall be obliged to you to alter them and return them by the Bearer as the plasterers are in want of them.

May 22 1795

Tower Hill. Half past 6 o'clock.

Wm. Oldroyd.<sup>86</sup>

The interior decoration and furnishing continued into 1796. J. F. Rigaud started painting the Court Room ceiling in February. He was recommended by Captain Money, an East India Company director and one of the elder brethren.<sup>87</sup> In March the scagliola columns provided by William Alcott were

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86 Trinity House, Wyatt drawings

87 Farington, 638, Friday 27 May 1796

set up in the corridor and gallery.<sup>88</sup> In May the 'mahogany doors made in the very best manner with fine wood solid framing, rose wood mouldings and reeds of rose wood' were hung ready for the corporation's annual Trinity Monday celebration and election of the new master.<sup>89</sup> This was first held in the new court room on 23 May 1796.<sup>90</sup> Between the completion of the main building and the total cessation of works in April 1797 building activity was concentrated on the ballast office. This was a completely detached building to the east of the main block. It contained administrative offices and the secretary's house. It was much plainer than the main block. For instance, it was faced with stock brick, not Portland stone. Wyatt's building account in October 1796 when the most important work was complete stood at £20,599 19. 2½, twice his original estimate.<sup>91</sup> This did not include those bills paid directly by Trinity House such as £546 18. 9. for Portland stone, £14 10. 0. for the foundation stone ceremony, £525 for Rigaud's ceiling in the Court Room, £748 17. 0. for Bacon's sculpture, £452 11. 0. for the Gainsborough Dupont portraits specially painted for the

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88 Trinity House, S. Wyatt's Account Book, March 1796

89 Ibid, 28 May 1796

90 Thomas Golding, Trinity House from Within (1929) 13

91 S. Wyatt's Account Book, October 1796

Court Room, £3,624 18. 6. to Messrs. Oakley and Kettle for furniture and £1,138 5. 0. for the Court Room pier glasses.<sup>92</sup> There was also Wyatt's own commission on the building of £904 16. 0. and the cost of the site which amounted to £10,310. These brought the total cost up to £38,850 0. 3½. making it Wyatt's most expensive building.<sup>92</sup> Other extravagant commissions such as Shugborough and Lichfield House only cost about half this sum.

The facade of Trinity House is one of Wyatt's finest works. The design evolved and was considerably improved while building was in progress. Wyatt's first design was for a more conventional palladian facade of seven bays. The centre was pedimented and had 4 attached Ionic columns. Only the central piano nobile window was tripartite. No attempt was made to suppress the attic windows. Out of this Wyatt distilled the executed design. First he provided an alternative prettier entrance. Then he completely redesigned the whole facade. The centre was recessed, which gave the effect of an inset screen of Ionic columns rather than an attached portico. The end bays were treated as single units with tripartite windows framed by coupled Ionic pilasters. The key to the revised design was the ability to do without attic windows because the Court Room

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92 Cash Book, Feb. 1796 - 28 July 1797

ceiling and the Great Stairs clerestory occupied the upper part of the building in the centre. There were only rooms at the ends on the second floor which could therefore be lit from the sides. This enabled Wyatt to create a more horizontal feeling and to contrive more comfortable proportions. It also gave ample scope for panels of Coade sculpture over the piano nobile windows, a favourite Wyatt motif. This sculpture was the most important feature of the façade. It was carefully designed and arranged to create a symbolically decorative scheme. Over the central tripartite window were placed the arms of the corporation supported by two tritons. 'One having the Caduceus and the Purse, the symbols of mercury, represents the extensive commerce of Great Britain, the other bearing a palm branch suggests the triumphs of the British Marine; each triton has a cornucopia to express that being incorporated with each other they advance the wealth and security, the prosperity and the glory of the empire.'<sup>93</sup> Flanking this central feature were circular medallion portraits of George III and Queen Charlotte. (Queen Charlotte was replaced by Elizabeth II in 1953 to commemorate the post-war restoration.) Over the tripartite windows in the end bays were delightful rectangular panels of putti holding nautical emblems including an anchor, compass and rudder. They represented the 'Genii of Navigation'. The putti were

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93 G. Richardson, New Vitruvius Britannicus I (1802) 7

flanked by lighthouses. The west panel contained two French ones, Baleine and La Héve,<sup>94</sup> and the east panel two English ones, Foreland and Wyatt's own at Ramsgate. These represented the past and present lighthouse achievements of the two most advanced nations of the western world. (It is ironic that England and France were at war when this sculpture was installed.) The tripartite facade, finally evolved with its strong horizontal emphasis, is typical of the Wyatts. It was foreshadowed in James' design for Bryanston (Dorset) and in Samuel's own work by the facade for the Birmingham Theatre Royal of 1777. It can be paralleled in designs of Neufforge's but it is unlikely to be a direct adaptation, as has been suggested. In spirit, however, it is very close to the masculine elegance of late eighteenth-century French architecture. Another improvement on the original design was the substitution of one large central chimneystack for the twin ones of the first proposal. This single stack ingeniously screened the staircase clerestory where it rose above roof-level. Altogether the Trinity House facade formed a well-integrated and excellently detailed design. It is probably the finest small facade of the period in London.

The interior was also very fine. Though completely gutted during the 1939-45 war it was well restored in 1953 by Sir Albert

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94 Inf. Douglas Hague

Richardson using Wyatt's original designs. The main feature was the semi-circular staircase hall which formed part of the design from the earliest stage. The stairs themselves were supported on cast iron cantilevers provided by Birkbeck and Ball, a further instance of Wyatt's structural use of iron.<sup>95</sup> They were lit from above by a semi-circular clerestory constructed entirely of timber, copper and glass. It was appropriately reminiscent of a lighthouse lantern. This was structurally the most interesting part of the building, and illustrative of Wyatt's knowledge of carpentry and his faith in it for structural purposes where masonry would have been more conventional. Externally the timberwork of the clerestory was clad in patent slating, another typical Wyatt building technique. The ceiling above the staircase formed a semi-dome originally stuccoed and now frescoed in trompe l'oeil. Wyatt also designed wall decoration with stucco panels incorporating marine motifs such as anchors and sea-horses. These were not executed. The iron balustrade provided by Birkbeck and Ball was a variation on the usual Wyatt theme of plain rails divided at intervals by strips of anthemion decoration in lead.<sup>95</sup> The plain rails formed elongated Ss which created a felicitous effect of skeletal fluting.

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95 S. Wyatt's Account Book

The staircase is reached from the entrance through a large hall, the crisp, restrained decoration of which forms an appropriate introduction to the splendours beyond. Wyatt's original plan had not included a large entrance hall. Instead there was a narrow passage flanked by two small rooms leading to a large space at the foot of the stairs. When this was revised the area at the foot of the stairs was reduced to a transverse corridor defined by Doric columns of verde antico scagliola with black bases and gilt caps. There was a gallery of similar dimensions at the head of the stairs but more richly decorated. The columns had Greek Ionic capitals with honey-suckle neckings derived from the Erectheum. They supported two small balconies for musicians with balustrades similar to that of the staircase, flanked by pairs of bronze caryatids. Although often used in interior decoration, particularly for chimneypieces, the appearance of caryatids as a structural part of this chaste interior was surprising. They represented a striking adaptation from Greek archeological sources by Wyatt. Like the columns beneath them they were derived from the Erectheum.

XLIX

Of the three state rooms the court room was the most important. It was a double cube filling all the space above the entrance hall and rising into the roof. The coved ceiling painted by Rigaud was its dominant feature. It continued the

theme of Bacon's sculpture in subjects expressing the 'security and prosperity of the British nation arising from the power of its navy and the extent of its commerce'.<sup>93</sup> Farington considered 'the flat centre ... well designed and suitably coloured: the coves ... indifferent both in design and execution and not adapted in colour to the central part.'<sup>87</sup> Such a painted ceiling was unique in Wyatt's work. It was almost certainly influenced by Somerset House where Rigaud had similarly decorated the ceiling of the ante room in the Royal Academy's quarters. Somerset House, the greatest public building of the eighteenth century, was an obvious source of inspiration for Trinity House. Although the latter is comparatively small its execution was of the same high quality and possessed Gallic elegance. The other striking feature in the room was the handsome chimneypiece of white marble and ormolu identical to those designed contemporaneously by Wyatt for the drawing rooms at Shugborough (Staffordshire) and Livenmere Park (Suffolk). On the walls hung originally the portraits specially commissioned for the room by Gainsborough Dupont. These included the large group portrait of Wyatt presenting his plans for the new house to the assembled elder brethren.<sup>96</sup> A final ingenious touch was the subtle adjustment of the seemingly double door between the Court Room and drawing room. Only one flap of this opened and was flanked by a dummy on alternate sides in both rooms, thus

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96 J. Ackermann, Microcosm of London III (1808) 20

maintaining the symmetry of each despite the changed axis. This was a device that C. R. Cockerell was later to make considerable use of, at Oakley Park (Shropshire) for example.

To turn from the exceptional splendours and refinement of the new Trinity House to the generality of Wyatt's work for the corporation is an anticlimax. Most of this consisted of routine repairs to the nondescript property on the Southwark estate. In many ways Wyatt's duties resembled those of a modern estate agent. He advised the corporation about the structural condition of properties that it wished to purchase, and drew up new leases for tenants based on his estimate of the value of their property. After 1797 his duties also included the maintenance of the new Trinity House, such as special cleaning and regilding. All this work was carried out under the direction of the indispensable William Oldroyd. Wyatt received the usual 5% commission on the bills for this minor work. There was a chance that Wyatt might have been able to design an architectural layout for the undeveloped part of the Southwark estate. This project never matured and he got no further than designing one new street in 1806. It was to cut through 'from the entrance of Kent St. in the Deptford Rd. into Blackman St. whereby the present narrow, dirty and inconvenient passage through Kent St. will be avoided.'<sup>97</sup> On 2 October 1806

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<sup>97</sup> Trinity House, Court Minutes, 6 Feb. 1806

'Mr. Wyatt, our surveyor, attended with a plan of the land belonging to this corporation's estate in Southwark ... thro' which the new road is to pass ...it was the opinion of the Court that it will be most eligible to form the new road in a line commencing at the Blackbull Inn in Kent St. and terminating at Lamb Alley in Blackman St. as on this line it will tend most to the improvement of the Corporation's estate'.<sup>98</sup> Wyatt drew up plans accordingly and opened negotiations with the treasurer of SS. Thomas and Bartholomew's Hospital which owned the adjoining land and wished to link up with the new road. Whereupon the whole project was held up by a disagreement between the hospital and Trinity House.<sup>99</sup> Wyatt died before anything positive was achieved. It was left to his successor, D. A. Alexander, to carry on negotiations with the hospital and to build the street between 1809 and 1814. The main development of the estate with Trinity and Merrick Squares did not take place until after 1820 under the supervision of William Chadwick.<sup>100</sup> One of Wyatt's few attempts at town-planning therefore did not come to anything during his own lifetime.

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98 Ibid, 2 Oct. 1806

99 By-Minutes, 20 Nov. 1806, 22 Jan. 1807

100 London Survey XXV (1955) 108-113

Wyatt's supervision of Trinity House property extended to the corporation's three sets of almshouses at Deptford. The provision of almshouses for elderly seamen was one of the main functions of Trinity House from the time of its foundation in the sixteenth century. Up to the nineteenth century it considered its charitable duties to be at least as important as its responsibility for lighting the coast.<sup>101</sup> Most of Wyatt's work at the almshouses consisted of minor repairs.<sup>102</sup> In 1806, however, he designed a completely new quadrangle of twenty-two almshouses at Mile End. His first plan estimated to cost £330 was rejected as too expensive. He produced an alternative on a reduced scale. It was executed by a local builder called John Green for £292 11. 0.<sup>103</sup> Wyatt's extension was behind the chapel of the old building. It consisted of long two-storeyed terraces forming an irregular quadrangle conditioned by the shape of the site. The new quadrangle was larger than the old one and extended the overall layout of the buildings to an approximate T-shape. The new almshouses were simple white brick buildings. Each two-bay unit was defined by projecting brick strips like buttresses. There was

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101 H. Mead, Trinity House (1917)

102 Trinity House, Cash Book 2 June 1792, Court Minutes 1 June, 3 Aug. 1797, By-Minutes 1 Aug. 1801, 31 March 1803

103 By-Minutes, 12 June 1806

no decoration except for little pediments over the doorways like those on his cottages at Great Haywood. The 1681 statue of Captain Marples was also brought in and placed on the lawn in the centre of the new quadrangle on axis with the 'east' end of the chapel.<sup>104</sup> These good simple buildings were destroyed during the last war and not rebuilt, though the more important seventeenth-century buildings have been restored.

Wyatt's most obvious duty as surveyor to Trinity House concerned the design and repair of lighthouses. He designed for the corporation two completely new lighthouses, one new lantern and supervised the repair of three other lighthouses. Because of their exposed sites, keeping lighthouses weather-proof was a constant task for Trinity House. In 1792 Wyatt re-pointed Portland Low Light.<sup>105</sup> The following year he reconstructed the interior of Foulness Lighthouse to provide accommodation for the light-keeper's family. At the Needles Light on the Isle of Wight he re-lead the gallery floor in 1795.<sup>106</sup> In 1806 he re-cased the whole exterior in Parker's cement as he had already done at Dungeness for T. W. Coke.<sup>107</sup> The first completely new lighthouse built during Wyatt's surveyorship

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104 C. R. Ashbee, Trinity Hospital (1888)

105 Trinity House, Cash Book, 8 Dec. 1792

106 Court Minutes, 6 Aug. 1795

107 By-Minutes, 13 March 1806

was that at Longships. The decision to build a new lighthouse off Land's End had been taken before he became surveyor. There had long been a demand for such a light but Trinity House was waiting for a suitable lessee willing to build the lighthouse at his own expense in return for a long lease of the light. This was a policy that Trinity House had long followed. It saved the corporation from a large capital outlay every time a new lighthouse was built while maintaining overall control over it. They chose the site and granted a license to display a light when completed.<sup>108</sup> This policy which usually worked well was being increasingly criticised by the utilitarians in this period. The process is well illustrated in the construction of Longships. A seemingly suitable lessee appeared in the person of Lieutenant Henry Smith who in October 1790 agreed to construct the lighthouse in return for a fifty year lease.<sup>109</sup> He was granted a lease at a rent of £100 a year in May 1791.<sup>110</sup> In March 1792 Smith presented a model of the intended lighthouse to the corporation.<sup>111</sup> This was presumably to Wyatt's design but the Trinity House records throw no light on this. Stevenson states that Smith originally wanted to built it on the Wolf Rock

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108 D. Alan Stevenson, The World's Lighthouses Before 1820 (1959) 65

109 Court Minutes, 21 Oct. 1790

110 Ibid, 5 May 1791

111 By-Minutes, 22 March 1792

but that Trinity House considered this too difficult and suggested the Longships Rock instead. They advised him to obtain a design from their architect for the lighthouse and for sea marks on the Wolf Rock and Raundle Stone.<sup>112</sup> This sounds plausible but there is no documentary evidence at Trinity House to support it. That might be explained by the delegation of construction to Smith. In August 1792 Smith wrote to Trinity House explaining that he had not yet begun the lighthouse because of bad weather but he had all the necessary materials ready.<sup>113</sup> This was the first of a series of optimistic reports ignoring failures and unexpected difficulties that were to culminate six years later in Smith's bankruptcy. In October he reported that good progress had been made and that only forty days of fine weather were needed to complete the lighthouse.<sup>114</sup> (Can he really have expected the whole of October and half November to be consistently fine off the coast of Cornwall?) Not surprisingly in March 1793 he wrote that bad weather had delayed work but he hoped to finish that summer.<sup>115</sup> In August he said the lighthouse was almost completed.<sup>116</sup> In

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112 Stevenson, 70

113 Court Minutes, 2 August 1792

114 Ibid, 4 Oct. 1792

115 Ibid, 7 March 1793

116 Ibid, 1 Aug. 1793

September Wyatt was asked to inspect it and the marks on the Wolf Rock and Raundle Stone.<sup>117</sup> The visit was postponed as Smith turned out not to be ready after all. The same thing happened in October when Wyatt and one of the elder brethren were preparing to go to Longships.<sup>118</sup> In November Smith reported that bad weather had again held up work.<sup>119</sup> It was now over a year since he had stated that only forty days were needed to complete the lighthouse. The same story was repeated in 1794. In March 1795 Smith at last declared that the lighthouse and marks were completed and ready for inspection.<sup>120</sup> In April Wyatt and Captain Huddart prepared for the fourth time to set out for Longships only to hear that the sea marks had been washed away in a storm. Nevertheless they continued their journey to Land's End and produced a report on the site of the marks and on the lighthouse. The marks, they wrote, had been washed away because they had not been fastened to the rock securely enough. They should have been attached with iron clamps and partly constructed of iron 'so as to be able to withstand the force of the sea'.<sup>121</sup> The lighthouse itself they

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117 By-Minutes, 26 Sept. 1793

118 Court Minutes, 3 Oct. 1793

119 Ibid, 7 Nov. 1793

120 Ibid, 4 March 1795

121 By-Minutes, 21 May 1795

found to be 'substantially built and well-executed' but certain alterations were asked to be made to the lantern. Smith was also directed to rebuild the sea marks according to their proposals. Wyatt and Captain Huddart were paid £99 16. 1. for 'their travelling charges and expenses ... including Mr. Wyatt's time on that business'.<sup>122</sup> These last words would seem to refer to Wyatt's involvement in the design of the lighthouse. This is borne out by the fact that the travel expenses incurred can only have come to about half the sum paid.

The proposed alterations were duly carried out and the first light was exhibited in September 1795.<sup>123</sup> Stylistically the lighthouse looks like Wyatt's work. It was a sturdy granite tower three storeys and 52 feet high. The diameter was 68 feet, greater than the height of the tower. Although the walls simply tapered upwards and were not concave they were dovetailed according to the principle devised by Smeaton for Eddystone.<sup>124</sup> The lantern which had a double-domed cap like a tea cannister and stayed sides was identical to that designed by Wyatt for the St Agnes Light on the Scilly Isles. The tower was lit by porthole windows like those in Wyatt's lighthouse at Ramsgate.

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122 Cash Book, 25 May, 1795

123 Court Minutes, 3 Dec. 1795

124 W. Daniell, Round the Coast of Britain I (1814) 6

Trinity House was dissatisfied with the old lighthouse at Scilly St Agnes. In 1805 they contemplated replacing it with a new one to Wyatt's design. In July Captain Lewis and Wyatt inspected it and reported that it was in no immediate danger. Although the timbers supporting the lantern were decayed they were expected to last out that winter.<sup>125</sup> In August Wyatt produced a plan for rehabilitating the lighthouse. He considered the seventeenth-century tower to be in 'very substantial condition' but the 'lanthorn', which was 'badly constructed in every respect', was to be rebuilt. In February 1806 he revised the plan to include a flue for 'warming the lanthorn'. This was accepted by Trinity House and executed immediately.<sup>126</sup> The upper part of the tower, including the vaulted ceiling of the third floor, was removed, lowering the walls by about seven feet. In place of the vault Wyatt introduced a thin covering of cantilevered Portland stone slabs to form the floor of the gallery and lantern. In place of the old lantern, a Chinese-looking construction with a concave conical roof bristling with chimneys, he substituted a neat new one. It was fourteen feet wider than the old one, with a double domed cap and strengthening stays.<sup>127</sup> It was similar to that at Longships. There is also a close similarity between

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125 By-Minutes, 25 July 1805

126 Ibid, 13 Feb. 1806

127 Inf. Douglas Hague

the shape of Wyatt's lighthouse lanterns and the domed bows with caps on his belvedere houses such as Belmont (Kent).

Wyatt's most important lighthouse design was that for Flamborough Head, near Bridlington in the East Riding of Yorkshire. It was the first completely new lighthouse built by Trinity House itself and not by a private owner or lessee.<sup>128</sup> It thus marked the beginning of a new trend in Trinity House's policy, whereby it was to become directly responsible for the building of all new lighthouses and their management in England and Wales. As a result of this their surveyor became pre-eminently a lighthouse engineer. Wyatt's surveyorship marked an intermediary stage in this process. On 28 November 1805 Trinity House received a letter from Benjamin Milne, the collector of light duties at Bridlington, with a petition he had drawn up asking for a proper light on Flamborough Head.<sup>129</sup> By December 'a considerable number of merchants, owners and masters of ships belonging to the port of London [had]... subscribed [to] the application for a light on Flambro' Head'. Trinity House resolved to petition the king for a patent to exhibit such a light.<sup>130</sup> Royal assent was easily forthcoming, despite the opposition of Mr Ogle Ogle, the eccentric proprietor

XXIII

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128 Stevenson, 65

129 By-Minutes, 28 Nov. 1805

130 Court Minutes, 12 Dec. 1805

of an existing ruined tower which had been without a light for over a hundred years.<sup>131</sup> In April the following year Wyatt and Captain Huddart proceeded to Flamborough to survey the old tower and the site for the new one.<sup>132</sup> On 5 June they reported that the old tower was beyond repair. A site for the new one was suggested nearer the edge of the cliff. Wyatt presented a plan for the new lighthouse 'having the dwelling house and offices round the base'. This was no doubt similar to the circular lightkeeper's house he had designed round the base of his lighthouse at Ramsgate. It would have been a typical neo-classical conceit. The court, however, judged the plan to be 'in some respects inconvenient' and asked him 'to draw another plan with a dwelling house adjoining connected by a porch to the lighthouse'.<sup>133</sup> Wyatt presented a revised version on 12 June. This was 'drawn upon a wider base' and 'having a dwelling house adjoining'; it was accepted.<sup>134</sup> The building tender was granted at Milne's request to a local builder, John Matson of Bridlington. He was paid £18 per '272 feet of brickwork'.<sup>135</sup> In the past the design of the lighthouse was wrongly attributed to Matson. The Trinity House

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131 Court Minutes, 6 Feb. 1806

132 By-Minutes, 10 April 1806

133 Ibid, 5 June 1806

134 Ibid, 12 June 1806

it is impossible to resist quoting : 'Rome in the plenitude of power enriched with plunder of conquered provinces and elated with pride, erected stately pillars ornamented with exquisite sculpture to commemorate the achievements of her illustrious citizens; but those splendid embellishments were the ostentatious monuments of an unbounded ambition which grasped at universal dominion and in the career of victory extended a wide scene of ruin and desolation. Under the influence of a better principle and for purposes infinitely more useful this superb edifice for the exhibition of lights is erected. It was raised with the benevolent intention of securing the property of individuals and of preserving human life from the calamities of shipwreck. To the honour of the Elder Brethren of the Trinity House, Deptford Strand, London it must be observed that with laudable zeal they have patronized the undertaking and completed the building in a style superior to every other of the same class in the United Kingdom - an eminent display of taste and judgement. The grandeur of its situation on this exalted promontory must excite the admiration of every beholder - the vast sweep of the northern ocean fills the eye with its immeasurable expanse, and exhibits a scene which inspires exalted ideas ...'.<sup>136</sup>

The lighthouse was eighty-five feet high and in design similar to that at Dungeness. The gallery was supported by a

boldly moulded cornice which from a distance looks like a capital and gives the whole building the appearance of a Greek Doric column. From Milne's speech it is obvious that this column effect was intentional, making the lighthouse an English parallel to that extraordinary neo-classical structure, the Column House at the Désert de Retz. The cost is reputed to have been about £8,000.<sup>137</sup>

Wyatt completed his work for Trinity House by making a series of plans and elevations of lighthouses 'for the use of [the] corporation'.<sup>138</sup> These only reached Trinity House after his death in 1807. The court, 'taking into consideration the compensation to be made for the plans and drawings of lighthouses ... received from the executrix of Samuel Wyatt Esq. late architect to this corporation; deceased, And a list thereof being laid before the Court ... it was Resolved that the sum of 100 guineas should be paid to Mrs. Anne Wyatt, widow and executrix as a compensation for the same and for his trouble and service ...'.<sup>139</sup> This generous payment and the warm feeling implied by the particularly large capital R of 'Resolved', underlining and attendant flourishes leaves no doubt of the high regard in which

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137 Daniell, II, 315

138 Court Minutes, 7 Jan. 1808

139 Ibid, 3 March 1808

Wyatt was held by the corporation and their appreciation of his work for them. He was succeeded in the surveyorship by D. A. Alexander, the surveyor of the London docks.<sup>140</sup>

The month after becoming surveyor to Trinity House Wyatt was appointed clerk of works to Chelsea Hospital. This took place on 5 March 1792.<sup>141</sup> It was the most attractive of his official positions, involving unexacting duties and carrying several pleasant perquisites. It was also a prestigious position occupied at that period by architects of the first rank. His predecessor was Robert Adam and his successor Sir John Soane. On paper the duties of the clerk of works sounded onerous. He was responsible for the general maintenance of the hospital buildings and grounds. The range of his activities had been laid down by Sir Christopher Wren in his instructions to the first clerk of works, Roger Hewitt, in 1692 :

'First you are from time to time to survey the said Hospital and several buildings belonging to it taking a particular accompt where any repairs are wanting which you are to lay before us in writing together with an estimate of the Charge, once a month or oftener if occasion require it.

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140 Ibid, 5 March 1807

141 C. J. T. Dean, The Royal Hospital (1950) 236. I have had to rely on Mr. Dean's researches as the Governor of the hospital would not allow me to see the minute book.

Secondly. You are not to direct any work to be done either in repairing or otherwise without our Order Except the mending of locks, broken pipes, dripps in the Roofs or such like accidents as cannot expect our orders without damage. And when any work is directed by us you are to see that it be well substantially and speedily done.

Thirdly. You are to keep account of the time of any daywork. And to deliver us in writing at the end of every month a particular of what work hath within that time, annexing the workmen's bills and demands with your opinions thereupon, that so when corrected and allowed by us may be forthwith paid.

Fourthly. You are to see that the Water engines be always in good repair, the pipes whole and the cocks good and that the Canal-Keeper perform his duty in turning the stop-cocks, emptying the pipes before frost and keeping the sluices moving in frost and sudden thaws.

Fifthly. You are to give strict directions to the several workmen belonging to the said hospital, not to do any manner of work without your order, acquainting them that in case they do the contrary it shall not be paid.

Sixthly. You are to take care that no alterations be made in any offices or roomes of the said hospital without our leave in writing. Even though the parties living in them should be willing to pay for the same out of their own purses.

Seventhly you are to prevent as much as in you lies the breaking of the glass windows, the stealing of the lead and all other detriments to the said hospital. And if you find any servant or pensioner wilfully defacing any part of the wall wainscot or ornaments you are forthwith to complain, if a servant, to us, if a pensioner, to the Governor or Major that so the offender may be speedily and severely punished.<sup>142</sup> In practice the duties of the clerk of works were not as exacting as this, for with the tendency in the later eighteenth century to appoint architects of distinction to the post it had become traditional for a deputy to do all the routine work. There was a permanent body of resident workmen who were responsible for executing this routine work. The general work of maintenance in the hospital therefore tended to proceed automatically with little interference from the clerk of works. He confined his attention to occasional matters of greater importance. The clerk of works' department was responsible only for the fabric of the hospital. The care of the contents was the responsibility of the wardrobe-keeper.<sup>143</sup>

On paper the salary of the clerk of works did not appear very large. It was only £20 p.a., the same as the gardener

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142 Chelsea Royal Hospital, Copy Book of Instructions, 1692 (MSS)

143 Dean, 143

and organist and only half that of the head cook.<sup>144</sup> This was, however, deceptive. The post was much more valuable than that. The clerk of works was entitled to all unserviceable materials removed from the buildings and a commission of 4d in the pound on all bills for work done. In 1792 these bills amounted to £6,931 9. 5½.<sup>144</sup> This gave Wyatt a commission of about £116. On average the value of salvage and commission must have amounted to about £200 a year as well as the basic salary of £20. In 1793 the system of commission and perquisites was abolished and replaced by a regular allowance of equivalent value. This reform is symptomatic of the drive, then sweeping through public bodies, to replace old ramshackle financial arrangements, perquisites and sinecures with salaries. The most striking example of this tendency was the financial reform of the office of works under Shelburne.<sup>145</sup> From 1794 Wyatt, in addition to his salary of £20, received an 'allowance' of £200 a year under 'extra contingent payments' which covered such things as the maintenance of lunatic out-pensioners and wine for the sick.<sup>146</sup> As well as his salary and allowance Wyatt also received a house in the hospital precincts with a free issue of

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144 P.R.O., A03/622, Chelsea Hospital Accounts 1792

145 H. M. Colvin, Ed, History of the King's Works, V (not yet published)

146 P.R.O., A03/624, Chelsea Hospital Accounts 1794

furniture, fuel and light.<sup>147</sup> The clerk of works' house was a comfortable rambling structure of various dates tacked on to one end of Wren's stable block. Wyatt does not seem to have moved to Chelsea until about 1798.<sup>148</sup> Adam never lived in the house so it is possible that his deputy 'Mr. Hamilton' lived on in the house until 1798. Wyatt's move to Chelsea may have been undertaken in a spirit of semi-retirement. Chelsea was then still in the country outside London and Wyatt may have viewed it as a rustic retreat. Certainly it was the nearest he got to having a country house.

No new buildings were erected at Chelsea to Wyatt's design. The larger-scale works executed under his direction were a matter of alterations and improvements to existing buildings. His main structural alteration was in the Governor's Lodging. In 1800 he removed the wall between the dining room and the drawing room to form an ante room to the state room. At the same time the wainscot was stripped from the walls and replaced with wallpaper and stucco. Wyatt also installed a characteristic white marble chimneypiece to replace the two corner fireplaces that had previously existed. Wyatt's most important innovation at

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147 Dean, 129

148 A.O.; the first letter from Wyatt to Boulton from Chelsea Hospital is dated 13 June 1798.

the hospital was the mundane one of installing decent drains. He found the old cess pits 'ill-constructed and extremely offensive'.<sup>149</sup> They were swept away and proper sewers installed. At the same time the old 'close-stools' in the Long-Wards were replaced by water closets provided by Joseph Bramah.<sup>150</sup>

Wyatt's most ambitious plan for the hospital was not executed. This was for a new extension to accommodate additional pensioners. By the early nineteenth century the hospital was desperately short of space. Wyatt was asked to devise a plan to increase the accommodation. In 1805 he produced a design for a new block to house three hundred additional pensioners. This was to be erected in the Governor's garden facing Light Horse Court. He also suggested that the Governor's House should be converted to accommodate a further 120 pensioners. In its place he suggested that the lease of Walpole House, next-door, which had twenty years to run before reverting to the hospital, should be bought in for the Governor's own use.<sup>151</sup> These rather drastic proposals were not adopted. Presumably the Governor found his existing house comfortable and did not favour a move across the road to Walpole House. It was left to Wyatt's

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149 Dean, 237-38

150 P.R.O., A03/628, Chelsea Hospital Accounts 1798

151 Dean, 255

successor, Sir John Soane, to expand the hospital by building a new infirmary on the site of Walpole House.

Wyatt died at Chelsea on 8 February 1807 and was buried in the cemetery of the hospital. His death precipitated an undignified scramble for the post of clerk of works. There had been an embarrassing incident a week previously when a premature announcement of his death had spread around. Robert Smirke immediately let it be known that he wanted the post in a letter to Charles Long, secretary to the Treasury. In fact the disposal of the post was nothing to do with Long and was in the hands of Lord John Townshend, joint paymaster general.<sup>152</sup> Smirke also consulted Joseph Farington as to whom he should apply for the post.<sup>153</sup> Then it became known that Wyatt was not dead and the rumour was completely unfounded. When Wyatt did die a week later the post was granted to John Soane.<sup>154</sup> Smirke's inopportune pleas were ignored.

The most short-lived and least successful of Wyatt's official positions was that of surveyor to the Mint. He was appointed on 23 October 1793 to succeed John Vardy (Junior) as from 1 January 1794.<sup>155</sup> He held the post for one year and was then

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152 Farington, 3591, 12 Feb. 1807

153 Ibid, 27 Jan. 1807

154 Colvin 558

155 P.R.O., Mint Record Book XIV, 236

summarily dismissed. During his brief surveyorship he does not seem to have done anything to the Mint buildings, nor was he asked to do anything. The Mint was then still situated within the Tower of London in ancient rambling buildings of no architectural character. The surveyor was responsible for their external and internal upkeep. Any repairs executed under the supervision of the surveyor were performed by jobbing contractors paid directly by the Mint.<sup>156</sup> In 1794 there was little that needed doing. Wyatt's predecessor, John Vardy (Junior) had carried out far-reaching repairs between 1770 and 1776 when £26,170 had been spent on the ramshackle old buildings.<sup>157</sup> They must, therefore, have been in relatively sound condition. On 21 January 1795 Wyatt received the following curt letter from the Clerk of the Papers : 'Sir, The principal officers of His Majesty's Mint having taken into their consideration your total neglect of the Dutys of your appointment as Surveyor of Buildings at the said Mint since 1 January 1794 when your appointment took place I am directed to inform you that they have discharged you from your said employment of Surveyor of Buildings to the Mint from 31 December 1794.'<sup>158</sup> This 'total neglect' is inex-

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156 Sir John Craig, The Mint (Cambridge 1948) 282

157 H. M. Colvin, Ed, History of the King's Works, V (not yet published) f830

158 P.R.O., Mint Record Book XIV, 268

plicable as Wyatt was, comparatively, efficient and conscientious in the performance of the duties of his other appointments. It seems strange also that no more specific reason was given. Possibly the reasons for his dismissal were personal or political. They may have been connected with the appointment of a new Master of the Mint, Sir George Yonge in 1794.<sup>159</sup>

Wyatt's final official appointment was as surveyor and civil engineer to Ramsgate Harbour in March 1794.<sup>160</sup> This was the most striking recognition of his abilities as an engineer. It was a post held by engineers of the greatest distinction. His predecessor had been John Smeaton and his successor was John Rennie. The Ramsgate post was a recently created one. The construction of the new harbour had begun in 1749. In 1774 the great engineer, John Smeaton, had first been consulted, principally about the problem of silting which threatened to ruin the harbour. Smeaton devised an ingenious system of sluices which created a strong current to carry the silt out of the basin as fast as it was brought in by the tide. He was consulted frequently by the harbour authorities in the following years but was only formally appointed surveyor to the harbour in 1787.<sup>161</sup> On the death of the great man in 1792 the harbour trustees

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159 Inf. Sir John Craig

160 P.R.O., MT22/32, Ramsgate Harbour Minutes, 5 March 1794

161 John Smeaton, Historical Report on Ramsgate Harbour (1791)

whether they should appoint a successor and Wyatt was not appointed to the post until 1794. He was employed previously, however, by the trustees for a trial period. In September 1793 he told his friend Matthew Boulton that he was about to go to Ramsgate to attend a meeting of the trustees of the harbour there.<sup>162</sup> The record of his appointment in the minute book makes it clear that he had been employed to make survey drawings of the harbour in the previous year.<sup>160</sup> Undoubtedly he received this appointment as a result of his surveyorship to Trinity House. All the elder brethren were 'ex officio' also trustees of Ramsgate Harbour.

At the time of Smeaton's death in 1792 the basic structure of the harbour with its inner and outer basins, flanking stone piers and system of sluices was complete. Wyatt's main task was to design the surrounding buildings. He was also responsible for supervising the constant work of maintenance. The sluices, for instance, were always in need of attention and the piers had to be frequently repointed. The post carried a salary of £200 a year, the standard remuneration for surveyors to great public works in the late eighteenth century. He also received extra 'gratuities' from time to time. In October 1803,

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162 R.L., Boulton & Watt Coll., Box 36, Wyatt to Boulton,  
20 Sept. 1793

for instance, he received £210 on top of his salary as a mark of esteem from the trustees following the completion of most of his new buildings at Ramsgate.<sup>163</sup> He was also paid all travel expenses and for his drawings. Wyatt was assisted by a resident deputy responsible for the day-to-day maintenance. At first this was Henry Call, the master mason and from 1801 George Louch who enjoyed the much grander title of 'deputy engineer'.<sup>164</sup> The deputy was paid 100 guineas a year but in 1802 George Louch's salary was raised to £200 'in consequence of the valuable services rendered' by him.<sup>165</sup> The deputy was directly responsible to Wyatt and was the head of a large permanent work-force at the harbour. This included fifteen masons and forty-nine labourers.

The harbour artificers were treated in an enlightened way. For instance, in 1801 their wages were raised specifically so that they could contribute to a trust fund set up for their benefit. The fund maintained a resident surgeon to attend men injured during work and paid the wages of those unavoidably absent through sickness. During the war years when food prices rose considerably and there was a national bread shortage the

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163 MT 22/34, Minutes, 14 Oct. 1803

164 MT 22/32, 9 March 1794 and MT 22/33, 27 Feb. 1801

165 Ibid, 30 April 1802

harbour trustees provided a free supply of potatoes and rice for their employees. In 1803 model cottages were built near the harbour to Wyatt's design to house harbour employees.<sup>166</sup> In theory Wyatt was empowered to 'direct, comptroll and order all the works carrying on at Ramsgate but in fact all the day-to-day control was deputised. Thus Wyatt's role was mainly that of designer of new buildings and works. He was also responsible for the acquisition and disposal of all building materials. This was made clear in a resolution of the trustees in March 1794 : 'In future Mr. Call ... do correspond with Mr. Wyatt the Surveyor respecting the purchase of all materials wanted for the use of the Harbour ... in consequence the said Surveyor be directed to purchase or to give the necessary orders for the purchase of such articles as may be wanted and to whom the bills for the said articles must be sent and when examined and certified to be correct paid by the Secretary'.<sup>167</sup> Previously the secretary had been responsible for ordering building materials. The trustees hastened to point out that 'this resolution ... does not mean to throw the least reflection on the character of the Secretary ... but the Trust having thought it right to appoint a Surveyor to inspect and compleat the

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<sup>166</sup> MT 22/33, 23 Jan. 1801 and MT 22/34, 28 Jan. 1803

<sup>167</sup> MT 22/32, 5 March 1794

Harbour ... think that the purchase of such materials as may be wanted from time to time particularly stone and timber to be a duty more immediately within his province than that ... of the Secretary.' Wyatt was also responsible for checking all completed work and for keeping the building accounts. On average he visited Ramsgate three to four times a year. One of these expeditions always coincided with the annual visit of the trustees to Ramsgate. These occasions combined an inspection of the progress achieved in the past year with self-congratulatory festivities.

Wyatt's first important work at Ramsgate was the design of a lighthouse for the west pier.<sup>168</sup> This was to mark the harbour entrance at night. When there was more than ten feet of water in the outer basin a light was shown. Wyatt and one of the trustees visited Ramsgate in April 1794 to choose a site and give directions concerning the conduct of building. Construction began immediately and the following month Wyatt recommended that the harbour work-force be increased by employing seven additional masons to make a total of twenty-two and eleven additional labourers to bring their number up to sixty. His advice was accepted and extra men were employed. The new

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168 Ramsgate Public Library, Local History Collection, Harbour plans (uncatalogued). Plans, elevations and sections for lighthouse signed 'S. Wyatt, April 1794'

lighthouse was completed in 1795. The trustees inspected it in September and the first lightkeeper was appointed in November.<sup>169</sup> It was the prettiest of Wyatt's lighthouse designs. Compared to that at Dungeness it was small, being only thirty-four feet to the top of the gallery railing. The tower itself had a diameter of nine feet. It contained a spiral staircase winding round a central well in which descended a weight. This revolved the lamp in the lantern. It was wound up every day rather like a grandfather clock. Previously lighthouse lamps had been static and Ramsgate was one of the first to have a revolving light which emitted flashes at regular intervals. The design of the lighthouse was neatly neo-classical. Wrapped round the first storey was a circular house for the lightkeeper comprised of eight wedge-shaped rooms. This was very inconvenient but fulfilled the neo-classical longing to house the lower classes in compositions of extreme geometrical fantasy. The house had a shallow lead dome from the middle of which rose the tower. The play on circles was continued in the port holes lighting the staircase and the round-headed windows of the lightkeeper's house. The whole composition had a disarmingly toy-like character. Unfortunately it was sited too near the end of the pier and failed to take into account the strong current. Thus ships sailing for the light found themselves carried past the entrance and wasted time in retracing their

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<sup>169</sup> MT 22/32, 2 Sept. 1795 and 4 Nov. 1795

course.<sup>170</sup>

In December 1794 Wyatt produced plans for a range of new buildings to occupy the strip of land between the town and harbour. These included a storehouse, Harbour Master's house, and gate lodge. According to the accompanying estimates the storehouse was to cost £3,400, the Harbour Master's house £800 and the lodge £300. At a committee meeting on 3 December 'Mr. Wyatt [was] directed to execute the above plans as expeditiously as possible'.<sup>171</sup> They were finished by 1797 when Wyatt was asked 'to make a compleat plan of the Harbour, Ground, Buildings belonging to the Trust and that the same may be framed and put up in the Committee Room.'<sup>172</sup> This implies that the harbour had reached the state of completion envisaged by the Trust. The new buildings were its main architectural feature. They formed a dignified back-drop to the harbour with the town and cliffs rising beyond. The Harbour Master's house was similar to the houses Wyatt provided for Stewards on great estates such as those at Holkham, Penrhyn and Wimbleton. It had the same rational tripartite plan. The house proper formed the central three-storeyed block. On either side were low pedi-

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170 Sir John Rennie, British and Foreign Harbours, I (1854) 100

171 MT 22/32, 3 Dec. 1794

172 Ibid, 2 May 1797

mented wings. One of these contained the kitchen offices and the other the administrative offices. At Ramsgate one of the wings was duplicated on the other side of the new gateway by an identical lodge creating an effect of ambiguous symmetry. East of this Wyatt built a double colonnade of baseless Doric columns known as the 'Piazas'. The structure which filled most of the west half of the range of buildings was utilitarian. Although the trustees had seen these as the final stage in the harbour's development their completion led to a further project. The flanking ranges of elegant new buildings made the central harbour office appear dingy and old-fashioned. In 1799 it was found to be in need of repair. The trustees, inspired by the example of Trinity House, rashly decided to build an office appropriate to the new architectural dignity of the harbour. Accordingly Wyatt was 'directed to prepare a plan for a building for a new Board Room at Ramsgate the present one from the report of the last survey being in a ruinous and dangerous situation'.<sup>173</sup> This must have been an exaggeration as the old board room was not yet fifty years old. Nevertheless the new building was approved. On 27 November 1799 a special meeting was called 'to consider Mr. Wyatt's plan for re-building the Board Room and offices'. His plans were accepted and

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173 MT 22/33, 28 June 1799

orders were given to demolish the existing structure. Wyatt's estimate for the new one was £4,800 which was more than the trustees could really afford.<sup>174</sup> A more necessary plan by Wyatt for workshops with a clock cupola was postponed. This design was identical to that of Wyatt's stable blocks at Heaton, Penrhyn and elsewhere.<sup>175</sup> Eventually the 'clock house' was built by one of his successors, John Shaw, in 1815. The new pier house, as it came to be called, was begun in 1800. Wyatt acquired the necessary materials in February and by the end of the year work was well advanced. The pier house was completed in 1802 and a resident housekeeper with a salary of £50 a year was installed in May. It was Wyatt's major work at Ramsgate, the principal motif in the frieze of his buildings along the harbour. Although not large it was most handsome. The rusticated basement contained the entrance hall and housekeeper's accommodation. On the piano nobile was the committee room flanked by two ante rooms and nothing else. The façade was clad in Portland stone. Its main feature was a version of the ubiquitous Wyatt segmental bow overlooking the harbour and crowned by a copper-covered dome. The copper for the roof was provided by Samuel's cousin Charles Wyatt who had patented a

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174 MT 22/33, 27 Nov. 1799 and 13 Dec. 1799

175 Ramsgate Public Library, Local History Collection, Harbour plans (uncatalogued)

special process of preparing 'tinned copper sheeting'.<sup>177</sup> Outside the piano nobile windows was a continuous balcony which enabled the trustees to view the activity in the harbour from above. It was provided with an iron railing of typical Wyatt design with fourteen alternating panels of anthemion decoration. No record of the interior decoration survives. The most unusual feature of the interior was the staircase. It was housed in a long narrow well the whole width of the back of the building. The steps rose in duplicated flights to right and left completely filling the well (like those in the Alte Pinakothek at Munich). This arrangement was no doubt caused by the need to contrive a symmetrically monumental approach to the piano nobile in a restricted space. The pier house was squeezed between the harbour and a public road. It would be interesting to know how Wyatt handled such a difficult internal space with its great height and lack of width.

This expensive little building was used once a year on the annual visit of the trustees to the harbour. For the rest of the time it was empty. At one stage the trustees seriously considered letting it but abandoned the idea.<sup>178</sup> The building was simply an extravagant showpiece and was freely open to the

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177 Ibid, 11 Sept. 1801

178 MT 22/34, 13 Sept. 1805

public from the time of its completion. In 1806 stricter regulations were enforced due to the 'indecorous conduct' of many of the visitors. In future access was to be by ticket only and children and servants were not to be admitted.<sup>179</sup>

Contemporary feelings about the pier house were neatly summed up in 1815 when the harbour trust had reached the verge of bankruptcy : 'Any person who looks with the eye of Taste on the Pier House at Ramsgate must admire its beauty and elegance but as it answers little other purpose than to afford a place of reception and entertainment for the few trustees who come down to it from London once in a year only and then for two or three days at the most and has a housekeeper with a salary to take care of it, the many thousand pounds that were expended in its erection may justly be regretted.'<sup>180</sup>

The war with France between 1793 and 1801 had little effect on the progress of building at Ramsgate. It was only in 1801, just before the Peace of Amiens, that any thought was given to the defence of the harbour. In February the Commander of the southern district informed the trustees that a guard of soldiers would be necessary for the protection of the harbour and that

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179 Ibid, 31 Jan. 1806

180 Kent R.O., K.A.O. U224 21, 'A short account of facts relative to Ramsgate Pier and Harbour.'

'a few cannon might add to the respectability of defence'.<sup>181</sup>

Accordingly Wyatt was asked to convert the hawser houses on the piers into guard houses, to build pivoting wooden sentry boxes and to carry into effect 'any plan that may be proposed by the Government for the accommodation of Artillery'.<sup>181</sup> During the Napoleonic War, however, very little was executed at the harbour. Between 1802 and 1807 Wyatt's work was of a minor character or unexecuted apart from the model labourer's cottages and the west entrance to the harbour which duplicated the east gate. In his last years Wyatt was occupied at Ramsgate partly with a scheme for new warehouses and partly by a project to construct a dry dock between the inner and outer basins. He submitted his first plan for the dry dock in September 1804. Nothing came of this. In February 1805 all work at Ramsgate was postponed for financial reasons. In April Wyatt was asked to decide which works he thought were absolutely necessary and which ones could be postponed. He advised that the new dry dock and storehouses should proceed. Wyatt planned the dry dock to be stone-lined with a semi-circular section. It was to be 20 feet deep, 125 feet long and 35 feet wide. At either end were to be lock gates connecting with the inner and outer basins. He prepared a final version of the design on 3 February

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<sup>181</sup> MT 22/33, 27 Feb. 1801

1807, four days before his fatal stroke. His death caused the project to be postponed again and it was finally executed in a modified form between 1808 and 1809 by John Rennie.<sup>182</sup> Wyatt suggested that the new storehouses should be built as lean-tos below the cliff and apart from the main harbour buildings because of the acute shortage of space. This proposal had two advantages. The new buildings would buttress the crumbling cliff face; they would also enable a new road to be constructed between the cliff and the existing harbour buildings and thus ease the traffic flow near the harbour. Wyatt explained his proposal in a letter to the trustees in February 1806 : 'In obedience to your commands I have visited the harbour of Ramsgate. As my principal object was to survey the wall now building I beg leave to report on that subject. I recommend the taking down about 360 feet in length of that wall at the eastern end to shorten it at that end by 50 feet and to widen the ground from the cliff to 60 feet or thereabouts. This will give more liberty for the traffick that will occasionally happen at this juncture of the roads and will furnish an opportunity of ground for building warehouses which will be a good accommodation to the harbour and at the same time be the best and easiest means of supporting the cliff which is the most dangerous from the weakness

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182 Sir John Rennie, British and Foreign Harbours, I (1854) 97

of it. Added to this I have no doubt but the ground alone would produce a Revenue of £50 p.a. I beg leave to refer you to my plan ...'.<sup>183</sup> The committee ordered that Wyatt's plan be carried into effect but they still had doubts, possibly about the expense that would be involved. They felt the need for outside confirmation. Probably at Wyatt's suggestion John Rennie was consulted. In May 1806 Wyatt and Rennie produced a joint report on the proposed road and storehouses. This slightly modified some of Wyatt's earlier suggestions. The road, for instance, was to be 56 rather than 60 feet wide.<sup>184</sup> This resolved the committee's wavering and orders were given for Wyatt's proposals to be carried out. Wyatt died before work began and the scheme was finally abandoned. The consultation with Rennie, however, was to his advantage for in 1807 following Wyatt's death he was appointed as Engineer to the harbour.<sup>185</sup>

Wyatt's buildings at Ramsgate made the harbour one of the most attractive marine architectural ensembles in England. Unfortunately everything he designed there has disappeared. The lighthouse was rebuilt in 1840 to the younger Rennie's

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183 MT 22/34, 7 Feb. 1806

184 Ibid, 23 May 1806

185 Sir John Rennie, British & Foreign Harbours, I (1854) 97

design following the partial collapse of the substance of the pier. Wyatt's range of buildings facing the harbour survived until 1890 when they were all demolished for road widening.<sup>186</sup> Their appearance is, however, recorded for us in the background of Frith's 'Ramsgate Sands'.

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<sup>186</sup> N. Pevsner, 'Frith's Ramsgate Sands', Architectural Review (1956) 191

Appendix

Catalogue of known works

The arrangement is based on John Harris' catalogue raisonné of the works of Sir William Chambers, namely: place, patron, work, date (followed by E if existing, A if altered and D if destroyed), list of designs, manuscript sources, printed books, printed articles, pictorial material. Buildings already discussed are not described again in detail. The principle sources for each attribution are marked with an asterisk.

1. Amersham (Bucks). St. Mary's Church.

William Drake. Esq. (of Shardeloes).

Restored the church, drained the graveyard, repaired the rectory 1776-1785. D.

- \* Bucks R.O., Drake MSS, D/DR/12/65. S. Wyatt's sketch plan for drain in graveyard.
- D/DR/5/65. Letter from S. Wyatt about the rectory.
- D/DR/12/60. S. Wyatt's estimate for restoring the church 1774.
- D/DR/12/61. Accounts for restoration 1781-1785.

G. Lipscomb, History and Antiquities of Buckinghamshire (1847).

D. Lysons, Magna Britannia, I (1806).

Wyatt received this commission while executing building work to James Wyatt's design for William Drake at Shardeloes. Because of its site close to the river the church was damp. Wyatt was asked to remedy this. His first proposal in 1774 was to raise the floor of the church. That would have involved many unnecessary and expensive alterations, so was not executed. His second plan was to build a large brick-lined culvert in the graveyard. This was adopted and proved effective. In 1778 Drake obtained a faculty for repairing the interior of the church. It was repaved and newly pewed under Wyatt's direction. Rudimentary central heating was introduced in the form of a stove with a flue under the nave floor. As a result of the drain and 'hypocaust', the church was made so dry that it was worthwhile to have the whole interior replastered and coloured by Joseph Rose (II) in 1785. All Wyatt's alterations inside the church were swept away when it was restored in 1890.

In 1776 Wyatt also supervised the repair of the early 18th century rectory. It was entirely re-roofed and the exterior stuccoed. A letter from Wyatt to the builder survives:

'Berwick St. 18 March 1776

Sir,

Mr. Drake informs me you are at a loss respecting the roof of the passage at the parsonage. I do not recollect exactly the width of the passage but I see no objection to its being a very flat pitch. I could not wish it to rise more than  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the base line of the rafters. The rafters must not be fix'd fast in their places till the slaters come down as the distance from centre to centre of each rafter will be govern'd by the size of the slates which are all ready squared... there will be about 3 ton wanted for the front of the house

and passage. It be necessary to provide a little stone lime for stuccoing the front of the house. Do you think your plasterers can do it properly? I should be glad to send the slates and slaters immediately on the receipt of your answer to this if you think that you shall be ready for them as I had rather it was done before we begin the church.

I am Sir your very humble servant

Sam Wyatt.'

## 2. Ashtead Park (Surrey).

Richard Howard Esq. (originally Bagot).

Built the house to Bonomi's design. Designed and built the stables 1790. E.

J.P. Neale, Seats, IV (1821).

\* F.E. Paget, Some Records of the Ashtead Estate, (1873).

N. Pevener & I. Nairn, Surrey (2nd Ed. 1971).

N.B.R.

Richard Bagot, a younger son of Sir Walter Bagot of Blithfield (Staffs.), married the Hon. Frances Howard in 1783. He adopted her name and inherited the Ashtead estate in her right. He decided to build a new house there. Paget states that 'the design for the new house was given by Bonomi ... the actual work however was entrusted to Samuel Wyatt.' This makes it another example of Bagot patronage of the Wyatt family. Richard Howard also built a splendid stable block. This was almost certainly designed by Wyatt. It is quite different in style from the house, and akin to many of Wyatt's stable blocks, particularly the central pavilion supporting a clock cupola.

Neale considered the stables to be 'really magnificent'.

3. Bangor Cathedral (Caernarvonshire).

The Dean and Chapter of Bangor Cathedral.

Creation of library and registry within shell of chapter house.  
Designed a loft for the new organ by Samuel Green in the cathedral.

Designed 1776. Executed 1778-1786. D.

\* National Library of Wales, B/Dc/V/3, Chapter Acts and  
Accounts 1747 to 1791.

N.L.Clarke, 'Bangor Cathedral 1700 to 1828', Transactions of  
the Caernarvonshire Historical Society, 13 (1952).

'Mr. Wyatt's' plan and estimate for alterations was accepted on 17 October 1778. They were commissioned on 15 October 1776. The work was executed by Edmund and John Cooper of Beaumaris. As Wyatt was working at Baron Hill in 1776, it is most likely that the library at Bangor was designed by him and not by any other member of his family. The style adopted was a mild and ignorant gothick. All Wyatt's work was swept away during Scott's restoration in the nineteenth century.

4. Baron Hill (Anglesey).

Thomas, 7th Viscount Bulkeley.

House completely reconstructed and enlarged 1776-1779. A.

\* Bodleian, MS Top. Anglesey A.2., plans and elevations.

\* Bangor University Library. Baron Hill MSS, 5050-5058,  
Building Accounts 1776-1778.

A.P.S.D.

J. Britton, Ed., Beauties of England and Wales XVII (1812), 179.

N. Carlisle, Topographical Dictionary, IV (1811)

Colvin, 735

W. Watts, Seats of the Nobility and Gentry (1799)

R. Fenton, 'Tours in Wales 1804-1813', Archaeologia

Cambrensis 17 (1917)

John Harris, 'C.R. Cockerell's Ichnographica Domestica',

Architectural History, 14 (1971)

R.C.A.M. (Wales and Monmouthshire), photographs.

III, IV

See Chapter IV, 177-183.

5. Belmont Park (Kent)

Col. George Harris (cr. 1st Lord Harris 1815).

New house 1787-92. E.

\* Coutts Bank, 440 The Strand. Plans and elevations.

John Newman, North East & East Kent, (1969).

C. Life, 27 Jan & 3 Feb. 1955.

V, VI A & B, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI A.

See Chapter IV, 218-224.

6. Berechurch Hall (Essex)

Sir Robert Smyth.

Additions c. 1772. D.

Peter Muilman, History of Essex, VI (Chelmsford 1772).

J.A. Rush, Seats in Essex (n.d.)

Essex R.O. B101, B641-661, B5164. Sale catalogues.

A folio of accounts for Berechurch is included in L.F. Abbott's portrait of Wyatt.

See Chapter IV, 171-173.

7. Birmingham, Livery St., warehouse.

Matthew Boulton Esq.

Extensive modifications to a design by 'Mr. Newbold' including new facade and new roof. 1787-1788. D.

X Birmingham Assay Office, Tew MSS, Correspondence between Wyatt and Boulton about the warehouse.

Colvin, 735

B. Walker, 'Some 18th century Birmingham Houses',

Transactions of the Birmingham Archaeological Society

56 (1932) 1-36.

Birmingham Reference Library, Birmingham Views.

Formerly attributed to James Wyatt by mistake.

See Chapter III, 116.

8. Birmingham, St. Paul's Church

Trustees of St. Paul's Church.

Criticism of Roger Eykyn's design in 1777 resulting in its modification. Design of east window 1785. E.

\* Birmingham Reference Library, 372721, Henry Kempson's notebook 1776-1779 (MS).

D. Hickman, Birmingham (1970) 16 & 17.

L.D. Ettliger & R.G. Holloway, 'St. Paul's Church',

Architectural Review, June 1947, 227.

St. Paul's Church was designed in 1776 by a local architect, Roger Eykyn of Wolverhampton. Probably at Matthew Boulton's suggestion Samuel Wyatt's opinion was sought. His stringent criticisms led to a modification of the design. In 1785 Francis Eginton, Samuel Wyatt's relation by marriage and the pioneer reviver of stained glass manufacture, was asked to design some painted glass for the East window. At the same time the window was given a new internal architectural surround. With its flat pediment, and delicate stucco decoration including two urns in oval surrounds, this was almost certainly designed by Samuel Wyatt.

See Chapter II, 77-9 and Chapter III, 113.

9. Birmingham, New St., Theatre Royal.

The proprietors of the Theatre Royal.

New facade. Designed 1777. Executed 1780-1782. D.

\* British Museum, Kings Maps XLII 82.1. Signed elevation.

\* Birmingham Reference Library, 5047 Lee 387. List of the proprietors for building a Playhouse in New St. (MSS)

A.P.S.D.

Colvin, 735.

J.E. Cunningham, Theatre Royal, (1950).

C.Life, 11 Dec. 1915.

See Chapter III, 114-115.

10. Blithfield Hall (Staffs.)

Sir William Bagot (cr. 1st Lord Bagot 1780).

Additions and alterations 1769-1770. E.

Blithfield Hall. Unsigned designs for east and west parts  
of the house.

Brighton, Mr. Davies. Building accounts for the orangery.

\* Staffs R.O. Bagot MSS. D1721/3/215. Incomplete building  
accounts.

William, second Lord Bagot, Memorials of the Bagot Family (1824).

J.P. Neale, Views of Seats, V (2nd series 1829).

C. Life, 28 October, 4 & 11 November 1954.

XI, XII A & B.

See Chapter IV, 165-169.

#### 11. Bostock Hall (Cheshire)

Edward Tomkinson, Esq.

Completed an existing house and fitted up the interior 1775. A.

D. Lysons, Magna Britannia, II (1808).

G. Ormerod, Cheshire, III (2nd Ed. 1882)

N. Pevsner & E. Hubbard, Cheshire (1971).

\* E. Twycross, Mansions, IV (1850).

See Chapter IV, 176-177.

#### 12. Buckenham House (Norfolk)

Lord Petre.

Unidentified alterations. 1803. D.

\* Essex R.O., Petre MSS, D/DP A177. Statement of account  
between Lord Petre and the late Sam Wyatt.  
September 1807.

Mrs. Crichton, Plas Trefor, Anglesey, C.R.Cockerell,  
Ichnographica Domestica, 1827 (MS).

The exact nature of Wyatt's work at Buckenham is not known. Among the Petre MSS are bills from Wyatt referring to chimneypieces at Buckenham. Wyatt's work there may have been extensive. Cockerell recorded that the house, which dated from about 1730, had been altered 'by a very injudicious hand'. The house has been demolished and only the stables remain.

13. Colworth House (Bedfordshire)

William Lee (Antonie) Esq.

Unexecuted design for boat house. 1778.

\* H.M.Colvin collection. Signed elevation for boat house  
and estimate.

This was a proposal for a boathouse of rusticated stone with a Tuscan colonnade over. The general scheme foreshadows that proposed for Holkham eleven years later. In detail, however, this was not as fine as the Holkham design. The columns were to be of timber sanded to represent stone - a typical example of Wyatt's constructional ingenuity.

William Lee inherited Colworth in 1771 from Richard Antonie. He added Antonie to his name at that time.

14. Coton House (Warwickshire)

Abraham Grimes Esq.

New house and offices c1784. E.

\* Birmingham Assay Office, Tew MSS 135. Wyatt to Boulton Feb. 1784.

John Britton, Ed., Beauties of England and Wales, XV (1814) 80.

N. Pevsner & A. Wedgwood, Warwickshire (1966).

V.C.H. Warwickshire, VI (1951) 63.

N.B.R.

XIII, XIV, XV, XVI.

See Chapter IV, 207-210.

15. Culford Hall (Suffolk). (Methodist public school).

Charles, Earl Cornwallis (cr. Marquess Cornwallis 1792).

New house & offices. 1790-6. A.

West Suffolk Record Office, ACC468, ACC 2285, Accounts of the De Carles with reference to work at Culford 1790-6 and 1807-8.

\* Morton Arboretum Library, U.S.A., H. Repton, Red Book for  
Culford c1792.

Birmingham Assay Office, Tew MSS. Correspondence between Wyatt and Boulton with references to work for Lord Cornwallis.

Although the exterior was greatly extended and altered for the Earl of Cadogan in 1894, the whole of Wyatt's interior survives apart from the entrance hall. This house was formerly attributed to James Wyatt (Pevsner), but the documentary and stylistic evidence make it absolutely certain that Samuel Wyatt was the architect.

See Chapter IV, 212-218.

16. Delamere Lodge (Cheshire).

George Wilbraham, Esq.

New house. 1784. D.

\* Cheshire R.O., Transcript of the Wilbraham Family Diary. (MS).

D. Lysons, Magna Britannia, II (1808).

G. Ormerod, History of Cheshire, II, (1818).

E. Twycross, Mansions of England and Wales, IV, (1850).

N.B.R.

XVII A & B.

Formerly attributed to James Wyatt on the basis of Twycross' statement that it was 'by Wyatt', there can be little doubt stylistically that the house was by Samuel Wyatt. The exterior was almost identical to that of Coton House, while the interior decoration was similar in many respects to that of the Commissioner's House in Portsmouth.

The entry in the family diary records that 'About the year 1784 and subsequently he (George Wilbraham) bought various farms and lands bordering upon the forest of Delamere and built after a plan by Wyatt the house we now occupy.'

See Chapter IV, 205-207.

17. Deptford Mile End Almshouses.

Trinity House Corporation.

New quadrangle, 1806. D.

\* Trinity House, Samuel Wyatt's Account Book. By-Minutes 1806.

C.R.Ashbee, Trinity Hospital (1888).

See Chapter VI, 354-355

18. Deptford Upper Ground & Lower Ground Almshouses.

Trinity House Corporation.

Repairs and alterations 1792.

Reroofed almshouses at Upper Ground & put in new privies 1797.

Repairs including new gates at Upper Ground 1801-1803. D.

\* Trinity House. Court Minutes 1797.

By Minutes 1801-and 1803.

Cash Book 1792.

In 1792 Wyatt surveyed the almshouses at Lower and Upper Ground & as a result minor repairs were instituted. In 1797 he completely re-roofed the almshouses at Upper Ground and advised that new privies be provided as the old ones were 'so offensive to the houses adjoining'. There were further repairs from 1801 to 1803 when the gatehouse at Upper Ground was re-paved with York stone, Aberdeen granite steps were laid down and new iron gates hung with wooden weather doors behind.

19. Deptford Victualling Yard.

Victualling Office.

Barn. 1782. D.

\* P.R.O. ADM 111/89. Victualling Office Minutes 1782.

N. Pevsner, London II (1952) 107.

This was constructed of timber and covered with patent slating. It was 120 feet long, 47 feet wide and 30 feet high. (There is no evidence to support Sir John Summerson's attribution of the entrance gate at the Victualling Yard to Wyatt.)

See Chapter VI, 315

20. Digswell House (Hertfordshire).

Hon. Edward Spencer Cowper.

New house. 1806. E.

Herts R.O. D/EP T240SB. Unexecuted alternative design for the south front. Not signed or dated.

\* Herts. R.O. Panshanger Box 49. Various references to Samuel Wyatt's building accounts for Digswell.

J. Farington Diary. 3593, Friday 13 Feb. 1807. (MS)

Herts R.O. DIG 3. 19th century watercolours of Digswell House.

G. Oldbury. Views in Hertfordshire, c1794-1803, III, 497. A view of the old house with inscription 'old mansion is now taken down and a new one erected by Earl Cowper. See letter 7 March 1802 and write a new account.' (MSS)

XVIII.

See Chapter IV, 247-249.

21. Doddington Hall (Cheshire).

Rev. Sir Thomas Broughton.

New house, offices, stables, lodges, farm, hothouses 1776-c1800.

E, except hothouses.

Cheshire R.O. Delves Broughton Collection DDB/Q/3. Eleven of  
Wyatt's designs for house, lodges and farm.

\* Doddington Hall. Three plans for the house. Dated 1776  
and signed by Samuel Wyatt & Sir Thomas Broughton.

A.P.S.D.

Sir D.L.Broughton, Records of an Old Cheshire Family (1908).  
Colvin, 735.

E. Croft-Murray, Decorative Painting in England, II, (1970) 259.

J.P.Neale, Views of Seats, V (2nd series) 1829).

G. Richardson, New Vitruvius Britannicus, I (1802)

E. Twycross, Mansions of England & Wales, V (1850)

C. Life, 6 Feb. 1953.

XIX A & B, XX A & B, CIV, CV, CXV.

See Chapter IV, 183-189 and Chapter V, 301.

## 22. Dorfold Hall (Cheshire)

James Tomkinson, Esq.

Alterations including creation of library. 1771. E.

Tatton, Wyatt drawings.

N. Pevsner and E. Hubbard, Cheshire (1971).

C. Life, 31 October 1908.

See Chapter IV, 169-171.

## 23. Dropmore (Buckinghamshire)

William Wyndham, Lord Grenville.

New facade with two bows added to old house 1792-4. E.

\* Cornwall R.O., Fortescue MSS, DDF 259. Wyatt's detailed building accounts and connected correspondence 1794-1802.

Westminster City Library, Gillow MSS, 1116.

J.P. Neale, Views of Seats I, (1818) 31.

N. Pevsner, Buckinghamshire (1960) 112.

G. Life, 11, 18 October 1956.

N.B.R.

Lord Grenville bought Dropmore in 1792. There was no real house on the estate, just a labourer's cottage. The great attraction of the place was the prospect towards Windsor Castle six miles away to the south east. Lord Grenville regarded Dropmore as a modest country retreat rather than a seat. He retained the old cottage and added a new range to the south. This was to house his famous library and to take advantage of the view. Complete building accounts and correspondence between Samuel Wyatt and Lord Grenville survive in the Cornwall Record Office and prove that Wyatt was the architect of the new addition. He also designed Lord Grenville's London house in 1794. Stylistically Dropmore has many similarities to other works by Wyatt. For example the ceiling of the Long Library recalls that of the Dining Room at Culford. The roundels over the bookshelves between the windows are identical to those in the library tribune at Thorndon. Lord Grenville probably met Wyatt at Trinity House. He was made an Elder Brother in 1793, the year that Wyatt's new Trinity House was begun

Dropmore was another of Wyatt's belvedere houses like Hurstmonceaux and Belmont. His new south facade had a plain five bay centre flanked by segmental bows with shallow domes. (The verandahs, west extension and north front were added in the early nineteenth century and do not form part of Wyatt's house.) The interior of the new front was occupied by three splendid rooms, all of which were libraries. The central five bays formed the Long Library. It was Wyatt's most magnificent library interior, with shelves in arched recesses, an elaborately stuccoed ceiling and two marble chimneypieces. It is comparable to his unexecuted design for the great library at Tatton. The two flanking libraries in the bows were treated more simply. The west library had cases in arched recesses like the Long Library, while the east library had recessed shelves all round with rectangular panels above. These contained stucco trophies of musical instruments executed with great delicacy. This whole suite of rooms has an almost French elegance which makes it a counterpart of Henry Holland's contemporary triple library at Woburn. The interior decoration and the facade with ten-cannister bows is typical of Wyatt at his best. Dropmore also exhibits his preoccupation with geometry. The bedroom over the west library is circular, as is a similar bedroom behind one of the bows at Hurstmonceaux. The furniture for Dropmore, as so often in Wyatt's houses, was supplied by Gillows between 1792 and 1794.

24 Dungeness Lighthouse (Kent)

T. W. Coke, Esq. (cr. 1st Earl of Leicester of Holkham 1837)

Completely new lighthouse. 1791 (A)

Trinity House, elevation and section

\* Holkham Hall, Audit Books, Ralph Cauldwell's Accounts 1787-1794  
(Bodleian, MSS Film of above)

Trinity House, By-Minutes 1792

W. Daniell, Voyage Round Great Britain, VII (1824)

John Newman, West Kent and the Weald (1971)

D. A. Stevenson, The World's Lighthouses Before 1820 (1959)

XXI

Wrongly attributed to James Wyatt by Daniell. Only the first two storeys remain, converted into a house.

See Chapter VI, 339-342

25. Egginton Hall (Derbyshire)

Sir Edward Every

Addition of central bow containing circular hall to mid 18th cent. house. Egginton Twin Lodge and an orangery. c1780-83 (D)

\* Egginton, Sir John Every, Every Account Books 1753-1783

Egginton, 19th cent. watercolours and photographs of lodges and orangery

NBR

XXII A B

Wyatt's contribution to Egginton is difficult to unravel as all his work there has been destroyed and the surviving 18th century accounts are not explicit.

The house was a large brick structure of 7 bays by 11 bays. Its predecessor, a Tudor house, had been burnt in 1736. Rebuilding seems not to have begun until mid-century but work was certainly in progress in the 1750s. Judging from old photographs most of the house dated from that time. The accounts show that Sir John Every, who succeeded in 1755, employed 'Benjamin Wyatt and Sons' for building. Samuel Wyatt made his first recorded appearance, aged 21, at Egginton. On 26 May 1758 Sir John 'paid to Mr. Samuel Wyatt towards the payment to be made to 21 June to his father on account of new building £50.' The architect of Egginton at this stage is not known. It may have been William Wyatt.

Between c1780 and 1783 Sir Edward Every undertook further building. The specifically Wyatt features of the house dated from this time, namely the central domed bow of the south front containing a circular entrance hall. The accounts refer to pulling down parts of the old house and to new work, particularly a 'new hall'. In 1782, for instance, there is a payment of £31 for carving the 'Door Case of the new hall Door'. There is also mention of a new staircase. It seems that the 1780s alterations were confined to this new centre to the existing facade. The sums of money expended were mainly small, so were the quantities of materials used. There are several payments to 'Mr. Wyatt on account of planning'. Which Wyatt is not specified but it was probably Samuel. Stylistically the new bow is closer to his work than to that of James. A set of lodges and an orangery built at the same time were also in Samuel Wyatt's manner. The lodges were simple cubes similar to those at Doddington. The orangery was an elegant design with a domed bow and terminating pieces with niches, blank panels and crowning urns.

26. Flamborough Head Lighthouse (East Riding of Yorkshire)

Trinity House Corporation

Completely new lighthouse and lightkeeper's house. 1806 (E)

\* Trinity House, By-Minutes 1805-1806

Court Minutes 1805-1806

W. Daniell, Voyage Round Great Britain, VI (1814) 215

J. Matson, The Kidnapped Youth (1842) 90-98

XXIII

Wrongly attributed to Matson by Colvin and Pevsner.

See Chapter VI, 361-365

27. Foulness Lighthouse (Cromer, Norfolk)

Trinity House Corporation

Reconstruction of the interior to provide accommodation for the lightkeeper and his family. 1793 (D)

Trinity House, Survey drawing of lighthouse 'taken by Mr. Wyatt' 1792

\* Court Minutes 1792-1793

Wyatt surveyed Foulness Lighthouse in 1792. The following year he reconstructed the interior to provide accommodation for the lightkeeper according to a design presented to the Board on 29 March 1793. The cost of these alterations was £584 1. 4.

28. Gravesend (Kent)

Thames tunnel committee

Scheme for the first tunnel under the Thames from Gravesend to Tilbury, 1799 to 1803. Never completed.

\* Birmingham Assay Office, Tew MSS 199, Wyatt to Boulton 1799.  
Birmingham Reference Library, Boulton & Watt Collection, Box 36,  
Wyatt to Boulton & Watt, 20 Dec. 1799

R. P. Cruden, History of Gravesend (1843) 456-465

See Chapter III, 151-155

29. Hackwood Park (Hampshire)

1st Lord Bolton

Total reconstruction of 17th century house, addition of wings  
and portico 1806-1807. Completed by Lewis Wyatt 1807-1825. (E)

\*Hants R.O., Bolton MSS, 11 M49/365-392. Building Accounts  
1805-1825

Mrs. Chrichton, Plas Trefor, Anglesey, C. R. Cockerell, *Ichno-*  
*graphica Domestica* (MSS)

J. Britton and N. Brayley, Ed, Beauties of England and Wales (1805)

C. F. Prossner, Select Illustrations of Hampshire (1833)

C.Life, 17 and 24 May 1914

Bodleian, Gough Maps 10, Fol 52, Hants., Views of Hackwood before  
alteration

XXIV, XXV A, B

Formerly attributed entirely to Lewis Wyatt.

See Chapter IV, 241-244

30. Heathfield House, Handsworth (Staffordshire)

James Watt, Esq.

New house incorporating part of an old one. 1787-1790

Also stables and offices. 1790-1794 (D)

\* Birmingham Reference Library, Boulton & Watt Collection,

- Box M III Designs for the house and outbuildings 1787-94.  
Incomplete building accounts 1789-90  
Box 36 Correspondence between Wyatt and Watt about the  
house 1787-90

Colvin, 735

H. W. Dickinson, James Watt (Cambridge 1936)

Birmingham Reference Library, Box 50, photographs taken in 1901

XXVI A, B

See Chapter III, 123

31. Heaton House (Lancashire)

Sir Thomas Egerton (cr. Lord Grey de Wilton 1784 and Earl of Wilton 1801)

Outbuildings and alterations to James Wyatt's house including  
the Music Room. 1777-1790 (E)

Birmingham Assay Office, Tew MSS, Wyatt to Boulton 1783.

J. Farington, Diary, 27 May 1796 (MS)

I. Hall & T. Clifford, Bicentenary Exhibition Catalogue (Manchester 1972)

J. P. Neale, Views of Seats, I (2nd Series, 1824)

XXVII A, B

See Chapter V, 255

Heaton House was designed by James Wyatt in 1772 and built between then and 1776. In 1777 Samuel Wyatt was called in to design the stables and adjoining farm buildings. The former are nearly identical to those he designed at Penrhyn, Tatton and Somerley. Wyatt was again at Heaton in 1783 when he wrote to Boulton from the house. It is not known what he did then but c1790 he altered the house extensively. According to a portrait

of Lord Wilton painted by James Smith in the 1780s, which depicts the house, there were originally niches behind the colonnades on the south front, as at Castlecoole. Wyatt removed these and inserted floor-length windows. In the east wing he created a new Music Room larger than any of James Wyatt's state rooms at Heaton. The frieze in this room is identical to that in the Drawing Room at Doddington. The organ (made by Samuel Green and dated 1790) has a case similar to an unexecuted design for one at Tatton. These drastic alterations so soon after the original completion of the house were probably occasioned by the decision to enlarge the wings. As first built they were only one room thick and could therefore be lighted from the north. The extra ranges of rooms were added in the early 19th century, probably by Lewis Wyatt. (The chimneys, library, orangery and lodges are also in his style.) Both parts of the reconstructed wings have unusual 'foundations' consisting of brick tunnel vaults resting on iron girders. This is possibly the earliest example of this form of construction. It is similar to Wyatt's brick 'vaulted' foundation at the Albion Mill.

32. Herstmonceux Place (Sussex)

Hare Naylor, Esq.

Additions to house including new south and east fronts, Dismantled Herstmonceux Castle. 1777 (E)

A.P.S.D.

Colvin, 735

\*J. Dallaway, Discourses upon Architecture (1833)

N. Pevsner and I. Nairn, Sussex (1965)

N.B.R.

XXVIII A, B

See Chapter IV, 193-194

33. Holkham Hall (Norfolk)

Thomas William Coke (cr. 1st Earl of Leicester of Holkham 1837)

Estate buildings c1780-1807. Holkham Hall, minor alterations  
and new offices c1803

Norwich Public Library, Colman Collection, Repton Scrap Book,  
unexecuted design for Holkham boat house. Inscribed by Repton  
'Saml. Wyatt's design for Holkham'.

Holkham Hall, Coke MSS H. Repton, Red Book, 1789

\*Household Accounts 1780-92, 1793-1800, 1801-7

\*Francis Crick's Accounts 1789-1814

Audit Books 1775-86, 1787-94, 1795-1803, 1804-7

H. W. Keary, Report on the Holkham Estates  
(2 vols 1851)

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Films of the above.

R. N. Bacon, Report on the Agriculture of Norfolk (1844)

H. W. Stacy, Guide to Holkham (1861)

Mrs. A. M. W. Stirling, Coke of Norfolk and his friends (1908)

(2nd ed. 1912)

A. Young, Ed, Annals of Agriculture, 2 (1784)

19 (1793)

A. Young, Norfolk Agricultural Survey (1804)

R. W. Ketton-Cremer, 'A Repton Scrap Book', C.Life, 9 Nov. 1961, 1143

N.B.R. Holkham Hall, photograph of old stables c1850

XXIX-XXXIX, CVI, CVII, CVIII

At Holkham Hall itself Wyatt was responsible only for minor alterations. He inserted an antique mosaic and inner frame of refined composition ornament ornament into William Kent's over-

mantel in the Long Library. In 1803 he rebuilt the one-storeyed office wing (D) to the east of the house and added the two-storeyed octagonal building (E) containing the alabaster-lined game larder over a brick-vaulted engine house. This contained a horse pump. He also introduced Bramah water closets into the house. What makes Holkham Samuel Wyatt's largest architectural commission are the subsidiary estate buildings designed by him. Between c1780 and his death in 1807 he designed nearly fifty farms, cottages, lodges and other buildings for 'Coke of Norfolk'. They form a considerable portion of Coke's celebrated estate improvements.

Those it has been possible to identify, listed in chronological order, are :

In the park :

Kitchen Garden and Vinery 1780-1786 (E)

St. Withburga's church restored 1784-85 (D). Stucco by Joseph Rose

Church Lodge, 1784-87 (E)

Rose Cottages 1785-87 (A)

North Lodge Cottages c1785 (D)

Cow House with circular yard 1786-87 (D)

New Inn 1786-88 (E)

Unexecuted design for boat house 1789

West Lodge c1790 (E)

Great Barn c1790 (E)

Wells Barn c1790 (D)

Skoyles Barn c1790 (D)

Longlands Farm : Bailiff's House (A), Hexagonal 'Keeping Room' (D),

Extension to Barn (E), Carthorse Stables (E), Hoggery and

Dovecote (D) 1792-1798

Longlands Village (now New Holkham) consisting of 14 cottages

in a semi-circular layout 1794-95 (D)

East Lodge (Palmer's Lodge) 1799-1801 (E). Stucco by Bernasconi  
Octagon Cottage (in Holkham village) 1801-2 (E)  
Scarlow Lodge 1803 (E)  
Wells Lodge 1803-5 (E)  
Branthill Lodge 1805-6 (A)  
6 cottages at Holkham village 1805 (D)  
4 cottages at Holkham village 1806 (D)  
Stables re-modelled and new Riding House 1806-7 (D)

On the estate the following buildings survive and can confidently be attributed to Wyatt :

Kempstone : Kempstone Lodge 1788-93 (E). It cost £1,759 17. 3.

South Creake : Leicester Square Farm. New barn, stables, cow house, House, cottage 1791-93 (E). £2,134 16. 0.

Castle Acre : Wicken Farm. New House and farm buildings 1784-97 (A). £2,249 3. 6.

Lodge Farm. New House and farm buildings 1797-1800 (A).  
£2,604 6. 5.

Wareham : Northgate Farm. New House and farm buildings 1795-99 (E). £1,625 6. 4.

St. Mary's Rectory 1801-3 (E). £2,248 17. 2.

Warren Farm. New front (A)

Wighton : Hall Farm. New House 1803-6 (E). £989 12. 2.

Burnham : Crabhall Farm. New House 1803-7 (A). £2,340 12. 10.

It is probable that there were other farms on the estate designed by Wyatt but because of late 19th century re-buildings it is not now possible to identify them.

See Chapter V, 272-293

34. Hooton Hall (Cheshire)

Sir William Stanley

New House (D), lodges at Childer Thornton (E) 1778-1788

Westminster City Library, Gillow MSS, 334/94

A.P.S.D.

Colvin, 735

D. Lysons, Magna Britannia, II (1808)

J. P. Neale, Views of Seats, V (2nd series 1829)

G. Ormerod, Cheshire, II (1818)

P. Sulley, History of Wirral (1889)

E. Twycross, Mansions of England and Wales IV (1850)

\*W. Watts, Seats (1799) 23

H. Clay, 'Coade's artificial stone', Connoisseur, LXXXII (1928)

Bucks R.O., Drake MSS, D/DR/S/52. sketch plan of Hooton by  
William Drake

XL A,B

Although the house was demolished in 1928 the fine entrance to the park at Childer Thornton survives. It consists of twin lodges flanking a crescent-shaped Ionic colonnade. The lodges have shallow lead domes and inset stone plaques with garlands. Ormerod considered them to be 'the most elegant buildings of the kind which the county can produce'.

See Chapter IV, 190-192

### 35. Hursts Hall (Suffolk)

Charles Long, Esq.

New house, 1803. (D)

J. Britton, Ed, Beauties of England and Wales, XIV (1813) 327

Colvin, 735

\*H. Davy, Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen in Suffolk (1827)

This design was the ultimate expression of Wyatt's pre-occupation with bows. The principal facade was composed entirely of three bows. The plan was similar to that at Culford in the same county. The principal rooms were arranged around a central staircase. The vanished interior was probably of high quality. The author of Beauties of England and Wales speaks of 'a Handsome geometrical staircase' and states that 'the whole interior of the mansion is fitted up with taste and elegance'.

See Chapter IV, 237-8

36. Ightham Court Lodge (Kent)

Col. Richard James

Restoration 1801-7 (E)

Kent R.O., USS/E9, Description of Work to be done at Ightham Lodge  
USS/E11, Richard James's Accounts c1800-1810

John Newman, West Kent and the Weald, (1969)

C.Life 26 June 1958

As in the case of Wrotham Rectory this was probably a commission that Samuel Wyatt owed to the recommendation of his son-in-law, the Rev. Thomas Cobb who was the Rector of Ightham. Ightham Court was a small mid 16th century house. The whole of the interior was re-modelled in a very plain style and certain modifications made to the exterior between 1801 and 1807. Only one bill and a description of the work to be done survive. The bill is to Samuel Wyatt for slate skirting. This make it

likely that he was the architect responsible for the alterations. There had been a bad outbreak of rot and this made it necessary to destroy most of the old interior. The 'description' refers to removing 'all parts affected by rot' and to washing 'with a preparation prepared by the surveyor'. Outside the old chimneys and gables were removed and 'metal composition' sashes inserted in the windows. The use of rot-resistant materials such as slate skirting and metal sashes shows the repairs were undertaken for practical and not aesthetic reasons. Colonel James obviously considered the work a conservative restoration and insisted that all repairs to the external brickwork 'be performed with old bricks and worked to answer the old work as near as possible'. So there was not much scope for Wyatt to express his own style. The only feature that speaks definitely of his hand is the little central clock turret dated 1801.

37. Kedleston (Derbyshire)

Nathaniel, Lord Scarsdale

Pedestal for statue of lion on south lawn. 1766 (E)

Rebuilt the rectory, keeping the old façade. 1771 (E)

\*Kedleston, Curzon MSS, Wyatt to Lord Scarsdale, Shrove Tuesday 1766

Wyatt's contract for rebuilding the parsonage 1771

Lichfield, Diocesan R.O., Wyatt's contract and plan for rebuilding the parsonage 1771

XLI A B

The pedestal is Wyatt's earliest known design. It was executed while he was employed as Clerk of Works at Kedleston under Robert Adam in 1766. Later at Kedleston he rebuilt the parsonage. That was a case of re-erecting the façade to its original design and not a new design of his own. The old rectory,

situated in the park between the house and the bridge, had been newly fronted in 1761. Ten years later Lord Scarsdale decided to remove it completely like the rest of the village. Wyatt rebuilt it on the west side of the park, keeping the old façade, but to a new plan and with new offices.

See Chapter I, 5-17

38. Kinmel Park (Derbyshire)

Rev. Edward Hughes

New house. 1790-1802 (D)

\*Bangor, university library, Kinmel MSS, Elevation and plan (lost at the time of writing)

Kinmel MSS, 1492, Receipt of payment of £230 to Richard Sillitoe for supervising the building work between 1791 and 1802

Westminster City Library, Gillow MSS, 1797

A.P.S.D.

Colvin, 736

E. Pugh, Cambria Depicta (1816) 381

R. Fenton, 'Tours in Wales 1804-1813', Archeologia Cambrensis 17 (1917)

C.Life, 4 and 11 September 1969

Plas Kinmel. Drawing of Hopper's house showing Wyatt's façade retained as an end.

Edward Hughes bought the Kinmel estate for £42,000 in 1786. He had risen from obscure origins to be one of the richest landowners in north Wales. This was a result of exploitation of the Parys Mountain copper mine on land brought to him by his wife

on the Isle of Anglesey. He had developed his resources in partnership with a local lawyer and businessman, Thomas Williams. Together they formed the Parys Mine Company in 1774. Williams was a friend and patron of Wyatt's. He probably recommended Wyatt as an architect to his partner when the latter decided to build a new country house in 1790. Not that Wyatt needed to be recommended personally to Hughes. The fact that he was the architect of the two most important recent country houses in that part of north Wales would have been advertisement enough. Wyatt did not supervise the building himself. The actual construction was entrusted to a local architect, Richard Sillitoe. He lived at Kinnel for eleven years from 1791 to 1802. It is probable that the house was designed the year before building began. Materials were acquired in 1790. In that year, for instance, Edward Hughes bought 1,302½ feet of oak timber.

The house was a typical example of Wyatt's villa plan. The main 5-bay façade had a shallow bow crowned by a flat dome. It was flanked by tripartite windows under blank arches. Over the ground-floor windows were rectangular panels with festoons. Nothing is known about the interior. It was probably lavishly decorated. Edward Hughes was very rich and Fenton recorded that Biagio Rebecca was employed for several years 'painting classic decorations' in the house. Gillows supplied furniture in 1803. Wyatt's internal work was destroyed by fire in 1841. Part of his exterior was kept by Hopper. All trace of Wyatt's work, however, was swept away in the palatial rebuilding by Neufield between 1871 and 1874.

39. Lambeth (Surrey), St Mary's Church

vicar and Churchwardens of St Mary's

New porch at west end, new seating, repairs and an unexecuted design for new vestries flanking the chancel. 1786-1787 (D)

G.L.C. Record Office, Surrey Archdeaconry Records, St Mary's Lambeth.  
\*DW/OP/1787/2 Samuel Wyatt's two plans (one of ground and one of gallery level) for improving the church. Signed and dated 6 July 1786.

G.L.C. Record Office, Surrey Archdeaconry Records, St Mary's Lambeth.  
DW/OP/1789/1 Samuel Wyatt's estimate for the alterations.

DW/OP/1786/2 Vestry Minutes 17 August 1786.

DW/OB/9 Muniment Book 1787-1791, p7, Copy of faculty allowing alterations.

Colvin, 735

London Survey, XXIII (1951) 107

J. Tanswell, History and Antiquities of Lambeth (1858) 107

St Mary's church was increasingly incapable of seating its expanding congregation in the 1780s. The churchwardens consulted 'Mr. Samuel Wyatt, an eminent architect' and asked him to alter the church to accommodate an enlarged congregation. Wyatt produced plans and an estimate for this in July 1786. In order to extend the seating it was necessary to make a new entrance to the church, add new vestries, move the pulpit, the font and organ and to rebuild the communion rails; also to move the west screen and sink the Lee tombs into the floor. This made it possible to extend the pews at the east and west ends of the nave and aisles. The two galleries were also extended at the east end.

Wyatt made the new vestry and wardrobe flanking the chancel an optional extra. With them his alterations were estimated to cost £1,500 and without, £1,150. It was decided to execute all his alterations except the vestries. A faculty for this was

received from the Bishop of Winchester in 1787 and the work executed immediately. Wyatt's main addition to the church was the new west porch. It was of brick stuccoed. Tanswell (who dated it wrongly 1778 rather than 1787) called it a handsome Gothic portal. Its Gothic character can not have been very pronounced, however, as Wyatt's estimate refers to it having a wooden pediment.

All Wyatt's work at the church was swept away in the reconstruction by P. C. Hardwick in 1851-2.

40. Little Grove, East Barnett (Hampshire)

Hon. Justice Willes

Stuccoed the exterior of the house. 1779 (D)

\*Bryan Higgins, Calcaceous Cement (1780) 214-215

Higgins recorded that Wyatt stuccoed the south and east sides of Little Grove in September and October 1779. It is possible that Wyatt built the house at that time. It has been demolished and seems to be unrecorded so no definite attribution can be made.

41. Livermere Park (Suffolk)

Nathaniel Lee Acton, Esq.

Reconstruction and addition of wings to an early 18th century house. 1795-1796 (D)

West Suffolk R.O., Acc 2285, Wage Book of the De Carles 1790-1811  
Lord de Saumarez, Shrubland Park, H. Repton, Red Book c1791

J. P. Neale, Views of Seats, IV (1821)

N. Scarfe, Suffolk Shell Guide (1960)

C.Life, 26 Nov. 1953, Photograph of Green Room at Shrubland Park showing chimneypiece from Livermere.

3 Dec. 1953, Photograph of painting of the early 18th century house.

West Suffolk R.O., Acc 2131, 19th century sketch of Livermere  
436/91/1-13, Photographs of the house c1913

There is no documentary proof that Wyatt was the architect of the reconstruction of Livermere in 1795 and 1796. My attribution is based on stylistic grounds. The proximity of Culford, which Wyatt had redesigned between 1790 and 1794, would explain how he received the Livermere commission. The existing house was red brick and H-shaped. Wyatt added flanking wings and filled the recess on the south front with a bow similar to that at Baron Hill. The new work was built of white woolpit brick. The old house was clad in matching mathematical tiles, as at Culford. Externally Wyatt's work was restrained. There were no Coade plaques nor did the bow have a dome. The only relief was provided by tripartite windows under segmental arches at the ends of the wings and the attached Ionic pilasters and pediment on the south front. Many of the older interiors were retained. The drawing room behind the bow, however, was entirely Wyatt's. The decoration was of the highest quality. The ceiling was covered with elaborate stucco work. The chimneypiece was of white marble with opulent ormolu mounts similar to contemporary ones at Shugborough and Trinity House. (It is now in the Green Room at Shrubland Park.) On the north front Wyatt added quadrants of widely spaced Tuscan columns to connect the house with flanking stable blocks. They were re-faced at the same time. As at Culford the masonry was executed by the De Carles of Bury St. Edmunds.

42. London : 2 Adam St, Adelphi

Thomas Williams, Esq.

Alterations to house by Robert Adam including lengthening the first-floor windows and putting up a continuous balcony. c1790 (D)

T. Malton print 1795

N.B.R.

XLII

This house in the east pavilion of the Adelphi overlooking the Thames was acquired by Thomas Williams in 1789. Williams was a constant friend and patron of Wyatt's. For example, he, with Matthew Boulton, had acted as Wyatt's proposer for membership of the Royal Society the previous year. Wyatt designed his country house and also the Market House at Marlow, his parliamentary constituency. It was natural, therefore, that Williams should turn to Wyatt to alter his London house. There is no record of the work on the interior. It is clear from old illustrations, however, that Wyatt, as was his custom, lengthened the first-floor windows and put up a continuous balcony with characteristic anthemion balustrade. This replaced Adam's three little window balconies. This change was regrettable. It was the first of those alterations that in the 19th century were to ruin the symmetry of Adam's great composition causing it to be undervalued and eventually demolished.

43. London : the Albion Mill

Albion Mill Company

Steam flour mill. 1784-6 (D)

Abortive plans for re-building 1791, 1795 and 1802

- \*Birmingham Reference Library, Boulton & Watt Collection, Steam  
Boat Box, Detailed designs for the  
mill 1783-7, 1802
- Public Record Office, MR99 & MPD 128, Designs for rebuilding the mill 1791  
MR98 & MPD 124, " " " " " 1795
- Birmingham Assay Office, Tew MSS, Correspondence between Wyatt and  
Boulton & Watt concerning the mill
- Birmingham Reference Library, Boulton & Watt Collection, Correspondence  
between Wyatt and Boulton & Watt
- A.P.S.D.  
Colvin, 735
- S. Smiles, Lives of the Engineers, II (1862)
- A. D. Insull, The Albion Mill Story, B.A.(Hons) thesis, University  
of Nottingham (1955)
- J. Mosse, The Albion Mill, History thesis, Archit. Assoc. (1963)  
'The Albion Mill', Transactions of the Newcomer Soc. (1971) 47-56
- A. W. Skempton, 'The Albion Mill Foundations', Geotechnique 21  
No.3 (1971) 203-10  
'Samuel Wyatt & the Albion Mill', Architectural  
History XIV (1971) 53-73
- O. A. Westworth, 'The Albion steam flour mill', Economic History  
II (1932) 380-395
- Guildhall Library, PR 52/ALB, Contemporary prints of the mill

There is no evidence whatsoever for the A.P.S.D. statement  
that James Wyatt was involved with his brother in the Albion Mill  
project.

See Chapter III, 129-143, 156-158

44. London : 63 Berwick St

Samuel Wyatt, Esq.

Alterations to the interior. (D)

\*London Survey, XXXI (1963) 233, and XXXII (1963)

This was Samuel Wyatt's own house between 1774 and 1803. He made several minor alterations during his tenancy including inserting a typical sideboard apse in the Dining Room and a new chimneypiece in another room.

#### 45. London Bridge

House of Commons Committee of Enquiry

Unexecuted design for a cast-iron bridge. 1800

\*Parliamentary Papers, Reports of the House of Commons 1792-1802, XIV, Report on London Bridge, 28 July 1800, 543-546

Several eminent architects and engineers were asked for designs for a new London Bridge. Three of these, including Wyatt and Telford, submitted proposals for cast-iron bridges. This led to an important discussion of the rival merits of iron and stone bridges. The report of the committee was not acted on immediately and the plans for a new bridge lapsed until after 1820.

See Chapter III, 148-150

#### 46. London, Chelsea Royal Hospital

The Governors of Chelsea Royal Hospital

Construction of new drains and installation of Bramah W.C.s. 1798 (D)

Creation of ante room to State Room in Governor's Lodging 1800 (E)

Unexecuted plan for new accommodation for 300 pensioners on site of the Governor's Garden 1805.

\*Public Record Office, AO3 622-628, Chelsea Hospital Accounts,  
1792-1798

Chelsea Royal Hospital MSS (not available for public inspection)

Copy Book of Instructions 1692

\* Minutes Book

C. G. T. Dean, The Royal Hospital (1950)

See Chapter VI, 370-372

47. London : 4 Cleveland Row (Stornoway House)

William Wyndham, Lord Grenville

New house. 1794-1796 (A)

\*Cornwall Record Office, Fortescue MSS, DDF.259. Design for railings, complete building accounts, correspondence, copy of Wyatt's building contract, policy of assurance 1797.

G.L.C. Record Office, Stowe MSS, 528. Copy of Wyatt's contract for building the house.

London Survey, XXX (1960) 506, 508, 509

Wyatt had a large London practice but most of his work there consisted of alterations and additions to existing buildings. Lord Grenville's house was one of the few cases where he cleared the site and built a completely new house. Wyatt submitted designs and a building estimate for the house to Lord Grenville on 24 June 1794. Lord Grenville obtained a long lease of the site from the Crown in July and construction was completed by 1796. The house cost £5,600. The building contract gives a clear impression of the original appearance of the house before nineteenth-century alterations. It had two façades at right angles. That towards Cleveland Row was 78 feet wide and that

facing Green Park was 53 feet wide. The external facing of the house was of 'malm stock bricks' executed 'in the best manner'. The principal external feature was the large asymmetrical bow facing the park. Originally this front had a continuous balcony at first-floor level with the usual anthemion balustrade. (This railing now protects the area, having been put there when the exterior was made Italianate in the mid nineteenth century.) The interior had the standard London plan with library and dining room on the ground floor and two interconnecting drawing rooms on the first floor.

The internal finishing was neat but not elaborate. All the ceilings were plain and only the cornices were 'enriched'. The walls were papered except in the Dining Room which had stucco panels and the Library which had fitted bookcases to Wyatt's design. This was the standard system of wall treatment found in Wyatt's houses, both in London and in the country. Only the Staircase Hall was more flamboyantly decorated with a screen of scagliola columns at first-floor level. The emphasis given to the staircase is typical of the work of both James and Samuel Wyatt. Another characteristic feature was the ample provision of water closets; there was one on each floor.

48. London : Davies St

Assheton Curzon, Esq.

Work of unidentified extent. 1778 (D)

\*Bryan Higgins, Calcaceous Cement (1780) 214-215

According to Higgins Wyatt stuccoed the basement of this house to represent 'a very course stone' in November 1778. This was presumably just part of Wyatt's work for Mr Curzon. Curzon was a younger brother of Lord Scarsdale of Kedleston

and would have known Wyatt from the time when he was clerk of works at Kedleston in the 1760s. In 1769 William and Samuel Wyatt had built an addition to Curzon's house in Staffordshire, Hagley Hall, to James Wyatt's design.

49. London : 43 Grosvenor Square, Petre House

Lord Petre

Large-scale reconstruction and additions. 1801-6 (D)

\*Essex R.O., Petre MSS, D/DP A177, Town House Accounts 1801-1803,  
1803-1806

This was one of Wyatt's most important commissions in London. His work at Lord Petre's house amounted to a total reconstruction. The façade to the square was retained but altered in the usual Wyatt manner. The first-floor windows were lengthened and a continuous balcony put up outside them. The balcony was structurally interesting as it was of slate supported on 12 iron cantilevered brackets. The back of the house was demolished and rebuilt to include an apsed end to the library and new offices. The interior was completely redecorated in a lavish style using the team of workmen whom he always employed after 1800, including Francis Bernasconi for stucco work, Cornelius Dixon for ornamental painting, John Mackell for iron work, Joseph Bramah for water closets, Samuel Aldron for chimneypieces and Underwood and Doyle for the staircase railing. No illustrations of the splendid interior survive but the building accounts give some idea of its appearance. The staircase hall rose into a dome probably like that at Lichfield House. The Dining Room had ornamental 'pillasters' probably painted by Cornelius Dixon. The Library had brass inlaid mahogany bookcases designed by Wyatt to fit

the curve of its apsed walls. He also provided two mahogany and brass side tables to match. This is the only occasion where items of furniture apart from looking glasses are included in his accounts. The whole of Wyatt's work for Lord Petre in Grosvenor Square cost £9,987 10. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ .

50. London : 10 Grosvenor Square

Dowager Lady Petre

Alterations and repairs. 1801-3 (D)

\*Essex R.O., Petre MSS, D/DP A177, Statement of Account between Lord Petre and the late Sam. Wyatt. September 1807.

The Petre-Wyatt account includes a bill for unspecified 'work done at Dowager Lady Petre's house in Grosvenor Square' between 27 June 1801 and 8 Jan. 1803. It amounted to £1,988 9. 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ .

51. London : Isle of Dogs

Committee of Enquiry into the state of London Docks

Unexecuted design for new London Docks without warehouses. 1795

\*P.R.O., Maps, MPD40, MPD60. Samuel Wyatt's plans for London Docks. Birmingham Assay Office, Tew MSS.

Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons Report 1795 to 1796, 47, 155-63

Bodleian, Gough Maps, E f, 54, 60, 61<sup>6</sup>, Prints of Wyatt's plans for London docks.

See Chapter III. 144-147

52. London : Manchester Square

An unidentified 'gentleman'.

Well in the garden of the square. 1786

\*Birmingham Assay Office, Tew MSS, Wyatt to Boulton, 1 Sept. 1788

'About two years ago I sank a well in Manchester Square for a gentleman who was determined to have pure crystal water ... we dug 90 feet deep in a dry solid clay after which we bored with a 3in. luger about 20 feet when the spring rose 60 feet higher in the space of 70 minutes.'

53. London : 29 Old Burlington St

Sir John Call

Extensive alterations including semi-circular porch. c1785

\*London Survey XXXI and XXXII (1963)

Sir John Call, the distinguished military engineer, acquired 29 Old Burlington St in 1785. This was the fine palladian house that Lord Burlington had designed for General Wade. It had a reputation for inconvenience. Sir John Call carried out several improvements to the interior and altered the exterior. His architect was certainly Samuel Wyatt. The style of the additions of which illustrations survive leave no doubt about this. Sir John Call was a friend of Wyatt's and one of the most loyal of the Albion Mill proprietors. The exact date of Wyatt's work is not known. It was completed before 1792 when the new porch is shown on Horwood's map and was probably commenced soon after Call acquired the house in 1785. The nature of Wyatt's internal alterations is not known.

Externally Wyatt did not tamper with Lord Burlington's west facade except to substitute his own type of tripartite window for the conventional Venetian window in the centre.

The street facade which was a plain affair was considerably altered by Wyatt. He faced it in stucco and relieved its austerity by adding a charming semi-circular porch. This contained a circular vestibule. The exterior of the porch was faced in stucco, had attached Ionic columns and was capped with a half saucer-dome.

On Sir John Call's death in 1801 the house was acquired by the Marquess Cornwallis, another of Wyatt's patrons. It is possible that he may have executed further alterations then.

54. London : 15 Park St

1st Lord Harrowby

Considerable internal alterations. 1774-76 (D)

Sandon Hall, Harrowby MSS, 334 Cash Accounts 1763-1775

\* 337 " " 1775-1777

The account books record much building work between 1774 and 1776 at Park St. including the re-modelling of the hall and dining parlour. Samuel Wyatt was paid £20 in December 1776 for no specified reason. As he was not consulted about alterations to Sandon Hall until 1777 it seems reasonable to assume that this payment was for designing the alterations at Park St. The craftsmen employed were those who often worked for him, including Duval the mason, Van Gelder the sculptor, Machell the smith, and Joseph Rose the plasterer. The last of these was paid £114 for stucco work.

55. London : 3 St James' Square

Earl of Hardwicke

Alterations including enlarging the windows and putting up a balcony at first-floor level, 1806 (D)

\*Correspondence including letters from Andrew Barnard, from Lady Hardwicke and from Samuel Wyatt containing two estimates, all concerned with the alterations to Lord Hardwicke's house in St James' Square. Auctioned at Sotheby's 1966 - present whereabouts unknown.

London Survey, XXIX (1960) 83-88

The correspondence refers to splaying the windows of the eating parlour and putting up a first-floor balcony. One of the letters from Andrew Barnard amusingly describes Wyatt's astute business methods : '... Wyatt says that he is willing to undertake the alterations and repairs which you propose making but he will not contract for anything as he says he might form his estimate too low and by that means be a loser, which he is determined not to be (in this I put implicit belief) ... I also requested him to give you an idea of what the whole would amount to. I do not expect he will comply with my request, as he is as cunning as a fox and will hold the power in his hands of charging nearly what he pleases ...'

56. London : 15 St James' Square (Lichfield House)

Thomas Anson (cr. 1st Viscount Anson 1806)

Complete reconstruction of the interior, rear additions, lengthening the first-floor windows and putting up a balcony on the Square facade, 1791-4. (E)

\*Staffs R.O., Anson MSS, D 615/E(H)59, Summary of craftsmen's bills 1794

\*Lichfield House, MSS of Clerical, Medical & General Life Assurance, Individual craftsmen's bills

London Survey, XXIX (1960) 148-53

N.B.R.

XLIII, XLIV, XLV, XLVI

This is Wyatt's only surviving London interior. It represents his decorative style at its most glittering and makes the loss of his other town houses a matter for regret. Lichfield House had been built between 1763 and 1766 by 'Athenian' Stuart. Wyatt remodelled it in the way that he was later to do at Lord Petre's house in Grosvenor Square. The work at Lichfield House was much more lavish than that. The total cost was £17,906 10. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ . Stuart's fine front was preserved but the first-floor windows were lengthened and a balcony put up. The back of the house was demolished. Apses were added to the back rooms of the main block and an L-shaped wing added behind. The plan of the new wing was a good example of Wyatt's geometrical expertise. Both the two right angles were arranged so that the apsed ends of the rooms neatly fitted against each other like bones into sockets. The interior was considerably embellished. Some of Stuart's chimneypieces and stucco friezes were retained but the walls and ceilings were so overlaid with Wyatt's delicate scrolling decoration as to create something that was entirely his own. An atmosphere of the greatest richness was aimed at and achieved, particularly in the two first-floor drawing rooms. The front drawing room was fitted with large looking glasses and painted pilaster strips by Cornelius Dixon. The ceiling, basically Stuart's, received additional stucco by Joseph Rose and small painted panels by Biagio Rebecca. The ceiling in the back drawing room is entirely Wyatt's with rich stucco work by Rose and panels painted by Rebecca. The staircase hall was also entirely remodelled by Wyatt. He gave it a magnificent plaster dome with eagles in the pendentives and

stucco draperies in the tympana. This was a design that he repeated on a larger scale at Culford Hall in Suffolk.

The decoration throughout the house, including the beautiful ormolu door furniture, is of the highest quality. It represents the swansong of this kind of Adamesque decoration which was to end soon with the deaths of many of the craftsmen who produced it, particularly that of Joseph Rose in 1799.

57. London : Spring Gardens

Work of unknown character, before c1776. (D)

\*A folio of accounts for Spring Gardens is shown in the background of Wyatt's portrait by L. F. Abbott.

58. London : Trinity House

Trinity House Corporation

New Trinity House (E) and Ballast Office (D). 1792-1797

\*Trinity House MSS, Complete set of 247 drawings covering every detail of the new building.

\*Trinity House MSS, Samuel Wyatt's Account Book for building the new Trinity House 1792-1796.

Trinity House cash book 1790-1800

Court Minutes 1790-1797

By-Minutes 1792-1806

J. Farington, Diary, 638, Friday, 27 May 1796 (MSS)

Exhibited at the Royal Academy 1794

R. Ackermann, Microcosm of London, III (1811) 201

A.P.S.D.

Colvin, 735

H. Mead, Trinity House (1947) 153

G. Richardson, New Vitruvius Britannicus, I(1802) 723-25

C. L. Stieglitz, Plans et Dessins (Paris 1801)

C.Life, 26 April 1919, 22 Oct. 1955

N.B.R.

Trinity House, contemporary prints (including Malton view 1799)

XLVII, XLVIII, XLIX

See Chapter VI, 342-351

59. London : Trinity Square

Commissioners for the Improvement of Tower Hill

Laid out area between Trinity House and the Tower as an irregular square with a central oval lawn. 1797 (A)

\*Trinity House MSS. Coloured plan

P.R.O., M.P. H259, Tower of London copy of the design signed and dated.

\*Trinity House MSS, Court Minutes 1790-97

The story is best told in the Trinity House minutes entry for 2 June 1796 :

'The Committee for building the new Trinity House acquainted the court that it was proposed by the inhabitants of Tower Hill to enter into subscription for application to be made to Parliament for improving paving and lighting the same which has been approved by Marquess Cornwallis the Constable of the Tower.' Trinity House Corporation agreed to contribute £500 to the scheme. A plan was procured from Samuel Wyatt and with parliamentary approval it was carried into execution in 1797. The basic layout with the oval central area remains today though embellished

by many later additions such as Lutyens' war memorial.

60. London : 6 Upper Brook St

William Weddell, Esq.

Possible alterations to an early 18th century house. c1790 (D)

\*Leeds, Yorkshire Archeological Society Library, Paine Gallery  
Coll. PD 94, Box 2, Sir Thomas Frankland's notebook

The only evidence for alterations by Wyatt to Weddell's house lies in a note of Sir Thomas Frankland. Under a pencil sketch of a sash fastener, which presumably he wished to install at Thirkleby, he wrote, 'At Mr. Weddell's in Brook St. from Sam. Wyatt'. Among the Newby Hall designs in the Pennington-Ramsden Papers in the Cumberland Record Office is a design for Mrs. Weddell's Dressing Room signed 'S.W.'. This may be connected with Weddell's London house.

61. London : Westminster Hall

H.M. Office of Works

Temporary re-arrangement of the interior as court for the trial of Warren Hastings. 1787-1788 (D)

Trinity House, Wyatt Drawings, Design for arrangement of tiered benches and throne in Westminster Hall.

Birmingham, Assay Office, Tew MSS, Wyatt to Boulton, 26 Dec. 1787

\*P.R.O., Works 5/77, Accounts 12, Extra at Westminster, March 1788

See Chapter VI, 312-313

62. Longships Lighthouse (Cornwall)

Trinity House Corporation

Design of new lighthouse, 1792. Alterations to lantern and new sea marks, 1795.

Trinity House, Court Minutes 1790-95

By-Minutes 1792-95

Cash Book 1795

W. Daniell, Voyage Round Great Britain, I (1814) 6

\*D. A. Stevenson, The World's Lighthouses before 1820 (1959) 65

See Chapter VI, 356-359

63. Lutterworth Rectory (Leicestershire)

The Hon. & Rev. Henry Ryder

New Rectory. 1803 (E)

\*Lincolnshire R.O., M.G.A. 39, Complete designs, building estimate and receipts, 1803

City Library, Leicester, aerial photograph

Henry Ryder was the youngest son of Lord Harrowby of Sandon (Staffordshire) for whom Wyatt had done a considerable amount of work. Henry Ryder became Rector of Lutterworth in 1801. The existing parsonage was in poor condition and he asked Wyatt to survey it. Wyatt reported that it was 'in such a delapidated and ruinous condition ... it should be pulled down and the materials that are sound and serviceable to be used in rebuilding a new house.' Wyatt was accordingly commissioned to prepare plans and an estimate for a new house in April 1803. These exist and as the estimate is his most complete to survive it is

printed in full as Appendix I to illustrate his building methods.

The house was built rapidly and was completed by November 1803. The total cost was £2,000 but from this was deducted the value of materials re-used from the old house which amounted to £150. The money for the new house was lent by Lord Harrowby on a mortgage. The house was completed exactly according to Wyatt's plans. It is a plain building. The 5-bay garden front is without any decoration at all and the only marked architectural feature is the pedimented porch with stone Doric columns on the entrance front.

The office wing was truncated after the last war but otherwise the house remains unaltered.

64. Marble Hill House (Surrey)

2nd Earl of Buckinghamshire

Minor repairs and alterations. 1781-1783 (E)

\*Norfolk R.O., Hobart MSS 21089, Estimate and letter from Samuel Wyatt  
M. Draper and W. A. Eden, Marble Hill (1970)

In 1781 Samuel Wyatt delivered an estimate for work at Marble Hill which included repairs to the pantiled roof, replacing tiles on the pediments with slates, painting the stucco with a stone-coloured wash and replacing the offices. He was paid £100 a month later. In 1783 he wrote to Lord Buckingham advocating the addition of a semi-circular bow 'in preference to the angular one as it will be more graceful in appearance and give more space to the room.' This was not executed.

65. Marlow Market House (Buckinghamshire)  
(now the 'Crown Inn')

Thomas Williams, Esq.

Market House. 1806-1807 (E)

Colvin, 736

\*T. Langley, Hundred of Desborough (1797)

H. M. Colvin, 'Architectural History of Marlow', Records of Buckinghamshire, XV (1947)

N.B.R.

L A

Langley says that 'a new market house is intended to be erected by the liberality of Thomas Williams Esq. after an elegant design of Mr. Wyatt'. As Samuel had done so much for Thomas Williams it is almost certain that he was the Wyatt referred to. The design is a neat 3-bay affair with blank panels over the piano nobile windows and Tuscan pilasters. The segmental arches on the ground floor were originally open. It is a typical Wyatt design but looks as if it was erected by a local builder.

66. Marston House (Somerset)

Earl of Cork and Orrery

Alterations of an unidentifiable nature. c1776 (D)

\*One of the account books in the portrait by L. F. Abbott is for Marston House.

N. Pevsner, North Somerset & Bristol (1958) 224

This house was almost entirely rebuilt in 1857 so it is

not possible to disentangle Wyatt's contribution. A date 1776 on a drainwater spout possibly refers to his alterations. The interior of the house was totally reconstructed in the mid-nineteenth century and it is possible that any work of Wyatt's was swept away then.

67. Moveable Hospitals for H.M. Distant Possessions

H.M. Treasury

Pre-fabricated wooden buildings 83 feet long and 20 feet wide.

1787 (D)

\*Birmingham Assay Office, Tew MSS, Wyatt to Boulton, 10 and 26  
Dec. 1787, April 1788

See Chapter VI, 323-324

68. Needles Lighthouse (Isle of Wight)

Trinity House Corporation

Re-leaded gallery floor. 1795

Re-cased exterior in Parker's cement. 1806

\*Trinity House, Court Minutes 6 August 1795

By-Minutes 13 March 1806

Wyatt carried out repairs at Needles Lighthouse on two separate occasions. In 1795 he re-leaded the gallery floor which was leaking and in 1806 stuccoed the whole of the exterior in Parker's Cement.

69. Panshanger (Hertfordshire)

Peter, 5th Earl Cowper

Large addition to old house. 1806-7 (D)

\*Herts R.O., Cowper MSS, Panshanger Box 49. Samuel Wyatt's  
building Account

Acc.1287 H. Repton, Red Book for Panshanger (1800)

H. Prinie, 'The Changing Landscape of Panshanger', Transactions  
of the East Herts Architectural Society, XIV (1955-57)

C.Life, 11 and 18 Jan. 1936

Herts R.O., D/EP T24 05B, Hertingfordbury 8, Views of Panshanger  
H. G. Oldfield, Views in Herts., c1794-1803 (MSS)

N.B.R.

See Chapter IV, 244-247

70. Penrhyn Castle (Caernarvonshire)

Richard Pennant (cr. 1st Lord Penrhyn 1783)

Reconstruction of the Castle (D), new Stables (D), Lime Grove (E),  
Estate cottages (D), Entrance gate in the form of a triumphal  
arch (D). 1782 onwards.

National Library of Wales, MSS 821C. T. Pennant, Tours in Wales,  
III, 90 (MS copy), signed elevation by  
Wyatt for west front of Penrhyn.

\*Lady Janet Douglas Pennant, album of Wyatt's designs for Penrhyn 1782

R.I.B.A. Library, Lewis Wyatt, Book of Designs (incomplete and  
never published)

A.P.S.D.

John Britton, Ed, Beauties of England & Wales XVII (1812) 448-457

Colvin, 735

E. Pugh, Cambria Depicta (1816)

R.C.A.M., Caernarvonshire, III (1964)

P. B. William, County of Caernarvon (1821)

R. Fenton, 'Tours in Wales 1804-1813', Archeologia Cambrensis  
17 (1917)

C.Life, 14 July 1953

L B - LIV

See Chapter IV, 195-198 and Chapter V, 265-269

71. Portland, Low Lighthouse (Dorset)

Trinity House Corporation

Re-pointed the lighthouse. 1792

\*Trinity House, Court Minutes 6 Sept. 1792

Cash Book 8 Dec. 1792

Although only completed in 1789 Portland Lighthouse was already failing to keep the water out in 1792. In September of that year Wyatt and Captain Reed (one of the Elder Brethren) travelled to Portland 'to survey the defects in the Low Lighthouse'. Wyatt presented his report on 6 September outlining the 'necessary remedies to prevent the wet getting in', namely raking out the old mortar and repointing the lighthouse.

72. Portsmouth (Hants), Royal Dockyard, Admiral Superintendent's  
House

The Navy Board

Alterations including a new staircase. c1784 (E)

No connected documentary material seems to survive.

N. Pevsner & D. Lloyd, Hampshire (1967)

N.B.R.

LV

The early 18th century house was altered in the late 18th century when a new staircase was made. This has a balustrade with anthemion strips, a design which only occurs in Wyatt's work. As he was frequently at Portsmouth at this time, either on Victualling Office business or in connection with the Commissioner's House it seems reasonable to attribute the alteration of this house to him.

73. Portsmouth (Hants), Royal Dockyard, Commissioner's House  
(now Admiralty House)

The Navy Board and Commissioner Martin.

New House. 1784-1785 (E)

\*Greenwich, Maritime Museum Library. Letters and accounts.

Birmingham Assay Office, Tew MSS. Wyatt to Boulton

A.P.S.D.

Colvin, 735

N. Pevsner & D. Lloyd, Hampshire (1967)

G. Richardson, New Vitruvius Britannicus, II (1808)

J. Rickman, Ed, Life of Thomas Telford (1838)

C.Life, 2 and 9 April 1964

N.B.R.

LVI - LIX

See Chapter VI, 332-338

74. Portsmouth (Hants) Victualling Yard

Victualling Office.

New Storehouses. 1782 (D)

Moveable wooden 'offal shed' on iron wheels. 1782 (D)

\*P.R.O., ADM 111/87 and 89, Victualling Office Minutes 1781-82

Minor wooden buildings designed and built under Samuel Wyatt's direction as carpenter to the Office.

See Chapter VI, 314-315

75. Ramsgate Harbour (Kent)

Trustees of Ramsgate Harbour.

Lighthouse 1794-5, Harbour Master's House, Stores, gateway, lodges, 'piazzas' 1794-7, Pier House 1800-1802, minor repairs, alterations, fortification, unexecuted designs for workshops 1799, road, storehouses and dry dock 1806. (D)

\*Ramsgate Public Library, Local History Collection, Wyatt's plans and elevations for lighthouse, storehouses, workshops and dry dock.

Trinity House, Wyatt's plan and elevation for the lighthouse.

\*P.R.O., MT 22/32-34, Ramsgate Harbour Minutes Book 1792-1806.

Kent R.O., KAO, U224, 21, 'Short account of facts relative to Ramsgate Harbour' (MS)

W. Daniell, Voyage Round Great Britain, VII (1824) 12

John Smeaton, Historical Report on Ramsgate Harbour (1791)

Sir John Rennie, Theory, Formation and Construction of British and Foreign Harbours, I (1854)

N. Pevsner, 'Frith and the Irregular', Architectural Review, 120, Sept. 1956, 191

Ramsgate Public Library, Local History Collection. Survey drawings of the harbour by George Gwynne 1833. Photographs c1890.

Royal Collection, Buckingham Palace, William Frith's oil painting of Ramsgate Sands.

See Chapter VI, 374-388

## 76. Rugby School (Warwickshire)

Trustees of Rugby School.

Unexecuted design for a new Head Master's House. 1806

J. Britton, Ed, Beauties of England & Wales, XV (1814) 71

J. C. Buckler, Endowed Grammar Schools (1825)

\*Nicholas Carlisle, Endowed Grammar Schools II (1818)

Colvin, 734

A. W. H. Rowse, History of Rugby (1898)

John Wooll, the headmaster of Rugby between 1806 and 1828, determined to rebuild the school completely 'to make the whole pile worthy of the position which Rugby School had attained' by the early nineteenth century. The architecture of the school at that time was not considered to be worthy. One contemporary described the school as 'a small chapel gone astray in a large farm-yard'. Plans and estimates were obtained from Samuel Wyatt in 1806. His midlands connections made him an obvious choice. It is probable that he was recommended by Mr. Grimes of Coton House who was one of the trustees. Wyatt died before his plans were executed. It was then decided to rebuild the rest of the school as well as the headmaster's house 'to form one uniform and connected range of buildings'. Henry Henry Hakewill was appointed to prepare a new gothick design in

1809. One of the reasons why Wyatt's plan was not executed may have been the fact that it was classical, at a time when some version of collegiate gothic was rapidly becoming compulsory for all ancient educational institutions.

77. St Agnes Lighthouse (Scilly Isles)

Trinity House Corporation

Rebuilt the top of the lighthouse and the 'lanthorn' to new design in 1806. (E)

\*Trinity House, By-Minutes 1805-1806

N. Pevsner, Cornwall (1951) 209

See Chapter VI, 360

78. St Asaph's Episcopal Palace (Flintshire) ?

*St Asaph's MSS  
u.c.n.w.*

Rev. Lewis Bagot (Bishop of St Asaph's 1790-1802)

New episcopal palace. 1792 (E)

No connected documentary material seems to survive.

Westminster City Library, Gillow MSS, 600, 601, 609, 850, 855,  
858, 863(2), 1081, 1083, 1086, 1164,  
1167, 1168

LX

The Rev. Lewis Bagot, a younger brother of William, 1st Lord Bagot of Blithfield, was appointed Bishop of St Asaph's in 1790. He commenced the restoration of the cathedral church and built a new palace to the west. It is dated 1792. There is nothing among the Diocesan papers at the National Library in Aberystwyth that throws any light on the architect employed. Stylistically,

however, an attribution to Samuel Wyatt is reasonable. The palace has a principal façade of 9 bays. In the centre is a segmental bow crowned by a slate-hung dome. There are also blank panels over the ground-floor windows. Lewis Bagot had already employed the Wyatts earlier in his career when as Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, he had appointed James Wyatt as the architect of the new Canterbury Quadrangle and Samuel Wyatt the principal carpenter. In the mid 19th century the palace was greatly enlarged by Blore and is now in danger of being declared redundant.

Gillows supplied furniture between 1792 and 1794.

79. Sandon (Staffordshire) All Saints Church

Nathaniel Ryder, 1st Lord Harrowby

Restoration. 1782-1784 (D)

F. E. Copleston, Sandon Church Restorations (Stafford 1929)

\*A. Scrivener, 'Sandon Church', North Staffordshire Field Club Transactions, 45 (1910-11)

B.M., Addit. MSS, 36387, Buckler drawing of interior.

After the completion of the alterations at Sandon Hall Lord Harrowby turned his attention to the church on the edge of the park. The church was small and the chancel was almost ruinous. The great problem was to provide a family pew for the Harrowby family in the confined space available. Samuel Wyatt solved this by placing the pew like a Rood loft on top of a screen across the chancel arch. At the same time the chancel roof was rebuilt. This work was executed in a vestigial gothic style. The chancel was covered with a ground plaster vault without ribs which was neither classical nor gothic. The chancel

arch was supported on two plaster angels and decorated with rosettes in panels. Most of Wyatt's work was swept away when the church was restored by Caroe in 1928 but the screen and lofty pew was retained and embellished with extra carving.

80. Sandon Hall (Staffordshire)

Nathaniel Ryder, 1st Lord Harrowby

Alterations to house including formation of large library, billiard room and Drawing Room (D), New offices (D), Farm (E).  
1777-1784

\*Sandon Hall, Harrowby MSS, Designs, Accounts, 1st Earl's Shorthand Notes, Autobiog. of 1st Earl.

Westminster City Library, Gillow MSS, 1257

LXI, LXII, CV

Lord Harrowby bought the Sandon estate in 1776. The existing house had been designed by the local architect, William Pickford. Lord Harrowby immediately turned to Samuel Wyatt (who was then altering his London house) to re-model the house. Wyatt produced 2 alternative schemes. A compromise between both was executed.

The north walls of the east and west links of the house were demolished and advanced several feet. This made possible the creation in the east link of a new room for Lady Harrowby and in the east link a new Billiard Room and Library. In the east pavilion a new drawing room was formed, and a large 3-bay segmental window with a balcony thrown out to overlook the garden and valley. These wings had originally contained the offices. New offices were created on a difficult sloping site to the west of the house. They surrounded two courtyards and

their foundations involved a good deal of earth moving.

Wyatt also created the farm which cost about £2,000, and enabled him to re-use the columns from Pickford's links.

In 1794 he designed verandahs for the house, which were not executed, and in 1799 repaired and made further additions to the offices. Gillows supplied furniture between 1795 and 1798.

The house was burnt down in 1848 but several chimneypieces were recovered and installed in the new house. The farm remains in good condition.

See Chapter V, 259-262

81. Shugborough (Staffordshire)

Thomas Anson (cr. 1st Viscount Anson 1806)

Large-scale reconstruction of the house (E), two farms (E), kitchen garden (E), dairy (E), 5 lodges (E), The Ring (D), other cottages (E). 1790-1806

\*Staffs R.O., Anson MSS, D615/E(H)1/2, Building Accounts 1763-1768  
D615/E(H)2/1-8 Accounts 1790-1806

Westminster City Library, Gillow MSS, 902, 1152

G. W. Beard, *Georgian Craftsmen* (1966) 73

W. Pitt, Topographical History of Staffordshire II (1817) 90-91

J. P. Neale, Views of Seats IV (1821)

C. Life, 23 Feb. 1954 onwards and 2 Sept. 1971

J. Lees-Milne, 'Shugborough', Connoisseur CLXV (1967) 4

Shugborough, watercolours by Mores Griffiths c1780

N.B.R.

LXIII-LXXIV

See Chapter IV, 230-237 and Chapter V, 293-300

82. Sledmere House (East Riding of Yorkshire)

Sir Christopher Sykes

Unexecuted design ? 1787

Supplied looking glasses. 1793

Sledmere, Architectural drawings, anonymous design for the south front 1787

\* Sykes Letters and Papers, 18, 1783-1793, correspondence between Sir Christopher Sykes and Wyatt, Jan. 1793, about looking glasses.

C.Life, 30 Sept., 7 and 14 Oct. 1949

The design of Sledmere is a puzzle. The exterior seems to have been designed by Sir Christopher Sykes himself and the interior by Joseph Rose II. It seems probably, however, that Sir Christopher consulted a professional architect about his house. The executed design with overarched tripartite windows and a semi-circular portico has strong Wyatt characteristics even though the proportions and layout are unusual. In 1793 Samuel Wyatt was paid £205 for eight small plates of French looking glass and £380 for four larger looking glasses. It is possible, therefore, that Sir Christopher obtained advice about the design of his house from Wyatt. The drawings for Sledmere are in different hands. While many of them are by Sir Christopher himself it is obvious that he collected designs and suggestions from other people. One of the designs for the principal south front dated 1787 looks like Samuel Wyatt's work. It is bordered in black as are most Wyatt drawings. It shows a façade with a shallow dome, rectangular panels containing festoons over the principal windows, and a central tripartite window. All these

are Wyatt motifs. This drawing obviously influenced the executed design. That Sir Christopher Sykes may have sought Wyatt's advice is suggested by a close family connection with the Egertons of Tatton. Sir Christopher had married Elizabeth Luton of Wythenshawe, the niece and co-heiress of John Egerton of Tatton.

83. Soho, Handsworth (Staffordshire)

Matthew Boulton, Esq.

Foundry. 1795 (E)

\*Birmingham Assay Office, Tew MSS 190, Boulton to Wyatt, 10 Sept. 1795

N. Pevsner & A. Wedgwood, Warwickshire (1966) 183

Erich Roll, Early Experiment in Industrial Organisation (1930) 16-75

No accounts or designs survive for this building. In September 1795 Boulton wrote to Wyatt about intended improvements at Soho House and added, 'not that I wish you to build anything this year more than what we have now in hand'. This refers to the foundry and implies that it was built by Wyatt. In 1798 Wyatt was employed to value the foundry for Boulton in a dispute with the parish over the poor rate. The matter was submitted to arbitration in 1801 when Wyatt represented Boulton.

The foundry is a utilitarian brick building of little architectural character.

See Chapter III, 124

84. Soho House, Handsworth (Staffordshire)

Matthew Boulton, Esq.

Unexecuted design for bathroom. 1776

Pre-fabricated addition containing bathroom and water closet. 1787-8 (D)  
Completion of reconstruction of the house in 1798 following James Wyatt's failure to give satisfaction. (E)

\*Assay Office, Tew MSS. Correspondence between Samuel Wyatt and Matthew Boulton concerning Soho House.

Colvin, 735

C.Life, 6 November 1915, 2\*

Birmingham Reference Library, Birmingham Views

LXXV, LXXVI

See Chapter III, 117, 118-122

85. Somerley Park (Hampshire)

Daniel Hobson, Esq.

Unexecuted design for new house. 1785

Different design for new house, stables, cottages, farm and lodge.  
1792-1795 (E)

\*Somerley Park. Victorian scrap book containing Samuel Wyatt's designs for the house and outbuildings.

N. Pevsner & D. Lloyd, Hampshire (1967)

C.Life, 16, 23 and 30 January 1958

Somerley Park. Victorian photographs of the house before Burn's additions in 1868

LXXVII-LXXXI, C

See Chapter IV, 211-212 and Chapter V, 270-272

86. Stafford (Staffordshire) Shire Hall

Clerk of the Peace and Magistrates of Staffordshire

Plan for the Shire Hall (Elevation by his pupil, John Harvey) 1793 (I)

\*Staffs Record Office, Q/SME/5, Sessions Minute Book V

G. Richardson, New Vitruvius Britannicus, II (1808) 10

Stafford, Williams Salt Library, Staffs Views IX, 99-101

CII

In the past the entire design of the Stafford Shire Hall has been attributed to John Harvey. The ingenious interlocking plan, however, was almost certainly by Samuel Wyatt. The minutes of the General Quarter Sessions for 10 October 1793 give the full story:

'Ordered that Mr. Wyatt's plan of the proposed new county hall with Mr. Harvey's elevation marked A be adopted subject to such alterations as have been suggested by the Magistrates respecting the Grand Jury Room and that John Sparrow, John Williamson and John Twiton Esqs. do superintend such alterations.

'Ordered that the Clerk of the Peace do advertise for estimates on Mr. Wyatt's plan to be delivered in at or before the next sessions ...'

Although 'Mr. Wyatt' is not referred to by his Christian name the character of the plan as executed, together with the fact that John Harvey was his pupil and principal office assistant, makes it almost certain that he was Samuel Wyatt and not another member of the family.

87. Sundridge Park (Kent)

Claude Scott, Esq.

Completion of house begun by Nash and Repton. The whole of the interior, the roof and probably the dome are by Wyatt. He also designed the stables. 1796 (E)

\*W. Angus, Select Views of Seats (2nd Series 1804)

Colvin, 735

A. Dale, James Wyatt (1956) 65-68

J. Hassell, Picturesque Rides and Walks II (1818) 100

D. Lysons, Environs of London IV (1796) 310

John Newman, West Kent and the Weald (1969) 182-3

John Summerson, John Nash (1935)

LXXXIII, LXXXIV, CI B

See Chapter IV, 224-229

88. Tatton Park (Cheshire)

Samuel Egerton, Esq. and William Egerton, Esq.

House, offices, stables. c1785-1790 (E)

Unexecuted design for Rostherne Lodge. 1781

Unexecuted designs for house. c1774, 1806

\*Tatton Park. Folio of signed and dated drawings.

H. Repton, Red Book for Tatton.

R. Ackerman, Country Seats I (1830)

A.P.S.D.

Colvin, 735

D. Lysons, Magna Britannia II (1808)

J. P. Neale, Views of Seats I (1805)

E. Twycross, Mansions of England and Wales V (1850)

C.Life, 16 and 23 July 1964

LXXXV-LXXXIX

The designing of a new house for the Egerton family at Tatton Park in Cheshire occupied nearly the whole of Samuel Wyatt's architectural career from the early 1770s to his death in 1807. Even so the house was not completed to his design. The sequence of plans produced over this period falls into three main groups. The designs he made for altering and enlarging the existing early 18th century house c1774 for Samuel Egerton. Those he produced for William Egerton according to the grandest of which the house was embarked upon in 1785. Finally after a lull of 15 years he drew up 2 versions of a modified scheme for completing the house in 1806. These did not come to anything because of the death of William Egerton in that year followed closely by that of his architect early in 1807.

See Chapter IV, 173-176, 198-203, 238-241

89. Temple House (Berkshire)

Thomas Williams, Esq.

Large new house possibly incorporating part of an old one. 1790 (D)

\*J. Farington, Diary, 3064, 5 Sept. 1805 (MSS)

E. J. Climenson, Ed, Passages from the Diary of Mrs. Lybbe Powis  
(1899) 288-289

Colvin, 735

D. Lysons, Magna Britannia I (1806)

V.C.H., Berkshire III (1923) 139-145

H. M. Colvin, 'Architectural History of Marlow', Records of Buckinghamshire XV (1947) 5-19

1903 Sale catalogue contained plans and photographs (no copy traced).

Thomas Williams was a lawyer from Llanidan, Anglesey. He had made a fortune out of the development of the Parys Mountain copper mine. He acted as adviser to Edward Hughes of Kinnel who owned half the mine. He managed the other half directly for its owner, Lord Uxbridge. He had invented a new form of copper smelting which was more economical than that in common use. He bought the Temple estate on the south bank of the Thames near Marlow in 1788. From 1790 to 1802 he was M.P. for Marlow. He rebuilt Temple House in 1790 to Samuel Wyatt's design as is confirmed by Farington. The exterior of the house was a straightforward neo-classical design. The main facade facing the river was of eleven bays and distinguished by a tetrastyle Ionic portico. The house was stuccoed. It was demolished in about 1930 without any record being made of its interior. This is a pity as contemporaries were greatly struck by its singularity. In plan the house formed an L-shape and probably incorporated an older house to which a new seven-bay wing was added. This wing contained a Sculpture Gallery with niches in the walls for statues, a Library, Drawing Room and staircase of the imperial plan favoured by the Wyatts. All this was straightforward. It was the decoration that moved visitors like Farington to call it 'a very singular house'. Mrs. Lybbe Powis described it in 1796: 'Went before dinner to see Mr. Williams' new house called Temple near Marlow. It is certainly a very good one but fitted up and furnished in so odd and superb a style that one cannot help fancying oneself in one of those palaces mentioned in the Arabian Nights Entertainments, but what surprised us there is not a picture but that of Mr. Williams himself. Statues of every kind and at the further end of a most magnificent greenhouse is an aviary

full of all kinds of birds flying loose in a large octagon of gilt wire in which is a fountain in the centre and in the evening 'tis illuminated by wax-lights while the water falls down some rock-work in the form of a cascade ... so extraordinary a place as Temple must be justly esteemed.' All this fantasy was more likely to have been Williams' than Wyatt's. It seems that, as in several of his houses, Wyatt incorporated a greenhouse at Temple into the fabric of the house.

90. Temple Mills (Berkshire)

Thomas Williams, Esq.

Additions and alterations. c1790 (About to be dem.)

Colvin, 735

S. Shaw, History of Staffordshire II (1801) 122-123

V.C.H., Berkshire I (1906) 382

\*H. M. Colvin, 'Architectural History of Marlow', Records of Buckinghamshire XV (1947) 2

Thomas Williams bought Temple Mills in 1788 and used them for smelting copper from the mines in north Wales and producing copper artefacts. He is reputed to have carried out considerable alterations to the mills. He presumably employed Samuel Wyatt for these just as he did at Temple House and in his London house. The central three-storeyed building in a rustic baroque style must already have been in existence. The crowning cupola is, however, in the style of Wyatt. It is similar to that on the Market House in Marlow. Shaw recorded that Francis Eginton supplied 'four ornamented windows' for a corridor in the mill. A workshop added to the mill in the late eighteenth century was almost certainly by Samuel Wyatt. It has a fire-proof roof

most ingeniously constructed of iron and slate. Tubular cast iron beams are fitted together without screws in the manner of his patent for iron bridges. This iron framework supports large slabs of slate. The weight of these holds the iron girders in place.

91. Thorndon Hall (Essex)

Lord Petre

Completion of the interior of Paine's house (D), Hatch Farm (E), Lion Lodge (E), Octagon Lodge (A) 1777-1801

\*Essex R.O., Petre MS, D/DP Pl46, 'East front of a farm yard designed for the Rt. Honble Lord Petre 1777'  
D/DP A177, 'Statement of account between Lord Petre and the late Sam. Wyatt 1807'

Sandon Hall, Harrowby MSS

D. W. Collier, History of Essex (Chelmsford 1841) 520

James Paine, Noblemen and Gentlemen's Houses II (1783) 8, XIX

N.B.R.

XC-XCV, CIV

Wyatt's first work at Thorndon was Hatch Farm in the park, designed in 1777. He was probably employed there as a result of his special agricultural knowledge. After its completion Lord Petre continued to employ him in the place of Paine at Thorndon Hall itself. Lord Petre became one of Wyatt's largest clients, employing him at Buckenham in Norfolk and at 10 and 43 Grosvenor Square as well as at Thorndon. It seems that Wyatt was employed continuously at Thorndon between 1777 and 1801. The only accounts to survive, however, are those that were unpaid at the time of Wyatt's death in 1807 and they refer only

to work after 1800. The attribution of the Wyatt interior work at Thorndon to James Wyatt is completely unfounded. All the evidence (surviving accounts, design for the farm, references in the Harrowby MSS) points unequivocally to Samuel Wyatt. The extent and nature of his work at Thorndon Hall is unknown because the interior of the main block was destroyed without record in 1878. The great hall was, however, unanimously attributed to Wyatt. It was forty feet square and surrounded by eighteen scagliola columns. It was considered the finest room in the house and was probably Wyatt's grandest interior. It is likely that he made a large number of alterations and additions to Paine's work just as he did to Stuart's at Lichfield House. The only interior by Wyatt to survive at Thorndon is the elliptical tribune off Paine's library in the north-east quadrant. In Paine's plan this excrescence contained a spiral staircase. Wyatt converted it into a little library with recessed bookcases and oval plaques over with festoons like those in the long library at Dropmore.

See Chapter V, 256-258

92. Tixall House (Staffordshire)

Hon. Thomas Clifford.

Interior of new south wing. c1780 (D)

Westminster City Library, Gillows MSS, lxiv (774) 690, 1184

\*T. Clifford, Topographical and Historical Description of the Parish of Tixall (1817)

Colvin, 735

J. P. Neale, Views of Seats IV (1821)

W. Pitt, Topographical History of Staffordshire (1817)

D. Stroud, Capability Brown (1950) 94

Tixall was a quadrangular sixteenth century house. In 1774 Capability Brown was employed to landscape the park. He was also paid 24 gns. for plans for altering the old house. According to Pitt the large new south wing 144 feet wide was built in 1780. Was the exterior of this to Brown's design? Clifford states specifically that the interior was designed by Samuel Wyatt. The wing contained a library, dining room and hall on the ground floor with two principal bedrooms and the drawing room on the floor above. No record of the appearance of these rooms survives. Gillows supplied furniture between 1789 and 1791. The house was demolished except for the Jacobean gatehouse in about 1900 when the park was added to that of Ingestre.

93. Wimbledon Park (Surrey)

2nd Earl Spencer

Conversion of stables into temporary house. New house for the Steward. 1790 (D)

\*Althorp, Spencer MSS, 2 elevations of the west and east fronts of the stables.

2 elevations of the north and south fronts of the 'Steward's Lodge for Wimbledon Park'.

Letter from Wyatt to Thomas Harrison, 2 Jan. 1790

G. A. Cooke, Surrey (1830)

O. Manning & W. Bray, Surrey (1814)

D. Stroud, Henry Holland (1966)

N.B.R.

XCVI

The old house at Wimbledon burned to the ground on Easter

Monday 1785. Wyatt presented a design for a new house shortly after. At that time, however, Lord Spencer was spending more than he could afford on Holland's reconstruction of Althorp so was unable to undertake any ambitious architectural scheme at Wimbledon. It was decided instead to convert part of the surviving stables into temporary accommodation for the family. The façade was not altered apart from the substitution of regular sash windows for lunettes. A two-storeyed lean-to was added at the back to contain the offices. The interior was fitted up with a certain degree of elegance. Wyatt explained his proposal in a letter to Lord Spencer's agent, Thomas Harrison, in 1790: 'Herewith you will receive drawings for the proposed alterations to the stables at Wimbledon. If Lord Spencer does not object to giving up the stable I flatter myself you will think the house and offices sufficient for your purposes. There is an awkwardness in entering at one corner of the building - but I was desirous of preserving the uniformity of the building which the additional shed for the small offices on the North West side will not destroy. There may be a very good water closet under the first landing of the Great Stair. The expence of this alteration will be from £800 to £1,000 which is not more than half the expence of the proposed scheme of the new house.'

Wyatt's plan was executed. Various early 19th century topographical books record that 'some of the offices which escaped the flames were fitted up in a very elegant manner for the occasional reception of his lordship's family'. Wyatt also designed a new house for the estate steward at Wimbledon, similar to those at Holkham and Penrhyn. It is probable that Wyatt was recommended to Lord Spencer by either T. W. Coke or Thomas Anson, both of whom moved in the same Foxite circles. When Lord Spencer finally built a new house at Wimbledon in 1801 he remained

loyal to Henry Holland who had done so much for him elsewhere. The part of the stables that Wyatt had altered was retained by Holland and incorporated in the new house. He merely added a new front with three reception rooms. This explains his T-shaped plan.

94. Winnington Hall (Cheshire)

Richard Pennant (cr. 1st Lord Penrhyn 1783)

Poultry House. c1782-1785 (D)

Birmingham Reference Library, Boulton & Watt Coll., Box 36,  
Wyatt to Watt, 27 Dec. 1785

Colvin, 735

\*A. S. Irvine, History of Winnington Hall (I.C.I. 1951)

The house at Winnington has been attributed to Wyatt on the grounds that he designed Lord Penrhyn's other house, Penrhyn Castle. Stylistically, however, it is certainly James Wyatt's work. Samuel was employed at Winnington. He visited the place in 1785. The Poultry House was probably designed then and possesses all the characteristics of his work. It was quite common for him to be employed to design subsidiary estate buildings when the main house was by another architect.

See Chapter V, 262-264

95. Wrothan Rectory (Kent)

Rev. George Moore

New house and outbuildings. 1801-1802 (E)

\*C. Greenwood, Epitome of Kent (1838)

J. Newman, North West Kent and the Weald (1969)

XCVII

Greenwood records that the 'Rectory House, Wrotham, the residence of Rev. George Moore, M.A. a magistrate of the County is an elegant modern house built by Samuel Wyatt in 1801 to 1802'. Wyatt was no doubt introduced to George Moore by Thomas Cobb, the rector of the neighbouring parish of Ightham. Cobb was married to Louisa Wyatt, Samuel's adopted daughter. The house is a charming small version of Wyatt's villa plan with a central domed bow and flanking tripartite windows. The entrance front of five bays (two of the ground-floor windows are blocked) has a pedimented porch. The four columns have unusual fluting in the form of applied ribs rather than inset grooves. The ground floor plan is a simple grid. The entrance hall is flanked by the staircase hall and an ante-room. The three principal rooms face the garden. The detailing is simple with leaf friezes and reeded door surrounds. Even so, this house is much grander than the rectory at Lutterworth. In the garden is an octagonal brick building by Wyatt with inset blank panels.

96. Unidentified

(William Wyndham, Lord Grenville ? )

Design for addition of pedimented wings to an older house.

Probably unexecuted.

\*Henry E. Huntington Library, U.S.A., Coll. Stowe HH LSM 1,2,3,  
Plans and elevation. The  
ground plan signed 'Sam. Wyatt'

John Harris, Catalogue of British Drawings in American Collections  
(Gregg, New Jersey 1972) 306, pl.243

Wyatt's proposal was for one-storeyed wings on either side of a 3-storeyed nine bay older house. This house does not resemble any where he is known to have worked. The wings have shallow pediments and typical tripartite windows with Ionic columns under blank segmental arches. This could perhaps be another design for Lord Grenville, Wyatt's patron at Dropmore and 4 Cleveland Row.

[ New Park (Wiltshire) now called Roundway Park

James Sutton, Esq.

New house. c1783 (D)

J. Britton, Ed, Beauties of England and Wales XV (1814) 433

J. P. Neale, Seats V (1822)

R.A. Catalogue, 1784

N.B.R.

Britton states that this house was by Samuel Wyatt. It almost certainly was not. Stylistically it is much closer to the work of James Wyatt and Neale recorded that it was designed by 'the late eminent architect James Wyatt'. A 'view of New Park near Devizes ... with the house lately built by Mr. Wyatt' was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1784 by J. Dixon. Dixon was a pupil of James Wyatt's which strengthens the case for an attribution to James rather than Samuel.]

List of Principal Collections of Manuscript Source Material

The detailed sources for each attribution can be found in the appendix. There will be found other manuscript sources too minor to be listed here.

1. Bangor, Library of University College of North Wales  
Baron Hill MSS, 5050-5058  
Kinmel MSS, 1492
2. Birmingham, Assay Office  
Tew MSS
3. Birmingham, Reference Library  
Boulton and Watt Collection  
Minutes of Theatre Royal 5047 Lee 387  
Henry Kempson's notebook 372721
4. Blithfield Hall, Bagot MSS  
Wyatt designs
5. Buckinghamshire Record Office, Drake MSS  
Estimates and accounts, D/DR/S/44, 45, 60-69  
Architectural sketches, D/DR/S/52
6. Cheshire Record Office, Delves Broughton MSS, DDB/Q/3  
Wilbraham Family Diary (transcript)
7. Cornwall Record Office, Fortescue MSS, DDF.259, Accounts  
etc. for 4 Cleveland Row and Dropmore
8. Egginton, Every MSS  
Accounts
9. Essex Record Office, Petre MSS, D/DP A177, P146
10. Hampshire Record Office, Bolton MSS, accounts, 11 M49/365-392
11. Harewood House, Lascelles MSS, Joseph Rose, sketch book

12. Hertfordshire Record Office, Cowper MSS  
Panshanger Box 49, D/EP T2405B
13. Holkham Hall, Coke MSS  
Estate Accounts  
Household Accounts  
H. W. Keary, Report on the Holkham estates, 1851 (MS)
14. Kedleston Hall, Curzon MSS, Correspondence and accounts
15. Kent Record Office, Ightham Court MSS, U55/E9, 11  
A short account of facts relative to  
Ramsgate Pier and Harbour (MS) K.A.O.  
U224.21
16. London, British Museum, Add. MSS 36385-8  
King's Maps XLii 82 1
17. London, Coutts Head Office, Designs for Belmont
18. London, G.L.C. Record Office,  
Surrey Archdeaconry Records DW/OB/9, DW/OP/1786/2,  
1787/2, 1789/1  
Stowe MSS p509 Box 4
19. London, Greenwich, Maritime Museum Library  
Correspondence and accounts for Commissioner's  
House at Portsmouth
20. London, Public Record Office  
Plans for Albion Mill restoration MR98,99, MPD 124,128  
Plans for London Docks MPD 40,66, MPE 1275  
Plan for Trinity Square MP H 259  
Chelsea Royal Hospital, accounts. A03 622-628  
Greenwich Hospital, In-letters ADM 65/106  
accounts, chapel restoration ADM 68/877-881  
The Mint, minutes, Mint 1/14  
accounts, A03/701-703



Sessions Minute Book, V Q/SME/S

Wyatt letters S 388/37

Plan for Beaudesert Staffs Views I

31. Tatton, Wyatt designs

32. West Suffolk Record Office

De Carle Wage Book ACC 468

De Carle Letter Book ACC 2285

Select Bibliography

The following is a list of the more general secondary sources used in compiling this thesis. Other works of limited relevance, particularly topographical books, are listed in the detailed sources for each of Wyatt's buildings in the catalogue. They are not repeated here. Unless otherwise stated books are published in London or Oxford.

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