

The Reception and Study of Renaissance Architecture in Great Britain, 1890-1914

by

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Submitted to the Department of Architecture in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
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Abstract

The writing of Renaissance architectural history in the period 1890-1914 in Great Britain changed dramatically. Despite modernism's tenet of rejecting history from design, Renaissance architectural history in Great Britain functioned as both an alternative to and a source of inspiration for modernism. At first Renaissance architecture supplied a stylistic alternative to the Gothic Revival; then it acted as a bastion against modernist influences from the Continent. Finally, it provided a foundation of aesthetic principles applicable to modern design. With the advent of university programs in architecture, the writing of architectural history became more formalized, marking the beginning of architectural history's autonomy as a discipline and foreshadowing modernism's rejection of history from the design process. In my dissertation I analyze the perceptions and presentations of Renaissance architecture in order to investigate the relationship between history and design in architectural education, literature, and practice at the turn of the century in Great Britain. An analysis of architectural curricula, designs, and publications from this period reveals the development of an autonomous architectural history and the foundations of a modern architecture.

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	9
Introduction	11
 <u>Part I.</u>	
1. “The Rustle of Turning Leaves.” British Travel to Italy in the Nineteenth Century	23
2. The Professionalism of Architecture and the Renaissance Ideal	43
3. Examining History. The Renaissance in the R.I.B.A. Examinations	63
4. Teaching the Renaissance. History in the New Schools of Architecture	84
5. “For what are we to elect?” Architectural Practice in Britain 1890-1914	127
 <u>Part II.</u>	
6. A Brief Review of the Historiography of the Renaissance in Nineteenth-Century Britain	146
7. A Mere Flicker. Writings on Italian Renaissance Architecture by William J. Anderson	186
8. History and the Mistress Art. Sir Reginald Blomfield and the English Renaissance	207
9. Experiencing the Renaissance. Geoffrey Scott’s <i>The Architecture of Humanism</i>	232
Conclusion	258
Bibliography	267
Illustration List	293
Illustrations	297

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Introduction

In the mid 1880s *The Builder*, one of the most influential architectural journals in Great Britain, published an article characterizing Renaissance architecture as a corrupt and decadent bastardization of the classical architecture of Greece and Rome.¹ After the turn of the century the same journal touted Brunelleschi as the “Christopher Columbus of modern architecture.”² The radically different perceptions of Renaissance architecture evident in these two articles reflected larger trends both in architecture and in the writing of architectural history. The rise of architectural professionalism and its consequences in the formation of programs of architectural education created a new demand for books on architecture and its history. The increased interest in the Renaissance of Italy, England, and throughout Europe is reflected in these writings.

As both a style and a method of design, the Renaissance fulfilled many of the intellectual and architectural needs of the late nineteenth century. By the late 1870s it was being put forward as a stylistic alternative to the increasingly less popular Gothic revival. The Renaissance also placed the architect in a primary position in the design process, challenging the medieval revival ideal of the architect as master craftsman on the building site. The Renaissance was also a style and ideology that could be easily adapted to a new educational system, which was turning away from the single master approach of apprenticeship to the formalized education larger groups of young men (and they were almost exclusively men) in studios and lecture courses. The Renaissance was easily teachable through the classical orders, and it emphasized originality and imagination within an established architectural language.

¹ “Classical Forms in Modern Architecture,” *The Builder*, XLIX, n. 2228 (October 17, 1885): 523-4. The article was in favor of the revival of a classical style, but saw the Renaissance as a corruption of the architecture of Greece and Rome. “The mere imitation of the features of the decadence of the Renaissance is, at all events, a task not worth the thought or abilities of an architect who looks for anything higher than commercial and fashionable success. If we are going to imitate let us imitate the best forms and not the corrupt ones.”

² Beresford Pite, “Brunelleschi and the Renaissance.” Lecture given at the Architectural Association. *The Builder*, XCVII (March 26, 1910): 347.

But in the late nineteenth century, the term “Renaissance” was still “elastic,” and writers were often unclear in their architectural descriptions, not being sure what style to assign. For example, in response to the announcement that the architects Leeming & Leeming had won the 1884 competition for the Admiralty and War Offices, London, *The Times* was at a loss as to what to call the style of the winning entry. “Renaissance, for it was not Gothic, French or Palladian ... nor yet a mixture,” and “Renaissance” was the most “elastic” term.³ Most authors agreed that the beginning of the Renaissance was in mid fifteenth-century Italy, typically with the work of Filippo Brunelleschi. The end of the period was more contested, and some writers carried it well into the nineteenth century, ending it only with the revival of the Gothic. This meant that all the periods that we now consider as separate styles—Baroque, Rococo, Louis XV, Neo-Classicism, etc.—were all within the single umbrella of the term “Renaissance.” This also meant that they saw a direct temporal connection between the Renaissance and themselves, making it the first “modern” style because it was still thought to be in use. This was equally true geographically, and even though the various national interpretations of the style were certainly recognized, they were not always clearly distinguished from each other in the writings of the period. A building might be called “Renaissance” if it was a revival of the Flemish Renaissance or the Italian. While the characteristics varied from one writer to another, at the core was always the definition of the Renaissance in contrast to the Gothic. This opposition worked at several levels: stylistically, morally (at least from the point of view of the Gothic Revivalists), and in the definition of what an architect was and how he worked.

Scholarship on the architecture of the Victorian period is still relatively new, beginning in the 1970s.⁴ Histories of the nineteenth century have typically taken two stances: either the

³ M.H. Port, *Imperial London. Civil Government Building in London 1850-1915* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 233; citing *The Times*, (31 July 1884): 6.

⁴ Paul Norton, “Book Review,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 32 (1973): 75-9. Norton reviews 16 books on Victorian Architecture that had just been published. See also James Kornwolf’s article which gives an early historiography of Victorian architecture. James D. Kornwolf,

Victorians held the seeds for the sources of modernism (and therefore were “good”), or were what the Modern Movement was reacting against (and thus “bad”). Either way, the impression that the first part of the nineteenth century was one of radical technological advances led by charismatic geniuses has often been repeated. Because of this approach, the last decades of the nineteenth century have typically been either completely ignored in the literature (there are a surprising number of histories of the Victorian period that stop at 1870) or have included these years within the Edwardian period. The architectural historian J. M. Crook noted that the reason for this neglect was that the “heroic age of Victorian architecture was over.”⁵

There has recently, however, been an increased interest in the late Victorian and Edwardian periods in fields outside of architecture. Books by A. N. Wilson and Roy Hattersley on these decades are indications of a new attraction to this period in the writing of popular history.⁶ Literary scholars have also covered the field, and there are many useful resources among their works. Some of these works have used gender and sexuality studies in their approach to the turn-of-the-century writers on architecture including Vernon Lee (Violet Paget), John Addington Symonds, and Walter Pater. The “closeting” of John Addington Symonds’s memoirs until the mid 1980s, for example, led to spike of research interest in the Victorian homosexual and how his sexuality was reflected in his work.

But the architecture of the period has been largely overlooked. Robert Macleod covered the period in his work *Style and Society* (1971). While J. M. Crook’s *The Dilemma of Style* (1987) and Alastair Service’s several books on Edwardian architecture, paint a background of the main figures and buildings, there are few works compared to the numerous ones addressing the

“High Victorian Gothic; or, The Dilemma of Style in Modern Architecture,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 34, n. 1 (March 1975): 37-47.

⁵ J. Mordaunt Crook, *The Dilemma of Style. Architectural Ideas from the Picturesque to the Post-Modern* (London: John Murray, 1987), 180-81.

⁶ A. N. Wilson, *The Victorians* (London: Hutchinson, 2002); A. N. Wilson, *After the Victorians* (London: Hutchinson, 2005); and Roy Hattersley, *The Edwardians* (London: Little, Brown, 2004).

earlier part of the century.⁷ One work stands out, however and that is M.H. Port's *Imperial London* (1995) which addressed civic and government buildings from a number of different angles, including style, finances, the selection process, and The Office of Works.⁸ There are also several "biographies" of buildings of the period, including Ian Toplis's work on the Foreign Office.⁹ These works provide a good starting point.

In the study of the development of the architectural profession and education, four authors' works form the core of the scholarship. The first of these is Barrington Kaye's sociological study on the professionalization of the architect, *The Development of the Architectural Profession in Britain. A Sociological Study* (1960).¹⁰ Kaye identified what it meant to be a professional and the steps that were required to achieve professional status, such as the establishment of standards of practice, etc. Second is the dissertation and numerous articles by the architectural historian Alan Powers. His unpublished dissertation on architectural education in Britain remains the primary resource for this area of study, and his articles have touched on every aspect of the period and have often addressed classicism in late Victorian and Edwardian architecture.¹¹ The third work, which has also not been published, is Richard Chafee's dissertation on the influence of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Britain and America.¹² Finally, Mark Crinson and Jules Lubbock's 1994 book on the history of British architectural education was the

⁷Robert Macleod, *Style and Society: Architectural Ideology in Britain 1835-1914* (London: R.I.B.A. Publications Limited, 1971). Alastair Service, *Edwardian Architecture. A Handbook to Building Design in Britain 1890-1914* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977) and Alastair Service, ed., *Edwardian Architecture and its Origins* (London: The Architectural Press, 1975).

⁸ Port, *Imperial London*.

⁹ Ian Toplis, *The Foreign Office. An Architectural History* (London and New York: Mansell Publishing Ltd., 1987).

¹⁰ Barrington Kaye, *The Development of the Architectural Profession in Britain. A Sociological Study*. (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1960).

¹¹ Alan Powers, "Architectural Education in Britain 1880-1914" (Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 1982). See also Alan Powers "Edwardian Architectural Education: A Study of Three Schools of Architecture," *AA Files* no. 5 (Jan 1984): 49-59. See the bibliography for a full list of articles.

¹² Richard Chafee, "The Teaching of Architecture at the Ecole Des Beaux-Arts and Its Influence in Britain and America" (Ph.D. diss., Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 1983); particularly Part V "The Influence of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Britain."

result of a study for the Prince of Wales Institute of Architecture and questioned the impact of British architectural education on the built environment.¹³ These four works remain at the core of any research on the development of the architectural profession and education in Britain. There is no scholarly research to date that has been published on the Royal Institute of British Architects membership examinations.

British architectural history's own historiography received a good deal attention in the 1980s, but is ready for a fresh interpretation. David Watkin's 1980 *The Rise of Architectural History* took a decidedly post-modern (and anti-modern) stance on the subject, but it provided a solid beginning point, particularly for the tracing of ideas of "Englishness" in architectural history.¹⁴ J. M. Crook's 1984 article "Architecture and History" surveyed the major figures in architectural history in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with a focus on the problems of style.¹⁵ Alan Colquhoun's collection of essays on classicism and modernity looked beyond just Britain giving a larger European context as well as presenting alternative interpretations of history over time.¹⁶

Studies of non-British architectural education and architectural history include Alexander Caragone's *Texas Rangers* (1995) and Anthony Alofsin's study of Harvard's Graduate School of Design in *The Struggle for Modernism* (2002).¹⁷ Gwendolyn Wright and Janet Parks's *The History of History in American Schools of Architecture 1865-1975* (1990) and Elisabeth MacDougall's *The Architectural Historian in America* (1990) addressed the changes in pedagogy

¹³ Mark Crinson and Jules Lubbock, *Architecture: Art or Profession? : Three Hundred Years of Architectural Education in Britain*. (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1994). The earlier unpublished report from which this book was drawn was an attempt to establish a curriculum for the Prince of Wales's Institute of Architecture "in an effort to provide an education in traditional architecture." The book has a definite anti-modernism subtext.

¹⁴ David Watkin, *The Rise of Architectural History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980; reprint 1983).

¹⁵ J. M. Crook. "Architecture and History," *Architectural History* XXVII (1984): 555-578.

¹⁶ Alan Colquhoun, *Modernity and the Classical Tradition: Architectural Essays 1980-1987* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989).

¹⁷ Alexander Caragone, *The Texas Rangers: notes from an architectural underground* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995) and Anthony Alofsin, *The Struggle for Modernism: architecture, landscape architecture, and city planning at Harvard* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2002).

of architectural history in America and have been an invaluable resource for comparison. More recently, the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* has devoted an entire issue, September 1999, as well as three issues during 2002-2003 to address the teaching of architectural history and theory as well as the professional position of the architectural historian. This relatively sudden proliferation in articles has elevated the discourse on architectural history's own pedagogy and historiography. Clearly, there is an increased interest in and questioning of where historians fit into the architectural education and practice of architecture.

Of the historiographies of the Renaissance, two in particular stand out. The first is the 1948 seminal work by Wallace K. Ferguson, which began with the Renaissance itself and traced its reception through the 1930s.¹⁸ Ferguson presented the writings and theories of Renaissance art history within a larger historical framework and linked them to theories and methodologies current at the time it was written. The importance of certain texts quickly becomes clear in the organization of the work, in essence being divided into pre and post Jacob Burckhardt's *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy (Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien)*, first published in 1860, translated into English in 1878 by S.G.C. Middlemore.¹⁹ What emerged in Ferguson's work was a vision of the Renaissance as a shifting and developing idea across centuries, impacting not only notions of the Renaissance itself but also of the Middle Ages and the modern period. The writings on the Renaissance from those of the earliest Humanists to the late twentieth century all recognize that there was something distinct about the period, but each history interpreted the age with a different focus and definition.

Ferguson pointed to several common themes in the histories of the period. First was the definition of the Renaissance in contrast to the Middle Ages, and also how later historians have tried to dissolve the distinctions by drawing the origin of the Renaissance to a point before the

¹⁸ W. K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought: Five Centuries of Interpretation*. (Cambridge, MA, Houghton Mifflin Co., The Riverside Press, 1948).

¹⁹ Jacob Burckhardt. *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, S. G. C. Middlemore, transl. (London, 1878; reprint London: Penguin Books, 1990). All citations are from the readily available 1990 edition of the English translation.

mid fifteenth century. The second theme that Ferguson used to tie together the different authors was that of humanism in the Renaissance and specifically the focus on the individual as the primary figure in Renaissance politics and culture. He developed these themes along with contemporary ideas of historical progress and periodization. Ferguson reinforced the subjectivity of the writing of history and reinforced that “one cannot interpret history without a point of view.”²⁰

Supplementary to Ferguson, and focused more directly on Britain, was J. R. Hale’s 1954 *England and the Italian Renaissance*, which presented the English appropriation and development of the Renaissance from its inception in the sixteenth century into its re-interpretation in the nineteenth century.²¹ Hale reviewed the differences in the period’s temporal definitions. He argued that it was ultimately not the idea of the “rebirth” as it occurred in Italy that defined the period but the association made by European scholars to the idea of a rebirth of Europe.

If the historians who were preoccupied with Italy in the first half of the nineteenth century had invented this period, if Sismondi’s title had gained general acceptance, then the Renaissance in Italy would have covered the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; more easily defensible, in fact, than the period fifteenth-and-sixteenth centuries that was felt for by the historians of Europe. And a cause of their hesitation and the reason for much consequent confusion was this: Italy had been so universally considered the home of the rebirth of one thing and of another, that it was inevitable that Europe’s rebirth should be identified with hers—and that hers should be made to wait for that of Europe.²²

²⁰ Ferguson, 395.

²¹ J. R. Hale, *England and the Italian Renaissance. The Growth of Interest in its History and Art* (London: Faber and Faber, 1954; reprint Grey Arrow, 1963).

²² Hale, 1963 edition, 142.

The perception of the Renaissance during the decades around the turn of the century has been a topic of interest in the history of literature for several decades, with scholars addressing the importance of the Renaissance in historical novels and poetry, such as the writings of Robert Browning and George Eliot. Hilary Fraser's 1992 *The Victorians and Renaissance Italy* is a prime example of this interest in the Victorian interpretation of the Renaissance in the history of English literature, and the book remains an invaluable resource.²³ Most recently, John Law and Lene Østermark-Johansen's collection of essays, *Victorian and Edwardian Responses to the Italian Renaissance* (2005), originally presented as a series of papers at a conference of the Renaissance Society in 2000 suggests a renewed interest in the historiography of the Renaissance among its own historians.²⁴ Jack Lynch's *The Age of Elizabeth in the Age of Johnson* (2003) serves as an excellent prequel to these studies, and addresses the perception of the Renaissance in the eighteenth century, primarily as it was manifested in England.²⁵

The dissertation is divided into two major sections: first, the development of architectural professionalism, education, and practice in the late nineteenth century, followed by analyses of the specific writings on Renaissance architecture. While this separation into two distinct sections is in many ways false, it vastly simplifies the approach in that it builds up, layer by layer, the different aspects of the increased interest in the Renaissance during this period and how the perception and definition of the period changed in more than one aspect of architecture.

²³ Hilary Fraser, *The Victorians and Renaissance Italy* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992).

²⁴ John E. Law and Lene Østermark-Johansen, eds., *Victorian and Edwardian Responses to the Italian Renaissance* (Hants, England: Ashgate, 2005). Note also that the Renaissance Society of America's conference in Cambridge, England, in 2004, there were several sessions on nineteenth-century receptions of the period. There have also been several conferences recently in England on the reception of the Renaissance in terms of art and architecture including "Re-inventing the Renaissance" held at the Victoria & Albert Museum in fall 2004, sponsored by the University of Bristol; also "The Edwardians: Secrets and Desires" held at the Paul Mellon Centre for the Study of British Art, London, September 2004. There are also several dissertations underway addressing various aspects of the reception of the Renaissance in terms of British painting, landscape, and furniture design.

²⁵ Jack Lynch, *The Age of Elizabeth in the Age of Johnson* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

The two sections in turn also have several themes, which can be divided into a series of separate strands. Each strand is then both dependent on the others, yet also autonomous. These main threads are: the professionalization, examination, and education of the architect, the buildings themselves, and the writings on Renaissance architectural history. The close relationship between these elements is inherent because the nineteenth-century architect was not only a practitioner (which often included engineering and surveying as well as architectural design) but also a teacher and an architectural historian. The field had yet to fracture into its separate intra-disciplines of design, history, structures, mechanical systems, etc.

I have relied on archival research and the histories themselves as much as possible and therefore have been simultaneously deluged by information and yet still sometimes lacked the “smoking gun” for a particular aspect of an argument. British archives, when made available, are typically filled to overflowing, but they are not always catalogued and are often subject to frequent closures. There is literally too much to look at for the late nineteenth century and simultaneously not enough. While I have tried to cover as much as possible, I am certain that I have missed some manuscripts or some papers will be uncovered in the future and which would make a significant contribution.²⁶

The first chapter gives an overall background of the relationship between England and Italy in the nineteenth century. It analyzes travel writing and novels to uncover the myths of Italy built up in the British mind. The Grand Tour had subsided several generations before, but the new advances in transportation meant easier and cheaper access to Italy for middle-class travelers. Italy—as both part of Roman Empire and the site of the grandeur, decadence, and beauty of the Renaissance—had taken hold of the Victorian mind, which in turn molded and adapted these images to its own ideals.

²⁶ For example, the archives for the Architectural Association during these years have not been catalogued and are not readily accessible, and the personal papers of Reginald Blomfield and A. E. Richardson are still held by their families.

The second chapter investigates the profession of architecture and how architects appropriated the image of the Renaissance architect in their own bid for professional status. It looks specifically at the processes of professionalization of the architect through the establishment of specialized organizations, primarily the Royal Institute of British Architects, and the problems and issues that architects faced in their path towards professional equality with doctors and lawyers.

The third chapter analyzes a key aspect of the professionalization process: the establishment of the Royal Institute of British Architects Examinations for membership. Functioning in part as a means of registration (which did not occur in England until the 1930s), the examinations show the changing nature of the interest in architectural history, and in the Renaissance in particular, as it was presented through professional channels.

Chapter four researches the role of history in the newly formed schools of architecture. In the late nineteenth century, the education of the architect went through a radical transition from articulated apprenticeship with a practicing architect to a full-time degree course in architecture at the university level. Key in the early programs was the use of plaster casts of architectural elements and ornamental details. This detail-oriented approach was a method of education that reflected a focus on ornament as the primary design element for the architect. As these programs developed there was a distinct shift away from the ornamental detail to a more abstract system of principles of design and composition. The parallel changes in how these programs addressed architectural history within their curricula are critical to understanding its role in design.

The final chapter of this section reviews the fashions and theories of the buildings and designs of the period. Architecture was just coming out of the Gothic Revival and the Battle of the Styles and was searching for a new identity with which to promote the British Empire. The architecture of the period is difficult to categorize and there is no readily visible development of styles. Therefore, I have selected a series of buildings that illustrate the variety of interpretations of the Renaissance in architecture from 1880-1914. These works are the Foreign Office, London;

Bedford Park; the Institute of Chartered Accountants, London; Mappin House, Oxford Street, London; British Medical Association, London; the British School at Rome; and the Quadrant, Piccadilly Circus, London.

The second part of the dissertation analyzes writings on the history of Renaissance architecture written in Britain from 1890 to 1914. As Robert Macleod recognized: “During a century which was so self consciously attempting to relate itself to its past, the developing activities of historians were clearly of central importance, not only in explaining the past, but in shaping the directions of the future.”²⁷ This section begins with an overview of the histories of the Renaissance both outside and within the architectural circle and outlines the influence of two major writers of the period, John Ruskin and Jacob Burckhardt. The publications of other writers such as John Addington Symonds and Walter Pater are also important to creating the context for the second section of this chapter, which analyzes how early surveys of architectural history address the Renaissance.

The next three chapters focus on the interpretations of the Renaissance by three authors in particular: William J. Anderson (1863-1900), Sir Reginald Blomfield (1856-1942), and Geoffrey Scott (1885-1929). Each work is a benchmark against which to measure the changing attitudes towards the Renaissance. Anderson’s book, *The Architecture of the Renaissance in Italy* (1896) was both one of the first surveys of Renaissance architecture and also one of the first architectural publications to be fully illustrated with the new technology of photography. Sir Reginald Blomfield, a prolific architect and writer, connected the influence of Renaissance architecture in England to contemporary nationalist sympathies in his 1897 book *A History of Renaissance Architecture in England, 1500-1800*, legitimating the study of the Italian Renaissance through its English interpretations in the works of Inigo Jones and Sir Christopher Wren. Blomfield’s study was also important as a backdrop to his proposal of the Grand Manner, a new architecture based on classical principles. Geoffrey Scott’s *The Architecture of Humanism*

²⁷ Macleod, 68.

(1914) also used history as a model to propose a new architecture. He used the “fallacies” of the nineteenth century as negative example of how to approach and critique architecture, and he used the Renaissance and Baroque architecture of Italy as a way to describe how to aesthetically experience architecture.

From this broad range of material is built a vision of the Renaissance as a period that was shaped to fulfill the needs and interests of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. It provided a model of the professional architect; it was a system of design that was both scholarly and based on a system but also allowed imagination and creativity; it was both “modern” and used as an exemplar against the influx of Modernism from the continent; and it was flexible enough to maintain a close relationship to design from the detail to the abstract principle.

Chapter 1

The Rustle of Turning Leaves. British Travel to Italy in the Nineteenth Century

In times that are now somewhat distant, but not beyond living memory, the architectural student, whatever he may have neglected, was not allowed to overlook the great works of Imperial Rome, which furnished the most important items in his stock of ideas. Nor could he easily overlook the styles which, after the revival of learning, grew naturally on Italian soil and were more or less adapted to the wants of modern life. Men who seriously intended to fit themselves for the profession of architecture went abroad for many months, and even for years, the main object of their journey being to become familiar with Italian architecture of the Classic type.¹

Thomas Blashill, 1885

In 1885, Thomas Blashill, a London architect, gave a paper at the Architectural Association in which he stated his concern that students of architecture no longer traveled to Italy to see the classical monuments. Instead of studying the buildings in person, students looked at books and prints “for their knowledge of some of the most remarkable manifestations of genius of which the history of architecture has taken account.”² Blashill was amazed that in a period in which travel to Rome had become so easy with the advent of the railroad, students of architecture did not travel and instead stayed home learning architecture from books. This was ironic as more British citizens traveled to Italy, fewer young architects were making the journey as an expected part of their education.

There were several reasons for this decline. First, foreign art academies no longer held the students’ interest and were less important in the gaining of professional status with the advent

¹ Thomas Blashill, "Italy: For Students," *The Builder* XLIX (November 14, 1885): 674.

² Ibid. See also Crinson and Lubbock, 40. They noted that from “the mid Victorian period onwards, travel seems to have been less important and classicism came to be regarded as a style whose grammar had to be learnt and applied with a set of rules.”

of professional architectural organizations.³ The academies had provided an opportunity for artistic instruction that was not available back home in England.⁴ As formalized architectural education did not become established in Britain until the second half of the nineteenth century, young men wishing to be architects trained through a process of apprenticeship in an established architect's office for about six years. The Academia di San Luca in Rome, for example, one of the most popular art academies, included a six-year architecture program as early as the 1810s. British students also attended life-drawing sessions at the Academia del Nudo, established in 1754 in affiliation with the Academia San Luca in Rome giving them an opportunity for study if they were not admitted to the life classes at the Royal Academy back in London.⁵

Formal membership in a foreign academy was typically honorary for British artists as they would not have participated in the governance or maintenance of the institution. Membership typically required the submission of a probationary set of drawings and a fee.⁶ As the architectural historian Frank Salmon has shown, of the primary figures in the establishment of architectural education and the Institute of Architects (founded in 1834 and becoming the Royal Institute of British Architects, R.I.B.A., in 1866) more than two-thirds had traveled to Italy and several were affiliated with one of the art academies there.⁷ T. L. Donaldson, for example, one of the founders and, later, the Secretary of the Royal Institute of British Architects (R.I.B.A.), was integral in establishment of connections with the foreign academies.⁸ Men such as Donaldson saw travel as having been critical for his own education. It was only natural that when these men

³ There were all types of foreign art academies in Rome, and they were aimed both at the amateur and the professional, as well as several drawing programs specifically for women, who would not have been allowed membership in many of the other academies.

⁴ Frank Salmon, "British Architects, Italian Fine Arts Academies and the Foundation of the RIBA, 1816-43." *Architectural History*, 39 (1996): 80.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 81.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 82.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 79.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 85. Donaldson was particularly interested in establishing connections between the newly formed Institute and the foreign academies and wrote numerous letters to them

began to take a lead role in founding architectural programs in England, that they would have continued to see the travel experience as important.

At stake was more than just a question of expertise, but one of “culture.” The desire for “culture” applied to the art professional even more than the aristocrat or middle-class businessman. Since the Grand Tour of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a trip to Italy and Rome had been essential for a young architect. “Nowhere else was the Anglo-Saxon so willing to acknowledge a sense of inferiority.”⁹

In addition to seeking culture, the British went to Italy for commerce, for business, for health, for religion, for the weather, for fashion, or simply to get away.¹⁰ Augustus Hare noted in his travel guide, “When one is in Rome, life seems to be free from many of the petty troubles which beset it in other places; there is no foreign town which offers so many comforts and advantages to its English visitors.”¹¹ These “petty troubles” included those of people considered to be “outside” late Victorian society who traveled abroad to escape to the prejudices and hierarchies at home. With the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1885, which made the conviction of homosexuality easier in England, and the high profile conviction of Oscar Wilde in 1895, homosexuals in particular found Italy and the Mediterranean simply a more hospitable environment in which to live their lives.¹²

Cost—or the perception of it—was also a factor, while Rome was more expensive than many Italian cities, it was considered cheaper than England, and British travelers of limited

⁹ John Pemble, *The Mediterranean Passion: Victorian and Edwardians in the South* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 60.

¹⁰ Brian Barefoot, *The English Road to Rome* (Upton-upon-Severn: Images, 1993), 165. Barefoot describes these groups for the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, but these descriptions hold until the early twentieth century.

¹¹ Augustus J. C. Hare, *Walks in Rome, 8th American Edition* (New York: George Rutledge and Sons, 1882), xvii.

¹² Pemble, *Mediterranean Passion*, 160. Wilde was convicted of gross indecency and sentenced to two years hard labor in a prison camp.

means felt that they could maintain a higher standard of living there than they could at home.¹³ While this was the case prior to 1900, by the time Richard Bagot wrote his memoir of his life as a British expatriate in Italy in 1911, the economic situation had changed. Italy was no longer the bargain it had been, and prices for everything were higher. But, “Rigid in his adherence to his own national tradition that Italy is a country in which he can economise, the Englishman, I think, has never yet recognised the fact that the Italy of today is not the Italy of the days when his fathers and grandfathers made the grand tour, or shut up their houses at home in order to save a year’s income or so in Rome, Florence, or Venice.”¹⁴

And yet during the late nineteenth century, several factors led to keep Italy in the limelight. First, in 1870 the political situation changed significantly, as Italy became unified with Rome as the new capital, ending years of unrest and French occupation that had kept many British travelers away. The English had been fascinated with the key figures in Italian unification, and they received Giuseppe Garibaldi during his visit to London in April 1864 with large, cheering crowds. The *Times* noted, “It was most emphatically a people’s welcome, and was given with such an earnestness and goodwill as has seldom been equaled, and probably never excelled, ... From roof to basement every house was thronged—in windows, balconies, and along parapets; while the streets were so impassable ... that upwards of four hours were consumed in passing along the route ... a distance of, at the very most, three miles.”¹⁵ It was organized primarily as a gathering of the working classes without the usual upper class reception, but the image of Garibaldi as a romantic figure had swayed British of all classes.

That same year, Thomas Cook (1808-1892) foreseeing a way to translate the interest in Garibaldi into interest in travel to Italy, led two groups of British travelers there. “These were the first circular tickets issued in this country,” and they included transport by rail, steamboat, and

¹³ Barefoot, 139. It was believed that the price of luxury goods in particular was cheaper in Italy than in England, allowing one to live at a higher standard of living than he could at home.

¹⁴ Richard Bagot, *My Italian Year*, series: Collection of British Authors, vol. 4313. (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1912), 45.

¹⁵ “The Welcome of Garibaldi,” *The Times* (April 12, 1864): 12, column B.

diligence (a type of carriage).¹⁶ Even during the war in Paris in 1870, Cook continued his tours to Italy, avoiding the politically unstable areas.¹⁷

Key to Cook's success and the rapid increase of travelers was the 1868 completion of the railroad lines across the Alps, providing a direct link to Rome from northern Europe and drastically shortening travel times.¹⁸ Prior to that time, a trip from London to Rome would have been by either carriage (preferably private) or steamer and would have taken at least three to four weeks, longer if the traveler stopped to rest for extended periods or was quarantined. But after the completion of the Calais-Mediterranean Express ending at Ventimiglia in 1889, providing a direct route from Calais through Nice to Rome, the journey took only a few days (figure 1.1).¹⁹ The price of early train travel from London to Rome in 1868 cost an exorbitant £12.9.0, but in comparison with the cost of being *en route* for a longer period, (with the costs of horses, carriages, accommodation, hire of a guide, etc.) the cost of rail travel was not unreasonable.²⁰ As rail travel made England more accessible, it gave travelers less opportunity to linger in one place.²¹ There was little point to spending three to four weeks in travel each way, if one was only going to stay in Rome for a couple of days.²²

The amount of time spent preparing for the journey was also a factor as the traveler had to make numerous logistical arrangements for any trip abroad. If he decided not to travel by train, he had to make accommodations for his horses and carriage for the entire journey, or the rental of horses at different points.²³ He had to arrange horses and transportation by rail, or he

¹⁶ Jill Douglas-Hamilton, *Thomas Cook. The Holiday Maker* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton Pub., 2005), 148-49.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 185.

¹⁸ Barefoot, 187.

¹⁹ Pemble, *Mediterranean Passion*, 26. The Calais-Mediterranean Express had been named the Calais-Nice-Rome Express and was renamed in 1889.

²⁰ Barefoot, 187.

²¹ Pemble, *Mediterranean Passion*, 39.

²² *Ibid.*, 107.

²³ *Ibid.*

could arrange for his carriage to be brought by rail to his destination, and the horses would be hired there. He had to hire someone to take care of the luggage, which could either be shipped ahead or handled at each border crossing. Financially, he had to organize a letter of credit so that money could be exchanged at foreign banks, taking into account the customs' houses along the way for paying duties in the different denominations. Before 1860, a traveler to Italy had to coordinate the acquisition of passports and visas for each individual Italian state. Travel books often included advertisements offering services to facilitate these and other travel necessities (figure 1.2).²⁴

The development of the travel company vastly simplified the planning and coordination required for the trip. Thomas Cook's travel company, for example, specialized in providing travel packages that included transportation, accommodation, and the acquisition of the necessary documents, a very beneficial service for those who had little or no experience with international travel ...²⁵ Initially promoted only to the wealthy, travel companies such as Thomas Cook gradually began to cater to the growing middle class, resulting in a decline of the "cultural exclusivity" of many Mediterranean destinations.²⁶

By the end of the nineteenth century, the British were traveling to Italy and the Mediterranean in record numbers, with an estimated 2000 English wintering in Rome each year from 1870 to 1914.²⁷ Prior to the railroad and the unification of Italy in 1870, the peak years of British travel to Italy were the 1820s at the end of the Grand Tour, after which interest declined and the trip became less fashionable among both the elite and the artistic circles.²⁸

²⁴ Pemble, *Mediterranean Passion*, 33.

²⁵ The impact of Thomas Cook and his son on travel was great enough for *The Times* to refer to them as "the Julius and Augustus Caesar of the modern travel business." *The Times* (July 20, 1892) as cited in Robert Ingle, *Thomas Cook of Leicester*. Judith Loades, ed. (Gwynedd: Headstart History, 1991), prologue.

²⁶ Cook's travel company initially gained wide recognition for transporting and providing accommodation for tourists to the 1851 Exhibition in London.

²⁷ Barefoot, 203.

²⁸ Charles Peter Brand, *Italy and the English Romantics: The Italianate Fashion in Early Nineteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957), 23-24.

In addition to the regular influx of British travelers, most of the Italian cities—Florence and Rome in particular—had an expatriate community of British citizens who lived there for extended periods. The community was large enough for the travel writer William Howells to comment in 1883 on an English couple that they were “types of a class which [is] numerous all over the Continent, and which seem thoroughly content with expatriation.”²⁹ Many of these expatriates, like Richard Bagot, recorded their experiences in memoirs, or thinly veiled fictional accounts of their lives, like Ouida (pseudo. Marie Louise de la Rameé) in her novel *Friendship* (1878).

From the mid nineteenth century well into the twentieth century there was a consistent Anglo-American expatriate community in and around Florence which included such prominent figures as Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Robert Browning, Vernon Lee (pseudo. Violet Paget), Bernard and Mary Berenson, and Janet Ross, among others. They typically bought villas or farmhouses outside of town and renovated them to suit their taste. The Berensons, for example, purchased the Villa i Tatti in 1907 after having leased it for several years. They proceeded to make alterations and renovations to the building and its site.³⁰

The historian John Pemble noted that many of the expatriates were misfits to some degree in Victorian society, either they were homosexual, divorced, eccentric, socialist, or simply “mad.” Charles Dickens commented that the expatriates had a “general unfitness for getting on at home,” and Henry James called the group “the deposed, the defeated, the disenchanting, the wounded, or even only the bored.”³¹ The Italians called Anglo-American expatriates of Florence “anglo-

²⁹ Pemble, 105.

³⁰ William Weaver, *A Legacy of Excellence. The Story of Villa i Tatti* (New York: Harry Abrams, Inc., 1997), 44-47. The final cost of the Villa in 1907 was 150,000 francs including the cattle, tools, horses, and fees.

³¹ Pemble, *Mediterranean Passion*, 105; citing Charles Dickens. *Little Dorrit*, Book II, ch. VII and Henry James. Introduction to “Browning in Venice” by K. de Kay Bronson. *Cornhill Magazine* 12 (1902):149.

beceri,” literally “Anglo-boors.”³² These “colonies” of British dwindled only at the onset of World War I.

In part because of this built-in community, the English rarely interacted with the “real” Italy. Bagot scolded the British for this standoffishness, pointing to “[t]he English colony in every Italian city is a little—a very little—England.”³³ Frederic Harrison noted in his book *Memories and Thoughts* (1887), “We go abroad, but we travel no longer. We see nothing really of the people among whom we sojourn. We never touch their lives.”³⁴

In 1853 the American travel-writer George Hillard commented on the numerous English tourists in Rome and the separation of the English from their Italian environment:

English speech is the predominating sound, and sturdy English forms and rosy English faces the predominating sight. Here are English shops, an English livery stable, and an English reading-room, where elderly gentlemen in drab gaiters read *The Times* newspaper with an air of grim intensity. Here English grooms flirt with English nursery-maids, and English children present to Italian eyes the living types of the cherub heads of Corregio and Albani. It is, in short, a piece of England dropped upon the soil of Italy...³⁵

The English even had their own quarter in Rome near the Piazza di Spagna, nicknamed the “*ghetto Inglese*.”³⁶ As Augustus Hare pointed out in his popular guidebook *Walks in Rome*, first published 1882 with numerous subsequent editions, “The English almost all prefer to reside in the neighborhood of the Piazza di Spagna. The best situations are the sunny side of the Piazza itself, the Trinita de’ Monti, the Via Gregoriana, and Via Sistina.”³⁷ The travelers lived in hotels or

³² Weaver, 34.

³³ Bagot, 11.

³⁴ Pemble, *Mediterranean Passion*, 265; citing Frederic Harrison, *Memories and Thoughts: men—books—cities—art* (London and New York: The Macmillan Company, 1906), 249.

³⁵ Barefoot, 181.

³⁶ Pemble, *Mediterranean Passion*, 41.

³⁷ Hare, 1.

leased apartments in the British area of the city. They typically had their meals brought to them by prior arrangement either with their hotel or a nearby restaurant. As Hare's guidebook noted: "Restaurants send dinner out to families in apartments in a tin box with a stove, for which the bearer calls the next morning. A dinner for six francs ought to be amply sufficient for three persons, and to leave enough for lunch the next day."³⁸

Within these preferred areas, shops and other amenities catering to English clientele developed. Hare mentions the English church just outside the Porta del Popolo and the hours of its services, the English house agent, the English dairy, and what time the English mail leaves. There were also English tearooms and English reading rooms, booksellers, and grocers, as well as English doctors and chemists.³⁹ Several English-language newspapers were published, most notably the *Roman Times* and the *Roman Herald*. For the English that died in Rome, there was a Protestant cemetery to the south of the city, just outside the city walls.⁴⁰ The famous who died there had English memorials and tombs, such as that of the poet John Keats (d. in Rome 1821), Percy Bysshe Shelley (d. in Rome 1822), and the painter Joseph Severn (d. in Rome 1879), all of whom were buried in the Protestant Cemetery outside the city walls of Rome. The location of both Keats's and Shelley's tombs were noted in all the British guidebooks, often including the tomb inscriptions. In the heart of the *ghetto inglese* a marble slab marks the door to Keats's house in Rome, located between the English library and the tearoom.

The numerous amenities catering to the English were not the only reason that there was little contact between the English and the Italians. Language was the most obvious reason for their social separation. Partially due to the large number of English speaking tourists, the number of

³⁸ Ibid. See also Pemble, *Mediterranean Passion*, 260-62.

³⁹ Ibid., see the index and list of "Dull-useful information" in Chapter 1. The influence of late nineteenth-century British tourism is still evident today at Babington's Tea Room, which was opened by two English women in 1896 specifically to serve British tourists and still sits at the foot of the Spanish Steps. For the Briton who was a practicing Catholic, the guidebook *Rome. Ancient and Modern*, 1911, provided a detailed list of Roman Catholic English churches as well as a full list of saint's days and other holidays. *Rome. Ancient and Modern. Pocket-guide*. 10th edition (Rome, 1911), 43-57.

⁴⁰ "The bones of many English and Americans rest here in peace, far from home, in the land of the Caesars." Ibid., 221-222. See also Pemble, *Mediterranean Passion*, 41.

Italians that spoke English increased, particularly in the areas around the Piazza di Spagna where British travelers typically stayed. With Italians becoming more fluent in English, there was a parallel decrease in the number of English who attempted to learn at least the basics of the Italian language prior to their travel.⁴¹ While a young Englishman's education almost always included a heavy dose of classical history and Latin in school, only young English women formally learned Italian as part of their curriculum as it was considered a "light and frivolous" language.⁴² In the period during and just after the French occupation, however, travel guides noted that French was "spoken everywhere," and that the "cuisine [is] a mixture of French and Italian."⁴³

The expatriate author Bagot made the analogy that an Englishman who comes to Italy and does not learn the language is like a man buying a house that he cannot enter.⁴⁴ He added that to learn the language would soften much of the criticism that the English have of the Italians, amounting in many cases simply to cultural misunderstandings. He also felt that by learning the language much of the racial prejudice of the English would disappear as they would have understood Italians' criticisms and possibly changed their behavior.⁴⁵ Bagot recognized an English sense of superiority, noting that "[t]o find an English resident in Italy who is not perpetually in a state of only-semi-suppressed irritation with the Italians is a thing so rare as to be remarkable. 'They are like children' is the stock criticism of the average English resident regarding the people in whose midst he has elected to dwell; ..."⁴⁶ Despite these prejudices, Victorians saw the darker Mediterranean complexion (particularly when compared to the fashionable, overly pale skin of the British Victorian lady) as healthy and sexually attractive.⁴⁷

⁴¹ William Dean Howells, *Roman Holidays and Others* (London and New York: Harper Brothers Publishers, 1908), 100.

⁴² Brand, 40.

⁴³ Carl Baedeker, *Italy. Second Part: Central Italy and Rome*, 2nd edition (Coblenz: Karl Bædeker, 1869), xxvii.

⁴⁴ Bagot, 10.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 9-10. He returns to this complaint throughout his narrative.

⁴⁶ Bagot, 8-9.

⁴⁷ Pemble, *Mediterranean Passion*, 123-24.

This by no means made relationships between the British and the Italians proper or appropriate, as there was still a veil of Victorian probity and a deep “concern for racial integrity.”⁴⁸

The English had a simultaneous attraction to and anxiety over Catholicism. While they admired what they saw as Italian religious conviction, they were nonetheless in many ways anti-Catholic.⁴⁹ English visitors typically attended Christmas and Easter services at the Catholic churches, but often acted disrespectfully by laughing or talking throughout the service.⁵⁰ The English considered the processions and display of Catholicism to be too theatrical for their tastes. To a Victorian Protestant mentality, the mere presence of relics and icons bordered on the superstitious and pagan.⁵¹

In spite of these prejudices and contradictions, Britain still saw “Imperial Rome” as a model for its empire. To the British, the similarities between the Roman Empire and the Victorian interest in northern Africa could not be overlooked. The historian John Pemble notes that the British had a “fundamental conviction...that they, rather than the French, were the true heirs to the ancient Romans.” As Lady Eastlake stated: “I felt that my nation was more truly the descendant of that matchless race than any other in the world.”⁵² It was an idea that ran through the politics, historical writing, and society of the late nineteenth century. Like other images of Rome, Imperial Rome was a mutable and flexible image that could be changed or bent depending on the argument at hand. One of the most striking examples of the use of the analogy is the 1876

⁴⁸ Ibid., 271.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 147-48.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 212. The Christmas and Easter services marked the beginning and end of the winter season during which the English typically stayed in Rome.

⁵¹ Ibid., 213-20. There was, however, a simultaneous growth of Catholicism in England, which was primarily due to immigration from Ireland but also to a number of conversions. The elections of three English Catholic Cardinals between 1848-61 are an indication of this increased interest. The majority of English opinion remained staunchly anti-Catholic, however, and Catholics were not admitted to take degrees at Oxford, Cambridge, or Durham University until 1871. Barefoot, 177.

⁵² Pemble, *Mediterranean Passion*, 64. See also the historian Norman Vance, who notes that after the mid-nineteenth century, “It was Imperial Rome, initially pagan and a persecutor of Christians but progressively Christianized, which insistently proposed itself as a model and a warning in a Britain which had become a consciously if controversially imperial power...” Norman Vance, *The Victorians and Ancient Rome* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1997), 197.

Royal Titles Bill in which Victoria was to be called Empress of India.⁵³ The controversy that this title raised reflected the problems of making an imperial association that connected Britain not only to Rome but also to Napoleon's France. In addition, Palmerston, Disraeli, and Gladstone all used the analogy of the Roman Empire when referring to Britain in their speeches.

In 1894 elaborate celebrations were held to commemorate the one-hundredth anniversary of the publication of Edward Gibbon's *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.⁵⁴ This work probably as much in its title as in its actual text impacted how the British perceived the idea of empire as something that could not only rise, but also "fall." Gibbon's work was popular enough to have been spoofed on several occasions, including an 1884 skit and a 1904 satire both titled "The Decline and Fall of the British Empire." The skit, supposedly written by an "Edwarda Gibbon," was set in New Zealand in the year 2884, and the 1904 satire outlined the history of Britain as if it was written in a twenty-first-century Japanese textbook.⁵⁵ The historian Norman Vance commented that, "The centenary coincided not only with the *fin de siècle* despondency and the stirring of national and imperial self-doubt, but with a late-Victorian revolt against conventional aesthetics and morality which had its own designs on the narrative of Roman decline and fall into decadence and political impotence."⁵⁶

The nineteenth-century historian E. A. Freeman saw history as a singular continuity instead of a series of discrete incidents, thus closing any sense of a temporal gap between the Roman and the British empires. Also not to be discounted was the actual physical presence of the Roman Empire that was being uncovered during public works and infrastructural changes in London and elsewhere (figure 1.3).⁵⁷ Britain itself rested firmly on the foundation of the Roman Empire literally only a few feet below. Artists also made the connection between the two

⁵³ Vance, 229-30.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 246.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 234-36.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 246.

⁵⁷ Vance, 244-45.

empires. Ford Maddox Brown's murals in Alfred Waterhouse's Manchester Town Hall, for example, narrate the history of Manchester, starting with the depiction of the construction of a Roman fort (figure 1.4).⁵⁸

The Italy that the British traveled most to see was ultimately a product of their historical and romantic imaginations. It was perhaps for this reason that while they appreciated the improvements in terms of the comfort and ease of travel, they were shocked by the signs of modernization once they arrived. The new Italian government had established a system of maintaining monuments deemed archaeologically or artistically significant, and had begun eliminating portions of the remaining older urban fabric designating it as unhealthy. The Jewish ghetto along the Tiber in Rome was one such area that was demolished. Large new government buildings were built—including the over-scaled Vittoriano—and new roads were cut. Horse-drawn omnibuses were replaced in 1890 by electric tramways that ran on rails running through the streets.⁵⁹ William Dean Howells in his 1908 travel guide *Roman Holidays and Others* had first visited Rome in 1864 and saw the physical transformations of the city over the next forty years as positive steps towards the modernization of Rome as the new capital of a unified Italy. But many British saw the alterations not as improvements but as destroying the picturesque qualities of the city.⁶⁰ The English tourist was the most resistant towards these changes, as Howells noted:

I do not see why a Londoner, who himself lives in a well-kept town, should join with any of my fellow barbarians in hypocritically deploring the modern spirit which has so happily invaded the Eternal City. The Londoners should rather entreat us to not be humbugs and should invite us to join him in rejoicing that the

⁵⁸ Ibid., 246.

⁵⁹ For a description of the modernization of Rome see Spiro Kostof, *The Third Rome 1870-1950. Traffic and Glory*. (Berkeley: University Art Museum, 1973): 9-10. In addition to an increase in the number of tourists, Rome's population more than doubled from 230,00 at the time of the unification in 1870 to 500,000 in 1900.

⁶⁰ Howells., 79.

death-rate of Rome, once the highest in the civilized world, is now almost the lowest. But the language of Shakespeare and Milton is too often internationally employed in deploring the modernity which has housed us aliens there in such perfect comfort and safety.⁶¹

These changes were visible as early as 1843. Charles Dickens recorded his surprise at his first impression of the city:

When we were fairly going off again, we began, in a perfect fever, to strain our eyes for Rome; and when, after another mile or two, the Eternal City appeared, at length, in the distance; it looked like—I am half afraid to write the word—like London!!! There it lay under a thick cloud, with innumerable towers, and steeples, and roofs of houses, rising up into the sky, and high above them all, one Dome. I swear, that keenly as I felt the seeming absurdity of the comparison, it was so like London, at that distance, that if you could have shown it to me, in a glass, I should have taken it for nothing else.⁶²

Dickens obviously did not expect Rome to be a modern city like London. As Howells later stated, “I came to think that what you want in Rome is not the best-preserved monument, not the most perfect pagan building, but the most ruinous ruin you can get.”⁶³ Even the earlier French excavation of certain archaeological sites in Rome troubled the British. Barefoot noted that while the archaeologist or architect might have been excited by what they could now see “it was a great disappointment to the classically-minded ordinary visitor, who preferred his ruins to look like ruins.”⁶⁴ The British still wanted Rome’s classical ruins to look as they had been drawn and elaborated on in prints by artists such as Piranesi (figure 1.5). These tourists were less interested in the modernity of Rome than in its past and still saw the city through a romantic lens as it had

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 80-81.

⁶² Charles Dickens, *Pictures from Italy* (first edition, 1846; reprint London: Penguin Books, 1998), 115.

⁶³ Howells, 116.

⁶⁴ Barefoot, 142.

been during the Grand Tour where the ruins and history of Rome were the main attraction. Rome as a modern city did not interest them.

The Rustle of Turning Leaves: Guidebooks and Other Travel Reading

“...with my mind’s ear I heard the rustle of the turning leaves of Baedekers, of Murrays, of Hares, ...”⁶⁵

For their travels to the eternal city and other parts of Italy, the English prepared themselves by reading travel guides as well as travel writing, novels set in Italy, and numerous histories of Imperial and Renaissance Rome. Although the first English language Baedekers that included Rome was not published until 1861, by this time Murray’s guidebooks of Rome and Italy had been around for twenty-five years and were established as the premier guides for the British traveler.⁶⁶ John Ruskin in his book *Mornings in Florence* (1875), carried on a constant dialogue with the traveling reader, beginning many of his descriptions of art or architecture with “Your Murray’s Guide tells you...”⁶⁷ Ruskin highlighted the predominance of Murray’s guides, but also refuted some of the information that Murray gave.

With the increase in travel to Italy in the late nineteenth century, there was a parallel increase in the publication of travel guides and travel writing addressing both the journey and what to see and do once there. Each guidebook made claims that it was based on the personal experiences of the author, often including personal anecdotes along with the more typical travel information as if to provide proof of their having actually been there themselves. These guidebooks are most striking now for the large amount of space dedicated to the journey itself. In the age of air travel, it is hard to imagine a guidebook such as the 1843 edition of Murray’s that

⁶⁵ Howells, 100.

⁶⁶ John Murray, *Handbook for Travellers in Central Italy including the Papal States, Rome and the Cities of Etruria, with a Travelling Map* (London: John Murray & Son, 1843).

⁶⁷ John Ruskin, *Mornings in Florence, being simple studies of Christian Art, for English Travellers* (London: George Allen, 1875).

catalogs twenty-six different routes from London to Rome, each described in detail as to their advantages or disadvantages.⁶⁸ The 1869 edition of Baedeker's *Central Italy and Rome* gives eleven different routes to Rome.⁶⁹ In contrast, Hare's *Walks in Rome*, like many post-railroad guides, focuses less on the actual travel to Rome and instead outlined journeys in the city, giving quotes from classical and contemporary authors about the specific sites (figure 1.6). The guides were predominantly prescriptive in that they directed the focus of the traveller to specific monuments or sites.⁷⁰

Classical literature permeated English public education, furnishing most educated men a literary familiarity with the city. Professor James Sully in his book *Italian Travel Sketches* (1912) noted, "The English wanderer in Rome, who remembers a decent quantity of his school and college lore will often experience little shocks of recognition which make him feel that he is not far from home."⁷¹ Hare noted in his introduction, "An arrival in Rome is very different to that in any other town of Europe. It is coming to a place new and yet most familiar, strange and yet so well known. When travelers ... arrive at Rome and go to the Coliseum [sic], it is to visit an object whose appearance has been familiar to them from childhood, ..."⁷²

Charles Dickens (1812-1870) in his account of his trip through Italy, recorded in the 1846 publication of *Pictures from Italy*, produced a work that functioned both as an informative guidebook and as a narrative tale. Dickens recorded his almost year-long journey through Italy and Rome, conveying the atmosphere of the places he visited and the people he met there. Of all the sights to visit, it was not until he saw the Colosseum that he felt that he was actually in Rome. "Never in its bloodiest prime, can the sight of the gigantic Coliseum [sic], full and running over with the lustiest of life, have moved one heart, as it must move all who look upon it now, a ruin.

⁶⁸ Murrays, Introduction.

⁶⁹ Karl Baedeker, *Italy. Handbook for Travellers. Second Part. Central Italy and Rome*. 2nd edition revised and augmented (First edition 1861; reprint, London: Williams and Norgate, 1869).

⁷⁰ Fraser, 50.

⁷¹ Pemble, *Mediterranean Passion*, 116. Citing James Sully, *Italian Travel Sketches*, 76.

⁷² Hare, ix.

GOD be thanked: a ruin! ... Here was Rome indeed at last; and such a Rome as no one can imagine in its full and awful grandeur.”⁷³ Through all this touring, he visited the Colosseum every day, including twice making the obligatory visit by moonlight. *Pictures From Italy* was not, however, a guidebook in that it would not have provided the reader with the “dull-useful” information such as hotels or visa logistics that Murray or Hare did. Instead, it would have given the reader a narrative description filled with the atmosphere and the sights they were to see and the people they might meet there.

Some travel writing was often simply edited compilations of selections for novels, histories or other writings specific to the location. George Hillard’s *Six Months in Italy* included a diverse selection of excerpts from Petrarch, Shakespeare, Goethe, Lord Byron, and Miss Eaton, among others.⁷⁴ These works hit the “highlights” of the writings on Italy and reinforced the prominence of some works that travelers might not have otherwise read, certainly not in their entirety.

Scholars have argued the importance of the novel in the Victorian study and popularization of the Italy and its history. One of the most popular of the novels with Rome as a backdrop was *The Marble Faun*, 1860, by the American author Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804-1864), in which he interweaved the tale of the faun, Donatello, and three American artists in Rome with his descriptions of the prominent sites of the city.⁷⁵ In much the same way that Verona would always be simultaneously a real place and the setting for Shakespeare’s *Romeo and*

⁷³ Ibid., 118.

⁷⁴ George Stillman Hillard, *Six Months in Italy*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, 1853). Another example of this type of readings collection is Francis Halsey’s *Seeing Europe with Famous Authors, in ten volumes. Vol. VII Italy, Sicily, and Greece Part One* (London: Funk and Wagnalls Co. 1914). Halsey’s book on Italy includes Goethe, Hippolyte Taine, Rodolfo Lanciani, George Hillard, Charles Dickens, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and others. The brief excerpts in these books quickly gave a broad, if often romanticized overview of the place through literary selections.

⁷⁵ It should be noted that the British first edition of *The Marble Faun* was titled *Transformation*. A more in depth discussion of British and American fictional writing on Italy see Kenneth Churchill, “Italy and the English Novel, 1870-1917,” chapter 13 in *Italy and English Literature* (London: Macmillan Press, 1980), 162-81.

Juliet, Rome was the stage for Hawthorne's novel, and tourists visited the certain monuments because of their associations in the story.⁷⁶ Howells noted of his first journey to Rome in the 1860s, "We made that [*The Marble Faun*] our aesthetic handbook in Rome, and we devoutly looked up all the places mentioned in it, which were important for being mentioned; ..." ⁷⁷ The places, already layered with a palimpsest of centuries of Roman history, acquired another layer of connection and meaning to the fictional characters of the story for the English reader.

There were also pseudo-histories such as *John Inglesant: A Romance, 1880*, by J. Henry Shorthouse, which was based on a fictitious manuscript. These works brought the Renaissance to life for the Victorian reader. The literary historian Hilary Fraser noted that "the fact that modern readers can see with their very eyes the scenes against which the great events of the Renaissance were enacted is invoked in part simply as further guarantee of the authenticity of the fictional account before them."⁷⁸ Fraser also argued that these novels created a conception of the Renaissance that predated that of the historian Jacob Burckhardt.⁷⁹

Ultimately, it was the history of Italy, whether fictitious or real, that drew the English to the country, looking for the past in all its various manifestations. Most of guidebooks covered the history of Italy as a series of facts and dates with little interpretation. The 1869 Baedeker's guide to Central Italy and Rome, however, included an essay on the history of Italian art by the German art historian Prof. Springer of Bonn, which presented classical and Renaissance art and architecture without illustrations. It noted that "Italian architecture of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries possesses a practical value for us, and is frequently imitated at the present day; ..." ⁸⁰ Springer's more general analysis balanced the quirky and odd factual information that was given in the rest of the guide, for example that the Capitol was 151 feet above sea level.

⁷⁶ Dickens notes on his trip to Verona, "It was natural enough, to go straight from the Market-place, to the House of the Capulets, ..." after which he visits Juliet's tomb. See Dickens, *Pictures*, 86-87.

⁷⁷ Howells, 226-27.

⁷⁸ Fraser, 187.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 203.

⁸⁰ Baedeker, liii.

While Britons were primarily interested in the history of Rome as an Empire, they also avidly read about the Italian Renaissance, and there was a corresponding increase in works written on the subject. The writings of the historian John Addington Symonds (1840-93), in particular, were influential in how they thought about the Renaissance. While most people probably did not read all of Symonds's major work, *The Renaissance in Italy*, published 1876-86 in seven volumes, it made enough of an impact to provide a strong antidote to the anti-Renaissance writings of John Ruskin (1819-1900). Whereas Ruskin's writings were rooted in the understanding of the Renaissance as a period of decadence and paganism in direct contrast to medieval expressions of religious piety, Symonds, on the other hand, saw life in more humanist terms and the Renaissance as the "beginning of modern progress."⁸¹ Symonds's ideas would have also been available to readers in his more accessible collections of essays—*Sketches in Italy and Greece* (1874); *Sketches and Studies in Italy* (1875); and *Italian Byways* (1883). Symonds and other writers released the history of Italy from the interpretation of Ruskin.

The British saw Rome in terms of its different temporal layers. They were, in a sense, trying to interact with three cities simultaneously, that of ancient Rome that they knew from books and pictures; the Renaissance city in which they had just begun to develop an interest; and the modern one that they inhabited. When the British came to Rome, they came to see Imperial Rome or even Renaissance Rome; what they were not prepared for, or interested in, was modern Rome. The cities of the past were too fresh in their minds, and the tangibility of history was so palpable that as Vernon Lee wrote, "the sudden withdrawl by a sacristan or beggar-crone of the curtain from before an altar-piece is many a time much more than the mere displaying of a picture: it is the sudden bringing us face to face with the real life of the Renaissance. ...[but it is] a mere delusion, a deceit like those dioramas been into as children ..."⁸² Hawthorne wrote, "To a

⁸¹ Symonds writing on the major difference between the Renaissance and the Middle Ages: "How to make the best of human life, is substituted for the question how to ensure salvation in the world beyond the grave." Churchill, 117; citing Symonds, *The Renaissance in Italy*, vol. v (1902 edition), 400. Churchill provides an excellent bibliography, broken down chronologically. Ferguson, 200.

⁸² Fraser, 227; citing Vernon Lee, *Euphorion*, v. 1, p. 18-22.

spectator on the spot, it is remarkable that the events of Roman history, and Roman life itself, appear not so distant as the Gothic ages which succeeded them. We stand in the Forum, or on the height of the Capitol, and seem to see the Roman epoch close at hand. We forget that a chasm extends between it and ourselves, ... The reason may be, that the old Roman literature survives, and creates for us an intimacy with the classic ages, which we have no means of forming with the subsequent ones.”⁸³ The past was immediate. The negative aspect of the mental separation of the modern Roman city from its layered past was simply because of its modernity, something the British had quite enough of back home.⁸⁴ They wanted Rome for its past, not its present. Like Hawthorne’s faun, late nineteenth-century Rome for the British traveler was “between the Real and the Fantastic;” the real of the modern city and the fantastic, historical, picturesque city in the British mind.⁸⁵

⁸³ Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Marble Faun: or the Romance of the Monte Beni* (1860: reprint London: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd. , 1928), 137.

⁸⁴ Pemble, *Mediterranean Passion*, 173-80. Pemble argues that the similarity of the industrialization of Rome to the cities with which the British were familiar back home led to a cycle of perception of decay of the ancient and Renaissance city which in turn fed into the darker side of Victorian thinking.

⁸⁵ Hawthorne, 389. “He had hoped to mystify this anomalous creature between the Real and the Fantastic, in such a manner that the reader’s sympathies might be excited to a certain degree, without impelling him to ask how Cuvier would have classified poor Donatello, or to insist on being told, in so many words, whether he had furry ears or no.”

Chapter 2

The Professionalism of Architecture and the Renaissance Ideal

In the early part of the nineteenth century architects began to make a conscious effort to improve their professional status.¹ As Arthur Ashpitel noted in his 1862 lecture to the Architectural Association, “But there is no disguising the fact, in spite of the exertions of the various architectural bodies, [that] the professors of that science do not seem to be recognised in society as they ought to be. At any rate, the word architect is not the password here [that] it is abroad.”² The Victorian architect faced two major problems. First, as there was no official regulation of the profession, the term “architect” was also used by builders, surveyors, and others connected to the building trades, thus creating confusion for the public as to both what an architect did and his level of competency. Second, the boundaries between the architect, builder, engineer, and surveyor were not clearly defined, and men, particularly in the rural areas, often provided all of these services. For architects who saw themselves as not only artists but as gentlemen equal in professional status to that of the doctor or lawyer, the situation had to change, and they searched history to provide appropriate models. The Renaissance architect as an artist, intellectual, and professional fulfilled that role and became a point of contention in the debate over the definition of the Victorian architect.

The Census of Great Britain, taken every ten years, reflected the dilemma of the position of the architect in nineteenth-century society. The Census divided all professions into a hierarchy

¹ For an analysis of the issues of professionalism in nineteenth and early twentieth century architecture see Barrington Kaye, *The Development of the Architectural Profession in Britain. A Sociological Study*. (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1960). For a look at the architectural profession prior to the nineteenth century see J. M. Crook, “The Pre-Victorian Architect: Professionalism and Patronage,” *Architectural History*, 12 (1969), 62-78; see also John Wilton-Ely, “The Rise of the Professional Architect in England,” *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession*, ed. Spiro Kostof (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 180-205.

² Arthur Ashpitel, Paper read at the Architectural Association (29 November 1862). R.I.B.A. Archive misc. box X(079) of Voluntary Architectural Examinations and Early Required Examinations.

of classes, with the Queen listed as Class I, and the others following. The 1851 Census of England and Wales, for example, included an explanatory note reading “Many of the 2,971 architects are undoubtedly builders: and here the want of a better nomenclature is felt.”³ Architects for that year were placed in Subclass 2 “Artist,” of Class IV “Persons engaged in Literature, the Fine Arts, and the Sciences.”⁴ This placement was important in that it is a direct indication of how the status of the profession was perceived. Architects were in effect concerned as to whether they belonged in Class IV with the artists or in the higher class, Class III, of “Learned Professions,” which included clergymen, lawyers, and doctors. Builders, in comparison, were in Class XI “Persons engaged in Art and Mechanic Productions,” which included engravers, actors, watchmakers, as well as builders, which fall under the subclass of “House”.⁵ Surveyors were also categorized with builders, but included a note “See also Architect,” implying that the distinction was not so clear or well defined.⁶

In the Census Reports of 1861 and 1871, architects were included under “Industry” in the category of “Persons engaged in Art and Mechanic Productions,” allying them more clearly with applied arts and manufacturing instead of the fine arts. But in the following Census of 1881 the architect’s position reverted to Subclass 7 “Artists,” within the larger category of Group 3 “Persons engaged in Professional Occupations (with their immediate subordinates).”⁷ Group 3 combined the 1851 categories of the Learned Professions and the Literature, Fine Arts and Sciences, effectively both realigning the position of the architect within the fine arts and

³ Kaye, 173, citing United Kingdom, Registrar General. *Census of Great Britain*. 1851, Population Tables II, I, lxxxvii.

⁴ Authority of the British Registrar General, *The Census of Great Britain in 1851* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1854), 122 and 125.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 127.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 143.

⁷ Authority of the British Registrar General, *1881 Census of England and Wales*. Vol. III (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1883), x. That year there was an increase to 6,898 men calling themselves architects.

recognizing him as a professional. The architect has remained classified as an artist since that time.

Nineteenth-Century Architectural Practice

The matter of definition was due in a large part to the changes that were taking place in architectural practice that impacted the type of client, how projects were awarded, and how designs were conceived and carried out. Almost no aspect of the profession remained untouched during this period of rapid change. While the eighteenth-century architect had begun to achieve a degree of respectability, the social, technological, and economic changes of the next one hundred years forced them to reconstruct their identity on distinctly new terms.⁸

Previously, the client was an individual patron, who was usually an aristocratic or wealthy individual, hired the architect. But beginning in the nineteenth century the client for larger projects was more often a committee. This shift both created a change in the type of relationship that the architect could maintain with the client and complicated the decision making process. It also required that the architect develop a different set of skills to “sell” a design to a large group and to manage the job.⁹

Architectural competitions became common practice in the awarding of larger public projects in the Victorian period.¹⁰ The disadvantage of the time required to hold the competition was outweighed by the fact that the committee was under no real obligation to hire the winner,

⁸ Wilton-Ely p. 191.

⁹ Frank Jenkins, *Architect and Patron. A Survey of Professional Relations and Practice in England from the 16th c to the Present Day* (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1961), 223.

¹⁰ The subject of Victorian architectural competitions is particularly rich. See Joan Bassin, *Architectural Competitions in Nineteenth-Century England* (Ann Arbor, UMI, 1975; reprint 1984); Roger Harper, *Victorian Architectural Competitions: An Index to British and Irish Competitions in The Builder 1843-1900* (London: Mansell Publishing Ltd. 1983); Henry Vaughan Lanchester, "Architectural Competitions," *The Growth and Work of the Royal Institute of British Architects 1834-1934*, J. A. Gotch, ed. (London: Simson & Co, Ltd., 1934), 99-116; and for a broader view see Helene Lipstadt, "Architectural Publications, Competitions and Exhibitions," *Architecture and Its Image*, Eve Blau, ed. (Montreal: Canadian Centre for Architecture, 1989), 109-37; and M. H. Port, "The Golden Age of Competition," Chapter 11 in *Imperial London. Civil Government Building in London 1850-1915* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 161-79.

and often did not. The committee could also present an anonymous face to the proceedings so that no single person's views on the various designs would be known, and the competitions often did not include professional architects or men familiar with the architectural design and construction process.¹¹ Most critically, other than the cost of the premium for the winner, there was no initial outlay of professional fees.¹² From the side of the architect, however, the competition meant the chance not only for a substantial commission, but also to have their work viewed and often published, even if they did not win.¹³

Competitions functioned in effect as a means of validation of an architect's design skills.¹⁴ The historian Joan Bassin cited the reasoning behind this as an application or transferal of the Victorian ideas of Darwinism and *laissez faire* economics to the architectural competition system—an aesthetic survival of the fittest.¹⁵ If an architect won a competition, he was therefore considered of sufficient level of competency to carry forward the project, even if the judges for the competition had no architectural training or background or the architect had built little on his own. There was also typically a large amount of publicity surrounding the announcement of the winners. For some competitions, several of the submittals might be published, allowing the public to see more than just the winning design. The results were therefore often debated hotly in the popular press, even when the architectural journals tried to keep their response more restrained.

The Royal Institute of British Architects (R.I.B.A.) spent much of its energy during the nineteenth century trying hard to improve the circumstances of competitions. The first attempt was in 1838 when it railed against "the great and manifold evils arising from the defective system

¹¹ Bassin, 14.

¹² Harper, xiii. "The committee was in effect buying a large number of ideas very cheaply ..."

¹³ This is still the attraction of open competitions in the architectural profession today where an unknown architect can make a name for himself with a single project. Maya Lin's winning entry for the Vietnam Memorial in Washington, D.C., 1982, is a good example of this.

¹⁴ Bassin, 9. "... winning a competition was tantamount to receiving a certificate of competence in the profession."

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 6.

upon which competitions have been hitherto conducted..."¹⁶ The problems had become so pronounced by 1880, however, that over 1300 architects signed a memorial to R.I.B.A. in a call to boycott future competitions if a professional architect was not involved in the judging process.¹⁷ The R.I.B.A. was not successful in controlling the competition process until the early 1900s, when it began limiting the entrants of large competitions to architects who were members of R.I.B.A.

One important aspect of architectural competitions was the increased importance of the rendered perspective drawing. Initially seen as the best way to show off a design, the architectural perspective came to be seen as "false" in that it could be deliberately manipulated to deceive the viewer as to the actual appearance or prominence of the building. Simultaneously, it was recognized that a good perspective could win over a panel of judges with little architectural experience. The role of the perspective drawing in the competitions reinforced the artistic side of architecture and instigated the development of the professional renderer or "ghost" as separate from the architect. Charles Reilly noted in his memoir that at the announcement of the winner of the invited competition for the Criminal Courts Building, London, 1870, it quickly became clear that Stanley Adshead (1868-1946) had done the perspective renderings for five of the six entries, including the winner.¹⁸ As the perspective drawing became more closely associated with artistic license in the presentation of the project, the R.I.B.A. attempted to prohibit them from competitions that they sanctioned.

In addition to the increased use of perspective to artistically represent the building there was a simultaneous increase in the production of drawings for construction. Previously much of

¹⁶ Lanchester, 100.

¹⁷ Bassin, 15. The result was the formation of a Competitions Committee by R.I.B.A., which became permanent in 1898, and by 1902 the R.I.B.A. had established a series of standards for competitions, noting that their members should only enter competitions that met these requirements. By 1907 the entering of competitions that did not meet these requirements was subject to disciplinary action. See also Lanchester, 114-5.

¹⁸ C. H. Reilly. *Scaffolding in the Sky. A semi-architectural autobiography* (London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1938), 51. It is still common practice today to hire a professional renderer to make the final presentation drawings—either by hand or computer—for a competition.

the design of specific details had been either left to the skilled craftsman entirely or designed in consultation between the architect and the craftsman, making drawings had been unnecessary. During the course of the nineteenth century with the decline of craftsmanship and the parallel rise of the general contractor, the construction drawing became a necessity. Much of the concern surrounding architectural practice of the period was in terms of the growing separation between the architect and the craftsman, and the drawing was seen to only distance that relationship further. The concerns regarding the ethical and legal aspects of the profession also drove the increased use of the construction drawing. A more complete set of drawings and specifications therefore not only told the contractor more clearly how to build the job, but also how to price it. As architect's fees were starting to be based on a percentage of the overall construction cost—with 5% being the R.I.B.A. recommendation—the drawings became more than just tools to communicate the design. They became legal documents as well.¹⁹

The increased importance of the drawing became a flashpoint in late nineteenth-century architectural theory, splitting the profession roughly into two groups. The first group strove for a closer relationship between the architect and the building process and saw the construction drawing as only an obstacle, leading to a “dead” architecture. These architects were often members of the Arts and Crafts movement and/or followed the ideas of John Ruskin and William Morris who promoted the idea of the “happy craftsman” as having creative freedom in his work as opposed to following someone else's design.²⁰ The second group of architects recognized the construction drawing as a professional necessity, actually increasing the importance of the architect and his role in the design process. The increased use of the construction drawing required architectural offices to have more draftsmen to do the drawings as well as the

¹⁹ Jenkins, 201-2, 215-16. Concurrent with these issues was the new question of who owned the drawings that were prepared by the architect once the project had been completed. It was not until the early twentieth century that this issue was resolved with the architect gaining the copyright of the design and the client holding a copy of the drawings for his own use.

²⁰ W. R. Lethaby nearly drove himself to a nervous breakdown over this issue when he was working on the Church of All Saints, Brockhampton, as he was torn between his conflicting desires to allow creative freedom for the workmen and to have control over the details of the project.

development of new technologies such as the blue print machine to make copies of the drawings more quickly.

Professionalization

The process of professionalization of architecture in Britain took three main forms. The first of these steps was the formation of professional organizations, in particular the foundation of the Institute of British Architects in 1834, receiving its royal charter in 1837 (known since then as the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Institute, or simply the R.I.B.A.).²¹ Second, architects tried to establish and legitimate a required body of knowledge for the practice of architecture through the establishment of an examination for membership in the R.I.B.A. Finally, to reinforce this body of knowledge was the establishment of a formalized system of architectural education. At each of these steps there were debates regarding the role of the architect. Ultimately, these new institutions led to the registration of architects in 1931, the effective “closing” of the profession, and the use of the term “architect” only by those with an approved education and who had passed certain examinations.

The formation of the R.I.B.A. was a direct attempt to raise the professional status of the architect.²² J. A. Gotch recalled in the centenary history of the Institute that “one of its objects [was] the establishment of ‘an uniformity and respectability of practice in the profession.’”²³ The Institute attempted this through the establishment of the Scale of Professional Charges, standard building contracts, the Bye-Laws, and the Code of Professional Conduct. It was this last item that the sociologist Barrington Kaye argued really set R.I.B.A. apart from the earlier architectural

²¹ For a brief history of the founding of the R.I.B.A., see the early issues of the *R.I.B.A. Kalendar*. For a more in depth history of the organization see J. A. Gotch, *The Growth and Work of the Royal Institute of British Architects 1834-1934* (London: The Royal Institute of British Architects, 1934).

²² The Institute was not the first attempt to form an organization of architects. It was, however, “the most enterprising and the most enduring.” Gotch also reviews earlier organizations, all of which for one reason or another dissolved or merged with the R.I.B.A. The Royal Institute of British Architects remains the predominant professional organization for architects in Britain. Gotch, 2.

²³ *Ibid.*, 117.

organizations, in that it attempted to regularize the actions of its members.²⁴ This was particularly important when the Institute was founded, because anyone could call himself an architect without any verification of training or ability.

There were attempts at the formation of professional organizations in addition—and often in direct opposition—to the R.I.B.A. The Society of Architects was founded in 1884 and saw its mission as “the promotion and advancement of Architectural Art and Practice and its allied Arts, Sciences and Crafts, and the maintenance of the honour and the interests of the profession of Architecture.”²⁵ The Society proposed to require examinations for membership, and graciously allowed those who had passed the R.I.B.A. exams to become members. The main difference between the ideologies of these two organizations was that the Society promoted the registration of architects and was an active force in the submittal of the early bills, while the R.I.B.A. initially opposed registration.²⁶

Only a small percentage of the number of men who called themselves architects in the Census reports were actually members of R.I.B.A., however, and membership in the Society was even smaller. In 1841 only nine percent of the Census architects were also members of the Institute.²⁷ By 1891 the actual number of members had increased substantially, from 82 in 1835 to 1,287, but this still represented only 18% of the Census architects. Membership did not break the fifty percent mark until the mid 1920s.²⁸ These numbers are particularly interesting in light of the fact of R.I.B.A.’s dominance in the British architectural scene in the nineteenth century. R.I.B.A. first tried to raise the status of the architect in the eye of the public through the establishment of an examination for membership, first held in 1863. The examination was meant

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Society of Architects, “Memorandum of Association” (1896): 39. King’s College London Archives KAS/AC2/F12 Society of Architects.

²⁶ Society of Architects, “List of Members of the Society of Architects” (November 1896): 71. King’s College London Archives KAS/AC2/F12.

²⁷ Kaye, 175. See also p.174 for a table on the membership numbers of the R.I.B.A.

²⁸ Ibid.

as a means by which the Institute could “guarantee” a certain level of basic architectural knowledge. Although the examination was initially voluntary, it became mandatory for membership in 1882 and was in effect a form of registration.

Registration bills were regularly put before Parliament after 1888.²⁹ The main purpose of these bills was to provide a means to distinguish the qualified from the unqualified architects. The bills proposed to restrict the use of the title “architect” and limited public appointments to those who were registered, citing the accompanying fees and penalties for misuse. A General Council was to be established to oversee the examination and registration process. The 1888 bill included civil engineers and surveyors along with architects, but this quickly changed and the following bill addressed architects only.³⁰ Completing apprenticeship, acquiring a diploma in architecture at a university, or holding membership as an Associate or Fellow in the Institute were sufficient qualifications for registration. The connection to the Institute was made even closer in the 1890 bill as Associates or Fellows of R.I.B.A. were not only automatically registered, but the R.I.B.A. members did not have to pay the registration fee as long as they maintained their Institute membership.³¹ Membership in R.I.B.A. therefore, continued to be the means by which an architect could become “registered.” Qualification for registration without the Institute membership required university examination, diploma, or a separate qualifying examination administered by the Council established by the registration bill. The examinations, wherever they were taken, created a vetting process through which an architect had to pass to use the title “architect.”³²

²⁹ Bills for architectural registration were submitted for review in 1888, 1889, 1890, 1890-91, 1892, 1893-94, 1895, 1898, 1900, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1927, 1930-31, 1936-37. I am indebted to Arindam Dutta for this information.

³⁰ United Kingdom. Parliament, “A Bill to Arrange for the Qualification and Registration of Architects, Engineers, and Surveyors,” *Parliamentary Papers*, Bill #81, vol. I (1888), 59.

³¹ United Kingdom, Parliament, “The Architects’ Registration Bill,” *Parliamentary Papers*, Bill #121, vol. I, (1890), 8-9. Later bills omitted this benefit and required a registration fee.

³² For example, the 1903 bill stated, “... a person shall not be entitled to take or use the name or title of architect ... or any name, title, or description implying that he is registered under this Act, unless he be so registered. The penalty for the use of the term “architect” was a maximum fine of 20£ for a first

Curiously absent from the registrations bills was a legal definition of an architect, or what he did. The legislation, therefore, did not determine whether the architect was a master craftsman, an artist, a technician, a scientist, or a businessman. Instead, the definition of architect was that of a young man who had proven himself proficient in the technical and safety aspects of architecture but was not necessarily a good designer. It was this lack of ability to test design skills in the registration and examination process that rubbed many architects the wrong way in the late nineteenth century, making examination in itself a very contentious issue. To complicate matters, rural architects often also practiced surveying and engineering, which was considered by many to be outside of the realm of architecture, further blurring the boundaries between what were becoming separate and discrete professions.³³

The surveying and engineering aspects of architecture were considered to be technical rather than artistic and were, therefore, less significant. The architect Edwin T. Hall thought that the artistic and technical sides of architecture should be addressed separately. He noted that the Glasgow Institute of Architects, unlike the R.I.B.A., separated “matters purely professional from others of a literary, artistic, and scientific nature.”³⁴ This separation allowed both the promotion of the architect as a professional within one organization and “the study of architecture” as an independent topic, which included the antiquarian and archaeological aspects of the profession. The separation of the practice of architecture from architecture as an intellectual discipline became an important aspect of the debates over the definition of the architect.

At the core of the criticism of registration was the development of the ideal of the professional Victorian architect, and architects sought an appropriate historical model to legitimize their position. The Renaissance architect was a popular choice, and he came to stand

offense, with higher penalties for additional offenses. United Kingdom. Parliament. “The Architects’ Registration Act 1903,” *Parliamentary Papers* Bill #165, vol. I (1903), 85, article 21.

³³ Mr. Connon of Leeds in his paper at the 1887 Conference suggested that there would be a minimum examination of all three professions together—architects, surveyors, and engineers—after which they would specialize in their own fields. Mr. Connon of Leeds, “The Registration of Architects,” *The Builder*, Supplement (May 14, 1887): 747.

³⁴ Edwin T. Hall, “The Registration of Architects,” *The Builder*, Supplement (May 14, 1887): 749.

for different things depending on the issue at hand. He could be an artist, a scientist, a professional of high social standing, or an intellectual, all qualities that appealed to the nineteenth-century architect's image of himself.

Intertwined in the discussion of professionalism was the stylistic and ideological "battle of styles," the implications of the various stylistic choices impacted the perceived status of the architect and his role in construction. The Greek Revival at the beginning of the nineteenth century, for example, required that the architect have extensive archaeological knowledge and follow a set of fairly rigid design constraints. The Gothic Revival was linked to archaeological studies, specifically of English medieval buildings. The renewed interest in medieval architecture accompanied the belief in the communal construction of medieval buildings and the idea of the architect as a master craftsman. Because of this interpretation, the Gothic Revival was not seen as a "professional" style.³⁵ The Renaissance style, however, combined the regularity of classicism with the perception of the architect as an artist and intellectual removed from the physical construction process. This image of the architect was more in tune with the processes of patronage and construction of the nineteenth century.

At stake in these debates was the position of the architect in relation to the fine arts, in other words, whether the architect was an artist or a scientist. It was in this web of tension that the image of the Renaissance architect as professional, artist, and intellectual developed and was promoted as an ideal. C. H. Reilly (1874-1948), William Roscoe Chair of the Liverpool School of Architecture, stated in a 1905 article on architectural training: "But while the history of other professions, of the law and medicine for example, show a steady but continuous increase in the estimation in which their members are held, there is no doubt about the decline of the architect from the days of his greatness during the Italian Renaissance to the days of his subordination to the amateur enthusiast of the Gothic revival, and to the business speculator of today."³⁶ For

³⁵ Kaye, 86.

³⁶ C. H. Reilly, "The Training of Architects," *The University Review* (July 1905), clipping in the University of Liverpool Archives D207/8/1.

Reilly, the Renaissance architect held the key to the ideal of the architect that the modern architect should pursue.

Feelings ran high at the 1887 General Conference of Architects held in London, with the main topics of discussion being the registration and education of architects. The keynote address “On the Relations of Architecture and the Handicrafts” by J. D. Sedding (1838-1891) and the responses to it highlighted the issues surrounding what a professional architect could be.³⁷ Sedding took the position that to create an idealized practice of architecture, the architect had to be completely involved in the craft of building. He vehemently disapproved of the way architecture was practiced at the time, mainly because the removal of the architect from the job site left him to rely on the architectural drawing as the primary form of communication with the craftsman.³⁸ Sedding made an analogy between the current means of architectural practice and a “mill of Victorian design,” comparing the making of drawings in an office to manufacturing—i.e. the removal of the designer from the product.³⁹ For Sedding the correct architecture and means of producing it were the “Old Architecture”—i.e. the English medieval and Renaissance styles that typified what modern architecture had lost. “The thews and sinews of old design were in the trades. Old architecture was not what modern architecture is, the creation of the architect’s office; it was the creation of the workshop: the workshop was its home, the tradesman’s bench was its cradle, tradition was its foster mother.”⁴⁰

Sedding characterized the Renaissance architect as an architect in touch with the building craft. He noted that in the Middle Ages design was a “joint-stock affair,” and that contrary to

³⁷ J. D. Sedding, “On the Relations of Architecture and the Handicrafts,” *The Builder*, Supplement (May 7, 1887): 691-94.

³⁸ Sedding felt that the craftsman should have the freedom to design the details and ornament as he saw fit and not be required to follow “some feeble effusion from an architect’s office.” Sedding was not the only architect at this point to see the increasing use of the architectural construction drawing as something that further distanced the architect from the building and his role as master-builder. The rise of the construction drawing and specifications during this period indicated the changes taking in place in construction and in particular the absence of the architect as a full-time person on the building site.

³⁹ Sedding, “On the Relations of Architecture and the Handicrafts,” 691.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 691-92.

Vasari's depictions in his writings this was also the case during the Italian Renaissance.⁴¹ Through his reinterpretation of Vasari's written history of the period, Sedding created a Renaissance where the architect and the craftsman worked together side-by-side. This approach opened up the Renaissance as a period for further stylistic interpretation. Likewise, English Renaissance architectural practice maintained the connection between the builder and the architect. Sedding praised Inigo Jones for maintaining the tradition of English handicraft, because Jones "did not swamp the craftsman, or destroy his individuality, or play the masterful dictator ..." by making him follow drawings of the architectural details and ornament.⁴² These decisions were left to the craftsman on site. The English Renaissance styles "represent Academic art, courtly art, an art of distinction and selection. Renaissance art needs a well-furnished mind, learned in literature, apt at Classic allusion and at rendering antique symbolism. Here clearly is an art that demands the professional services of an architect."⁴³ The nineteenth-century architect, if modeling himself on that of the English Renaissance, both approached architecture in a scholarly way through the study and revival of past styles and maintained his connection with the building arts for architecture to progress.

Sedding, while not alone in his beliefs, represented only a minority of the architects at the conference. His paper was ridiculed in *The Builder*, which pointed out that the professional implications of Sedding's ideas were unrealistic in the current day and age. In a modern practice, the architect simply could not spend more time on the site with the craftsman, because he would have to take fewer commissions, and therefore sacrifice income. This sacrifice would be almost impossible to make as "Modern habits of life are increasingly luxurious and costly ..." and these modern habits were the outward signs of professional success.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Ibid., 692.

⁴² Ibid., 693.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ "Architecture and Architectural Education," *The Builder* (May 7, 1887): 662.

At the 1887 General Conference of Architects, Edwin T. Hall took a stand against legislated registration, proposing instead a stronger Institute of Architects to manage the registration without Parliamentary input. Hall recognized the link between the public's negative impression of the profession, noting, "I believe, however, that when the practice of architecture has taken the same hold of the public as that of Medicine has, then it is probable the legislature will grant the same privileges to our profession as to those of Medicine and Law. (Hear, Hear)"⁴⁵ Hall was right. It would take more than four decades for the British public to recognize the architects' role as one of public safety as well as good design.

The 1887 General Conference at which Hall spoke included an entire day of papers and discussions on the topic of registration. But at the end of the day, the vote was split 50/50 to pass a resolution that, after many revisions, ultimately said very little. "That this Conference requests the Council of the Institute, or some Committee appointed by them, to take into consideration the question of a Registration Act; and that this Conference is of opinion that a Registration Act is desirable in the interests of the public."⁴⁶ There were only thirty attendees at this session of the conference, which when compared to the one hundred and fifty people attending the session the previous day on architectural education, indicates an absence of a strong opinion.⁴⁷

In 1891 the disagreements over the examination and attempts at official registration came to a head with the publication in *The Times* on March 3 of a letter addressed to the President and Council of the Institute. Seventy prominent architects and artists, including Richard Norman Shaw, T. G. Jackson, Reginald Blomfield, and William Morris, among others, signed the letter of protest.⁴⁸ The signers were a diverse group, but they were all opposed to the examination and

⁴⁵ Hall, "The Registration of Architects," 747.

⁴⁶ "The Registration of Architects," discussion, *The Builder*, Supplement (May 14, 1887): 752.

⁴⁷ *The Builder*, Supplement (May 7, 1887): 691, and Supplement (May 14, 1887): 745.

⁴⁸ "Architecture—A Profession or an Art?" *The Times* (March 3, 1891): 9. Those who signed the letter were divided into three groups: Members of the Institute, Not Members of the Institute, and those who are not architects.

architectural registration, mainly because they felt that the examination did not—and could not—test architecture as an art.

We, the undersigned desire to record our opinion that the attempt to make architecture a close profession, either by the Bill now introduced into Parliament or by any similar measure, is opposed to the interest of architecture as a fine art. We believe that, while it is possible to examine students in construction and matters of sanitation, their artistic qualifications, which really make the architect, cannot be brought to the test of examination, and the diploma of Architecture obtained by such a means would be a fallacious distinction, equally useless as a guide to the public and misleading as an object for the efforts of the student.⁴⁹

The perception of architecture as a fine art and the architect as an artist was in many ways in direct opposition to that of the architect as a professional and a businessman. The Memorialists, as they came to be called, continued the debate with the publication of a series of essays in the following year.⁵⁰ Richard Norman Shaw (1831-1912) and Thomas Graham Jackson (1835-1924) edited the slim volume and each contributed essays. T.G. Jackson set the tone for the collection in the introduction, stating, “If architecture is ever to be alive again amongst us, the professional ideal must disappear.”⁵¹ The historian Robert Macleod saw this as a perceived conflict between the commercial success of an architect and his artistic (and by association moral and social) ideals.⁵²

⁴⁹ Richard Norman Shaw and T. G. Jackson, eds., *Architecture: a Profession or an Art? Thirteen Short Essays on the Qualifications and Training of Architects* (London: John Murray, 1892), xxxiv. Note that the definition of “close” included not only “secondary associations of concealment, exclusiveness, narrowness, etc.” but also is defined as “Not open to public access or competition; confined or restricted to a privileged few.” J. A. Sampson and E. S. C. Weiner, eds., *Oxford English Dictionary. Second Edition.* vol. III (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 344.

⁵⁰ There are fourteen essays in the collection, two by T.G. Jackson. The term “memorial” in the nineteenth-century included the definition: “A statement of facts forming the basis of or expressed in the form of a petition or remonstrance to a person in authority, a government, etc.” *OED*, vol. IX, 595.

⁵¹ Jackson, “Introduction,” xxviii.

⁵² Macleod, *Style and Society*, 90.

Several of the writers were attracted to what they saw as a close connection between the Renaissance artist and the arts. R. Norman Shaw cited three Renaissance architects—Brunelleschi, Michelangelo, and Sir Christopher Wren—as having found the necessary balance between art and science. The Renaissance architect was able to be primarily an artist while still resolving the “science” of building, best exemplified in the domes of the period.⁵³ Shaw also referenced the Gothic Revival as having similar characteristics, noting that A.W.N. Pugin held art as the goal of his work.⁵⁴ For Shaw the priority was not stylistic determinism—the building could be classic or Gothic—but to bring art once again to the foreground of architecture through a knowledge of materials and good construction.

The theme of the architect as an artist ran throughout the debates on architectural professionalism. During the nineteenth century the artist had gained a certain amount of professional and financial status through his courting of public taste. Painters in particular had more disposable income as they could sell the reproduction rights to their works for large sums, particularly for works that were popular at the exhibitions of the Royal Academy of Art. Dealers also paid the painters not to exhibit at the Royal Academy exhibitions, thereby increasing the attendance and sales at their own galleries and shows.⁵⁵ Some artists had achieved what Kit Wedd has called “superstar status,” and they were key guests to invite to any social gathering.⁵⁶ Julie Codell recognized that “[t]he rise of British artists’ celebrity was considered evidence that

⁵³ R. Norman Shaw, “The Fallacy that the Architect who makes Design his first Consideration must be Unpractical,” *Architecture: a Profession or an Art?* R. Norman Shaw and T. G. Jackson, eds. (London: John Murray, 1892), 11.

⁵⁴ Shaw, “The Fallacy,” 14.

⁵⁵ Patrick Bede, “Victorian Painting,” lecture given at the Victorian Society of America London Summer School 2004. See also Kit Wedd with Lucy Peltz, *Artists’ London* (London: Merrell, 2001), 86. This book accompanied an exhibition at the Museum of London in 2001, “Creative Quarters: the Art world in London 1700-2000.” Wedd and Peltz noted that the artist W.P. Frith, whose work was very popular, managed to make £3750 for one painting, *Derby Day*, 1858. The initial commission was for £1500 with an additional £1500 for the rights for the engraving, and £750 for the right to exhibit the work after the Royal Academy of Art exhibition. This was not a typical sum for a painting to bring in, but it does show how there was a crop of very popular artists whose work catapulted them into higher financial and social circles.

⁵⁶ Wedd, 84. “... Lady Holland enjoyed parading Watts and his friends at her salons...no society party was complete without an artist among the company.”

British public taste had improved and that artists were thoroughly socialized, ... Victorian artists were models of success, decorum, proper maleness or femininity, and, ultimately, Britishness, all intended for public consumption.”⁵⁷

These artists demonstrated their financial and professional success through their architecture, specifically in the building of their own homes, the design of which gave them a visual prominence in the community.⁵⁸ These houses not only demonstrated the success of their inhabitants but actively attracted visitors, particularly on the Sunday before a Royal Academy Exhibition where the artist would hold an open house for an early viewing of his work (figure 2.1). Richard Norman Shaw was an active figure in this loosely knit community and designed several houses for artists, including the Marcus Stone House, 1876, in London (figures 2.2, 2.3).⁵⁹

It is this late nineteenth-century image of the professional painter that the Memorialists might have in mind as their artistic ideal, where the artist had achieved both financial success and a high level of social prominence and which were reflected in his own residence and lifestyle. Registration and the R.I.B.A. examination were not necessary, therefore, to achieve professional status as the artist had attained it without these measures. Some Memorialists were, however, critical of the new commercial implications of this. W. B. Richard stated in his essay, “Thoughts

⁵⁷ Julie Codell, *The Victorian Artist. Artists' Lifewritings in Britain, ca. 1870-1910* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 2-3, 5. Codell also noted that the determination of the success of the artist according to his wealth was in direct contradiction to the romantic image of the “starving” artist.

⁵⁸ I am indebted to Kit Wedd for her lecture “Palaces of Art: Artist Houses in Kensington and Chelsea” during the Victorian Society of America London Summer School 2004, and for giving me the inspiration to rethink the status of the artist during this period. One of the most cited examples of the artist community was Bedford Park, 1875-81, which had a wider appeal than just artists. For a view of the impact of wealth of the patron see J. M. Crook, *The Rise of the Nouveaux Riches. Style and Status in Victorian and Edwardian Architecture* (London: John Murray, 1999).

⁵⁹ These houses are occasionally categorized as being the Arts and Crafts style, when often they might be more appropriately seen as Queen Anne or as part of the larger Aesthetic Movement. This difficulty in stylistic categorization is carried over to their designers as well. Many of the Memorialists are considered to be under the banner of Arts and Crafts, but some, such as Reginald Blomfield, W. R. Lethaby, and R. N. Shaw do not fit so easily into a single style. For a history of Shaw’s involvement in Bedford Park see Reginald Blomfield, “Bedford Park,” Chapter V in *Richard Norman Shaw* (London, B. T. Batsford, 1940), 33-39.

on Three Arts and the Training for Them,” that the real problem of the arts was the new “commercial spirit” where painters are subject to the vagaries of the dealer.⁶⁰

The artist Joseph Clayton linked the architect to the artist and used the ideal of the Renaissance architect as a model, again making the connection between the practice of architecture in the Renaissance and the ideal of art at its center. Clayton contended that the architects had to make art their goal so that they would leave something to “posterity,” listing as models Renaissance architects, including Brunelleschi, Bramante, Longhena, Wren, and Jones as well as Mansard and Perrault.⁶¹

While some of the Memorialists used a model of the Renaissance architect to reinforce the architect as an artist, others created a different image of the Renaissance architect, holding him responsible for being the first to disconnect the architect from his role as master-craftsman. In his essay “The Ghosts of the Profession,” the architect Edward Prior (1852-1932) established the Renaissance as the beginning of the wrenching away of the architect from his true job as an artist-craftsman. For Prior, the Middle Ages was the period in which “the art of architect grew to the highest excellence.”⁶²

These times of innocence came to an end by tasting the tree of knowledge.

Under the impulses of the Italian Renaissance the architect conspicuously emerged, developing from the medieval master workman in fellowship with all the handicrafts into the architect-student in touch with classical erudition. This

⁶⁰ W. B. Richmond, “Thoughts on the Three Arts and the Training for Them,” *Architecture: a Profession or an Art?* R. Norman Shaw and T. G. Jackson, eds. (London: John Murray, 1892), 185.

⁶¹ Joseph R. Clayton, “The Isolation of ‘Professional’ Architecture from the other Arts,” *Architecture: a Profession or an Art?* R. Norman Shaw and T. G. Jackson, eds. (London: John Murray, 1892), 124.

⁶² Prior, “The Ghosts of the Profession,” *Architecture: a Profession or an Art?* R. Norman Shaw and T. G. Jackson, eds. (London: John Murray, 1892), 102. The title of this essay differs in the text from that in the table of contents which reads: “The Profession and its Ghosts.” The “ghosting” that Prior was referring to was the practice of hiring out for drawings or even designs to be done by someone else not in the office. This was most common in the mid nineteenth-century when architects specialized in specific styles, but did not want to risk losing a commission by not having the right design. If you typically designed in a classic style and the client wanted Gothic, you might hire it out to be done but still remain the architect of record. Prior understandably found this practice inexcusable.

was a delegation to a section of that which had hitherto been the concern of the community, and by the change art was made the subject of personal ambitions and ostentations and no longer part of the natural life.⁶³

Prior's main concern was the shift of responsibility and creativity for architecture from an idealized medieval community of artists, craftsmen, and a caring public to that of a single individual, the architect. Because the architect had detached himself from the craft of architecture, he also had detached himself from the art of the architecture, and because of this removal, the architect "must depend on make-believe and borrowing"—i.e. reviving previous styles without originality.⁶⁴ The practice of "ghosting" in the nineteenth century, against which Prior railed, further removed the architect from the design and building process.

Part of the problem for Prior was that the Renaissance promoted a sense of individualism that had continued until the nineteenth century. This was a sentiment that was echoed by several of the other Memorialists in their essays. They saw the current state of the profession as a direct connection and continuation of the Renaissance, for better or worse.

[S]ince its genesis in Italy, [the Renaissance] has become universally accepted, and has lasted longer than any other style within the records of history. *In England during the past 60 years there has been a blind unconsciousness of the fact that we are living within the period of the Renaissance.* While in France and the rest of Europe this fact has never doubted, ... Together with this elastic and ever-modern character of the 'Renaissance,' is its severely exacting demands of scholarship and refinement in art, not only of the architect, but of the painter and sculptor.⁶⁵

⁶³ Ibid., 102.

⁶⁴ Ibid. 114.

⁶⁵ Clayton, 132. Emphasis added.

In this view, the Renaissance removed the architect from the position of master craftsman, a move that shattered the unity of the arts and led ultimately to the problems facing the architectural profession in late Victorian Britain.

Chapter 3

Examining History. The Renaissance in the R.I.B.A. Examinations

The Royal Institute of British Architects examinations for membership functioned as the only means of “registering” architects in Britain until passing of the Architects Registration Act (1931).¹ Established in 1861 as a voluntary examination for Associate membership and first held in January 1863, the R.I.B.A. examinations were made obligatory for membership in 1882.² The intent of the exam was fourfold: to give students of architecture a chance to test their knowledge; “to provide a curriculum of study for the acquisition of the knowledge required for the practice of the profession;” to test a minimum standard of knowledge; and encourage the future study of architecture.³ Initially the examination divisions reflected the schism in the definition of architecture as an art or a science. Changes in the format, content, and style of the examination questions both mirrored shifts in attitude to the type of information an architect needed in his practice and drove programs of architectural education to change their curricula.

Unfortunately, the examination papers by the students for this period are no longer available, nor are the grading criteria. The examinations themselves, however, provide evidence of what the R.I.B.A. as a professional organization promoted as the critical body of knowledge necessary for a young architect. They indicate the importance of architectural history in the architectural profession. Changes of approach towards architecture’s past, as well as shifts in

¹ The 1931 passing of the registration act in Great Britain was very late in comparison to the U.S., which began professional architectural licensure c. 1897. Crinson and Lubbock, 184.

² The architectural historian John Summerson, in his history of the Architectural Association, stated that the initial idea for the examinations was from a paper given at the AA. John Summerson, *The Architectural Association 1847-1947* (London: Pleiades Books, Ltd., 1947), 19-20. It can also be argued that the drive for examination was part of a larger trend of using examinations as a way to establish credentials in technical fields, for example the examination of mechanics by such organizations as the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics’ Institute, the City and Guilds of London Institute, etc. from early in the nineteenth century. See G. W. Roderick and M. D. Stephens. *Education and Industry in the 19th century: The English Disease?* (London and New York: Longman, 1978), 58.

³ Royal Institute of British Architects, “The Examination in Architecture, 1885,” (1885), 6. R.I.B.A. Archive, Examination Question Papers, X(079).

stylistic fashions, are also evident in the examination questions and format. The questions on Renaissance architecture in the examinations reflected the evolving image of the Renaissance both in contrast to the revival of medieval architecture and within the broader scope of classical architecture. Later exams incorporated not only Italian Renaissance architecture specifically but also the architecture of the French and English Renaissance, as well as that of the Baroque.

The first R.I.B.A. voluntary examination, 1863, consisted of two separate examinations—one for Proficiency and one for Distinction—both of which were broken into two sections, the Artistic section and the Scientific section, corresponding with the perception of architecture as a discipline split between art and science.⁴ Architectural history permeated the examinations at all levels of the examination process, in the probationary work that had to be submitted prior to sitting for the examinations, as well as in the specific sections on “Design” and the “History and Literature of Architecture” Examinations for both Probationary and Distinction levels. For the Distinction examination, the candidate also had to complete an additional examination on languages, which included translation from both a living language, such as French, and from either ancient Greek or Latin.⁵ Typically these translations were of a historical or theoretical architectural text, such as by Viollet le Duc or Vitruvius, for example. The candidate also had to translate a passage relating to architecture from English into the language that he had selected.⁶

The Institute allowed the candidate to choose, prior to sitting for the examination, the style on which he would focus, further reinforcing the notion of history as a resource for design as well its specialization in practice. In the “Drawing and Design” section of the examination, the

⁴ The Artistic Section included exams in Design and Drawing, Practical Geometrical Drawing, Perspective, History and Literature, and the Scientific Section included exams in Mathematics, Mensuration, Professional Practice, Physics, Materials, and Construction. Both examinations also had required probationary work consisting of drawings and papers to be submitted prior to the examination. R.I.B.A., “The Papers of Questions used in the Voluntary Architectural Examination, held by the Royal Institute of British Architects 1863,” (1863). R.I.B.A. Archive X(079).

⁵ British education was heavily based on the classics, with the study of classical languages, literature, and history as the core curriculum at both Oxford and Cambridge.

⁶ For the 1866 Examination, the candidate was asked to translate a passage in Sir Joshua Reynolds’s *Thirteenth Discourse* on the use of symmetry and proportion in architectural composition. R.I.B.A., “The Papers of Questions used in the Third Voluntary Architectural Examination, held by the Royal Institute of British Architects,” (1866), 32. R.I.B.A. Archive X(079).

candidate was asked to name the style in which he was going to design. He was also asked to pick a specific style for the History and Literature examination, where even though a broad base of knowledge was required, the student would be questioned on one style in more depth. A note in the first examination brochure reflected this “battle of the styles.” “As Candidates have put down their names desiring to be examined in *almost every known* Architectural style, the Examiners have been compelled to set a paper taking a very wide range.”⁷

Despite the diversity of stylistic options in the nineteenth century, the questions on the history of architecture in the early years of the voluntary exams were split roughly equally between those on English medieval architecture and those on classical architecture of all periods. When a question addressed the architecture of the Renaissance, however, the term “Renaissance” was not used. Instead, the exam asked the student to write about the “principal *Italian* Architects” and to name the works of architects such as Bramante, Michael Angelo, Raffaele, Palladio, Vignola, or Sansavino.⁸ In the following question, the student noted the authors on architecture in various periods—“Athens, Ancient Rome, Modern Rome, Florence, Genoa and Venice.”

The term “Renaissance” was absent again in the exams of the following year, 1864, in which the student had to indicate his general knowledge of architectural history by writing an outline of the main styles of European architecture. After completing this section, he was to give a detailed account of a style of his choice. The examination gave a brief description of each period and what information should be included with guided questions. Architecture of the fifteenth century in Italy was referred to as “Revived Classic Architecture,” represented by the works of Bramante, Michael Angelo, Raffaele; second, Palladio, Vignola, and Scamozzi; and finally, Borromini.⁹ The student who selected to write on the Revived Classic style had to also be

⁷ R.I.B.A., “The Papers of Questions used in the Voluntary Architectural Examination, held by the Royal Institute of British Architects” (1863), 6. R.I.B.A. Archive X(079). Emphasis in original.

⁸ Ibid. Emphasis added.

⁹ R.I.B.A., “Voluntary Examination, Class of Proficiency” (1864), 10. R.I.B.A. Archive X(079).

familiar with how the style had taken form in England with the work of Inigo Jones and Sir Christopher Wren as well as with parallel architectural work in France and Germany, although no specific architects are mentioned for these countries.

The treatment of the Revived Classic style in the 1864 exam contrasted with the more specifically architectural directions given for the classic and English medieval periods that asked the student not about architects or buildings, but about decorative mouldings, compositional proportions, and vaulting systems. If the student chose to write about Roman architecture, for example, he needed to consider that “there should be a careful comparison of the various orders and their details, particularly the mouldings, capitals, bases, and other parts of the ordonnance.”¹⁰ For medieval architecture—referred to by the more specific (and English) stylistic divisions of Romanesque, Norman, Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular—the student needed to describe not only the relevant stylistic details but also the roof structure, vaulting system, door and window tracery, and “the state of art as to the carving of figures, foliages, &c.”¹¹ The classifications of medieval architecture in the early examinations were much tighter and more specific, reflecting the tail-end of the Gothic Revival movement, whereas that of Revived Classical architecture was broader and defined by specific architects, not just the qualities of the formal parts and details.

During the mid 1870s, questions on antiquity and English mediaeval architecture dominated the history sections of the examination. Candidates still chose a style within which they would focus their study and were required to be able to describe the major characteristics and buildings of this style. The examination questions themselves were quite open, allowing the student to direct his answer in respect to the style he selected and his understanding of architecture. The questions were also progressive, building one on the other. In the 1873 examination for Proficiency, the first question in the “History and Literature” section asked the

¹⁰ Ibid., 9.

¹¹ Ibid.

student to trace “the rise and progress of the classic principle of architectural design, both artistically and constructively” after which he was then do the same for the medieval principle.¹² The following question asked the candidate to outline the primary characteristics of the main architectural styles of the past. Finally, the candidate was to “point out more in detail the position which it [his selected style] occupies in artistic history.”¹³

A year prior to the exam being made mandatory in 1882, the format of the examination changed. Still placed in the Artistic Section of the Examination, the questions on “History and Literature” remained, but the section that addressed the specific style of the candidate’s choosing was now titled “Mouldings, Features, and Ornaments of Any One Architectural Style.”¹⁴ The most striking change from previous examinations was that the questions in the new section asked the candidate to draw or sketch their answers, with little written explanation to be given. For example, “1. Draw the characteristic bases of the period you have selected to be examined upon, also the base mouldings; draw sections, and figure the height and proportions thereof.”¹⁵ Likewise, examples of mouldings in the selected style—both plain and carved—were to be drawn in section and elevation in addition to comparing them with those of another style. In these questions, the history of architecture was not an abstracted past but a series of tangible, useful details that could be incorporated into the candidate’s future designs. The candidate would have had to acquire an intimate knowledge of the moulding or ornament to have drawn it correctly without having access to reference books or notes. Talent in design was not an issue, just the manipulation of forms according to learned rules. While most of the questions were broad enough to be adapted to any style, two asked specifically for drawings of ceiling or vault

¹² R.I.B.A., “Papers of Questions set in the Proficiency Class of the Seventh Architectural Examination” (1873), 9. RIBA Archive X(079).

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ R.I.B.A. “The Twelfth Architectural Examination, 1881,” (1881), 49-50. R.I.B.A. Archive X(079).

¹⁵ Ibid.

constructions, one fifteenth-century Italian and the other thirteenth-century. The 1881 exam still, however, did not refer to the Renaissance specifically.

After May 1882, membership in the R.I.B.A. required that the young architect take the examinations before they could be elected. The format of the newly obligatory examinations was again changed. The candidate still needed to submit probationary work prior to sitting for the examination, including a design done by the candidate—“not necessarily extensive or elaborate”—drawn in plan, elevation, section, perspective, and with a series of details.¹⁶ For the examination itself, the division into Artistic and Scientific sections had been abolished even if the same topics were still covered: “History of Architecture, illustrated by sketches”; “Mouldings, Features and Ornaments, illustrated by sketches”; Sanitary Science, Strength of Materials, Shoring, &c.; Plans, Section and Elevation; Materials, Construction, &c.; Specifications and methods of Estimating; Professional Practice.¹⁷ The exam had a total number of 700 marks, with 100 each for the sections on History of Architecture and Mouldings, Features and Ornaments.¹⁸ For the History of Architecture section the candidate, as previously, had to select the style on which he would answer questions. There were four options: Greek or Roman; “Architecture of Italy or France from the 10th to the end of the 14th century”; “Architecture of Italy or France from the beginning of the 15th century to the present time”; “Architecture of England for some one century between the years 1100 and 1700 AD.”¹⁹ Selection of English architecture required that the student learn only the architecture of a specific century, but in greater detail, whereas the other choices covered much larger time periods, and necessarily the student had to treat them in a less specific way. The architecture of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was included with

¹⁶ *R.I.B.A. Proceedings Session 1882-83*. (London: Royal Institute of British Architects, 1883), 132.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 133. The marks for the other sections are as follows: Sanitary Science, 100; Plans, 200; Materials, 100; Specifications and Estimating, 75; Professional Practice, 25. An Oral Examination covering both the probationary and the written work followed the written portion of the examination.

¹⁸ To pass the examination, the candidate had to get 350 of the 700 total marks. He could, theoretically, fail any single section and still pass the examination.

¹⁹ *R.I.B.A. Proceedings Session 1882-83*. 132.

architecture up to the present day, and the candidate could also choose to address the style as it had developed in France as well as Italy. In the following section on Mouldings the candidate again had to select a specific style within which to work although “such knowledge will not exonerate him from being required to show acquaintance with the details of other styles.”²⁰ Italian architecture of the 15th and 16th centuries was included among the stylistic options of the examination, but was not the focus of it, as the sections on architectural history allowed a high degree of diversity in the style that the student could select. There was no one focal point of attention, but history was still—by nature of the fact that the answers were illustrated and much of the focus was on the ornamental detail—integral to the process of design.

The defining of architectural history—and by association architecture itself—as primarily the knowledge of mouldings and ornament continued into the first decade of the twentieth century when it began to be hotly criticized and debated in the R.I.B.A. By 1898 the examination format was made up of three separate, progressive examinations: Preliminary, Intermediate, and Final. In the 1898 Intermediate Examination the four sections on architectural history also focused on ornament: “The Several Varieties of Classic Ornament”; “The Characteristic Mouldings and Ornament of Each period of English Architecture from A.D. 1000 to 1550”; “The Orders of Greek and Roman Architecture: Their Origin, Development, and Application”; and “Outlines of the History of Mediaeval and Renaissance Architecture in Europe.”²¹ The section on Classic Ornament consisted of four questions, each asking the Candidate to draw in elevation and section a specific detail, such as a triglyph, and to include an accompanying written description as to the origin of the detail and in what Order it would have occurred.²² In each of the other sections, the

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ R.I.B.A., “The Examinations. Questions set at the Preliminary, Intermediate, and Final (Or Special)” (November 1898), 6-8; bound in 1947 as *R.I.B.A. Examination Questions*.

²² R.I.B.A., “R.I.B.A. Examinations. Intermediate Examination” (November 1898), 7. R.I.B.A. Archive Bound volume 1898-1927. The entire question reads as follows: “2. Draw two triglyphs in elevation and section three inches high, showing by a sketch the position they occupy in the entablature; state in which Order they chiefly occur, and briefly describe their origin and the meaning of the word.”

examination again asked the candidate to sketch examples of specific details in a given style. The history of architecture was ultimately a history of stylistic details.

Similarly, the major concern of the 1898 examination section on the history of architecture was the thorough knowledge of architectural ornament, both in classic architecture and in English medieval architecture, the latter a reflection of continued nationalist ideals. The Intermediate Examination of that year marginalized Renaissance architecture in that only three questions were asked on the subject, and these were in the section on medieval architecture. The questions addressed not only the Renaissance style in Italy but also that in France and England. The main difference between the questions on Renaissance architecture and those on the architecture of other historical styles was that they addressed the building as a whole as opposed to independent and discrete architectural details.²³ Renaissance architecture was just beginning to be considered, but it still had not taken a strong place in the examinations.

The Final Examination of the same year, 1898, had a similar focus on architectural details of specific styles. As in previous examinations, the sections were not directly called “history” but addressed the history of architecture within “The Principal Styles of Architecture: Their Features, Mouldings, and Ornament.”²⁴ In the first of the two divisions in this section, the candidate was asked to answer a series of questions on their previously selected style. Of the eight questions given, four were directly related to classical or Renaissance architecture and the remainder were devoted to medieval architecture. Like the Intermediate Examination, the questions directed the student to draw their answer to a given scale: “Draw to quarter-inch scale, front elevation and section, the balcony of any well-known Renaissance building with which you are acquainted.”²⁵

The second division of the Final Examination section on “The Principal Styles” focused on the student producing original designs of specific architectural elements in their selected style.

²³ Ibid., 8. In the section that addressed the Renaissance, the Candidate was required to answer only four of the six questions, but all candidates had to answer the first question, which focused on English medieval architecture and required sketches of English monastic establishments of the Cistercian Order.

²⁴ R.I.B.A., “R.I.B.A. Examination. Final (or Special) Examination” (November 1898): 11.

²⁵ Ibid.

For example one question asked the student to draw “an enriched architrave and cornice applicable to an entrance doorway ten feet high and six feet wide.”²⁶ History and design were intertwined, as the question asked the student to design something that was in essence a new “historical” element, an architrave, for a presumably new condition. The question did not ask the candidate to draw a specific historical doorway, but instead to create a design based on his historical knowledge. The majority of the questions that addressed architectural elements as mouldings, windows, porches, and flying buttresses were in this format. The only question directly addressing the Renaissance in this section asked the student to “Show by sketches the distinctive features of Italian and French Renaissance.”²⁷ No specific architect or building was given, and the question asked the student to reveal his knowledge of history not by designing within a specific style but to simply draw the major architectural elements that define the style.

Two aspects of the 1898 examination that were particularly important in that they served as indicators of how architecture incorporated history into its definition of the professional architect. First was the focus on the architectural detail as opposed to an entire building or a specific monument. Second, although the examination did not specifically label any section as “history of architecture,” the answers for the sections on Mouldings required a deep knowledge and understanding of past architectural styles, either Gothic or Classical. Knowledge of the style was not simply as historical context but at the level of the architectural detail. This approach reflected the contemporary definition of architectural style by details and individual architectural elements. It was in the details that the “art” of architecture lived, and by extension the history of architecture was therefore a history of these specific elements. The details were the priority. George Gilbert Scott noted in 1856 regarding his own design process for his entry in the Public Offices competition: “I ... set myself to design the elements which I thought best suited to a

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid., 12. The geographic designations of the Renaissance in this examination indicate gradual acceptance of the term “Renaissance” to apply to architecture across Europe from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries.

public building. I designed windows suited to all positions, and all varieties of size, form and grouping; doorways, cornices, parapets and imaginary combinations of all three, carefully studying to make them all practical, and suited to this class of building.”²⁸ This removal of the architectural element from the overall composition reinforced the Victorian “free” styles that were liberal translations and adaptations of architectural elements. Even though the archaeological accuracy of the elements and their relationship to each other varied widely, the design process required the architect to be a “historian” of the specific style in which he most often worked. This process was distinct from copyism, however, in that it allowed the rearranging of the elements into new compositions, which were free from any one historical style’s specific compositional rules.

Another way to look at the examinations is through the Testimonies of Study that the student had to submit prior to sitting for the examination. The testimonies consisted of both drawings and essays, and the requirements were quite extensive. One example of the testimonies remains at the R.I.B.A. Drawings Collection and provides an insight into the amount of work required and the level of improvement of a single student over a period of time. William Edward Brooks (1879-1945) submitted drawings and essays for both the Intermediate and Final Examinations for membership.²⁹ For each examination Brooks submitted a book of essays and descriptions of the accompanying drawings. These essays were primarily descriptive, tracing the history of Westminster Abbey, for example, and describing the Temple of Mars Ultor, Rome, of which he had done several studies. His drawings ranged from sketches and ink washes of ornamental details to hypothetical studies of floor construction and wooden trusses. The bulk of the drawings were, however, studies of the Orders. Each Order—Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian—was drawn in a variety of ways: in detail, as an elevation to study intercolumniation,

²⁸ George Gilbert Scott, *Personal and Professional Recollections* (1879), 178, as quoted in John Summerson, *Victorian Architecture: Four Studies in Evaluation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), 85.

²⁹ William Edward Brooks, Student Drawings for the R.I.B.A. Intermediate and Final Examinations, 1898-1903. R.I.B.A. Drawings Archive PB397/18 (1-20) and PB 398/1 (21-68).

as engaged columns with arches, and also as engaged columns with pedestals. Brooks also submitted several original designs that he had completed while he was a student at the Royal Academy. These were mostly for smaller projects, such as a gatehouse or country house, but one project submitted for the Final Testimonies, the Head Office for a Bank, strongly reflected the increased interest in the Italian Renaissance.³⁰ Its palazzo style and attempt at a classically symmetrical plan were not terribly innovative, but were solid studies of a civic classical style of architecture. In addition to original projects, Brooks also submitted several examples of studies of historical buildings which he had measured and drawn, in one case of a building that had subsequently been demolished, Christ's Hospital Newgate St.³¹

The overall format of the R.I.B.A. examinations remained the same until 1909, although there was a subtle shift in the questions beginning in the 1905 Intermediate Examination. In these new questions the candidate was required to draw the same element within two different styles with “comparative” or “parallel” illustrations.³² In Section II, “The Characteristic Mouldings and Ornament of Each Period of English Architecture from A.D.1000 to 1550,” the candidate was asked to “Show, by comparative illustrations, the difference in moulding and enrichment applied to a small two-light window: (1) at about the beginning of the fourteenth century; and (2) about the end of that century, giving a sketch of each example with explanatory details sections of the moulded and ornamented parts.”³³ This method of illustration of architectural details was popular in published works on architecture such as the 1829 London publication of Charles Normand's *A New Parallel of the Orders of Architecture, According to the Greeks and Romans, and Modern Architects*.³⁴ This question type was asked only in the section on English medieval architecture, which required a deeper understanding of the subtle stylistic differences of the various periods.

³⁰ Brooks, PB398/1/53-58.

³¹ Ibid., 59-62.

³² R.I.B.A., “R.I.B.A. Examination. Intermediate Examination” (November 1905), 8.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Charles Normand, *A New Parallel of the Orders of Architecture, According to the Greeks and Romans, and Modern Architects*. transl. of 1819 Paris edition (London: Published by A. Pugin, 1829).

The section further implied that these differences would be clear not only to the architect, but also to the public who ultimately viewed the building.

In 1907 several prominent R.I.B.A. members raised serious concerns regarding the information that the examination covered and specifically its approach to the history of architecture. Halsey Ricardo (1854-1928) broached the subject during the 15 February 1907 meeting of the R.I.B.A. Board of Architectural Education. W. R. Lethaby promptly joined Ricardo and expressed his distress that the sections on the history of architecture were more prominent than those on construction.³⁵ Discussion continued during the following meeting on 15 March 1907, where the Board resolved that there was a “discrepancy that appears between certain of the questions set at the R.I.B.A. Intermediate and Final Examinations, and the syllabus of Education drawn up by the Board.”³⁶ The Board formed a Committee to look into establishing closer contact between the R.I.B.A. Board of Architectural Education and the Board of Examiners, but otherwise took no immediate action.

Reginald Blomfield followed up these discussions with a report that he presented to the Board of Architectural Education highlighting two main concerns.³⁷ First, echoing the discussions of the previous meetings, the report noted that there was a “serious discrepancy” between the R.I.B.A. Board of Education and the Board of Examiners in what should be the primary focus of the Examinations. The “Advice to Candidates of the Examinations” as published in the *R.I.B.A. Kalendar* was the official examination guideline published by the Institute, and stated that, “[t]he first aim of the probationer should be to acquire facility and accuracy in ... drawing of architectural subject, etc. This course should be followed by careful

³⁵ R.I.B.A., *R.I.B.A. Board of Architectural Education Meeting Minutes*, vol. 1, 1907-1913, (15 February 1907), 2-4. Ricardo’s specific complaints were not noted in the minutes of the meeting. He had sent a letter dated 26 January 1907 to the Board outlining his concerns, but the letter is not included in the minutes.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, (15 March 1907), 7.

³⁷ Reginald Blomfield, “A Memorandum on the Examination Papers 1, 2, 3 in the Intermediate, and No. 2 in the Final Examinations of the R.I.B.A.,” (16 July, 1907), insert after p. 21 .

study of the ornament appropriate to each style, etc.”³⁸ In contrast, the syllabus of the Board of Architectural Education recommended that the architectural student “should be trained primarily in construction, etc., without regard to distinctive styles ... the object being to familiarize the student with the actual facts of buildings, etc.”³⁹ The Board’s syllabus also stated that, “The teaching of the history of architecture should be *supplemental* to the study of construction.”⁴⁰ The Examination, therefore, as it focused specifically on the drawing of ornament and mouldings of particular styles, went directly against the Board’s syllabus in which a young architect should concentrate on construction and history should be “supplemental.”

That history had assumed a larger role than construction in the examinations was, however, only part of the problem for Blomfield. He also criticized how the candidate’s knowledge of history was tested, noting that “three subjects out of seven, are devoted entirely to detached details of architecture rather than to architecture as an assemblage of details ...” Blomfield felt that this myopic approach to architecture “obscures the student’s sense of the historical continuity of the development of architecture.”⁴¹ The desire to categorize the history of architecture into styles was a similar mindset to the study of the architectural detail. In both cases the specific was favored over a broader view—either the composition of the building as a whole (let alone its site context) or the fluid relationship of styles and their wider developments.

Blomfield expanded his idea of delimiting architecture by style, opting instead for a more general approach.

Questions as to the historical setting of architecture should be carefully limited.

Students cannot expect to know all history; and all that is necessary for the purpose is on the one hand to know the *conditions of labour*, i.e. whether slave labour or not; the *materials available*, brick, stone or marble; the *purpose* of

³⁸ “Advice to Candidates,” *R.I.B.A. Kalendar* 11 (1907), 324; as cited in the report by Blomfield on 26 July, 1907, insert after p.21.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* Emphasis added.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

some buildings, religious, military, ceremonial and so on, and on the other hand to have some idea of the *antecedents, development and placing* of the individual artist whose work is being studied.⁴²

The exam as Blomfield proposed it, would not test on the knowledge of specific historical “features,” but “ought to elicit from the candidate how far he is capable of acting as an assistant in an architect’s office, what practical knowledge he possesses of building construction and the technique of building.”⁴³ The history of architecture would be less about ornament and detail and more related to the “scientific” factors of architecture—function, material, construction, etc.—as well as the artistic.

Blomfield also recommended the formation of a Joint Committee of the Board of Architectural Education and the Board of Examiners to be chaired by Sir Aston Webb. This committee would have the task of reviewing the recommended changes to the examinations and the related list of textbooks published in the *R.I.B.A. Kalendar*. The Joint Committee’s report, 8 February 1908, proposed, with approval by the R.I.B.A. Council, the removal of the sections of the Intermediate Examination on architectural “features, mouldings, and ornament” and replacing them with two sections on the general history of architecture and one on architectural features as related to their purpose and the building overall.⁴⁴ A similar approach was taken with the Final Examination which would omit questions on architectural styles in favor of a new section, “Principles of Architecture: Their Theory and Application.”⁴⁵ This suggestion effectively removed history of architecture from the Final Examination and shifted the focus of the history sections in the Intermediate Examination away from the ornamental detail.

⁴² Ibid. Emphasis added.

⁴³ Ibid., verso.

⁴⁴ *Board of Architectural Education Minutes* (6 February 1908), 31.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

The recommendations of the 1907 report and the 1908 Joint Committee did not go into effect until the Summer 1909 Examinations.⁴⁶ Three sections focused on specific styles—Classical, Mediaeval, and Renaissance—and one section, “General History of Architecture and the Purpose of Architectural Features in Relation to the Buildings in which they Occur,” replaced the sections on the “Features, Mouldings, and Ornaments of the Principal Styles.”⁴⁷ An attempt was being made to test not just the detail but also how the architectural feature related compositionally to the building as a whole.⁴⁸

When considered more broadly, the questions of the Mediaeval and Renaissance sections subtly reinforced the idea that the primary history of architecture that was necessary was that of England with the other styles being addressed in terms of their influence on English design. While the Mediaeval section predictably focused on English architecture of the Middle Ages, the questions on Renaissance architecture were more open-ended and included French and English Renaissance architecture as well as Italian. In the Renaissance section, for example, one question asked the candidate to sketch either a steeple from one of Wren’s churches or an Italian campanile, while another question asked for the candidate to write an essay on the impact of the Italian Renaissance on English architecture.⁴⁹ The Renaissance had become defined as a style separate from both the medieval and also the “modern,” contemporary architecture of the time. The processes of examination and education had forced an increasing periodization of non-medieval styles (similar to the periodization of medieval architecture which had taken place

⁴⁶ *Board of Architectural Education Minutes* (30 March 1909).

⁴⁷ R.I.B.A., “The R.I.B.A. Examinations” (June 1909) 7-9.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 7. For example: Question 7. “What means did the Greeks take to intensify the constructive outlines of their buildings? Sketch some of the chief details designed to meet this purpose.” As the 1909 Summer Examination had to accommodate students who had not all passed the previous examination formats, the Classical section was broken into two parts. One section for those who were relegated from the previous year, where the questions focused more specifically on isolated architectural elements. Part “B” of this section, however, related the elements more clearly to an overall architectural context.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 8-9.

earlier in the century by Thomas Rickman and others). The term “Renaissance” was still used broadly but now required geographic qualifiers: French, English, Dutch, etc.

Architectural history had taken its first tentative step away from its central position within the design process. As architecture came to be seen as not just a collection of independent historical elements, history became less something that could be applied directly to design, and more a record—and validation—of the profession over time. To reinforce the historical continuity of architecture, the 1909 Examination did not require the student to select—and therefore specialize—in a specific style. Instead, he had to have a more generalized knowledge of all the styles.

The Final Examination of June 1909 also had a new format. Similar to the Intermediate Examination instead of focusing specifically on the mouldings or ornament of a style selected by the candidate, a two part section addressed “The Principles of Architecture: Their Theory and Application.”⁵⁰ These “principles” were primarily constructive, with a nod toward history and aesthetics. One question asked for a description and sketch of the quality of “Repose” in a building, and two questions addressed the use of stone ashlar construction. The emphasis on history was much stronger in the second section, where the candidate was to “Give a brief historical and descriptive thesis of the constructive and decorative principles governing the Orders as used in the great Classic and Renaissance buildings, illustrated by sketches.”⁵¹ The questions attempted to expand how the history of architecture was studied and used, linking the constructive and the decorative. History was then the means by which to trace the relationship of ornament to construction in the Orders, through the analysis of the buildings of a specific period. History had not been removed entirely, however, and instead it had simply been redefined. The 1909 Examination also marks a point in which the R.I.B.A. exams attempted to shift away from

⁵⁰ Ibid., 13.

⁵¹ Ibid.

the medieval architecture of Britain as a focus towards classical “principles” of composition and planning, reflecting the influence of the Renaissance and Baroque in Edwardian architecture.

In the 1910s the examinations went through another series of changes and refinements centered on the sections on architectural history. The expectations of what historical knowledge a young architect was to have continued to shift away from specific stylistic and ornamental concerns for the first time. There was also a distinct move away from the mediaeval periods towards a foundational knowledge of classicism, including the Renaissance. The 1912 Intermediate Examination had three sections: “General History of Architecture and the Purpose of Architectural Features in Relation to the Buildings in which they occur,” Construction, and a final section for which the candidate could select either Historical Architecture of a period of his choice, Mathematics and Mechanics, or Design.⁵² The General History examination was an all day affair for a total of six hours, broken into two three-hour sections. In the 1914 Examination, of the same format, the questions in the General History section were all focused on the development and transmission of classical architecture. The question addressing the Renaissance was typical, showing a broader approach to history than had been held in the earlier examinations: “Write a condensed description of the architecture which was being produced in Florence, Rome or other cities of Italy between the years 1420 and 1520 AD, giving the names of some of the chief architects and the buildings they designed. In the same way describe what was being done in England during this period.”⁵³

The questions of the afternoon section of the General History Examination were more diverse in that the candidate in the process of selecting the three of five questions could choose which style he wanted to focus on. Even so the questions were more general stylistically, often

⁵² Crinson and Lubbock, 189-190. The sections on History and Construction each had 250 marks; the one which allowed a choice had 200; and the Testimonies had 100, for a total of 800. It is interesting to note that construction and history had the same number of points. The Final Examination in this format also had an optional history section. R.I.B.A., “The R.I.B.A. Examinations,” (Nov.-Dec. 1914), 7-13. See also the meeting minutes in which these changes were discussed. *R.I.B.A. Board of Architectural Education Meeting Minutes*, (19 June 1911), 195.

⁵³ “The R.I.B.A. Examinations” (Nov.-Dec. 1914): 8.

combining styles or leaving the answer open to various styles: “Describe and illustrate by sketches any four architectural features that owe their origin to structural requirements.”⁵⁴ The first section focused on classical architecture and the second on broader issues of architectural history.

For the optional section on Historical Architecture, the candidate chose what style he would like to work in with each style having its own set of questions for him to answer: Greek and Roman; Byzantine and Romanesque; English and French Gothic; or Italian, French and English Renaissance.⁵⁵ The questions focused on both broader issues of the style as well as its details. Many of the questions in the section on Renaissance architecture addressed the influence of the Italian Renaissance on English architecture: “Give [a] short account of the manner in which the Renaissance Style was introduced into England and its effect on Domestic Architecture; illustrate your answer by sketches.”⁵⁶ Specific knowledge of architectural elements was also required, however. These were not the mouldings and ornamental details inquired about in earlier examinations, but larger architectural and constructive elements: “Give illustrations of the use of the following in Renaissance Architecture.—Attic, coffers, cortile, cupola, tympanum, pulvinated frieze, terra-cotta, archivolt.”⁵⁷

The Final Exam of 1914 had no sections in the written portion on either architectural history or theory, and the entire examination was weighted towards design and processes of construction, with a focus on the more technical and business aspects of architecture such as drainage, ventilation, building materials, specifications, and professional practice.⁵⁸ The testimonies for the Final Examination, however, gave the candidate the option of writing a thesis on a historical topic. One implication of this change was that the information in the Final Exam,

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 11-13.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 13.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

the last stage prior to becoming an Associate of R.I.B.A., was that the history of architecture was now seen as foundational, but not integral to design. Architecture was no longer being tested as an art, but as a profession, and a technical one at that.⁵⁹

The changes made to the examinations in the early 1910s did not satisfy the critics, and after World War I they again raised the issue of the relationship between history and construction in both the exam and architectural education more generally. At a conference on architectural education in 1917, the science and art split was again evident. The consensus of the conference was that the history of architecture was too stylistically determined and that it should be more closely allied with construction. Examinations were also critiqued for driving the curricula of the new architectural programs thereby not giving enough freedom to architectural education.⁶⁰ This was a real concern as schools typically marketed themselves as having a curriculum which either was “recognized” by R.I.B.A., granting exemptions from certain examinations, or directly prepared the student for examinations. As the recognition of schools by R.I.B.A. had been successful, there was also some discussion as to making education in a recognized school mandatory and abolishing the Intermediate Examination.⁶¹ It was resolved to re-evaluate Examinations yet again.⁶²

Despite the criticisms raised at the conference, the Examination format did not change until the spring of 1925. In the Intermediate Examination of that year, one day was devoted to the history of architecture, with a section on general architectural history in the morning and a

⁵⁹ Curiously, history was re-introduced to the Final Exam in 1927 when a section on the History and Practice of Town Planning was added. History was again being used to legitimate a new profession, that of Planning. The several questions on the impact of the Renaissance on medieval cities and how Renaissance cities were used as models in later periods indicate a continued interest in the Renaissance and in history beyond the stylistic detail. R.I.B.A., “The R.I.B.A. Examinations” (May and July 1927), 18.

⁶⁰ *R.I.B.A. Board of Architectural Education Minutes* (7 February 1914), 11 page insert at p. 383. See specifically the comments by Professor Beresford Pite and Mr. F. Roscoe.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* See comments by Professor F. M. Simpson.

⁶² *R.I.B.A. Board of Architectural Education Minutes* (25 July 1918), 402; meeting with Paul Waterhouse as chair.

stylistically specific section in the afternoon.⁶³ The afternoon history section was in the same format as the optional history section of the previous exam in that the candidate selected from one of four stylistically determined sections—Greek and Roman; Byzantine and Romanesque; French and English Gothic; Italian, French and English Renaissance. The group of questions on Renaissance architecture had two questions on each of the three country’s interpretations of the style. The questions tested the candidate’s knowledge of the achievements of prominent architects such as Perruzzi and Wren, and asked him to name their buildings or trace their influences. The sections on the history of architecture did not address specific ornamental elements or details. When addressing Greek and Roman architecture the questions incorporated the comments of the 1917 Board of Education meeting by using history to study construction: “How far did the use of concrete influence Roman architecture?”⁶⁴

The exam format at this point remained in place relatively unchanged until the middle of the century, after the Architects’ Act was passed in Parliament in 1931. One critical change in 1951 was the addition of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to the style options from which a student could choose to study. What was once considered contemporary was now history. The changing position, understanding, and use of the history of architecture in the R.I.B.A. Examinations reflected a parallel change and interest in history in architectural practice. Beginning primarily as an interest in the moulding or ornamental detail of a specific historical style, history—as ornament—was integral to design. Gradually the questions on architecture’s history became less oriented to the reproduction of designs in past styles, and the history of architecture shifted to the role of providing background information to validate the profession through its masterpieces. Approaches to specific styles also changed. Initially dominated by the English mediaeval styles, with the Italian Renaissance clearly marginalized, the examinations

⁶³ R.I.B.A., “The R.I.B.A. Examinations,” (May and July 1925), 1.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 2. Other questions look at the Greek use of materials and the construction of the Roman insula.

gradually came to focus on classicism in all its manifestations, including the Renaissance architecture of Italy, France, England.

Chapter 4

Teaching the Renaissance. History in the New Schools of Architecture

At the end of the nineteenth century three important transformations regarding the approach to the history of architecture occurred. First was the transition from a diversity of types of architectural education towards a more uniform approach, which was brought on by the pressures of professionalization and the R.I.B.A. examinations. Second, the role of the history of architecture changed from being integral to the design process to a position which was foundational, but not critical, to design. Third, the focus of history, teaching, and design of architecture shifted from stylistic details to more abstract principles. Each of these changes impacted the teaching and reception of Renaissance architectural history in the schools of architecture.

British architectural education prior to the late nineteenth century was primarily by pupilage. Similar to apprenticeship for a craft or trade, a young man's family would pay an architect a premium to train him by allowing him to work in the office for a period of five to seven years.¹ The young man was considered a "pupil" and not a full architect until he had completed his apprenticeship. There was neither an organized system of architectural pupilage, nor was there a guide to what a young architect needed to learn during those years. In *Martin Chuzzlewit* (1844) Charles Dickens depicted a notorious architectural apprenticeship in the office of the architect Mr. Pecksniff, who took his pupils' money and did not train them, instead having them draw Salisbury Cathedral from every possible angle. "Mr. Pecksniff's professional engagements, indeed, were almost, if not entirely, confined to the reception of pupils; for the collection of rents, with which pursuit he occasionally varied and relieved his graver toils, can

¹ There was another level of work in an office between articulated apprenticeship and working as an assistant. Charles Reilly noted in the memoirs that he and a friend were hired into John Belcher's office as "improvers at no salary but with no premiums to pay." Reilly, *Scaffolding in the Sky*, 48.

hardly be said to be a strictly architectural employment. His genius lay in ensnaring parents and guardians, and pocketing premiums.”²

Architects of the period were well aware of the problems inherent in pupilage and the public’s perception of it. In a paper given to the 1887 General Conference of Architects in London, Mr. Cannon derided the characterization of Pecksniff as the charlatan aspect of the profession that architects were trying to dispel through formalized education and examination. The 1930-31 *Prospectus* of the Architectural Association looked back at pupilage and noted the randomness of it as an educational system, commenting, “everything depended on the selection of a suitable office, and in too many cases the articulated pupil emerged from his period of training with a vitiated taste and the handicap of a narrow vision.”³ This is not to say that all architects abused pupilage, and many, such as Sir John Soane (1753-1837) and Richard Norman Shaw (1831-1912), conscientiously oversaw the progress of their pupils in all aspects of the practice of architecture.⁴

Some architects saw pupilage as being the means by which English architects created their own national architecture. Professor R. Phené Spiers (1838-1916), despite his formal training at the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris, held a high regard for the traditional pupilage method of architectural training in Britain. At the 1887 General Conference, Spiers stated that “There is no National School of Architecture here; there is no traditional teaching of two hundred

² Charles Dickens, *Martin Chuzzlewit*, (London: 1844; reprint Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions Ltd, 1994): Ch. II, p. 12. It was believed at the time that the character of Pecksniff was based on the editor of the *Art Journal*, Samuel Carter Hall. More recent scholarship has proposed that Dickens based Pecksniff on a combination of Hall with A.W.N.Pugin and his father Augustus Charles Pugin. Charles Knevitt. *From Pecksniff to the Prince of Wales. 150 Years of Punch on Architecture, Planning and Development*. (Streatley-on-Thames: Polymath Publishing, 1990), 12. It should also be noted that because of the premiums, some architects took an active role against more formalized education as it was seen as taking money out of their pockets.

³ Architectural Association, *Prospectus* (London: Architectural Association, 1930-31): 7.

⁴ Wilton-Ely, “The Rise of the Professional Architect in England.” For additional excerpts of first person accounts and reminiscences on pupilage see Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*. 160-165. Pupilage, begun in the eighteenth century, was itself a relatively new means of educating architects in the Victorian period. Seen by many as a way to “promote a coherent professional identity,” pupilage became the norm in architectural education and by 1820 two-thirds of young architects were trained through pupilage. Crinson and Lubbock, 24.

years as in France; so far as architectural design is concerned, I am inclined to think this is a positive advantage, and that in consequence English architecture is at present in a much more healthy state than that of either France or Germany.”⁵ But many architects disagreed, and they sought out a system of education that would not only support the creation of a standard body of artistic and scientific knowledge, but also raise the status of the architect in the eyes of the public. The result of this concern for professional status was the creation of evening lectures to complement what was being learned in the office. These lectures gradually developed into more complete programs of education aimed specifically at architects.

Like the R.I.B.A. examinations, early educational programs in architecture tried to define the discipline as to whether it was an art or a science. The technical aspects of the profession—such as the study of structures, drainage, and ventilation—comprised the science section, while the fine art section focused on design, drawing, and history. That the study of the history of architecture was typically—but not always—located within the artistic aspect of architecture in the initial architectural programs shaped architectural history as a history of the *art* of architecture and not as the history of construction. The history of architecture was therefore the history of design as a fine art, focusing on the ornament and mouldings of the past. Coming of age during the “Battle of the Styles,” architecture’s history also focused on the definition and categorization of the styles, a process that had begun in earnest during the eighteenth-century with the archaeological approach to architecture’s past.

Early Programs Architectural Education

The early programs of architectural education were intended as supplements to pupilage, and as such were more informal, being a short sequence of evening lectures or workshops. But education became one of the primary means by which the architect could distinguish himself from the builder or surveyor, more formalized educational programs began to develop at the

⁵ R. Phené Spiers, “The Architectural School of the Royal Academy,” *The Builder* (May 7, 1887 Supplement): 701.

university level. The educational models that were available were the training of the artist, the craftsman, the engineer, or the programs on architecture that had already developed abroad, namely the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris and the programs in America at Columbia University and Harvard University. This range of models produced a diversity of approaches in the early programs, each having its own definition of what an architect should be. In addition, a young man might take a variety of lectures or workshops from different sources, effectively creating his own course of instruction.

The Royal Academy and the programs developed by the Arts and Crafts architects both held that the architect was an artist, but their definitions of what an artist was differed. At the opposite end of the spectrum was the Royal Engineer Establishment at Chatham, which trained architects and engineers for the design of military architecture such as barracks and bridges. The Architectural Association, in contrast, followed the ideal of the professional architect as defined by R.I.B.A., while the university programs—at King’s College London, University College London, Glasgow School of Art, and University of Liverpool—took yet an approach to the education of the architect. Despite this diversity of choices, most early programs had little in the way of separate courses on architectural history, although the study of the Orders and of ornamental detail of a variety of styles was typically included.

The Royal Academy of Art (RA), founded in 1768, had always included architecture as a subject of study, in part due to the architect Sir William Chambers’s role as one of the founding members.⁶ From the outset there was a Professor of Architecture, and articulated pupils could attend the lectures and drawing classes as well as use the library. The six lectures a year specifically on architecture typically covered stylistic or historical topics, although the Renaissance was rarely

⁶ Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, 166. Crinson and Lubbock, 233-35. For a history of early nineteenth-century education at the Royal Academy see Neil Bingham, “Architecture at the Royal Academy Schools, 1768-1836,” *The Education of the Architect*. Proceedings of the 22nd Annual Symposium of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain, Neil Bingham, ed. (London, 1993), 5-14.

addressed.⁷ Even though the students of architecture were encouraged to also attend lectures on anatomy and perspective, these six architecture lectures could not compare to the two per week specifically on architecture offered at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris.

The Royal Academy made several attempts in the nineteenth century to improve its architectural program. In 1856 C. R. Cockerell (1788-1863), Professor of Architecture at the RA 1839-1859, and the architect Charles Barry (1795-1860) proposed a two-year program of architectural education that focused on the drawing of architectural ornament and the study of the Orders. Cockerell and Barry also proposed a lecture course on the “History and Literature of Architecture,” which entailed the study of historical buildings, including those of the Italian Renaissance.⁸ This scheme was never followed through by the Academy, however, as it was considered too expensive.⁹

In 1870 R. Phené Spiers, Master of the Architecture School, 1870-1906, attempted to start a seven-year course to be taken part time in conjunction with pupilage.¹⁰ The goal of the curriculum was to prepare students for the R.I.B.A. examinations.¹¹ Part of the qualifications for admission into the RA program was a series of drawings from casts of ornament as well as plans and elevations of a building worked on in the office.¹² Drawings from “ornamental cast” were also part of the curriculum, and there were several opportunities to draw “specimens from antiquity”—both classical and Gothic. There was also a course specifically to learn how the architect should draw ornament for the sculptor or carver. Unlike the rendered ink washes

⁷ In 1892 there were three lectures on Michelangelo were given, and in 1898 George Aitchison gave six lectures on architecture in the Renaissance. For lecture topics and lecturers see Royal Academy of Art, *Royal Academy Annual Reports—Annual Report from the Council of the Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians for the Year [specify]* (London: William Clowes & Sons, Ltd.).

⁸ C. R. Cockerell and Charles Barry, “Course for the Study of Architecture” (11 March 1856). Royal Academy of Art Archives document #1223.

⁹ Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, 167; Crinson and Lubbock, 77.

¹⁰ R. Phené Spiers, “Report on proposed new classes in Architectural Schools” (1870), Royal Academy Archives #1302.

¹¹ Crinson and Lubbock, 78.

¹² Spiers, #1302.

students often did, these drawings were in effect working drawings for construction and “should not be elaborately finished, but rapid and effective, though careful.”¹³ Occasionally courses in the restoration of antique examples and the composition of ornamental design were also offered. Spiers’s architectural curriculum did not completely neglect the more technical studies of architecture, but they were typically framed within history and drawing. The young men studied, for example, construction through the “delineation and projection of vaulting” in both Roman and medieval buildings,”

Many architects considered Spiers’s experimental curriculum be a failure. The fact that students attended only part-time was not the only reason. The main problem, according to Spiers, was that the students practiced in too many different styles.¹⁴ Among the Visitors at the RA were R. N. Shaw and A. Waterhouse, whose strong personalities and styles drowned out that of Spiers’s Beaux-Arts influenced ideas. W. R. Lethaby (1857-1931) was a student in the program in the 1880s and later remembered that “The constant master [Spiers] was, of course, overruled by the various opinions of the succession of Visitors, and thus the influence of the one man who could have taught us something of any system and linked us with the larger European tradition of the time was rendered unavailing.”¹⁵

Architecture was never the main focus of the Royal Academy, however, and the lowly position of the architect was considered to be a major problem to many in the profession. In his 1896 paper delivered to the Architectural Association on the position of the RA, F. E. Masey complained that not only did members of the RA who were painters outnumber those who were architects by ten to one, but also that the amount of space given over to architecture in the

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Crinson and Lubbock, 78.

¹⁵ Richard Spofford Chafee, 205; citing Lethaby, “Richard Phené Spiers,” *RIBA Journal* vol. xxiii (21 October 1916): 334.

exhibitions was equally small.¹⁶ Masey's radical suggestion of withdrawing architecture completely from the RA and establishing an independent academy was met with heated discussion. Architecture remained at the RA, if only at the margins.¹⁷

C. de Gruchy in a letter to Aston Webb in 1906 noted that there were few books in the RA library that were really useful for architects. In addition, the library closed at six o'clock in the evening, when the architecture school was just opening. "Under these conditions it is evident that the students are unable to make any practical use of the books there."¹⁸ Maintenance of existing amenities was also an issue. George Aitchison (1825-1910), Professor of Architecture at the RA 1887-1905, complained in 1898 that the architectural casts were so dirty that the students could not study the shadows on them properly.¹⁹ The RA had yet to fully grasp how the training of an architect might be different from that of an artist, and the lectures and courses it offered were aimed more to the painter or sculptor than the architect. Reginald Blomfield attended the evening program while he was a pupil in his uncle's office and remembered, "The lectures on anatomy, illustrated by portions of the human body preserved in spirits, were unpleasant and perfectly useless."²⁰

The number of students in the Royal Academy's architectural program was never large. In 1904 the daily average attendance was nine students, with a maximum of twenty on peak days.²¹ The daily average gradually rose to seventeen students in 1911.²² Architectural training at

¹⁶ F. E. Masey, "The Present Position of Architecture at the Royal Academy," *The Builder* (May 2, 1896): 379. Masey noted that 1421 feet of exhibition space was given to oil paintings while only 116 feet was dedicated to architecture, which included stained glass and other building arts.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 380.

¹⁸ C. De Gruchy. Letter Oct. 12, 1906 to Aston Webb. RA Archives #726.

¹⁹ Royal Academy of Art, *Annual Report from the Council of the Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians for the year 1898* (London: William Clowes & Son, Ltd., 1899), 46.

²⁰ Sir Reginald Blomfield, *Memoirs of an Architect* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1932), 41.

²¹ Royal Academy of Art. *Annual Report 1911* (London: Royal Academy, 1911), 43.

²² *Ibid.*

the RA stalled completely during the Great War, with the position of Professor of Architecture being held “in abeyance” from 1911-1946.²³

Despite the fact that the training of architects at the RA was “scarcely formal and by no means comprehensive,” the RA did manage to influence architecture in two primary ways.²⁴ First, through its regular exhibition of architectural drawings, the RA gave the architects an elite public forum within which to present their work. Second, the election of architects to the positions of Royal Academy Associates and Academicians gave them status in both the art and architecture communities.²⁵ The opportunity to be endorsed by the RA through election to membership or through exhibition of works still held a certain amount of clout in the late Victorian period, effectively providing recognizing the architect as an artist. The most prominent of the fourteen architects elected to the RA during the period 1870-1920 were Reginald Blomfield, John Belcher, T. G. Jackson, and William Burges, all of whom played an important role in the formation of early programs of architectural education. That many of these men were also Memorialists is no coincidence due to their strongly held belief in architecture as a fine art, and several of them promoted classical and Renaissance architecture as an ideal model. Their focus was not on the history of architecture directly, but on architecture as a fine art.

Programs for the education of architects founded by members of the Arts and Crafts movement were based on the ideas of John Ruskin and William Morris, at the foundation of which was the definition of architecture as an applied as well as a fine art, incorporating the trades of masonry, carpentry, joinery, etc.²⁶ An integral, on-site member of the construction process, the Arts and Crafts architect was meant to have learned the craft of architecture from his own experience, not from textbooks. Against the R.I.B.A. examinations, the idea of registration,

²³ Sidney Hutchison, *The History of the Royal Academy 1768-1986* (London: Robert Royce, Ltd., 1968; reprint 1986), 270.

²⁴ Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, 166.

²⁵ For a full list of the members of the RA Foundation see Hutchison, “Appendix B,” 250-65.

²⁶ For a general description of the Arts and Crafts Movement see Peter Davey, *Arts and Crafts Architecture* (London: Phaidon, 1995).

and the architect as a “professional,” the Arts and Crafts movement promoted an alternate definition of the architect as an artist, mainly through his role as a craftsman.

In the 1890s several educational programs were established which followed a distinctly Arts and Crafts ideology. Most prominent of these were the London County Council (LCC) Central School and the Guild and School of Handicrafts. These schools presented an alternative to the study of architecture within the university setting that was currently being promoted by R.I.B.A. Instead of looking at building design and construction from the removed viewpoint of the architect as manager, they approached it from the perspective of the craftsman. Many of the Arts and Crafts architects felt that the R.I.B.A. examinations were taking time away from what was really important in the education of the young architect—a solid knowledge and understanding of the building crafts.²⁷ As Charles Robert Ashbee (1863-1942) eloquently stated, “...the arts and crafts united, united in the Guild, shall be the mother of architecture.”²⁸ The Arts and Crafts programs were characterized by a focus on the materials and processes of construction as the basis of design. The history of architecture was rarely offered as a separate lecture course as it was in the university programs or at the AA.

The most prominent of these programs was the LCC Central School. As a result of the reforms after the 1892 appointment of Sidney Webb and the recommendations of Hubert Llewellyn Smith (1864-1945), the program attempted to teach architecture with the building crafts in order to elevate the results of both.²⁹ In 1894 W.R. Lethaby (1857-1931) began his appointment at the LCC as Inspector of Technical Education, and he later served as Principal of the Central School (1896-1911).³⁰ Lethaby held strong ideas about how an architect should be

²⁷ Powers, “Architectural Education in Britain,” 52. See also his later article: Alan Powers, “Arts and Crafts to Monumental Classic: The Institutionalisation of Architectural Education, 1900 to 1914,” *The Education of the Architect, Proceedings of the 22nd Annual Symposium of the Society of Architectural Historians Great Britain*, Neil Bingham, ed. (London, 1993).

²⁸ Davey, 156 citing Ashbee, *Transactions of the Guild and School of Handicrafts*, vol. I, (1890): 22.

²⁹ Powers, “Architectural Education in Britain,” 53.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 54.

trained, and his hire at the LCC was an attempt to fulfill the LCC's educational goals as well as guaranteeing that his own ideas on education would have a forum. At the core of Lethaby's beliefs was the development of a new architecture based on the study of materials. In a lecture to the Birmingham School of Art, Lethaby proclaimed that "[t]he ideal school of architecture, if we are to have schools instead of the old apprenticeship, would be of the nature of a Polytechnic of Building."³¹ In the same way that some courses presented the study of architecture's stylistic history as a precursor to design, Lethaby presented the study of the building crafts as precursors to design. Ornament would be based on the study of nature, not a specific style. History in these programs was not taught as a survey of the styles or of ornament, but instead focused on the history of construction and building practices.³² Halsey Ricardo summed in up noting that, "I am afraid that you must not come to us to learn 'styles', for we are a very practical and elementary class, I assure you. ... We don't profess to study beauty of form and decoration as such: whatever beauty we may gain is such as springs naturally out of utility, and perhaps that way is the truest way of teaching beauty after all."³³

In 1904 the LCC established what became known as the Brixton School of Building, which in 1906 began an architectural program under the well known architect A. Beresford Pite (1861-1934). The goal of the school was to combine the training of architects with that of tradesmen. With its specialization in concrete and steel and lack of attention to design, the program failed as students wanted a more direct preparation for the R.I.B.A. examinations.³⁴

C. R. Ashbee established the Guild and School of Handicrafts in 1888, creating another school for the teaching of Arts and Crafts. Similar to the LCC Central School, architectural education was based in the study of building crafts. At the Guild and School, Ruskin's theories

³¹ Ibid., 73.

³² Powers, "Arts and Crafts to Monumental Classic," 35.

³³ Powers, "Architectural Education in Britain," 57; citing *Architectural Review* II (1897): 243.

³⁴ Ibid., 60-61.

on art and architecture formed a core part of the studies, but again, the history of architecture as a history of styles was not taught.

In 1895 the Architectural Association in London also opened a School of Design and Handicraft under the architect Owen Fleming.³⁵ Inspiration in design was the building material, instead of the study of historical styles. There were numerous other programs begun in the 1880s both in London and in other major British cities that held to Arts and Crafts ideals of architecture being grounded in the crafts. Birmingham in particular had a very strong Arts and Crafts base that continued after the interest in the Arts and Crafts had died out in London and elsewhere. The Birmingham School of Art, also an Arts and Crafts School, offered a more formalized course on the history of architecture under W. H. Bidlake (1862-1938).³⁶

The LCC and the other Arts and Crafts schools indicated an approach to architectural education that was neither solely an art nor a science, but instead a craft. Turning their back on the image of the professional architect and grounding their ideals in material and process, the Arts and Crafts schools had a relatively short life, with their peak attendance occurring in the 1890s at the height of the movement.

By the early 1900s, attendance in the Arts and Crafts schools had dropped substantially, reflecting the realization among young architects that this approach was not going to change the direction of architectural profession.³⁷ Most Arts and Crafts architects either made the shift to classicism or found themselves with fewer and fewer commissions.³⁸ The architectural historian Peter Davey has stated that one reason for this stylistic shift away from the Arts and Crafts was Britain's own success. Tariffs against British goods made by the new processes of

³⁵ Ibid., 47.

³⁶ Ibid., 70-72, 79. Edinburgh's School of Applied Art also offered history of architecture lectures, which were given by G. Baldwin Brown.

³⁷ Ibid., 55-57. In 1897, within less than a year of opening, the LCC Central School had 36 architecture students out of its total student enrollment of 177. Peaking at about 50 just before the turn of the century the numbers quickly dropped, and after 1900 only 10-15 architecture students were taking classes there.

³⁸ Davey. 167-68.

industrialization created a plateau in the rate of economic growth from the previous century, with the middle-class feeling the greatest impact.³⁹ The Arts and Crafts concern about the increasing domination of industry in architecture and the building arts was clearly well founded.

In contrast to the approach of the Arts and Crafts schools, the School of Military Engineering at Chatham trained young men to be primarily military engineers, although many, such as Francis Fowke (1823-1865) and Henry Scott, became better known as architects.⁴⁰ The intent of the training was to provide the military with men able to design barracks, bridges, and other aspects of military outposts. A young man would have entered the school after having already trained for four to five years at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich.⁴¹ The lack of any practical building experience was a sore point for some, and editorials in *The Builder* argued that men graduated with no practical experience yet because of their rank were immediately placed above other men who lacked the formal training but knew construction processes through direct experience.⁴²

The focus of the program at Woolwich was on mathematics, physics, and other theoretical and practical sciences.⁴³ Students learned history and design after their formal training, typically through trips to the continent and personal study. Courses on architecture were few, and in 1860 amounted to only 140 days of the eighteen-month program.⁴⁴ These courses would have been “practical architecture” as evidenced by C. W. Pasley’s 1862 posthumous

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ I would like to thank J. M. Crook for the suggestion to look into military engineering education. It is an interesting subject and deserves more scholarly attention in terms of its relationship to the architectural profession.

⁴¹ John Michael Weiler, “Army Architects. The Royal Engineers and the Development of Building Technology in the 19th c.” (Ph.D. Thesis submitted for Doctor of Philosophy. University of York. Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies, 1987). See also Colonel Sir Charles M. Watson, *History of the Corps of Royal Engineers*. Vol. III. (Chatham: The Institution of Royal Engineers, 1999; reprint of 1954 edition).

⁴² Weiler, 19.

⁴³ Ibid., 8.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 17. Note that this was a substantial increase from the 20 days dedicated to architecture before the reforms.

reprint of his book for young military engineers.⁴⁵ Pasley meant the book as a way for young men to learn the construction and maintenance of “ordinary buildings” which would be applicable to them during both war and peace time. This entailed knowledge in ventilation, drainage, sewerage, materials, and methods of construction.⁴⁶ Design in terms of aesthetics was simply not an issue, and neither was the history of architecture as an aesthetic art. Nonetheless this was a popular avenue for architectural training, and it was particularly important for its influence on the South Kensington Museum and the Science and Art Department. Henry Cole (1808-1882) was an advocate of military training and his main designers, Francis Fowke and Henry Scott, were both graduates of the system.⁴⁷

There were some programs that made an attempt to straddle the art-engineering (or art-science) divide. Like the Royal Academy, the Architectural Association was initially intended as a supplement to pupilage and gradually grew into a full-time program. In 1842 James Wyllson and a group of other young men apprenticing in architectural practices founded the Association of Architectural Draughtsmen “to endeavour to revive the ancient spirit of Architecture.”⁴⁸ To do this they collected examples of draughtsmanship for study, kept an employment register, and met twice a month for informal discussions on architecture.⁴⁹

They were not the only young architects dissatisfied with the current lack of education. In 1847 Robert Kerr (1823-1904) wrote the *Newleaf Discourses* and presented his ideas at a meeting of the Association of Architectural Draughtsmen where he proposed the establishment of

⁴⁵ C.W. Pasley, *Practical Architecture* (Dorset: Donhead, 2001; reprint of 1862 edition originally titled *Outline of a Course of Practical Architecture Compiled for the Use of the Junior Officers of Royal Engineers*. Chatham: Royal Engineer Establishment, Brompton Barracks).

⁴⁶ Pasley, Introduction by Laurence Hurst, no page number.

⁴⁷ Fowke’s career was maligned by critics because of his design for the 1862 Exhibition building.

⁴⁸ Summerson, *The Architectural Association*, 2.

⁴⁹ Ibid. See also Architectural Association. “A Chronological Summary of the History of the Architectural Association,” AA Archives. Xerox. no page number.

an architectural society.⁵⁰ That same year they joined forces and formed the Architectural Association (AA).⁵¹ While attendance at the Association of Architectural Draughtsmen had been only a few dozen, the first *Conversazione* of the AA on October 8, 1847 held at Lyon's Inn Hall drew over a hundred men.⁵² The high attendance and the initiative taken to form this organization were clear signs that the pupilage system of architectural education was no longer sufficient to meet the rapidly changing needs of training for a profession in architecture.

Until 1900 when a Day School was added under the direction of A. T. Bolton (1864-1945), the AA only held evening lectures meant to supplement pupilage and prepare for the R.I.B.A. examinations.⁵³ Professional publications such as *The Builder* and the *R.I.B.A. Kalendar* announced their lectures, often publishing them in full. The AA also had its own publications beginning in 1861 with the *Brown Book*, which listed the members and a syllabus of classes and meetings; followed in 1867 with the *AA Sketchbooks*, which promoted the designs and papers produced there; and from 1887-1905 they published the *AA Notes*.⁵⁴ By the 1930s the AA could brag that it was not only the largest architectural school in the British Empire, but that "It is the only architectural school in the world which is controlled entirely by architects."⁵⁵

The founders of the AA did not want to be associated with a particular architectural style; they "wanted to go deeper than history—to go, they said, back to nature and evolve from first

⁵⁰ Robert Kerr, *The Newleaf Discourses of the Fine Art of Architecture. An Attempt to talk Rationally on the Subject* (London: self published, 1846). The copy in the British Architectural Library was given by Kerr and signed "A silly little book: but one which did good in its day." Kerr was also the author of the popular 1864 book, *The Gentleman's House; or, how to plan English residences from the parsonage to the palace* (London: J. Murray, 1864).

⁵¹ Summerson, *The Architectural Association*, 5-6. The first report on the AA was in *The Builder* on a May 1847 meeting where J. K. Colling presented a paper.

⁵² Summerson, *The Architectural Association*, 6.

⁵³ Powers, "Architectural Education in Britain," 120. See also Summerson, *The Architectural Association*, 20. The first three classes that were offered at the AA were the Class of Construction and Practice (in preparation for the R.I.B.A. examinations), the Class of Design, and the Junior or Elementary Class in Design. The design classes consisted of the assignment of a small design problem, which would be then brought to the following class for critique by the other young men. In the 1860s other courses were offered in Chemistry and Surveying, watercolor, and Life Drawing. In 1870 there was also a short-lived reading group on the writings of Violet-le-Duc.

⁵⁴ Summerson, *The Architectural Association*, 25-26.

⁵⁵ Architectural Association, *Architectural Association Prospectus 1930-31* (London, 1930): 6-7.

principles ...” They wanted to break free “from the tyranny of the five Orders on one hand and from Gothic copyism on the other.”⁵⁶ They sought a non-archaeological approach to architecture, one in which history played a role to legitimate the profession, but not as the sole source of design inspiration. For that, they would return to “nature.” Logistically, however, with the pressing demands of an increasingly professionalized discipline, the AA found itself teaching not the “nature” of architecture, but the requirements of the R.I.B.A. examinations. In 1885 the President of the AA, in a paper published in *The Builder*, commented on the additional lectures implemented in 1883 on the history and science of architecture and other topics: “These lectures were started almost, it may be said, for the sole purpose of preparing candidates for the obligatory examination for admission to the Institute.”⁵⁷ Cole Adams called for the professionalization of architectural education at the AA by moving away from the voluntary system of instruction in place at the time in favor of “securing the services of men, qualified professors of the subjects they teach.”⁵⁸ This was a move that would effectively professionalize architectural education.

Not everyone agreed that the change to a more formalized education at the AA—or anywhere in Britain for that matter—was the answer to raising the status of the profession or for improving architectural education. A. Beresford Pite (1861-1934) in a rebuttal to Adams stated that he had inspected the architecture and systems of architectural education of France, Germany, and Italy as well as England, and concluded that “he did not fear a comparison between it and that of the English school. In fact, English architecture was infinitely the best. In methods of education those countries might excel, but the expected results in the better quality of the art were not produced. Our greatest architects had a sort of haphazard training, but had done better probably than if they had been put into a sort of mill and turned out on hard-and-fast lines, ...”⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Summerson, 8.

⁵⁷ Cole Adams, “Architectural Education and the Examination in Architecture,” *The Builder* (Jan 10, 1885): 66.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ A. B. Pite, in discussion following “The Architectural Association,” *The Builder* (Jan., 10, 1885): 83.

But the haphazard training of pupilage and piecemeal lectures were not to last, as formalized architectural education became increasingly popular and necessary to prepare for the R.I.B.A. examinations. In 1889-92 under Leonard Stokes, the AA reorganized to achieve a more systematic course of study following the program recommended by the R.I.B.A.⁶⁰ Courses became more formalized, and Visitors began to receive an honorarium for their work.

From the 1890s to the early 1900s, the school shifted its focus to “the mixing of classical elements with compositional shapes.”⁶¹ This shift also coincided with the 1902 move of the school to Tufon St., Westminster, where it shared space with the Royal Architectural Museum (figure 4.1). By the 1910s the AA had begun to succumb to the influence of Beaux-Arts methods of education but still focused on domestic and smaller scale design problems, for which the school was often ridiculed.⁶² The reasoning behind this was that a young man in his early years of practice would be primarily dealing with smaller residential-sized projects anyway, not the larger, more monumental projects that the Ecole promoted.

The 1919 *Prospectus* of the AA stated that the first year courses on history were more general and covered “the whole development and history of architecture from the earliest times to the end of the Elizabethan period, and, in addition to lectures and visits to museums and old buildings, studio exercises in the various styles are worked out.”⁶³ The second year courses were divided between courses in construction and those in “historical study” covering “the study in detail of the various periods most applicable to modern requirements” through drawing and sketching as well as lectures.⁶⁴ The goal of the history courses—lectures and studio—was that “a student will realize the meaning of architecture and its relation to construction and the past.”⁶⁵ A

⁶⁰ Fifteen resolutions were passed in May 1890, which provided the course of action for these changes. Summerson, *The Architectural Association*, 22.

⁶¹ Powers, “Architectural Education in Britain,” 122.

⁶² Summerson, *The Architectural Association*, 39.

⁶³ Architectural Association, *Architectural Association Prospectus 1919-20* (London, 1919): 9.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

knowledge of the history of architecture would provide the young architect with an historical understanding of his profession, in a sense verifying and legitimizing the profession. History did not serve as a resource for inspiration or for the mining of specific historical details, but as a foundation for an understanding of larger abstract principles such as the relationship between architecture and construction, composition, or proportion. History was no longer the lifeblood of the studio, but provided a general foundation of knowledge linking other aspects of the discipline.

The *Prospectus* of 1921-22 clarified this new role of history. “In the first and second years the student has not attempted original work in design beyond the handling of problems to be worked out in Historical Periods. In the third year, Design is ‘free,’ and original thought and individuality of expression are encouraged according to the capacity and inclinations of the student.”⁶⁶ This is not to say that history was not considered critical to architectural education, but that there was beginning to be a separation between archaeological approaches to history in the design process and “original”—i.e. non-historical—approaches to design. In 1922 the first British Rome Prize winner, H. Chalton Bradshaw, returned to London and taught the entry-level courses on the history of architecture and the two terms in the second year on ancient Greek and Roman and the Renaissance. R. A. Duncan taught the course on medieval architecture in the second year, and students spent their summer vacations measuring and drawing examples of English Medieval architecture.⁶⁷

The first year problems of 1930 were set “in the Historical and Modern treatment” and were accompanied by a series of lectures on the history of architecture. The study of the Orders was presented not only as an historical topic but also as one that was constructional.⁶⁸ The course on Renaissance architecture in the second year—grouped with other courses on “theory”—was the point at which “the student considers the plan forms and groupings of units.”⁶⁹ In the

⁶⁶ Architectural Association, *Architectural Association Prospectus 1921-22* (London, 1921): 15.

⁶⁷ Architectural Association, *1922 Year Book*, (London, 1922): 51

⁶⁸ Architectural Association, *Architectural Association Prospectus 1930-31* (London, 1930): 22.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 24.

descriptions of the history courses of 1930, the history of architecture was tied to the history of construction and of structural forms such as vaults, domes, and post and lintel construction.

Outside of these courses, the Renaissance was not a period of special focus at the AA. Courses on the Renaissance were limited to an introductory level course in the first year and in a single term in the second year. The study of the Orders was still important well into the 1920s, however, and was cited as being “an essential part of the student’s equipment” and central to the first year studies.⁷⁰ After the turn of the century, there began to be a distinction made between the study of architecture’s history in studio and its role in design.

The 1876 University College London (UCL) *Calendar*, which outlined the courses offered, maintained the division in its architectural curriculum between architecture as an art and as a science, and courses on the history of architecture were taught under both divisions.⁷¹ Under the Art section the history of architecture was included within the study of the proper use and composition of mouldings.⁷² The history of architecture was primarily a “description of styles,” beginning with ancient Egyptian and ending in the Middle Ages, with a focus on the classical orders of antiquity. The Science section in the UCL curriculum also included a component of architectural history under the title of the “History and Manufacture of Various Building Materials.”⁷³ Architecture’s history at UCL served as a bridge between these two aspects of architecture, the art and the science. Each side approached history as an integral part of contemporary architectural practice, and not as a remote and distant past.

⁷⁰ Architectural Association, *Architectural Association Prospectus 1925-26* (London, 1925): 42.

⁷¹ Founded in 1826 with the first classes taught in 1828, the UCL—initially called the London University—was meant as a place of study for the middle class and for those outside of the Anglican Church. The UCL and KCL were (and still are) part of a collection of twenty colleges and institutes that made up the University of London.

⁷² University College London, *University College London Calendar. Session 1876* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1876): 38-9.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 39.

The earliest architecture courses at King's College, London, in contrast, focused on the technical aspects of architecture. The courses were first offered in 1841 as "Civil Architecture" and later in the "Arts of Construction" course in the Civil Engineering and Architecture Department.⁷⁴ Led by William Hosking (1800-1861), an architect and engineer and Fellow of the Society of Architects, the architecture program at KCL initially contained no history of architecture courses, and there was little distinction between the courses for engineering and those for architecture. As Hosking noted in his 1841 introductory lecture, "The practice of Civil Engineering and Architecture is, therefore, strictly the complete practice of architecture in its most extended sense: ... The Architect who builds sewers and drains, and it is within the practice of all Architects to do so, is in so far a Civil Engineer; whilst the Engineer who builds a bridge or a viaduct is in so far an Architect; ..."⁷⁵ Engineering and architecture remained together in this department until 1896 when Engineering "became a separate faculty, and science at last was liberated from all its old entanglements and made wholly independent."⁷⁶ The 1899 description of the architecture course noted that it was "intended to furnish full information in the theory and practice of Architecture, the Construction of Buildings and the application of the Principles of Mechanics thereto, and to fit the Student for the career of an Architect or an Architectural Surveyor."⁷⁷ Architecture, as an "applied science" in Architecture and Building Construction, remained within the Department of Engineering until 1904, when it was moved to the Faculty of

⁷⁴ Jenkins, *Architect and Patron*, 167. The department of Civil Engineering, Architecture and of Science as Applied to Arts and Manufactures opened in 1838 and within three years changed its name to Engineering, Architecture, Arts and Manufactures. Again in 1844 the department was reorganized, and the name changed, with architecture then part of the Department of General Instruction in the Applied Sciences.

⁷⁵ William Hosking, "Introductory lecture to class of Civil Engineering and Architecture," *King's College Calendar* (London: John Weale, 1841): 12.

⁷⁶ F. J. C. Hearnshaw, *The Centenary History of King's College London 1828-1928* (London: George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd., 1929), 147-48.

⁷⁷ King's College London, *King's College Calendar 1903-04* (London: University of London, 1903): 234.

Arts under the direction of Ravenscroft Elsey Smith (1859-1930).⁷⁸ The following year the R.I.B.A. granted recognition for exemption for the Intermediate Examination to those students who had completed the second year of the Certificate Course.

Despite its close association with Engineering, courses on architectural history were included in the KCL architecture curriculum. Initially under the direction of Robert Kerr, Banister Fletcher (1833-99) took over the courses on architecture history, and it was Fletcher who with his son (later Sir) Banister Flight Fletcher (1866-1953) wrote the *History of Architecture in the Comparative Method*, first published in 1896 with numerous later editions. The senior Fletcher's duties while at KCL included lectures on the history of architecture, construction, and other "architectural subjects" as well as evening courses including drawing and studio.⁷⁹

By 1890 the architecture course had been extended to three years, and lectures on the history of architecture were a key part of the curriculum in all three years.⁸⁰ The syllabus of the course under Fletcher reflected the organized, almost scientific, approach that he took in his book. While Fletcher taught classical detail and ornament at the beginning of the second term of the first year, he did not address Renaissance and "modern" architecture until the third year, and no one style was given prominence in the series of courses.⁸¹ Taught in a lecture format with an accompanying discussion section, the course did not have a studio or drawing component.⁸² This is not to say that history was not still an integral part of architectural design, or that the study of historic building elements by drawing them was no longer considered important. In the 1899

⁷⁸ Hearnshaw, 426. By 1905 the program had twenty students attending the day classes and seventy-two students in the evening classes.

⁷⁹ KCL Archive kas/ac2/f9. This file also holds the job announcement and applications for the post following the death of Prof. Fletcher in 1899. See also Hearnshaw, 391 for the benefits brought to the architectural program by Fletcher's connections outside KCL, namely through the Carpenters' Company which provided for a small school of woodcarving in a room dedicated for this purpose.

⁸⁰ In the first year, the history courses were taught in all three terms, whereas they were only in two terms each of the later years. King's College London. *King's College Calendar 1890-91* (London, 1890): 177-78.

⁸¹ Like many architectural histories of the period, there was a large amount of time spent on the architecture of the ancient and Near Eastern styles. These periods after the rise of interest in the classical revivals such as the Renaissance, decreased in scope.

⁸² King's College London. *King's College Calendar 1890-91*, 177-78.

Architectural History Sessional Examination, covering English medieval and Renaissance architecture for the third-year student, eight of the fifteen questions (from which the student chose twelve) asked for sketches as part of the answer. These included plans of specific buildings, elevations, and structural and architectural details.⁸³

In 1910 the University of London made the decision to decrease competition between the UCL and the KCL architecture programs and to combine the two schools, creating the Bartlett School of Architecture.⁸⁴ The technical emphasis of the KCL program gave way to the more balanced program at UCL with its division of architecture into both science and art courses. Although the new prospectus noted that, “Practical and Aesthetic requirements are equally important and must be considered side by side,” there was a greater emphasis in the new program on the artistic aspects of architecture and on history and design specifically.⁸⁵ The new program, fully in gear by 1912, offered three different degree programs in architecture: a Bachelor of Art, a Certificate, and a program in Academic Design. The more technical courses were still taught with the engineering students at KCL. The new school’s prospectus did not specifically mention the technical and scientific aspects of the profession, preferring instead “to encourage amongst them [the students] a spirit of keenness, to help them understand the importance of the career upon which they are entering, and to give them some insight into the nobility and beauty of the Architectural Masterpieces of the past.”⁸⁶ This focus on the “Architectural Masterpieces of the past” as one of the key points of the new program’s curriculum indicated a new emphasis not only the aesthetics of architecture, but specifically on the history of architecture, as it was there that the art of architecture was grounded.

⁸³ King’s College London. *King’s College Calendar 1900-01* (London, 1900): clxiv.

⁸⁴ Hearnshaw, 426. Technically, the KCL program was to be transferred to the UCL program in exchange for the Law program, which would go to KCL. Only the first part of the exchange ever took place as the Law program at UCL never moved. The new building for the Bartlett School was financed from a donation given by Sir Herbert Bartlett.

⁸⁵ School of Architecture, King’s College London Archive kas/ac2/f10. p.7.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 6-7.

The study of the orders was a core part of both the BA and Certificate programs. The 1913-14 Prospectus for the school stated that, “The ‘Orders’ are taken as the basis for design in the studio,” and most of the first year curriculum was dedicated to their study.⁸⁷ The orders were considered “active” parts of the history of architecture in that they were still actively used in design.

The study of the orders continued in the Academic Design course, which was an advanced course based on that of Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Under the direction of J. J. Burnett, who had trained at the Ecole, the Advanced Course was an evening studio for young architects in which four separate projects a year were given and critiqued by visitors. While no history lectures were specifically given in the Academic Design course, a thorough knowledge of the orders was required prior to entrance.⁸⁸ The Bartlett’s program was classical in its leaning with the predominance of the orders in the studio as being separate from the study of other historical styles.

The school’s prospectus noted that while students should be familiar with other historical styles, they should not copy them in their designs. “Unity in architectural expression is essential if an Architect is to advance, and students should not have their minds distracted by being called upon to study closely and work out exercises in different styles. The beauty of bygone styles are acknowledged and cannot be ignored; but the lectures on the History of Architectural Development should be sufficient to enable students to get some insight into their beauty and understand and appreciate the lessons they teach.”⁸⁹ History—relegated to lectures—had moved outside the studio and was divided into a “working” model of the classical orders and a more remote history, presented in lectures. The desire for the student to have facility in several styles had dissipated into a unifying classical ideal.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 7.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 15-16. Students enrolled in this course were allowed to attend other lectures or drawing sessions at the school.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 7.

Simultaneous with the focus on the classical in the studio, the course on the History of Architectural Development presented “the evolution [of architecture] ... and its causes, are traced by analysis of, and reference to acknowledged masterpieces.”⁹⁰ That the course presented the sequence of styles as a “development” and “evolution,” implying a progressive and vaguely scientific approach to the history of architecture, and further divested the past styles from any lingering moral implications. The course also defined and acknowledged what the masterpieces were, effectively beginning to establish a standardization of the discipline of architectural history.

The facilities for the Bartlett, built specifically for the new program reflect this tension between an interest in a historical past as a tangible resource and as something more remote. The building not only included three studio spaces but also a Cast Room, a Museum, a Lecture Theater, and a Library.⁹¹ The studios and the Cast Room were noted as “well-lighted,” and the grand size of the cast room indicated the active use of casts of historical fragments of buildings for study and drawing. In addition to the Cast Room was the Museum, which held architectural and structural models and materials samples. The more technical courses were still taught with the engineering students at KCL. The format of this new combined curriculum showed a distinct preference for defining the architect as not only a technical or scientific professional.

Classicism from Outside. The Influence of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and America

Despite the Ecole des Beaux-Art’s relatively close geographic proximity to England, it was initially not particularly influential in the formation of programs in British schools of architecture. The few British architects who studied at the Ecole in the late nineteenth century experienced a formalized system of architectural education that was not available to them in Britain. When these men returned to their home countries, they joined established firms or

⁹⁰ Ibid., 13.

⁹¹ Ibid., 6. The three studios were 35ft x 22ft, 27ft x 29ft, and 30 sf. The Cast Room was very large at 48ft x 28ft. The Library was 35ft x 22ft; the Class Room, 27ft x 19ft; and the Lecture Theatre, 46ft x 28ft; and the Museum, 50 sf.

opened their own and sometimes became professors or instructors in the new schools of architecture, bringing with them an understanding of how the ateliers and the Ecole in Paris were organized.⁹² The ateliers consisted of a group of students who paid a patron a set fee for a place to work and the regular review of his work by the master of the atelier, a practicing architect. It was in some ways similar to the British apprentice system in that the personality and architectural leanings of the master were often passed on to the students, but the student gained neither the “real world” office or construction experience that he might during apprenticeship, as the students were doing their own projects for Ecole competitions or courses and not work from the master’s office.

A critical component of the Ecole’s educational philosophy was that the architect should have a knowledge of the history of architecture, and that history was “fuel” for the design process. In addition to the lectures on construction, drawing, and perspective, lecture courses on the history and theory of architecture were available to students as early as the 1820s. As attendance to the lectures was not required and the history courses were not the most popular, they were typically not well attended. The architectural historian Richard Chafee noted that “Only the lectures about construction seem to have been dutifully attended; many of the others seem to have been ignored.”⁹³ After 1883 the lectures on the history of architecture were included in the *concours* of the second class, which required a complete set of drawings of a historic building. The topic of the lectures and accompanying drawings was subject to shifting attitudes and tastes, as indicated by the preference for the classical architecture of Greece and Rome during the last decades of the nineteenth century and shifting to the medieval or French Renaissance in the early twentieth century.⁹⁴ In addition, design instruction incorporated history,

⁹² For general background on the Ecole des Beaux-Arts see A. Drexler, ed., *The Architecture of the Ecole des Beaux Arts* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1977) and Robin Middleton, ed. *The Beaux Arts and Nineteenth-Century French Architecture* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1982).

⁹³ Chafee, 35.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 38. See also the Appendix II for listings of the specific professors for each course, 116-121.

as it was through the study and adaptation of historical ornament and composition that students learned design.

As Chafee has noted, despite the numbers of British architects that attended the Ecole and the French ateliers, their architecture did not create a British Beaux-Arts style.⁹⁵ None of the young men who attended the Ecole before 1875 became a “name” in British architectural circles.⁹⁶ The exception to this lack of French influence was in Scotland. More architects went to the Ecole from Scotland than from England. Much of this was due to John James Burnet (1857-1938) who studied in the atelier of Jean-Louis Pascal from 1874 to 1877, before returning home to Glasgow to build several prominent buildings, including the Glasgow Stock Exchange, 1894.⁹⁷

It was only through single individuals who had gone to Paris that the Ecole made an impact on British architectural education.⁹⁸ R. Phené Spiers and Howard Robertson both attended the Ecole and returned to England with the idea of bringing some aspects of the Ecole back to the British educational system; Spiers to the RA and Robertson to the AA. Spiers’s influence was mixed as we have seen with his failed attempt at the two-year program at the RA. Lethaby in an article on Spiers noted that even as early as the 1880s Spiers was considered by the RA students to be a bit old-fashioned in his approach to architecture.⁹⁹

At a time when the interest in classical architecture and a more formalized education was growing, the most logical influence—that of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts—was in many ways limited, or at most, indirect. British interest in the system of education there continued, but instead of looking directly at the Ecole as a model, they looked to the U.S. which had already

⁹⁵ Ibid., 280. Notable exceptions include J. J. Burnet’s addition to the British Museum (1904-14) and the Selfridges on Oxford Street (1907-09) by Francis Swales, Daniel Burnham, Frank Atkinson, and J. J. Burnet

⁹⁶ Ibid., 206.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 207-10. Burnet was knighted in 1914, and he received the R.I.B.A. Gold Medal in 1923. Chafee reviewed the work of each Scottish architect that attended the Ecole or participated in one of the ateliers.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 282.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 205; citing W. R. Lethaby, “R. Phené Spiers,” *R.I.B.A. Journal*, vol. xxiii (21 October 1916): 334.

developed its own architectural style and educational system based on that of the Ecole. British journals published American architecture and architectural education, and many prominent British architects traveled to America to see the architecture and to visit the architecture schools at Columbia University, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Harvard University.¹⁰⁰ They brought back with them a filtered and distinctly American interpretation of the Beaux-Arts.

The educator and master-promoter C. H. Reilly looked specifically at the American university programs in architecture to understand how they had interpreted the Beaux-Arts style so that he could adapt it to his program at the University of Liverpool. Much of Reilly's interest in American classicism was the result of his trip to the U.S. in 1909 when he discovered the architecture of McKim Mead and White. These works made such an impression that in 1924 he wrote and published a book on them.¹⁰¹ Lionel Budden mentioned how important this work was in his history of the University: "I can remember the intense excitement that the publication of this American work caused: it seemed to have all the breadth of the French with the refinement of the Italian, and yet somehow wonderfully Anglo-Saxon."¹⁰² That Budden saw the work as Anglo-Saxon and not specifically American revealed the impression of a more direct, filial connection between British and American classicism despite its geographic remoteness.¹⁰³

Reilly promoted American architecture by sending his students to architects' offices in New York and elsewhere for work experience during summer breaks or after their studies. The benefits of the experience were great in Reilly's mind.

¹⁰⁰ Gwendolyn Wright and Janet Parks, eds., *The History of History in American Schools of Architecture, 1865-1975* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press and the Temple Hoyle Buell Center for the Study of American Architecture, 1990).

¹⁰¹ C. H. Reilly, *McKim, Mead & White* (1924; reprint New York: Benjamin Blom, Inc., 1972).

¹⁰² Lionel Budden, *The Book of the Liverpool School of Architecture*, (Liverpool: University of Liverpool with Hodder and Stoughton, 1932): 27.

¹⁰³ The historian Donald Read has noted that in the last decades of the nineteenth century the British considered the U.S. as "part of the British 'family'." The U.S. was related through a shared language and even more directly as the destination for large numbers of British immigrants. Psychologically, France was more distant than the U.S. to the general populace. Donald Read, *England 1868-1914. The Age of Urban Democracy*, part of the series *A History of England in Eleven Volumes*, W. N. Medlicott, ed. (London: Longman, 1979), 200.

The New York architect, too, of those days knew his classical detail in a way few of the same school did over here. ... If a man were designing an Italian palace it was frankly so and correct to the smallest moulding according to its supposed period. The men therefore whom I sent over had a fine educational experience. *They actually built the stuff of their history books and consequently got an insight into its meaning which no lectures, reading or even sketching of old stuff, could give them.* It was an excellent training in *taste* even if, as not doubt happened, they never built anything of that sort again.¹⁰⁴

That Reilly saw this experience as an opportunity to build what they studied in their courses on the history of architecture indicated that this was not an opportunity available to the student in Britain. It was ultimately the formulation of taste that the student would bring back with him to England and carry on into his later work. This continuation would—like the homogeneity of the Liverpool education—effectively root the student’s “modern” designs in an abstracted classical system of proportions, massing, and hierarchical arrangements at various scales. The trips to the U.S. provided a chance for students who were steeped in an international classicism to see its impact and understand its importance at the urban scale.¹⁰⁵ As Reilly noted in the 1910 *Sketchbook*, “The strength of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and of the American schools does not lie in a nebulous catholicity of taste; nor did we English suffer from it till the Gothic Revival put sentiment before pure love of form.”¹⁰⁶

The British architects saw American architects as having “cut themselves more adrift from tradition than those of any other nation.”¹⁰⁷ What is to our eyes historicist, for example the

¹⁰⁴ Reilly. *Scaffolding in the Sky*, 217.

¹⁰⁵ Alan Powers, “C. H. Reilly, Regency and Englishness,” *Journal of Architecture*, v.5, n. 1 (Spring 2000): 53. Powers designated what Reilly was pursuing as “the international character of this kind of classicism.”

¹⁰⁶ C. H. Reilly, ed., *The University of Liverpool Sketchbook 1910*, vol. I (London: Architectural Review, 1910): 12-13.

¹⁰⁷ Herbert Appleton, “The Architectural Association. President’s Address,” *The Builder* (October 27, 1888): 303.

Romanesque influences in the work of H. H. Richardson, was to the Victorian architect original and a work of “genius ... in adapting old forms to new requirements (applause).”¹⁰⁸ This “modern” approach to history was less archaeological in that details and elements were not slavishly copied wholesale from historic buildings.

The Liverpool School of Architecture

The Liverpool School of Architecture was the most successful of the British architectural programs at promoting a new and “modern” classical architecture based upon both an American and a French Beaux-Arts model. This success was largely due to a single charismatic and indefatigable individual: Charles Herbert Reilly (1874-1948), the William Roscoe Chair of Architecture 1904-1933. Prior to Reilly, F. M. Simpson held the position, and he had steeped the program in the ideals of the Arts and Crafts, with a solid grounding in materials and construction processes and a firm belief in the architect’s collaboration with the craftsman. Despite the interpretation of some scholars, Simpson was not anti-classical, however, and did approve of the “Free Classic” style.¹⁰⁹

In 1894 Simpson initiated a two-year day course in architecture meant as an opportunity for directed study prior to pupilage. The course included six terms of the history of architecture, a lecture course which met one hour per week. The syllabus was split equally between the study of classical and medieval architecture, with one term on Renaissance architecture, which included Italy, France, and England.¹¹⁰ Each lecture was illustrated with lantern slides, drawings or photographs and was “followed by a class in the studio in which exercises are set bearing on the subjects lectured upon.”¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. Comment made by Mr. John Slater in the discussion following the paper.

¹⁰⁹ Powers, “C. H. Reilly, Regency and Englishness,” 48.

¹¹⁰ University of Liverpool, *The University of Liverpool Prospectus 1903-04* (Liverpool: 1903): 167.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 168.

But Reilly had much different aspirations for the school—and for architecture in general—and upon his placement as Chair, he quickly made changes in the curriculum to align them more closely with his theories on architecture. More importantly, he was an active promoter of his ideas and the school itself, pushing the Liverpool program into the architectural spotlight for a brief time. For Reilly, even when he later “converted” to modernism as the style of the time, architecture was a civic art, loaded with responsibility.¹¹² During a BBC radio broadcast in the late 1920s, Reilly stated, “Architects should feel themselves to be a priesthood standing between God and the people. It is their business to translate into material form only such aspirations of their clients as are worthy.”¹¹³ The civic aspect of architecture was key to Reilly’s adoption and promotion of the Italian Renaissance and its architecture. In a 1934 lecture he stated, “Perhaps the greatest of all gifts the Italian Renaissance gave to Architecture was this civic sense which has made it possible to conceive a town. ... which is not only a complete organism with its separate parts and individual buildings expressing their separate functions, but one in which all such parts have an hierarchic relation one to the other and are consciously designed as subordinate parts in their proper order of subordination to the conception of the whole.”¹¹⁴ The Italian Renaissance with its grand urban-scaled buildings and clear hierarchies was the model for Reilly’s development of a new architecture.

The idea of “architecture as a public service” and the public nature of architecture strongly impacted Reilly’s approach to architectural education. Classical architecture—in particular the orders and the architecture of the Renaissance in Italy, France, and England—formed the foundation on which the student could develop his skills and taste. For Reilly, the individualism and eclecticism of nineteenth-century architecture was one part of the problem of urban decay, and the homogeneity of a singular classical style would therefore provide a solid and

¹¹² Powers, “C. H. Reilly, Regency and Englishness,” 48.

¹¹³ C. H. Reilly, “Good and Bad Manners of Architecture,” typescript of BBC radio broadcast by Reilly (c. 1927). University of Liverpool Archive D207/27.

¹¹⁴ C. H. Reilly, “The Body of the Town,” pamphlet, William Roscoe Lecture 1934 (Liverpool: E.A. Bryant, 1934): 4. University of Liverpool Archive D207/6-8.

consistent basis for the development of healthy urban areas.¹¹⁵ To achieve a more harmonious urban fabric, architecture had to create a basis of uniformity, not a focus on originality. To achieve this uniformity in an academic setting would require each school to develop and follow a “consistent system of thought” to produce a single means of expression and this system was based on classical architecture.¹¹⁶ The basis of the system of education at Liverpool School of Architecture was the design of what Reilly termed “monumental architecture.”¹¹⁷ Reilly expanded on the idea of monumental architecture quoting a remark by Lethaby on George Elliot that “Great and precious origination can only exist on condition of a wide and massive uniformity. When a multitude of men have learned the same language, then and only then can the greatest masters of language arise.”¹¹⁸ This uniform language as taught at Liverpool was the study of classic architecture. A solid grounding in classic architecture would provide the student with lessons almost subconsciously, primarily through the domination of classic proportions.

The teaching and study of classical architecture was not antithetical to the development of a modern architecture in Reilly’s mind.¹¹⁹ It was instead the development of what Lionel Budden, Reilly’s successor, called a “Modernism with ancestry” with an “undercurrent of Lantinity, that appreciation for measured and exact beauty, for decorum, for fitness of purpose and above all for balance and sanity, which has been the special characteristic of the peoples of the Mediterranean throughout the ages.”¹²⁰ It was Reilly’s understanding of the abstraction of design principles such as proportional and hierarchical systems that allowed the teaching of a solid classical foundation with a constant eye towards “modern’ architectural philosophies. Reilly’s architectural history was not one to provide details for literal copying, but for the

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 6.

¹¹⁶ Reilly, ed., *The Liverpool Architectural Sketchbook* (1910), 11.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 12.

¹¹⁸ C. H. Reilly, ed., *The Liverpool Architectural Sketchbook, vol. II 1911* (London: Architectural Review, 1911), 7.

¹¹⁹ Powers, “C. H. Reilly, Regency and Englishness,” 48.

¹²⁰ Budden, 28.

development of the student's "taste" and the creation of a uniform architectural language of abstracted principles.¹²¹

In contrast to Simpson's very balanced approach to the history courses—roughly three terms on classical architecture, including the Renaissance, and three terms on only medieval architecture—Reilly's curriculum reflected his strong opinions regarding architectural design and classicism. During the first year, the focus of the curriculum was on the acquisition of skills in "simple construction and the Orders and the elements of architectural proportion."¹²² Construction and the orders were taught in tandem in the early design classes emphasizes their importance to each other and as the foundation of Reilly's architectural philosophy. The student began his work at two scales—that of the detail in terms of materials and that of the building in the city. Patrick Abercrombie and Reilly taught the history courses, with Abercrombie teaching Gothic architecture in the second year for a term and a half as well as the courses on materials and construction. Reilly taught the "Outlines of the History of Architecture" for all three terms of the first year and the course on "Renaissance and Modern Architecture" as well as overseeing the studio work of both years.¹²³

In 1920 Reilly expanded the Renaissance portion of the history course to three full terms, one term each covering the Renaissance in Italy, France, and England.¹²⁴ The first year history course covered Egyptian through Greek architecture in one term, Roman architecture in the second term, and Early Christian and Gothic in the final term of the year.¹²⁵ This compression of architectural history in the first year allowed a more thorough and in depth study of the Renaissance throughout the entire second year. The entire curriculum lasted five years for a

¹²¹ Powers, "C. H. Reilly, Regency and Englishness," 59. "Reilly claimed that 'training in traditional work' would naturally produce 'subconscious standards of taste,' ..."

¹²² University of Liverpool. *Prospectus 1909-1910* (Liverpool, 1909): 5, 11.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 11-13.

¹²⁴ University of Liverpool. *Prospectus 1924-25* (Liverpool, 1924): 15.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 14.

degree and diploma in architecture, with honors available in both Architectural Design and Architectural Construction.¹²⁶

Part of the 1920 curriculum change was the addition of the course “Symbolism in Classic Architecture.” The course was intended to deepen the students’ knowledge of the development and underlying meanings of the classical mouldings by linking them to their mythological origins. In the 1921 examination for this course the required question for all students asked them to propose what would be “ornament suitable for the decoration of a new Custom House built in the classical style,” while another question asked the student to give brief identifications of specific gods such as Hermes, Isis, Diana, and Zeus.¹²⁷ This was a course that not only taught the historical appropriateness of certain ornament and mouldings in terms of their architectural use, but also in terms of their own myth and history, maintaining a legible language of classical architecture. The addition of the course on classical symbolism reflects a simultaneous and paradoxical removal of history from the design studio while still keeping it related to the design process. Reilly was concerned that the use of the classical style still be grounded in a meaning and language and would not be the “free” use of ornament without a historical context. Reilly’s preference for the Greek foundation of architectural ornament and the Renaissance urban scale of ornament shows a free use of history and not an archaeologically rigid approach to the creation of a new architecture for the time.

During the third year in the Theory of Architectural Design course, the Liverpool student again encountered Renaissance architecture after having studied it in the history course the year before. This course presented a historical critique of the classic styles up through the nineteenth century, addressing issues of form, material, and program.¹²⁸ Paired with a course on the history

¹²⁶ Ibid., 10.

¹²⁷ Liverpool School of Architecture, Degree of Bachelor and Diploma in Architecture Second Examination. Symbolism in Classic Architecture June 1921. Register of Architectural History. University of Liverpool Archive S.3167. This was in addition to the first year course on the Elements of Architecture which was an in depth study of the “Classic Elements” and the orders, including mouldings, proportions, doors and windows, and the correct use of these elements.

¹²⁸ University of Liverpool. *Prospectus 1924-25*, 16.

and characteristics of decoration and furniture from ancient Greece to modern times, these two courses indicate how Reilly saw the history of design as not simply the study of ornament by sketching in the studio or as a series of lectures illustrated by slides, but as an aspect of architecture which permeated every facet of design from the smallest scale of furniture and the detail to the largest scale of creating a coherent urban fabric.

After the third year of coursework the Liverpool syllabus focused on design and construction and had fewer courses devoted to the history of architecture. The fourth year offered a course on Architectural Polychromy, Ancient to Modern, and in the final year of coursework there was a course on Civic Architecture and Landscape Design, which addressed urban planning in the Renaissance.¹²⁹ The number of courses that addressed some aspect of the history of architecture and the early and continuous integration of historical elements into the studios suggests that Reilly saw the history of architecture as at once integral to learning architectural design and also as a course worthy of independent and more specific study beyond a simple survey.

Each of the school's examinations during the 1920s also required the design of a small memorial or architectural element such as a doorway in the Renaissance style, typically called the "early Florentine manner" or "early Renaissance in Northern Italy."¹³⁰ The examinations prior to the 1920s curriculum change also included questions asking the student to design in specific styles, namely the Renaissance, but this type of question was more prevalent in the later examinations.¹³¹ It was expected and understood that history was not simply a series of buildings and dates to be memorized by rote, but the intimate knowledge of specific historical buildings—

¹²⁹ Ibid., 16-17.

¹³⁰ Liverpool School of Architecture, "Terminal Examination Autumn Term 1922. History of Architecture, second year," *Register of Architectural History* (1923), University of Liverpool Archive S.3167. See also the 1923 Register, same location.

¹³¹ Earlier examinations gave the student more questions from which he could choose the specific ones he wanted to answer, such as choosing four of six questions. Later examinations had no choice in the questions he could answer, and a question on St. Peter's, Rome was almost guaranteed.

most commonly St. Peter's, Rome, or a Renaissance Florentine palazzo—in plan, elevation, and detail.

Reilly vigorously promoted classic architecture from its mythological beginnings in Greek ornament to the proportional systems of the British eighteenth century. He cited the interpretations of Vitruvius by Sir Henry Wotton of the definition of “well-building” as “commodity, firmness and delight,” and he noted that “there is a fine modern English architecture being done today, which is as expressive of our time as the Georgian was of the eighteenth century.”¹³² Reilly looked to the Renaissance as a model, but also drew from the entire cross section of classical history to create a foundation for a “modern” English architecture, and grounded the new architecture in his belief that architecture was ultimately a civic responsibility.

The curriculum of 1920 was maintained well into the 1930s after Reilly's departure as Chair. Reilly had taken a school that was focused on an Arts and Crafts approach to architecture and transformed it into a school with a more “international” stance by looking at American and French Beaux-Arts models and grounding the curriculum in classical architecture with the goal of creating a new architecture for Britain appropriate for the time. The program focused on Renaissance architecture's large scale and urban nature as a model for hierarchical relationships of the part within the whole.

The British School at Rome

As the British architectural education system became more formalized, the Institute and the Architectural Association felt that there was a need for a central prize that would galvanize the profession, establish a common goal among the various schools, and validate the entire system. With the French Prix de Rome as the obvious model, R.I.B.A. sought to establish a competition with the prize being a year or more of study in Rome. Sir James Rennell Rodd (1858-1941), the British Ambassador to Italy at the time, asked, “Where could the whole range of

¹³² C. H. Reilly, “The Modern Problem,” typescript of BBC radio broadcast, (no date): 2-3. University of Liverpool Archive D207/27,

art be so comprehensively studied as in Rome?”¹³³ But it was not the whole range of art that R.I.B.A. was interested in, as by the turn of the century classical architecture that had permeated British architecture education through attempts to model it on either the French Ecole des Beaux-Arts or the American interpretations of it.¹³⁴

Since its inception the R.I.B.A. had wanted to start a program in Rome. By 1909 the Institute had drawn up a proposal based on the French Academy at the Villa Medici, but the estimated cost of £100,000 was considered to be too expensive.¹³⁵ In Britain the increased interest in architecture of the past had created a close relationship between architectural and archaeological societies, such as the Liverpool Architectural and Archaeological Society founded in 1848.¹³⁶ Although the British School at Rome was initially an institution for the study of archaeology, it had also served as a base for British art and architecture students who were on traveling scholarships.¹³⁷

Coincidentally, the 1851 Commission had also been looking to establish an art scholarship program and had begun to consider the School at Rome as a possible venue. The Commission had gained profits from the Great Exhibition of 1851, which it had used to purchase land in the area of South Kensington that yielded a high return on their investment, giving them

¹³³ John Pemble, “Rome and Centrality from Shelley to Lutyens,” *Lutyens Abroad*, edited by Andrew Hopkins and Gavin Stamp (London: The British School at Rome, 2002), 37.

¹³⁴ Alan Powers, “Italy and the Edwardian Architectural Imagination,” *Lutyens Abroad*, edited by Andrew Hopkins and Gavin Stamp (London: The British School at Rome, 2002): 47-56.

¹³⁵ Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, *The British School at Rome. One Hundred Years* (London: The British School at Rome at the British Academy, 2001), 37.

¹³⁶ Philippa Levine, “Appendix III: Architectural Societies,” *The Amateur and the Professional. Antiquarians, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838-1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 181.

¹³⁷ T. P. Wiseman, *A Short History of the British School at Rome* (London: British School at Rome, 1990), 2-3. The initial idea for establishing the School came from several of history and archaeology professors at Oxford and Cambridge, most notably Henry Pelham (1846-1907), a student of Theodor Mommsen (1817-1903). Mommsen was a German historian whose great work *Römische Geschichte* (*The History of Rome*) was translated into English in 1885. Wiseman notes that due to the writings of Theodor Mommsen and Rodolfo Lanciani, there was a distinct shift of focus in scholarship from Athens to Rome, which in turn initiated an interest in establishing a “permanent British archaeological presence in Rome.”

sufficient capital to start a program.¹³⁸ The interested parties—R.I.B.A., the British School at Rome, and the Commission—came together and made arrangements to reorganize the British School at Rome to include art and architecture with new scholarships in architecture, painting, and sculpture.

The 1851 Commission created a new Faculty of Arts to be responsible for selecting and overseeing the new scholars. The existing Committee of the British School at Rome became the Faculty of Archaeology, and it took charge of the administration of the Library and research programs. A joint council representing architects, painters, sculptors, archaeologists, and relevant significant institutions was to manage the School, although a small executive committee held actual control.¹³⁹ An article in the *Architectural Review*, published when the first scholarships were announced in 1913, declared that, “By the establishment of this school it will no longer be necessary for a clever student to renounce his nationality and seek entrance to foreign academies in Rome by competing for the great prizes offered by those institutions.”¹⁴⁰

It was decided to use the British Pavilion from the 1911 International Exposition as the headquarters for the newly enlarged school, as the Italian government was willing to give the building to the British for this use. Sir Edwin Lutyens was selected, as he had designed the pavilion. Because of numerous construction problems, delays, and the war, the building was not completed until 1915, to the detriment of the progress of the School.

By the time the scholarships and building were in place, a marked shift in the theory and practice of architecture was already underway. The founding architects intended the Rome Prize as a way to reign in modernist tendencies that had started to crop up in the schools back home.¹⁴¹ The goal was that the new art and architecture programs of the British School at Rome would

¹³⁸ Wiseman, 11.

¹³⁹ Wallace-Hadrill, 41.

¹⁴⁰ “The British School at Rome,” *Architectural Review*, vol. 34. (July-December 1913): 11.

¹⁴¹ In 1912, the first year of the advertisement for the Rome Prize was also the year that the Futurists came to London, spawning the offshoot movement of Vorticism.

raise the level of architectural and art education throughout the country by focusing on its classical roots. When a student of architecture won a Rome Prize, he was expected to select and research a specific classical structure by measuring and sketching it and then do a series of drawings of its reconstruction. The first Rome Scholar in architecture, 1913, H. Chalton Bradshaw, from the University of Liverpool, followed the requirements and completed a reconstruction of Praeneste in a series of Beaux-Arts styled renderings (figure 4.2).¹⁴²

After the War, there was a strong sense that the school had slipped behind the times, with the Faculty of Arts repeatedly attacking modern architecture and chastising the students and faculty who designed in that style. This discrepancy between the push for classical models and the growing modern movement continued to be an issue at the school as late as the 1930s. At one point the school called in Lutyens to reprimand a student who had designed his project in a modern style. Lutyens, instead of being automatically derisive, tried to find a middle ground. He noted the importance of the study of great classical architecture, but also that the final result need not necessarily look “classical.” Lutyens wrote about the incident in a letter to his wife:

The young man ... had gone off on the German-Corbusier track, bored with having to go through a course of measuring ancient buildings to no useful purpose as they have all been measured a hundred times before. ... He had won the Prix de Rome, accepted it and all it involved, to carry out its articles. At his age, 22, discipline was invaluable ... I advised him to measure up some ancient buildings suitable to his purpose, then, for his thesis translate it, whilst maintaining the proportions to a modern building.¹⁴³

¹⁴² A. G. S. Fidler, “The British School at Rome,” *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects* (10 April 1937): 534.

¹⁴³ Christopher Hussey, *The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens* (Suffolk: Country Life, 1950; reprint London: Antique Collectors Club, 1989), 200.

A Tangible Past. The Architectural Cast and the Architectural Museum

Initially the study of architecture—and consequently of architecture’s history—was primarily the study of historic details and ornament through drawing from a cast, engraving, or the actual building. These studies would form a collection of details which could later be incorporated into the student’s own designs. History—in the form of architecture’s ornament—was intimately related to design. The issue of which style or mixture of styles should be selected was the primary question, leading to what became known as the “battle of the styles,” or, as J. M. Crook has argued, a “dilemma of style.”¹⁴⁴ By the early decades of the twentieth century, however, the study of the history of architecture was less focused on the detail and more focused on the application of classically-based principles of composition, and the need for the collections of ornamental casts had disappeared.

Lectures and studio courses focused on the study of architectural ornament. T. L. Donaldson (1795-1885), the first Professor of Architecture at the University College London (1842-62), began his lectures on architecture with an account of the styles and the orders. Although he did not specifically call the class a history of architecture, he taught architecture as a survey of the architectural styles of the past through the presentation of each style’s characteristic ornament and mouldings. As support for his approach, Donaldson cited Ramée’s *History of Architecture* in which the “Alphabet of Architecture”—i.e. architectural mouldings—was the foundation of architecture, because it “give[s] critical expression to different parts.”¹⁴⁵ It was from the mouldings that architecture was then “read.”¹⁴⁶ Donaldson carefully laid out his lectures on Greek and Roman architectural mouldings, presenting them as the foundational building

¹⁴⁴ J. Mordaunt Crook. *The Dilemma of Style*, 13. Crook defines the “dilemma of style” as one of choice. “Dilemmas involve choice: no choice, no dilemma. And choice lies at the root of architectural style—that is, style as understood since the Renaissance: a conscious system of design, a visual code based on tectonic preference, a post-vernacular language of forms.”

¹⁴⁵ T. L. Donaldson, “Lectures on Architecture by T. L. Donaldson during the session 1863-64. ‘Fine Art’,” (1864), 35; University College London Archive MS Add 121. These are a series of extensively detailed notes by a student in Donaldson’s course. See also University College London. *The University College London Calendar Session 1876* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1876): 38-39.

¹⁴⁶ Donaldson, “Lectures on Architecture. session 1863-64,” 35.

blocks of the art of architecture. The central role of ornamental mouldings in early architectural education paralleled the attention given to them in the R.I.B.A. voluntary examinations at the same time.

This focus on the past through the detail was most evident in the architectural museum. These museums collected and displayed fragments and plaster casts of building details and ornament. The first such museums were personal collections in the homes of architect-gentlemen such as Sir John Soane, whose vast and eclectic collection served as inspiration for his own work and that of his pupils (figure 4.3). The architecture courts of the Crystal Palace by A. W. N. Pugin (1812-52) and Sir Matthew Digby Wyatt (1820-77) were also important in the development of the use of the architectural object as pedagogical tool (figure 4.4). Early architectural professors, including T. L. Donaldson and Sir Banister F. Fletcher, took students to the British Museum when they lectured on earlier architectural styles such as Persian or Greek, and a visit to the Elgin Marbles was an expected part of early architectural training (figure 4.5).¹⁴⁷ The inherently didactic nature of these collections was further reinforced by the founding of the Victoria & Albert Museum in which the decorative object, isolated from its context, served to educate the masses as well as the craftsman in design.

Most of the early architectural programs also had their own collection of plaster ornaments from which the students could draw and study. In 1903 the Architectural Association took over the space that had held the Royal Architectural Museum at Westminster. Originally founded by John Ruskin, Sir George Gilbert Scott, and George Edmund Street, the Royal Architectural Museum was a place where architects and craftsmen could come and study an

¹⁴⁷ T. L. Donaldson, "Lectures Schedule," (1865-6), 15v-16, UCL MS Add 33. Donaldson's 1865-66 lecture schedule included visits to the British Museum for his lectures on Egyptian, Greek Ionic, and the Elgin Marbles.

extensive collection of casts of English medieval architectural ornament as well as examples of woodwork and ironwork (figure 4.6).¹⁴⁸

King's College London (KCL) in their annual university publication on the College's various programs proudly listed all of the casts they owned in their architectural museum (figures 4.7-4.8).¹⁴⁹ This collection was begun under Banister Fletcher (d. 1899), and he had purchased many of the pieces himself.¹⁵⁰ Organized by style, the largest number of casts in the collection were of English Gothic works, with twice as many than casts of Greek ornament, and half again as many as those from the Renaissance. The casts of Renaissance ornament included works from Italy, France, and England and were defined as Renaissance more by their date than by their "style." For example, a pilaster from Chartres Cathedral, dating 1514, and a doorway panel from Beauvais Cathedral are both noted as Renaissance not medieval, indicating the broad definition of the Renaissance in contrast to that of the English medieval styles.¹⁵¹ The collection at KCL was stylistically diverse, and rarely were more than a handful of casts from any one building. The notable exceptions were the Erechtheum, of which there were ten casts, and Westminster Abbey, from which there were nine casts of ornament. But ten casts of ornament are not a whole building, and this fragmented approach to architecture as a series of elements instead of a compositional whole favored the detail as the focal point of architectural design instead of treating the building as a whole.

Frederick Moore Simpson (1855-1928), the Director of the City of Liverpool School of Architecture and Applied Art 1894-1904, amassed a collection of architectural casts of primarily Gothic ornament.¹⁵² The 1903-04 *Prospectus* of the University of Liverpool promoted Simpson's

¹⁴⁸ Architectural Association, *Architectural Association Prospectus 1930-31* (London, 1930): 5-6. Ultimately, the Victoria & Albert Museum received the casts and "displayed [them] there in a way which was quite impossible in the old Architectural Museum."

¹⁴⁹ King's College Archive. kasjac2jfl1, p. 65-71.

¹⁵⁰ Hearnshaw, 391.

¹⁵¹ King's College Archive. kasjac2jfl1, p. 70.

¹⁵² Christopher Crouch, *Design Culture in Liverpool 1880-1914. The Origins of the Liverpool School of Architecture* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002), 8-9. Crouch outlines the early

collection of casts along with the museum of architectural models of construction details and samples of building materials. These collections were in addition to the library of books, prints, drawings, and photographs of architecture gathered for the intention of educating the young architect.¹⁵³

When C.H. Reilly (1874-1948) succeeded Simpson as the William Roscoe Chair of Architecture in 1904 and became the Director of the School of Architecture at the University of Liverpool, he saw Simpson's collection as a hindrance because of its tendency towards primarily medieval styles. In his memoir *Scaffolding in the Sky* Reilly stated, "I myself at once began putting away the Gothic casts and putting the Renaissance and classical ones into positions of greater prominence, and even buying new."¹⁵⁴ This shift in the style of the casts reflected the difference in ideology between the two men. Simpson was primarily aligned with the Arts and Crafts movement of architecture, and he favored the medieval and Gothic styles over classical. While Reilly leaned more towards the creation of a modern classical style, based on the Beaux-Arts as it had been interpreted in America.¹⁵⁵ For Reilly the medieval casts of Simpson were literally and figuratively "history."

Reilly later removed even the classical and Renaissance casts from the studios altogether (figure 4.9). "Today no casts at all appear on the walls of the schools and the Architectural Association in London has either given away or destroyed its great collection inherited, I believe, from Ruskin himself. The studios at Liverpool are now the bare temples of an evermore relentless logic."¹⁵⁶ This relentless logic was that of the Modern Movement, where history had been expurgated from the design process. Reilly in his description of the newly bare architecture

history of the School and the 1904 reorganization when the architecture program split from the applied arts becoming the first university-funded School of Architecture in Britain to offer a degree in architecture.

¹⁵³ University of Liverpool, *University of Liverpool Prospectus of Day Classes in the Faculties of Arts, Science, Engineering and Law, 1903-04* (Liverpool: the University of Liverpool Press, 1903), 165.

¹⁵⁴ Reilly, *Scaffolding in the Sky*, 70.

¹⁵⁵ Some recent scholars have noted that this categorization of Simpson and Reilly is oversimplified and have placed more emphasis on Simpson's work at the School as a foundation for Reilly.

¹⁵⁶ Reilly, *Scaffolding in the Sky*, 70-71.

studios noted that even the drawings from the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and American schools that had been specifically acquired as examples were also removed, along with the large figure drawing studies by the students themselves which “would no longer be encouraged or permitted.”¹⁵⁷

Both Simpson and Reilly used the casts as tangible educational tools for the student of architecture, meant to influence his design and notions of taste. That Reilly would take the trouble to remove the Gothic casts indicated how influential they were considered to be in early architectural training. Reilly’s purchase of additional casts in the classic and Renaissance styles when he became the Roscoe Chair furthers this idea. The casts were the tangible aspects of a disembodied history of architecture, divided by style and separated from their context. The architectural museums and collections of architectural casts were evidence of the primary position of the ornamental detail in architectural design and the study of architecture’s history prior to the turn of the century. The prominence of these collections at museums and universities reflected a mode of thinking regarding the training of an architect in which an architect as an artist learned his profession and honed his skills by drawing what was the architectural equivalent of the life model. It was through the process of drawing the object that the understanding of the object occurred.

The implications

The formalization of architectural education created a new type of architect, which was to a degree its intended goal. The individualism and eccentricity of the apprenticeship system gradually gave way to a greater conformity in both education and practice. Goodhart-Rendel had argued that the apprenticeship system promoted architects who “wished, with the romantic egotism of their age, that every man should make his designs notably different from those of

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 71.

every other man.”¹⁵⁸ One of the goals of the education system was to create a more uniform approach. The eclecticism of architecture in the 1880s and 1890s had only reinforced this desire. With the increase of programs for architects at the university level came the acknowledgement that not only were the rules of classical architecture teachable, but they were “*evocative* of learning.”¹⁵⁹ To design in a classically-based manner was an indication of a certain level of education.¹⁶⁰ The change in the means of education also impacted design methods, with a distinct shift from the study and examination of the ornamental detail to compositional principles. Most fundamentally, the role of the architect was accentuated by a system that emphasized the architect’s autonomy and artistic control; all legitimized by history through the Renaissance architect.

¹⁵⁸ Port, *Imperial London*, 247.

¹⁵⁹ Macleod, *Style and Society*, 84. Emphasis added.

¹⁶⁰ As many well-educated men had studied classical literature and history, this overt display of classical knowledge might have also appealed to a certain number of clients.

Chapter 5

“For What are We to Eclect?” Practice of Architecture 1890-1914

The writer Robert Furneaux described Victorian architecture as “a kind of kaleidoscope—as much being demolished as was built—and always against the backcloth of an earlier time.”¹ From the last public building in the revived Gothic, classicism in a variety of manifestations became the basis for the majority of public and civic buildings. While there was no clear evolution of architectural styles from 1890 to 1914, there was a marked increase in the use of classical models. Turning to the Renaissance and Baroque architecture of Italy, the Netherlands, England, Spain, and finally France, architects developed new ways to combine classical forms. Their inventive and original interpretations resulted in buildings that could hardly be grouped together formally. Scholars have still tried to classify them within several loose categories: Queen Anne, Eclectic, Free Style, Grand Manner, and Neo-Mannerism.² The broad range of interpretations of classicism can be quickly seen in an overview of several of the most prominent projects of the period: the Foreign Office, Bedford Park, the Institute of Chartered Accountants building, Mappin House, the British Medical Association building (now Zimbabwe House), the British School at Rome, and the Quadrant at Piccadilly Circus.

The public architecture of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Britain has been overlooked in the literature for several reasons.³ Foremost, its stylistic experimentation has defied easy divisions of categorization, both during its own time and more recently by historians trying to analyze it, reverting to descriptions such as “florid,” “exuberant,” “fantastic,” “frothing,”

¹ Robert Jordan Furneaux, *Victorian Architecture* (London: Penguin Books, 1966), 19. Furneaux was not a complete admirer of the Victorian period, and he admonished that the reader “must never forget that the main contribution of the Victorian Age to architecture is the Slum.” Furneaux, 18.

² Of these terms, all but “Queen Anne” are now included within the category of “Edwardian Baroque.”

³ There has been a great deal of scholarship on the domestic architecture of the period, particularly of the Arts and Crafts Movement and of the development of the garden suburb.

and “unhampered.” The architectural historian Alastair Service recognized that the “need for a term to embrace the wide variety of attempts at an original style has long been felt by historians.”⁴ There was also the lack of a clear linear sequence of styles, fitting no easily developed narrative. It is an architecture that appears distinctly historical, although it was always considered “modern.”⁵ It is also an architecture that exhibited the renewed awareness of the buildings of the Renaissance and Baroque and reflected the commercial success of an international empire.

A second reason that this period has often been overlooked in the literature is that it does not fit into the current canon of the history of modern architecture. Hermann Muthesius’s appreciation of English domestic Arts and Crafts architecture gave rise to the German version of the movement, which in turn led to the Bauhaus and the rise Modernism (as the modernist story goes). And Nikolaus Pevsner’s 1936 history, *Pioneers of the Modern Movement*, began with William Morris and the Arts and Crafts Movement as the precursor for modern design.⁶ While the Arts and Crafts Movement was certainly an important part of late nineteenth century art and architecture, it was not the only—or even the primary—direction of the profession, and its integral role in the revival of Renaissance architecture is often neglected.

The primary focus in architecture during this period was an increased desire for uniformity, which was in direct contrast to the individuality and experimentation going on at the time. Reinforced by the fact that there was no single state-sponsored architecture school (as there was in France), architects were encouraged to develop their own interpretations of past styles. By the early twentieth century, however, the desire for a more regularized architecture began to be

⁴ Alstair Service, *Edwardian Architecture. A Handbook to Building Design in Britain 1890-1914* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 38.

⁵ It is specifically not my intent to try to create a chain of influence or iconic buildings for a proto-modernism in Britain, but simply to point to some of the major trends of the period and several of the buildings that were the most influential or exemplary in the rise of the interest of the Renaissance during this period.

⁶ Nikolaus Pevsner, *Pioneers of the Modern Movement* (London: Faber & Faber, 1936). Reprinted as *Pioneers of Modern Design. From William Morris to Walter Gropius* (1949).

fulfilled by the works of the first generations of young men who had been fully trained in the new full-time schools of architecture. These men looked primarily to the architecture of the English Renaissance and Baroque for their models, and they were acutely aware of their attempts to create a national style.

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, there was a more archaeological interest in the Italian Renaissance. Called “Italianate,” it was best exemplified in the work of Sir Charles Barry. His designs for the Travellers’ Club, London (1829-32), and the Reform Club, London (1837-41), were both closely based on sixteenth-century Italian palazzi (figures 5.1-5.2).⁷ Some critics thought the similarity was a little too close, and they were derided as actual copies of palazzi. Barry’s son argued that they were not copies at all: “Originality, in the true sense of the word, implies that ideas and suggestions from without shall be truly appreciated, studied, and reproduced with the stamp of native thought and imagination upon them, to individualize what is general, and to harmonize materials in themselves crude or uncongenial.”⁸ The architectural journal *The Building News* echoed this idea of originality in revivalism: “It is the perfection of invention to invest with novelty that which is old, to adapt what has hitherto been useless, to make artistic that which is commonplace, and to impart life and beauty into dead forms.”⁹ This idea of originality with the use of historic precedent was a key aspect of the nineteenth-century intellect, and the Renaissance’s own imaginative interpretation of classical forms provided an ideal model. Barry’s designs and later those by Sydney Smirke (the Carlton Club, 1854-56) and Parnell & Smith (the Army & Navy Club, 1848-51), also along Pall Mall, indicated the popularity of the “Italian” style and its fairly rigid interpretation of the palazzo-type (figures 5.3).

⁷ Henry-Russell Hitchcock, “Barry as an Architect of ‘Palaces’,” Chapter VI in *Early Victorian Architecture in Britain*, 2 vols. (London: Trewin Copplestone Publishing, Ltd., 1954), 162-190. See also Rev. Alfred Barry, *The Life and Works of Sir Charles Barry, R.A., F.R.S., &c.* (1867; reprint New York: Benjamin Blom, Inc., 1973), 80-96. The Travellers’ Club was considered by some critics to be a copy of the Pandolfini Palace in Florence.

⁸ Barry, 85.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 86; citing *The Building News* (May 18, 1860).

With the publication of Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin's *Contrasts* (1836, revised edition 1841) and *True Principles* (1841), classical architecture was suddenly pagan, profane, and, therefore, morally wrong.¹⁰ Gothic architecture was not just a style that could be tied to English building traditions but, by its Christian roots, to the possible creation of an architecture for a "Christian nation."¹¹ Pugin's ideas were reinforced by another polemical author, John Ruskin, whose writings both attached a moral signature to architectural style and championed the medieval. The architect Basil Champneys, in an 1887 article on the history of Victorian architecture, cited the Houses of Parliament and the Law Courts as "the two most important national buildings of our own time."¹² That these buildings were both Gothic Revival was important, but they were not otherwise similar. "When we have said that both are Gothic we have exhausted the elements of resemblance, and have nothing left but points of contrast." (figures 5.4-5.6)¹³

The Battle of the Styles, the dispute that has come to stand for the pinnacle of the rivalry of revivals—classic versus Gothic—was waged over the design for the Foreign and India Offices, London.¹⁴ The competition brief had not required a specific style and the entries received were primarily Second Empire, Italian, Eclectic, and Gothic.¹⁵ In 1857 the architects H. E. Coe and H. H. Hofland won with a Second Empire design, and George Gilbert Scott (1811-78) placed third in

¹⁰ An excellent reproduction which includes both texts is A. W. N. Pugin, *Contrasts and The True Principles of Pointed Architecture*, The Pugin Society Edition (London: Spire Books Ltd., 2003).

¹¹ James Stevens Curl, *Victorian Architecture* (London: David & Charles, 1990), 37.

¹² Basil Champneys, "The Architecture of Queen Victoria's Reign," *Art Journal* (1887): 207.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ There are several good sources that outline all the aspects of the competition and Scott's eventual adoption of a classical style. The competition itself was complex and asked for three separate designs: first for the Government Offices and then for the Foreign Office and War Office separately. This multiplicity of options unnecessarily complicated the competition process. M. H. Port, chapter 11 "The Golden Age of Competition," chapter 13 "The Battle of the Styles," and chapter 16 "Hazards of the Building Process," *Imperial London. Civil Government Building in London 1850-1915* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 161-179, 198-210, 252-58. See also Ian Toplis, *The Foreign Office. An Architectural History* (London: Mansell Publishing Ltd, 1987). For an analysis of the Foreign and India Offices as an example of the use of architecture to establish a national and imperial image see G. Alex Bremner, "Nation and Empire in the Government Architecture of Mid-Victorian London: The Foreign Office and India Office Reconsidered," *The Historical Journal*, 48, n.3 (2005): 703-42.

¹⁵ Toplis, chapter 6 "The Competition Entries," 45-55.

the competition for the Foreign Office with a Gothic design.¹⁶ Despite not placing first, Scott lobbied behind the scenes and secured the commission in 1858. Scott's design was Gothic with a "Continental flavour," a description which was more of an accusation than as a compliment, one critic thought that the design was not "English" enough and should draw more specifically from thirteenth-century English architecture as a model.¹⁷ But being too "foreign" was not Scott's primary dilemma. Lord Palmerston (1784-1866, Prime Minister 1855-58, 1859-d.) wanted an "Italian" design, not a Gothic one, and told him in July 1859 that Scott had to change his design (figure 5.7). He protested and tried to hold his ground, but he became increasingly concerned that Palmerston would award the project to another architect.¹⁸ Scott's reasoning behind selecting the Gothic was the "extraordinary facility which the style offers for adapting the exterior to the interior. ... Whereas in the Classic style all kinds of difficulties would occur."¹⁹ But Palmerston was adamant, and Scott prepared a compromise design based on early Venetian models with more than a touch of Byzantine influence (figure 5.8). Palmerston complained that the new design was not "the ordinary Italian," however, and again Scott was threatened with the hiring of a coadjutor to design the building.

Scott ultimately realized that to keep the commission he would have to change the style, and he then "bought some costly books on Italian architecture and set vigorously to work to rub up what I had once understood pretty intimately, I had allowed myself to grow rusty by 20 years' neglect."²⁰ Following a massing sketch made by Matthew Digby Wyatt, Scott produced a design that pleased Palmerston and won the vote in Parliament. Palmerston in his speech at the presentation of this design coined the term "Battle of the Styles." He declared in the House of

¹⁶ Ibid., 260-64.

¹⁷ Port, 203.

¹⁸ Ibid., 203, 206. Scott was probably right to be concerned. He had noticed Charles Barry maneuvering into position. He was later concerned about rumors that the project would be given to Mr. Garling.

¹⁹ Ibid., 204, citing letter from Scott to Lord Elcho, 3 August 1859.

²⁰ Ibid., 207, citing Scott's "Recollections." MS II, 226.

Commons that, “Sir, the battle of books, the battle of the Big and Little Endeans, and the battle of the Green Ribbands and Blue Ribbands at Constantinople were all as nothing compared with this battle of the Gothic and Palladian styles.”²¹ In this same speech he denied Gothic architecture’s claim as a national style and invited two of his opponents in the debate “to lay the first stone of an Italian building.”²²

Palmerston had won, and the building as it stands is a striking example of the Italian style in mid-Victorian London. Its massing is Romantic, but the design is still heavily classicized. It has a strong horizontality due to the demarcation of the levels by mouldings and stringcourses. The classical elements are mixed but are maintained within a coherent whole. The edges of the masses are marked with quoining, and the top of the building with a strong cornice. The building is wholly classical, but also wholly Victorian (figure 5.9).

After the debates over Foreign Office, the Gothic revival seemed to be earmarked for decline, and the criticism of the New Law Courts, 1868-75, by G. E. Street (1824-81), seemed to seal its fate. Scholars have argued that with the completion of the courts there was a “vacuum of principle” in architectural theory, evidenced by recognition in the professional publications of the time of a lack of architectural direction.²³ Even with the dominance of the Gothic Revival until the 1870s, Classicism had maintained a weak but consistent hold, particularly in the design of non-ecclesiastical buildings. In part, this survival was due to the formation and rapid dominance of the Institute for British Architects, whose members often leaned towards the classic in their own designs. In 1875 in a synopsis of the sessional papers given at the Institute, the reviewer noted that discussions at both the AA and the R.I.B.A. now considered the Gothic to be too strict, and that the new style would be based on the Renaissance.

²¹ Ibid., 209.

²² Ibid., 210.

²³ Crook, *The Dilemma of Style*, 202. The standard work on the Gothic Revival is Kenneth Clark, *The Gothic Revival. An Essay in the History of Taste* (1928; reprint London: John Murray, 1978). See also the elegantly illustrated work: Chris Brooks, *The Gothic Revival* (London: Phaidon Press, Ltd., 1999).

Whatever may be the immediate form the revival takes, its tendency will be, as we have before said, towards the Renaissance character; by this we mean a reaction from any set or formulated style towards something less rigid and representative of one section of the community. The Renaissance of Elizabeth was a breaking away from the restraints of Mediævalism both in religion and in art. The Gothicists have tried to bring back those restraints; they have set themselves within a hard and fast line, identified themselves with a certain section of religionists; and it is simply in accord with the natural tendency of all things, and with the teaching of history, that a rising school of art shall contest its place.²⁴

The architectural historian J. M. Crook proposed that this “rising school of art” was based on the principles of stylistic eclecticism.²⁵ Eclecticism was not just the revival of a specific style, but the combination of two or more revived styles in a single building. This new way of using historical examples had been brewing for over a decade, and the architect A. J. B. Beresford Hope (1820-87) promoted it as a way out of the maze of revivals. He thought it would eventually result in a synthesis, creating an architecture that was simultaneously national—i.e. English—and universal.²⁶

To be truly eclectic, we must be universally eclectic—we must elect from everything which has been elected: and we must assimilate and fuse everything that we elect, for without such fusion the process remains after all only one of distributive collection ... Ours is only an eclecticism of the past. ... I imagine there will be an eclecticism of the future.²⁷

²⁴ “The Past Architectural Session,” *The Building News* (June 25, 1875): 709-10.

²⁵ Crook, *The Dilemma of Style*, 179.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 162-3.

²⁷ Beresford Hope, *The Common Sense of Art* (1858), 14; as quoted in Crook, *The Dilemma of Style*, 163.

Eclecticism was not the goal, but the *process* by which a new style would be invented.

One of the more popular offshoots of this approach was the Queen Anne Movement. Led by the architect Richard Norman Shaw (1831-1912), the Queen Anne style was a synthesis of classical ideas of composition with “medieval” planning.²⁸ Neither the followers of the Gothic Revival nor the die-hard classicists thought of the style as pure. For the Gothic Revivalists it strayed too far from the moral certitude of the Gothic; whereas the classicists considered the use of non-Italian classical influences—Dutch, Flemish, French, German, and English—as tainted.²⁹

But the Queen Anne style was very popular, particularly when combined with the ideas of the Aesthetic Movement and Walter Pater’s writings on “Art for Art’s Sake.” Its popularity is best seen in the designs for Bedford Park, often considered the first garden suburb and founded by Jonathan T. Carr. R. N. Shaw designed many of the homes there (figures 5.10-5.11).³⁰ It became the model for numerous (often lesser) housing developments built outside London during the following decades.

Crook has argued that the most important aspect of the Queen Anne was not its status as the style for the first garden suburb, but that it “set in motion a shift of taste which—within a generation—brought English architecture back to the Renaissance.”³¹ The term “Queen Anne” was in itself new and not completely accepted, some critics called the style “Flemish Renaissance” or “Dutch Renaissance” as a nod to one of its formal inspirations.³² An 1875 article in *The Building News* noted that the style was also called “‘Free-Classic;’ or, as it has been more

²⁸ Crook, *The Dilemma of Style*, 168-73. For a more in depth study of the movement see Mark Girouard, *Sweetness and Light: The ‘Queen Anne’ Movement 1860-1900* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977).

²⁹ Girouard, 59.

³⁰ Crook, *The Dilemma of Style*, 174. See also T. Affleck Greeves, *Bedford Park—the First Garden Suburb* (1975; reprint, London: Bedford Park Society, 1999) and Margaret Jones Bolsterli, *The Early Community at Bedford Park. “Corporate Happiness” in the First Garden Suburb* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977).

³¹ Crook, *The Dilemma of Style*, 169.

³² Port, *Imperial London*, 233.

appropriately designated, ‘Re-Classic.’”³³ The Queen Anne style was marked by its freedom of opportunity to mix and match from a variety of styles. In a paper given in 1900 to the R.I.B.A., Beresford Pite praised the architect Edward Godwin’s designs noting, “He took full advantage of the liberty the ‘Queen Anne’ movement offered of release from the traditions of so-called style...”³⁴

Shaw was also a key member of the Art Workers’ Guild, founded in 1884 by a group of young architects.³⁵ The primary tenet of the Guild was to recreate a unity of the arts. The Guild, in conjunction with the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, founded a few years later, formed the core of the Arts and Crafts Movement. Most closely associated with the writings of William Morris and domestic architecture, there were several aspects regarding the Arts and Crafts that were important in the renewal of interest in the Renaissance in larger, public buildings.³⁶ Some architects saw the Renaissance as the best exemplar of the fusion of painting, sculpture, and architecture.

But the young architects that came of age in the 1880s were less concerned about stylistic fidelity than originality, and by the 1890s eclecticism had developed into a mixture of classical forms and details drawn from sources across Europe.³⁷ The architectural historian Alastair Service called the buildings of this period the “Free Style,” because they were not strict interpretations of any of the styles as had been the case in the early decades of the century. The terminology used to define the variety of styles that developed reflected that no single

³³ “The Past Architectural Session,” *The Building News* (June 25, 1875): 709.

³⁴ Beresford Pite, “Some Tendencies of the Modern Architecture,” *The Building News* (Dec. 21, 1900): 869.

³⁵ The young men were: W. R. Lethaby (1857-1931), E. S. Prior (1852-1932), Ernest Newton (1856-1922), Mervyn Macartney(1853-1932), and Gerald Horsely(1856-1917).

³⁶ While many of the architectural historians of the Arts and Crafts simply do not address these larger public buildings, Peter Davey has included them in his chapter “The Descent,” implying that they were not part of the core of the movement. See Peter Davey, *Arts and Crafts Architecture*, 2nd edition (London: Phaidon, 1990). See also Elizabeth Cumming and Wendy Kaplan, *The Arts and Crafts Movement* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1991), 25-27.

³⁷ Service, *Edwardian Architecture and its Origins*, 82.

interpretation had yet taken hold: the Free Classic, the Wrennaissance, the Bric-a-Brac Renaissance, the Re-rennaissance, and the Modern Renaissance, among others. What is clear from their names (without even looking at the buildings) is that each implied an interpretation of a classical model or models. These translations of classicism were typically variations of the Renaissance as it had been interpreted in one or more European countries.

For buildings built after the turn of the century, the term now typically used to designate their style is “Edwardian Baroque.” But this term was not used at the time, and it is an instance of when the post-naming of a style in some ways obscures what the original architects were thinking.³⁸ For many architects at the turn of the century, the Italian Baroque as we define it today would have been considered “decadent.” In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Renaissance was often considered to have extended from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries, thus incorporating styles such as the Baroque, Rococo, and Louis XIV.

The Institute of Chartered Accountants Building on Moorgate Place, London, 1893, by John Belcher (1841-1913) and his assistant A. Beresford Pite (1861-1934) exemplified the categorization problems of these buildings and their inherent contradictions (figures 5.12-14).³⁹ Belcher was an early member of the Art Workers’ Guild and chaired their first meeting. He

³⁸ I want to thank Gavin Stamp for his suggestion that the first person to use this term was most likely the critic Osbert Lancaster in the 1930s. From all that I have read thus far, this certainly seems to be the case as I have not run across the term prior to that time.

³⁹ The large folio of photographs of the building by Belcher is the best representation of the building to date. John Belcher, *The Institute of Chartered Accountants in England and Wales* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1893). For a focus on the sculpture in relation to the architecture see Derek Linstrum, “Belcher’s Palazzo: The Chartered Accountants’ Hall,” in Terry Friedman, Derek Linstrum, et al., *The Alliance of Sculpture and Architecture. Hamo Thornycroft, John Belcher and the Institute of Chartered Accountants Building* (Leeds: The Henry Moore Centre, 1993). Belcher was a very prominent and successful architect in these years. He was a founding member of the Art Workers’ Guild, was President of R.I.B.A. (1904-06), won the R.I.B.A. Gold Medal in 1907, and was elected a Royal Academician in 1909 (he had been made ARA in 1900) with the support of Shaw. Belcher also wrote several books including a history of late English Renaissance architecture and a study of architectural principles, 1907, *Essentials in Architecture*, aimed at a mostly popular audience. Despite these many accomplishments, Belcher has remained somewhat elusive in the scholarship on this period. For one of the first overviews of his work see Alastair Service, “Belcher and Joass,” in *Edwardian Architecture and Its Origins* (London: The Architectural Press, 1975), 311-27. There has been some question as to whether the building was mainly by Belcher or the much younger Pite. At the time of the competition for the building in 1888, Pite had already been with the firm for seven years. In part because Pite never complained that he was denied credit for the design, Derek Linstrum concluded that while Pite may have influenced or inspired Belcher, it was the elder man who primarily had designed the building. Linstrum, 3.

believed firmly that the arts should be unified.⁴⁰ While the building does not appear at first to reflect the ideas of the Guild and of William Morris, the design process exemplified the unification of the arts, with Belcher and Pite involving the sculptors, Hamo Thornycroft and Harry Bates, at the very beginning of the design process, resulting in a thorough integration of the architecture and sculpture.

Contemporary critics (and later historians) had no idea how to classify the building's style.⁴¹ The reviewer in *The Times* was equally unable to categorize it: "Here the architect, Mr. John Belcher, has raised his building in a style that may be called Classical, or Palladian, or late Renaissance, or by whatever name best describes the architecture of which Wren was the first and almost the only exponent in England."⁴² Belcher himself considered the building to be distinctly Classical in that it had a "certain uniformity and regularity of parts," although it was drawn from a variety of sources. The overall effect is one of prosperity, grandeur, and dignity, and it initiated a style that was copied by other architects. The impression made by this building and others by Belcher was so strong that a contemporary advertisement promoted "instruction in the Gothic, Renaissance, Classic and Belcher styles."⁴³

Reginald Blomfield, who praised the building, saw in it the influence of Italian Mannerism and considered that "Mr. Belcher is evidently steeped in Italian work of a certain date, and its influence is very marked in most of the detail."⁴⁴ But the mannerism of English architecture of the early eighteenth century, works by Nicholas Hawksmoor or Vanburgh, was

⁴⁰ Davey, 169.

⁴¹ Edward Jones and Christopher Woodward called the building "free English baroque," Robert Macleod categorized it as an "important early example of Grand Manner," and Service described it as an "extraordinarily intense Baroque." Edward Jones and Christopher Woodward, *A Guide to the Architecture of London*, 2nd ed. (London: Phoenix Illustrated, 1993), L92-5. Macleod, 121. Service, *Edwardian Architecture and its Origins*, 65.

⁴² *The Times* (24 July 1893): 14.

⁴³ A. Stuart Gray, *Edwardian Architecture. A Biographical Dictionary* (London: Duckworth, 1985), 104.

⁴⁴ Reginald Blomfield, "Some Recent Architectural Sculpture, and the Institute of Chartered Accountants: John Belcher, Architect," *Magazine of Art* (1895): 190.

also evident as a likely influence, as Blomfield recognized: “But no competent English architect is likely to be insensible to our own great traditions of architecture; and if one is to make the attempt, I would suggest that Mr. Belcher has had in his consciousness some of Hawksmoor’s recondite experiments in planes and masses.”⁴⁵ The column “Wayside Notes” in *The Building News* the week of the building’s opening had picked up on this allusion to the English Baroque, noting, “Yet I fancy I see a movement towards the simpler, bolder treatment of the 18th century, and a growing fondness once again for the good old Classic column.”⁴⁶

But the building is not simple despite first appearances. The heavy rustication of the ground level enhances the lighter, sculptural upper levels, but is also mirrored in the Serlian treatment of the top-level windows. The orders are not stacked one on the other, with columns occurring only at the third level, but there is a continuity created vertically with the piers and Bates’s terminal winged figures spanning from the first to second level. The windows of the second level have rippling bracketed surrounds. The corner aedicule mirrors the small dome treatment of the main entrance and the cupola at the level change along the side of Great Swan Alley. The block-like mass of the building does allude to Italian palazzi and the Clubs along the Mall, but the effect of the mouldings and sculpture is more exuberant. The architectural historian A. Service recognized a “new spirit” in the use of the detail where “interest and vitality are secured by the change of detail and variation of the smaller parts. ... Again, while preserving the characteristics of the old work the mouldings are for the most part new in form or combination.”⁴⁷

It was ultimately the sculpture that defined the building and gave it the mannerist richness praised by the critics. Blomfield lauded it as “the most remarkable and successful instance of the

⁴⁵ Ibid. Linstrum plays a bit of the dangerous game “spot the formal similarities” with historical architecture and finds such precedents as the Palazzo Podestà, Genoa; St. John’s, Smith Square, London by Thomas Archer; Cockerell’s Sun Fire Office, London; Vignola’s Villa Farnese, Caprarola; and Palladio’s Teatro Olimpico, Vicenza. Linstrum, 5-7.

⁴⁶ “Wayside Notes,” *The Building News* (May 12, 1893): 654.

⁴⁷ Belcher, 5.

combination of architecture and sculpture carried out in England this century.”⁴⁸ For Belcher, the early incorporation of the sculptors in the design process was critical to the building’s success. W. Hamo Thornycroft designed the 140 foot-long band of sculpture that encircles the building at the third level. The columns for the third storey divide the frieze into panels, although the effect is of a continuous band slipping behind the columns. Each panel includes allegorical figures in both contemporary and classical dress: Arts, Sciences, Railways, Commerce, Education, Manufactures, the Colonies, and finally Building. This final panel of the series includes representations of those professions necessary for the design and completion of the building: the surveyor, architect, navy, bricklayer, hodman, stonemason, sculptor, carver, carpenter, smith and plumber, plasterer, paperhanger, decorator, furnisher and assistant, and the solicitor (figure 5.15). The second sculptor on the project was Harry Bates (1850-99), who handled the architectural detailing, including the oriel and the winged figures. Both sculptors had been trained at and were Associate members of the Royal Academy of Art; they were also members of the Art Workers’ Guild and embraced integration of art and architecture.

Pite left Belcher’s office in 1897 to establish his own firm, and shortly thereafter the young architect John James Joass (1868-1952) joined Belcher.⁴⁹ This new partnership was as fruitful and imaginative as the first and resulted in a series of equally well-received buildings, including Colchester Town Hall, 1898-1902, and the Mappin House, Oxford Street, London, 1906-8 (figure 5.16). The Mappin House was an office building on a busy commercial street in the heart of London and was striking for its inventive use of classical forms. The use of a steel frame for the structure has allowed the surface to become mostly glass and the masonry architectural elements to become attenuated. Belcher and Joass created a rich and layered façade that works at several different scales simultaneously. The large arches extend almost the entire

⁴⁸ Linstrum, 1.

⁴⁹ For a list of the works completed by Belcher and Joass from 1901-1910 see Gray, 106.

height of the building, but the columns only the first two levels, with an interrupting pier and then paired columns before the springing of the arches. The window surrounds appear to float on the glass as though it was a solid surface with sgraffito. The balcony for the upper floor visually functions as a heavy cornice from the street, giving the building the impression and massing of a large, rectangular palazzo. And the dormered mansard roof lends a more continental feel when seen from a distance.

But Belcher and Joass were not alone in their abstraction of classical elements. Charles Holden's (1875-1960) British Medical Association Building, 1907-08 (now Zimbabwe House) is similar to the Mappin House in its abstraction, and it shows the range of interpretation of classical forms (figure 5.17). The building exemplifies how the imaginative approach to classicism of the years just prior to World War I was on the way towards a "modern" architecture for Britain.⁵⁰ Looking back to the Institute of Chartered Accountants as a precedent, Belcher and Joass both adopted some of its motifs and incorporated sculpture as an integral part of the design (carved *in situ* by Jacob Epstein) as well as some of its motifs.⁵¹ The lower levels have a simplified classicism with arched windows and pairs of columns between large, flat pilasters. The sense of flatness becomes even more pronounced and attenuated at the upper stories where the layers of heavy masonry appear to peel away to reveal thin pilasters and the remnants of window mouldings, which have now been pared down to scored bands of moulding lightly capped. At the top level, the entire composition has been reduced to lines and surfaces, in an almost Art Deco clarity. There are also a series of unique adaptations of mannerist details that appear to relate to the work of Michelangelo or Hawksmoor. In some respects, however, the building also looked back to the more eclectic approach to detailing before the turn of the century, as the ornament truly has the sense of being applied in thin strips across a smooth surface.

⁵⁰ Holden is best known for his designs for the stations for London Transport and the University of London Senate House, begun in 1932. He attended evening courses at the Royal Academy of Art 1900-03 while working as an assistant in the office of the architect-planner Percy Adams. He had also served as assistant for two years to the Arts and Crafts architect C. R. Ashbee. See Gray, 211-15.

⁵¹ Linstrom, 12.

The thinness of the stone elements was one way in which Holden was trying to accommodate the new technology of the steel frame structure with a stone veneer. There was no longer a need for a massive stone bearing wall and therefore all of the masonry detailing accentuated the thinness, not the stone's structural integrity. Although the architectural historian Alastair Service called this an "anti-logical" approach to the adaptation of classical architecture, it reflects a removal of the classical detail from its role articulating the structure.⁵²

But this stripped down classicism was not yet the norm for all situations, as can be seen in Sir Edwin Lutyens's (1869-1944) design for the British School at Rome, initially the Pavilion for the 1911 International Exhibition (figures 5.18-5.20). The British Board of Trade had required that the building be based on the second level of St. Paul's, London, showing a desire to maintain a stricter classicism for such public and nationally representative situations. Lutyens had not copied St. Paul's directly, however, and he subtly manipulated the elevation to make the design read as a whole, changing the proportion of the columns and their spacing, lowering the pediment, and replacing the religious sculpture with the Royal Arms.⁵³ He designed the Pavilion to be both quickly assembled and fireproof, deciding on a system of fibrous stucco over a steel frame, similar to many nineteenth-century exhibition buildings.⁵⁴

Lutyens had not traveled to Rome prior to designing the Pavilion. He had, however, diligently studied classical architecture in the books and prints that were available to him. When he did finally get to Rome, he commented on the fun of seeing the buildings he knew so well for the first time in person. "All very wonderful and to see things one knows from illustrations—down a little street and then a corner and lo and behold stands some old loved friend in [the] form

⁵² Service, *Edwardian Architecture*, 181.

⁵³ Jane Brown, *Lutyens and the Edwardians: an English architect and his Clients* (London: Viking, 1996), 159.

⁵⁴ Hussey, 194. The selection of Lutyens was facilitated by the fact that he was the Consulting Architect to the Commission and the brother-in-law of the Chairman of the Commission, Lord Lytton.

of a doorway, staircase, a palace. I recognise some by their backs which I have never seen.”⁵⁵

Lutyens had already synthesized the lessons of Rome in his own work. “There is so much in little ways of things I thought I had invented!! no wonder people think I must have been in Italy ...”⁵⁶

Through a series of negotiations led by Ambassador Rennell Rodd, Ernesto Nathan, the Sindaco of Rome, offered the site of the British Pavilion from the 1911 International Exhibition as a location for the School.⁵⁷ The School had been housed in the Palazzo Odescalchi, on the Via del Corso near the Quirinal, but the Palazzo was simply too small to accommodate the new programs.⁵⁸ Many considered the Pavilion (located in the Valla Giulia near the Borghese Gardens) to be too far outside the city and not nearly as prime a location as the School currently had on the Corso; but better accommodations could not be found for a reasonable price, and so plans were made to adapt the Pavilion.

Once the decision had been made to convert the structure to its new use as the British School, the Committee quickly decided to hire Lutyens to translate his design for the Pavilion into permanent materials. Lutyens at first tried to keep the existing steel structure, but it quickly became clear that a number of changes would have to be made to accommodate not only new studios and office spaces but also a library and residences for the scholars and faculty, and it was finally decided to demolish the Pavilion.⁵⁹

Lutyens was the primary architect of the project and was also a member of the Building Committee, which consisted of Lord Esher (then Chairman of the 1851 Commission), Reginald

⁵⁵ Ibid., 196.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 198.

⁵⁷ Wiseman, 11. The British School at Rome archive holds the correspondence regarding the construction of the building, including

⁵⁸ For a plan of the School while it occupied the Palazzo, see the drawing by Sir Ernest Prestwich in Wallace-Hadrill, 23.

⁵⁹ Brown, 267; see also *International Fine Arts Exhibition Rome 1911. British Section Catalogue* (London: Board of Trade Exhibitions Branch, 1911), xv.

Blomfield (President of the R.I.B.A.), and the architect Aston Webb.⁶⁰ In addition to the Building Committee were several other key figures in the construction including the site architect, William Squire, and the contractor, Humphreys of Knightsbridge, who had been the contractor for the Pavilion.⁶¹ The large number of committees and people involved slowed down decision-making and frustrated Lutyens.

The project went through several schemes after it was determined that the existing pavilion could not be reused. All of the designs exhibited a rigidly symmetrical plan surrounding an axial entry sequence. It was not immediately evident on seeing the building that the elevation was initially meant as an adaptation of the second story of Sir Christopher Wren's St. Paul's, London, although the impression is of a grand classical structure. The temple element in the center projects beyond the otherwise flat façade accentuating the building's symmetry and axiality. In the final design Lutyens incorporated a portico, exhibition hall, and cortile aligned along the main axis.⁶² The library and the common room flanked the exhibition hall on either side; the steep steps accentuated the building's position, poised as it was on the hill and never allowing a directly orthogonal view.

Several factors hampered the project's construction. First, Lutyens received the commission in 1912 for the Viceroy's Palace in New Delhi.⁶³ This large-scale project stole the majority of Lutyens's attention, and he did not return to Rome until the School was almost complete in 1915. Second, during construction the aqueduct of the Acqua Vergine was discovered to run through the site, and the Building Committee had to negotiate with the Italian

⁶⁰ Brown, 161. The British community in Rome was very tight. Mrs. Eugène Strong was the Assistant Director of the British School at the time as was friends with Rennell Rodd who would have known the members of the Board of Trade who were in charge of the 1911 Exhibition, including Lord Lytton. See Wiseman, 10 and Hussey, 194.

⁶¹ Brown, 162 .

⁶² For a full analysis and drawings of the various schemes presented by Lutyens see Figures 16, 18, and 27 in Hugh Petter. *Lutyens in Italy. The Building of the British School at Rome* (London: The British School at Rome, 1992).

⁶³ For a discussion of the issues of architecture and Empire see Mark Crinson, *Modern Architecture and the End of Empire* (London: Ashgate, 2003).

government a means by which the aqueduct could be enclosed. Finally, the War threatened to stop construction altogether as the Commission's requirement that the building be made strictly of British materials became almost impossible to carry out. The new building did not open until 30 April 1916, four years after the first art and architecture scholarships had been awarded.⁶⁴

The 1911 Pavilion was intentionally designed as an adaptation of one of the most iconic buildings of English architectural history, giving a clear indication that the classical style was still seen as an appropriate national style. At the time of its initial planning the Pavilion and the school would have been seen as still representative of a modern Britain. But at its completion over five years later, the building—now made permanent in stone—like the initial intentions of the school, seemed dated and traditional.

Reginald Blomfield's c.1913 designs for the Quadrant at Piccadilly Circus, London exemplified two aspects of the architecture of the early decades of the twentieth century. The first was the growing desire for a more uniform architectural approach using classical architecture as the foundation. Second, there had to be an understanding of architecture at the urban scale.

As a response to this desire for visual unity Blomfield created and promoted the "Grand Manner."⁶⁵ The main principles of the style were an overall design conception, the orderly distribution of the building elements and ornament, and the building's scale. Blomfield's Grand Manner also aligned with a desire at the turn of the century for a theoretical direction that linked contemporary architecture with England's architectural history. While Blomfield was careful to keep the English Renaissance as a core for his historical associations with modern architecture, it

⁶⁴ Ibid., 163.

⁶⁵ See chapter 8 for a more in depth look at Blomfield's writings on the English Renaissance and the Grand Manner. Blomfield was not alone in his desire for a classically based architecture. Sir Albert Richardson was another prominent architect of the period who published widely. He promoted a style that he called "Monumental Classic." See Albert Richardson, *Monumental Classic Architecture in Great Britain and Ireland* (1914; reprint New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1982).

is clear from his own designs, that he was equally willing to borrow stylistically from France and America.

Blomfield geared these principles at the Edwardian city at a time when urban planning was of increased importance. London at the turn of the century was the largest city in the world with over six million inhabitants.⁶⁶ There was an increasing awareness of the problems of the current urban conditions, and several large-scale projects were initiated during this period in an attempt to ease the overcrowding and provide better infrastructure. These projects included the demolition and rebuilding of Regent's Street and the Quadrant, the straightening and widening of Kingsway, and the development of vast swaths of suburbs to provide housing.

The Grand Manner was ultimately also the theoretical basis for Blomfield's own designs; for example in his design for Piccadilly Circus, London (figure 5.21-5.22). Blomfield set the buildings at a large, urban scale defining the public space; he maintained a unified composition, and had a predominant, singular idea. Upon closer inspection, the facades are not identical, but there is a consistency of scale, detail, and material that makes the buildings function as a backdrop instead of demand individual attention.

This brief overview of different interpretations of classical architecture shows classicism's chameleon-like nature at the turn of the century. It was adaptable to almost every building type and perfectly suited to the urban scale of the Edwardian city. The "Italianate" style had been adapted and simplified as it was brought down the aesthetic ladder to the level of all the speculative building in London. The architectural historian J. Mordaunt Crook has claimed that if one was to actually measure the amount of building in each style, that the Italianate—even more than the Gothic—"has perhaps the strongest claim of all to be considered *the* Victorian style" (figure 5.23).⁶⁷

⁶⁶ At the same time New York had a population of 4 million and Paris 2.7 million. Jones and Woodward, 26.

⁶⁷ Crook, *The Dilemma of Style*, 204.

Chapter 6

A Brief Review of the Historiography of the Renaissance in the Nineteenth Century

Many scholars consider the years 1860-1910 as the “high tide” of interest in the Italian Renaissance, and there was a sharp increase in the writing of histories and historical novels about the period during that time.¹ The concept of the Renaissance as a separate and distinct period was not new, however, and scholars have traced it back to the eighteenth century. But from 1860 to 1910, the debate over its definition intensified, and the use of an image (or myth) of the Renaissance increased dramatically. Two perceptions of the period dominated and influenced all later writers. The first of these, as defined in the writings of John Ruskin, among others, saw the Renaissance as a decadent and pagan period. The second, put forward by the Swiss historian Jacob Burckhardt, saw the Renaissance as a period of cultural and artistic intensity, which was the result of a new freedom of thought and new intellectual pursuits combined with a newfound sense of individualism. Other authors such as John Addington Symonds and Walter Pater also contributed their unique perspectives to the image of the Renaissance as it was understood in England. The writings of Ruskin and Burckhardt, as well as Symonds and Pater, provided a background within which architects wrote their early histories of Renaissance architecture. This chapter will briefly review some of the prominent writers and concepts of the Renaissance in the second half of the nineteenth century in Britain to reveal certain attitudes toward the period and its architecture.

Writings on the history of the architecture of the Renaissance, as both a period and a style, reflected these divergent views. Because they were simultaneously locked in the battle of

¹ W. K. Ferguson, *The Renaissance in Historical Thought: Five Centuries of Interpretation* (Cambridge, MA, Houghton Mifflin Co., The Riverside Press, 1948), 195. The historian Jack Lynch argued that there was a coherent—if different—concept of the Renaissance in the eighteenth century, while other scholars have claimed the Renaissance as an “invention” of the nineteenth century. Jack Lynch, *The Age of Elizabeth in the Age of Johnson* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), vii. See also Fraser, 1.

the styles between Gothic and Classical, British authors were forced to take sides, or to take an entirely different approach. The two types of work to address Renaissance architecture prior to the 1890s were general surveys of the architecture of all periods or large folios of drawings often with little accompanying text. The most popular surveys prior to 1890 were those by Joseph Gwilt, Edward Freeman, and James Fergusson, as well as Banister Fletcher and his son Banister F. Fletcher, while popular folios included works by P.-M. Letarouilly, John Kinross, George Oakeshott, and J. Buehlmann.

Many of the new books on Renaissance architecture followed a larger trend that had begun in the early nineteenth century. With the Romantic movement came the idea that the study of history could lend understanding to the contemporary period. This was a message that the later nineteenth century took to heart.² Despite its tendency towards idealizing and favoring the Middle Ages in all its chivalric glory, Romanticism's notions of the hero's characteristics of individualism, intelligence, and creativity later became attributed to the Renaissance man and the period of the Renaissance itself. This led to the Romantic notion of the Renaissance as defined typically against that of the Middle Ages.³ Thus the definition of each of the two periods gained greater clarity by being placed in relation, specifically in opposition, to each other.

General Works on the Renaissance

There were several authors whose works influenced the early histories of the Renaissance. The first of these works was Hegel's *Philosophy of History* (1837). Hegel's dialectical oppositions fed into the distinctions already established between the Renaissance and the Middle Ages.⁴ It is unclear how familiar British authors would have been with Hegel's writings, but other writers certainly disseminated his ideas.⁵ The second work was J. Michelet's

² Ibid., 115+.

³ Ibid., 154.

⁴ This is an opposition that many contemporary scholars have tried to erase.

⁵ Ibid., 171.

Histoire de France (1833-62). Michelet, in writing about sixteenth-century France, established the Renaissance as the beginning of the modern age, and British historians frequently cited his work.⁶ The third author was Matthew Arnold (1822-1888), who tried to anglicize the period by insisting on the spelling “renascence” in *Culture and Anarchy* (1869). He wrote that he changed the spelling “to give an English form to the foreign word Renaissance, destined to become of more common use amongst us as the movement which it denotes comes, as it will come, increasingly of interest to us.”⁷

But it was the works of two almost contemporary writers on the Renaissance that created perspectives of the period that influenced all later authors and established a tension and opposition in the writing of the history of the period in general. These authors were John Ruskin (1819-1900) and Jacob Burckhardt (1818-97). Ruskin made no effort to hide his disdain for Renaissance architecture, and he labeled the period as decadent and corrupt, characterized by immorality, pride, and unchristian attitudes.⁸ By his linking of architectural style and morality, he forced later writers to justify themselves and answer his specific critiques.⁹ Ruskin’s views of the Renaissance are complex and often contradictory, and while he saw some positive characteristics in the painting of the period, its architecture, he more heavily criticized.

Ruskin’s writings on the Renaissance were less a history of the style than a moralizing treatise against it: “But it is not the form of this architecture against which I would plead. ... But it is the moral nature of it which is corrupt ...”¹⁰ Ruskin outlined his arguments most vividly in *The Stones of Venice* (1851) in which he described the three phases of the Renaissance in detail:

⁶ Ibid., 174.

⁷ J. R. Hale, 7.

⁸ Ibid., 142-3.

⁹ Ruskin was by no means the first or only architect to make the connection between architecture and morality. The writings of A. W. N. Pugin and other Gothic revivalists presented a clear relationship between architectural style and how it could impact society.

¹⁰ John Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice* in *The Works of John Ruskin*. E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, eds. (London: George Allen, 1905), vol. XI, 46.

the Early, the Roman, and the Grotesque.¹¹ But the Renaissance did not begin as a decadent movement and initially had a “new energy” which invigorated the “weariness or dullness [that] had affected the Gothic mind.”¹² The tendency of the Renaissance to strive for perfection, however, killed what had begun as a healthy style. Perfection—as both a universal ideal and a formal principle—was unattainable in architecture, making it “unworthy and unadmirable, whatever perfection of a certain kind it may possess.”¹³

In addition to the negative impact of the ideal of perfection were the moral implications of the revival of classical literature—“that root of the Renaissance poison tree.”¹⁴ The new focus on classical authors such as Plato and Aristotle changed the “tone” of the “Christian mind,” redirecting energy from moral pursuits to the acquisition of knowledge and wisdom for its own sake.¹⁵ Ruskin was concerned with how this desire for knowledge impacted the individual, and he noted that “the self-adulation which influenced not less the learning of the age than its luxury, led gradually to the forgetfulness of all things but self, and to an infidelity only the more fatal because it still retained the form and language of faith.”¹⁶ Pride and infidelity were the primary “sins” of the middle, Roman period of the Renaissance: the Pride of Science, the Pride of State, and the Pride of System.¹⁷ Ruskin thought that the desire for perfection and completeness in the study of antiquity fed directly into the Pride of Science: “But the grand mistake of the Renaissance schools lay in supposing that science and art were the same things, and that to advance in the one was necessarily to perfect the other.”¹⁸ The problem for Ruskin with this fusion of science and art was their inherent incompatibility; science was of the world, and art of

¹¹ Ibid., vol. XI, 4-5.

¹² Ibid., vol. XI, 15.

¹³ Ibid., vol. XI, 15-17, 45.

¹⁴ Ibid., vol. X, 370.

¹⁵ Ibid., vol. X, 370.

¹⁶ Ibid., vol. XI, 120.

¹⁷ Ibid., vol. XI, 46.

¹⁸ Ibid., vol. XI, 47.

the soul. “Nothing must come between Nature and the artist’s sight; nothing between God and the artist’s soul.”¹⁹ Knowledge, judgment, and critical thought—all of which were core aspects of science—were antagonistic to art. Renaissance architecture, because it required knowledge of classical antiquity, perspective, and the classical orders, was, to Ruskin, in many ways closer to science than art.²⁰ The prioritization of science and the intellect over art—the soul—was at the heart of the moral dilemma of the Renaissance as Ruskin defined it.

In Renaissance architecture immorality manifested itself most obviously in the use of the classical orders, which were a reflection of the focus on perfection and ultimately mindless copying of identical details. If architecture was to again become an art, “then let the whole system of the orders and their proportions be cast out and trampled down as the most vain, barbarous and paltry deception ...”²¹ The orders, by their very definition, were imitative, but according to Ruskin the Gothic “orders” were “all new” in that they did not strive to replicate antique examples and allowed a high degree of variation within a single structure.

The final decline of the Renaissance was the shift into the phase Ruskin called the Grotesque: “from pride to infidelity, from infidelity to the unscrupulous and insatiable pursuit of pleasure, and from this to irremediable degradation, the transitions were swift, like the falling of a star.”²² The prime example of this phase of the Renaissance was Raphael’s *Arabesques* for the Vatican (figure 6.1).²³ Ruskin criticized the decorative arabesques and grotesques of the period as being examples of “bad playfulness” in art, which drew the mind away from God.²⁴

¹⁹ Ibid., vol. XI, 49.

²⁰ This split between science and art was at the heart of many of the nineteenth-century debates on the definition of architecture. These debates became more heated as more technical knowledge (plumbing, lighting, ventilation, gas, new materials, etc.) began to be required for the practice of architecture.

²¹ Ruskin, vol. XI, 119.

²² Ibid., vol. XI, 133-4.

²³ Copies of Raphael’s decorations held a prominent place in the original education rooms at the Educational Museum at the South Kensington Museum. See Anthony Burton, *Vision & Accident. The Story of the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: V&A Publications, 1999), 50, and Michael Snodin and Maurice Howard, *Ornament. A Social History Since 1450* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996), 11.

²⁴ Ruskin, vol. XI, 151-2.

For Ruskin, the Renaissance was a complete break with the Middle Ages, and he set the two periods in opposition. He believed the building of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had a direct impact on those of the nineteenth: “Renaissance architecture is the school which has conducted men’s inventive and constructive faculties from the Grand Canal to Gower St. ...,” in other words, from medieval Venice to modern London.²⁵ Ruskin traced the problems that he saw in his own day back to the Renaissance and, like Pugin before him, attempted to change the direction of architecture (and society) by correcting the moral dilemmas inherent in the architecture around him.

The second major nineteenth-century work on the Renaissance was Jacob Burckhardt’s *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy (Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien)*, first published in 1860, and translated into English in 1878 by S. G. C. Middlemore.²⁶ The impact of Burckhardt’s work on our own understanding of the Renaissance is almost incalculable. The historian Jack Lynch recognized that “[i]f the invention of the age is to be credited to one person, it is Jacob Burckhardt, who dominates most histories of the idea of the Renaissance ... In Burckhardt, the early humanists self-conception is overlaid with nineteenth-century ideas about art, the state, and the self, and this amalgam is our inheritance. Even after a century and a half of revisionist history, Burckhardt’s Renaissance is fundamentally our Renaissance...”²⁷ Burckhardt’s work lacked Ruskin’s moralistic and strident overtones, but it had an equally significant influence on how the Renaissance was perceived and studied.²⁸

²⁵ Ibid., vol. XI, 4. Gower St. is a main thoroughfare in London that is lined with starkly classical Georgian townhouses and the controversial neo-classical 1827 University College London building by William Wilkins.

²⁶ Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, S. G. C. Middlemore, transl. (London, 1878; reprint London: Penguin Books, 1990). All citations are from the readily available 1990 edition of the English translation.

²⁷ Lynch, 3.

²⁸ Burckhardt’s impact is evident just glancing over the table of contents of W. Ferguson’s historiographic analysis of the Renaissance in which he divides the work essentially by writers before Burckhardt, Burckhardt, then writers who react to Burckhardt.

Burckhardt was a true academic, trained in both art history and history. He studied under the positivist historian Leopold von Ranke at the University of Berlin (1839-43), writing a paper on Charles Martell. He also took classes with the art historian Franz Kugler, for whom he had great affection and admiration. In 1855 Burckhardt accepted the first chair in Switzerland in art history at *Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule* in Zurich. Returning to his hometown of Basle in 1858, he continued to lecture on history and art history and held the first chair in art history at the university there.²⁹ Despite his academic grounding, Burckhardt, like Ruskin, wrote for a general audience as well as for fellow scholars and academics. He published three works prior to his decisive work on the Renaissance: *Die Kunstwerke der belgischen Städte* (1842); *Die Zeit Konstantins des Grossen* (1853); and *Der Cicerone: Eine Anleitung zum Genuss der Kunstwerke Italiens* (1855), a study of Italian art, which was translated into English in 1873 and became subsequently very popular in Britain. After his death in 1897 collections of his lecture notes and writings and were also published.

Although not immediately influential, Burckhardt's seminal book on the Renaissance attracted attention gradually and was reissued in numerous editions and in several languages. In it Burckhardt brought together several aspects of the Italian Renaissance that had been previously only mentioned by other writers. This synthesis presented a consistent and provocative thesis of the themes of individualism, the revival of antiquity, and the idea of the Renaissance as the beginning of modern culture.³⁰ Burckhardt's application of these ideas held a particular appeal in the late nineteenth century.³¹ His method was to draw parallels between facts and then contrast

²⁹ Lionel Grossman, "Burckhardt, Jacob," Grove Art Online. Oxford University Press (August 10, 2006) <http://www.groveart.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/>

³⁰ Burckhardt drew together a variety of existing historical concepts in his work including: Hegel's concept of the *Zeitgeist*; Herder's *Volkgeist*; Sismondi's connection between a people and its culture; Voigt's discussion of the Middle Ages as "corporative" and the Renaissance as based on the individual; as well as the writings of Voltaire and Michelet among others. See Peter Burke, "Introduction" to *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, S.G.C. Middlemore, transl. (Penguin, 1990), 10-12. See also Chapter 3 "Burckhardt" in Karl J. Weintraub, *Visions of Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 115-160.

³¹ Ferguson, 191.

them to “trace the common among the different.”³² Peter Burke called this approach the “cross section” (*Querdurchschnitte*). It resulted in a less narrative history, but strongly reinforced the omnipresence of Burckhardt’s main ideas by tracing them through different aspects of the period: politics, humanism, festivals, etc.³³ Burckhardt’s concept of style was equally complex in that it was not limited to art but applied also to life: one lived in harmony and balance—the ideal for the Renaissance man. Weintraub summed this up this idea of style as “that unity of factors which constitutes a specific harmony.”³⁴ This characterization by the historians Burke and Weintraub can be taken further. This practice of “parallelizing” was very similar to the methods used in the nineteenth century in large folios of architectural details, where different columns, mouldings, or orders would be compared by laying them almost side by side to discern the similarities and differences (figure 6.2).

Burckhardt did not see the role of art as being subordinate to religion as did Ruskin.³⁵ Religion had to be held in balance, or “harmony” with art’s other objectives. But, similar to Ruskin, he did see the “moral” character of the artist as being essential for the creation of great art, with one major exception. The “morality” that Burckhardt intended was not religiously based, but once again went back to a balance of man’s artistic ability, his intuition, and his knowledge.³⁶ Michelangelo was the crucial figure in the decline of the Renaissance for it was his inability to maintain this “harmony” that led the style into decline. Rather than religion, the main theme that ran throughout the work was the rise of the individual. Burckhardt wrote:

In the Middle Ages both sides of human consciousness—that which was turned within as that which was turned without—lay dreaming or half awake beneath a common veil. The veil was woven of faith, illusion and childish

³² Weintraub, 140-41.

³³ Peter Burke, “Introduction,” 7.

³⁴ Weintraub, 133.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 131.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 132.

prepossession, through which the world and history were seen clad in strange hues. Man was conscious of himself only as a member of a race, people, party, family or corporation—only through some general category. In Italy this veil first melted into air; and *objective* treatment and consideration of the state and of all the things of this world became possible. The *subjective* side at the same time asserted itself with corresponding emphasis; man became a spiritual *individual*, and recognized himself as such.³⁷

Burckhardt then linked this growth of individualism to the “all-sided man”—the Renaissance man. Hand-in-hand with the rise of the individual was the fame and the subsequent recording of the deeds of extraordinary men in biographies.³⁸ Embodied in Burckhardt’s ideal Renaissance man was the “excessive” individualism that Ruskin had pointed to as the main cause of the Renaissance’s moral problems. Burckhardt, however, considered pride to be only the necessary result of this intense individualism. Of the Renaissance scholar who devoted his life to study, “an inordinate pride” was necessary “if only to keep his head above water.”³⁹ He compared the “discovery” of man with the discovery of the new world, but maintained that the rise of individuality was a “still greater achievement” that led ultimately to the development of personality.⁴⁰ This growth of the individual was political as well and marked an increased freedom “from the countless bonds which elsewhere in Europe checked progress.”⁴¹ For

³⁷ Burckhardt, *Civilization*, 98. Emphasis in original.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 107. In painting, this individualism was evident in the return of interest not only to the human figure, but to its own individual character. In *The Cicerone* he noted that in fifteenth-century painting: “Instead of general types of face, we have individuals; the traditional system of expression, of gestures and draperies is replaced by the endless variety of real life.” Jacob Burckhardt, *The Cicerone. An Art Guide to Painting in Italy for the Use of Travellers and Students*. Mrs. A. H. Clough, transl. (1855 German edition; London: T. Werner Laurie, n.d.), 57.

³⁹ Burckhardt, *Civilization*, 179.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 198-9.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 185.

Burckhardt the individual who exemplified this newfound power of the individual most strongly was L. B. Alberti.⁴²

The interest in antiquity was often considered the primary defining factor of the Renaissance. Indeed, Burckhardt saw how it pervaded every aspect of the Italian culture, from its literature to its art and architecture, but for him it was still secondary. “What looks like such an influence is generally no more than a consequence of the new culture in general, and of the special growth and development of the Italian mind.”⁴³ For Burckhardt the rise of the individual had a greater importance in creating the Renaissance. “[I]t was the not the revival of antiquity alone, but its union with the genius of the Italian people, which achieved the conquest of the western world.”⁴⁴ Furthermore an interest in antiquity was not only found in the Renaissance: Burckhardt traced it back well into the Middle Ages. In conjunction with the “spirit” of Italy and the rise of the individual, the revival of antiquity marked a new period that was the beginning point of the modern era.⁴⁵

Burckhardt did not address art or architecture directly in *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, as he had intended to write a companion book on the arts of the period. This work was never completed, but in 1867 he published *Geschichte der neueren Baukunst* as a volume in Kugler’s series on art (entitled *Geschichte der Renaissance in Italien* in a 1878 re-issue).⁴⁶ Burckhardt never considered the work finished. Its outline format of short annotations, like fragments of notes for lectures, indicated a different intention and structure than the

⁴² Ferguson, 191.

⁴³ Burckhardt, *Civilization*, 163.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 120.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 163. See also Ferguson, 213.

⁴⁶ The work was not translated into English until 1985. Jacob Burckhardt, *The Architecture of the Italian Renaissance*. James Palmes, transl., Peter Murray, ed., (London: Penguin Books, 1985; reprint 1987). That Burckhardt never felt this work was complete is evident in a letter to his friend Paul Heyse on 3 April 1864: “I worked out seven-eighths of my Art of the Renaissance in the winter of 1862/3, but then found it inadequate both in principle and in execution, and put it back in my desk, probably forever, as I can’t hope to make good the lacunae with only six months in Italy ... My consolation is that at least I was not afraid of a great work.” Despite his apprehension, he gave the manuscript to Lübke, who selected the illustrations and had the work published. Murray, “Introduction,” xvii.

Civilization. He divided the book into two sections. The first part, “Architecture,” reviewed general subjects on the cultural and social contexts of architecture (including the role of the patron, the theorist, and the individual architect) before addressing various building typologies in the second part. Each of the chapters was further subdivided into short subsections. At the end of each section he included bibliographic information of the main sources, which would have been very useful information for the late nineteenth-century architectural historian.

Many of the themes that Burckhardt addressed in the *Civilization* were continued in this work: individuality, style as representative of a people, historical progression, and the revival of antiquity. It began with a direct statement on the importance of the individual: “From the dawn of a higher culture in Italy, architecture was essentially dependent upon the sense of individuality among both patrons and artists, which developed here much earlier than anywhere else. Linked to this there grew up a strong and modern sense of personal fame, which sought not only to compete with rivals, but also to be markedly different from them.”⁴⁷ Despite this introductory sentence, he did not go on to write a history of Renaissance architecture that was primarily biographical and instead addressed issues that concerned critics.

Unlike many nineteenth-century architects, Burckhardt did not see the Renaissance as a strictly imitative style, noting that “[t]he Renaissance was responsible for hardly any copies of actual Renaissance buildings; for instance, despite all the admiration, it reproduced not a single temple and made use of the Antique only in the sense of very free adaptation.”⁴⁸ Even in the use of classical decoration, the Renaissance architect was imaginative and showed creativity, while looking closely at antiquity. “In no other field of art and culture does the Renaissance show itself so wholly attuned intellectually to Roman Antiquity as here. It improves upon the tradition freely and naturally, as if it were its own property, with ever fresh combinations, and achieving in places

⁴⁷ Burckhardt, *Architecture*, 3.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 34

a supreme beauty.”⁴⁹ While Burckhardt’s writings on architecture may not have made an impact in England (it was not listed in the R.I.B.A. book lists for the examinations), the themes he pulled together in *The Civilization* were to continue as the primary factors in the definition of the Renaissance for many later historians.

Burckhardt’s theories were similar to those of the English poet and critic John Addington Symonds (1840-93).⁵⁰ While Symonds claimed to have not read Burckhardt’s work until after he had already written the first volume of his massive seven volume series, *Renaissance in Italy*, there are many similarities in their ideas.⁵¹ Historians have generally dismissed Symonds scholarly work, discounting it in a large part because of its similarities to that of Burckhardt; some going so far as to call him an “imitator.”⁵² Symonds’s writings and lectures, however, were very popular in England, and his work had an enduring influence there. His 1877 book, *The Fine Arts*, the third volume in his series on the Renaissance, was considered a required guide to the

⁴⁹ Ibid., 191.

⁵⁰ In the last two decades there has been a revival of interest in Symonds’s writings in part due to the fact that his memoirs were sealed from publication until the mid 1970s, a point at which attitudes towards homosexuality had changed substantially since the Victorian period. His memoirs, mostly filled with personal experiences, poetry, and anecdotes portray a man who actively fought for the acceptance of homosexuality during his lifetime. In part because of this focus, however, much of the recent literature on his work has been attempts to place his writings within homosexual not necessarily historiographic frameworks including John Pemble, ed., *John Addington Symonds. Culture and the Demon Desire* (London: Macmillan Press, Ltd., 2000). For Symonds’s memoirs see Phyllis Grosskurth, ed., *The Memoirs of John Addington Symonds* (London: Hutchinson, 1984). Symonds’s secretary and literary executor wrote an early biography: Horatio F. Brown, *John Addington Symonds. A Biography. Compiled from his papers and correspondence* (London: Smith and Elder, &Co., 1894; reprint 1903). For a complete list of his works, many of which were first published anonymously in periodicals see Percy L. Babington, *Bibliography of the Writings of John Addington Symonds* (London: John Castle, 1925).

⁵¹ Symonds stated: “To the last-named essay [that of Burckhardt’s *Civilization*] I must acknowledge especial obligations. It fell under my notice when I had planned and in a great measure finished, my own work. But it would be difficult for me to exaggerate the profit I have derived from the comparison of my opinions with those of a writer so thorough in his learning and so delicate in his perceptions as Jacob Burckhardt.” John Addington Symonds, *Renaissance Italy, vol. I, The Age of the Despots* (London: Smith, Elder, &Co., 1875): viii-ix. See also John Easton Law, “John Addington Symonds and the Despots of Renaissance Italy,” in John E. Law and Lene Østermark-Johansen, eds., *Victorian and Edwardian Responses to the Italian Renaissance* (Hants, England: Ashgate, 2005), 149.

⁵² Burke, “Introduction,” 12.

newly acquired collections of Renaissance art in the English galleries and museums.⁵³ His public lectures drew huge crowds, with over 1250 people attending a single lecture in the summer of 1892 in Oxford.⁵⁴

Symonds first wrote on the Italian Renaissance in his prize-winning 1863 Oxford essay, “The Renaissance.” In it he outlined two main theses which he maintained and refined in his later writings: first, the importance of the individual and, second, the notion of the Renaissance as the beginning of modern progress, an idea which he later fused with Darwin’s theory of evolution.

The rise of the individual for Symonds was the result of the “intellectual emancipation” created by the revival of classical learning.⁵⁵ The focus on the individual in the Renaissance was closely associated with the accepted approach to history as that of the actions of great men, as well as with the Victorian ideal of the heroic or artistic genius. Symonds recognized both, in his descriptions of the figures of the Renaissance. Although Symonds saw the period as an ultimately positive force, he agreed with Ruskin that the new intensity of focus on the individual resulted in a society marked by pride and infidelity. In a footnote Symonds conceded that “[t]here is a truth in this remark of Mr. Ruskin’s. The spirit of the Renaissance was essentially opposed to devotion, self-denial, and the purely religious sentiments. We see this not only in its partiality to pagan subjects, and its worldly treatment of sacred history; but also in the profusion of ornament and the sacrifice of everything to mere display, by which it is characterised.”⁵⁶ Another result of this new ability to question authority was the Reformation, which Symonds

⁵³ Richard Theodore Titlebaum, “Three Victorian Views of the Italian Renaissance: John Ruskin, Walter Pater, and John Addington Symonds,” (Ph.D. Thesis in English Literature. Harvard University, 1969), 169.

⁵⁴ This lecture was part of a summer extension course on the Renaissance and Reformation during which time ninety-nine lectures were given by various faculty. D. S. Chambers, “Edward Armstrong (1846-1928), Teacher of the Italian Renaissance at Oxford,” in Law and Østermark, 215.

⁵⁵ Symonds, 1863 essay, 45, 57.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 34.

considered to be part of the Renaissance, although he noted that the seeds of it had existed in the Middle Ages.⁵⁷

Symonds's second thesis connected the Renaissance directly to the present day. While Ruskin and Burckhardt had both also made such a connection, Symonds boldly stated that the progress, particularly the technological innovation, that he saw as characteristic of the nineteenth century had begun in the Renaissance.

What has the Renaissance done for modern time; or rather what has it not done? ... The vast scale at which this emancipation of the individual has been effected, the multifarious relations of life which it has influenced, the mechanical forces by which it has been accelerated, we cannot now describe. ... In like manner, though the arts of beauty have decayed, they are succeeded by mechanical facility and perfection of detail; nor are these qualities to be despised, when we reflect upon the material advantages accruing to us from our railways, steamboats, and telegraphs.⁵⁸

The mention of these nineteenth-century technological advances in an essay on the Renaissance at first seems anachronistic. But it served to support his argument that the roots of such technical progress were not only in the Renaissance but also had a traceable and tangible connection to the world in which he lived. He continued: "Truly, if it is the special function of modern times to communicate to the greatest number the benefits of social life, to popularize and render permanent every acquisition of the human intellect, and to open a free course for genius wherever it be found, we may safely say that the performance of this function began with the Renaissance, and it remains for ourselves and our posterity to carry it on."⁵⁹ Symonds argued that not only was the Renaissance a period in which changes occurred that had continued down to the nineteenth century, but that these changes were worth maintaining. He did not want to turn back the clock

⁵⁷ Ibid., 53.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 58.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

as Ruskin in a sense wanted, neither did he lament the changes that had occurred as Burckhardt quietly did.⁶⁰

Symonds expanded the ideas of this early essay in his later ones and more fully in his seven-volume work, *Renaissance in Italy*, 1875-1886.⁶¹ In the first volume he noted the complexity of the use of the term “Renaissance,” and how he intended to use it, interweaving into it his two theories of individual freedom and progress.

By the term Renaissance, or new birth, is indicated a natural movement, not to be explained by this or that characteristic, but to be accepted as an effort of humanity for which at length the time had come, and in the onward progress of which we still participate. The history of the Renaissance is not the history of arts, or of sciences, or of literature, or even of nations. It is the history of the attainment of self-conscious freedom by the human spirit manifested in the European races. But it was the intellectual energy, the spontaneous outburst of intelligence, which enabled mankind at that moment to make use of them. The force then generated will continue, vital and expansive, in the spirit of the modern world.⁶²

He reinforced the primacy of the individual by giving it an importance equal to both scientific and geographic discoveries: “The Renaissance was the liberation of humanity from a dungeon, the double discovery of the outer and the inner world.”⁶³ This prioritization was also a factor in his writing as he included individual biographies of Benvenuto Cellini and Michelangelo in his

⁶⁰ Burckhardt was not as harsh a critic as Ruskin, however, and it is interesting to note that he was not using his history as a way in which to engage his reader to shape and change the present or future. Peter Burke, 3.

⁶¹ John Addington Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy* (London: Smith, Elder, & Co, 1875-86). The seven volumes are: *The Ages of Despots*, 1875; *The Revival of Learning*, 1877; *The Fine Arts*, 1877; *Italian Literature*, Parts I and II, 1881; *The Catholic Reaction*, Parts I and II, 1886.

⁶² Symonds, *The Age of the Despots*, 4.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 15.

third volume on the Fine Arts.⁶⁴ This focus on the individual was always presented within his larger thesis of the rise of intellectual freedom in which “the real quality of the Renaissance was intellectual, that it was an emancipation of the reason of mankind...”⁶⁵

The Renaissance was comparable to ancient Greece in that art and aesthetics were the main focus of intellectual activity.⁶⁶ Of the arts, painting and sculpture were of primary importance, because it was in these arts that beauty was created for its own sake. Architecture, however, was an art of necessity, not simply beauty. Because of this and because it had so successfully captured the essence of Christianity in the Middle Ages, architecture was primarily a medieval art.⁶⁷ In Italy, however, the Gothic was never fully embraced, there was therefore a stronger sense of continuity with antique Roman forms.

Symonds divided Renaissance architecture into three periods by date: 1460-1500, 1500-40, and 1540-80. The first period corresponded to the adaptation of classical forms to modern requirements.⁶⁸ In their attempts to restore the grandeur of ancient Rome, architects clothed their modern buildings with classical details, though not always successfully. Symonds was careful to emphasize that this was not a direct copying of classical forms, but an imaginative adaptation of them, exemplified in the works of Brunelleschi and Alberti. The second phase Symonds

⁶⁴ Symonds, *The Fine Arts*, Chapter 8 and Chapter 9. Symonds later wrote a separate study of Michelangelo's life which focused primarily on his poetry, which he translated into English. John Addington Symonds, *The Life of Michelangelo Buonarroti. Based on Studies in the Archives of the Buonarroti Family at Florence*. 2 vols. (1911; third edition, reprint Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002)

⁶⁵ John Addington Symonds, “The Renaissance of Modern Europe. A Review of the Scientific, Artistic, Reationalistic, Revolutionary Revival, Dating from the 15th century. Being a lecture delivered before the Sunday Lecture Society. The 24th November, 1872,” pamphlet (London: Thomas Scott, 1872): 7.

⁶⁶ Symonds, *The Fine Arts*, 1. “It has been granted only to two nations, the Greeks and the Italians, and to the latter only at the time of the Renaissance, to invest every phase and variety of intellectual energy with the form of art.”

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 10. “In architecture alone, the mysticism of the Middle Ages, their vague but potent feelings of infinity, their yearning towards a deity invisible, but localized in holy things and places, found artistic outlet. Therefore architecture was essentially a medieval art. The rise of sculpture and painting indicated the quickening to life of the new faculties, fresh intellectual interests, and a novel way of apprehending the old substance of religious feeling; for comprehension of these arts implies a delight in things of beauty for their own sake, a sympathetic attitude towards the world of sense, a new freedom of the mind produced by the regeneration of society through love.”

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 69.

considered a perfection of the earlier style. It was characterized by a clarity of form and a better understanding of the use of classical detail. Bramante, Raphael, and Peruzzi were the main figures of this phase. Michelangelo linked this phase with the third one, which was identified by the split into the “baroque” and the “scholastic” approaches where the study and use of classical architecture became more formalized, such as the works of Palladio. It was this last phase of the style that became the “new common style” that was to spread across Europe.⁶⁹

Symonds’s writing, like that of Burckhardt and others, would have provided a background of information on the Renaissance, but did not address its architecture specifically. He described buildings only briefly and used them only to support his theories, rather than illustrating or studying them for their own sake. Although painting, sculpture, and literature (particularly poetry) were his main interests, Symonds’s ideas were influential, and they set the tone for later writers who addressed architecture specifically.

While a contemporary of Symonds and Ruskin at Oxford, the aesthetic critic Walter Pater (1839-94) had quite different notions about the Renaissance.⁷⁰ In 1873, Pater’s loosely connected collection of essays, *Studies in the History of the Renaissance*, reissued in 1877 as *The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry*, presented a very different interpretation of the period, which was in its own way influential.⁷¹ Pater’s ideas simultaneously frightened and attracted readers, gaining him not only a wide circle of admirers, but also harsh critics.⁷² His writings on the Renaissance were contentious, even “notorious” mainly because he framed his discussion

⁶⁹ Ibid., 99.

⁷⁰ See Alex Potts, “Pungent Prophecies of Art: Symonds, Pater, and Michelangelo,” *John Addington Symonds. Culture and the Demon Desire*, John Pemble, ed. (London: Macmillan Press, Ltd., 2000), 102-121.

⁷¹ Walter Pater, *The Renaissance. Studies in Art and Poetry. The 1893 Text*. Donald Hill, ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980). All citations from *The Renaissance* come from this edition.

⁷² Donald Hill in the notes at the end of his edited edition of Pater’s work provides a full list of the reviews of *The Renaissance* and a brief overview of their content. See Donald Hill, “Explanatory Notes,” in Pater, *The Renaissance*, 280-89.

within a collection of ideas known as Aestheticism.⁷³ In the preface to his work, Pater defined the role of the aesthetic critic as the act of putting one's self at the center of the process of criticism, not to determine what was right or wrong with the painting or object, but "to define beauty" through the process of questioning one's own impressions of the object. "What is this song or picture, this engaging personality presented in life or in a book, to me? What effect does it really produce on me? Does it give me pleasure? and if so, what sort or degree of pleasure? How is my nature modified by its presence, and under its influence?"⁷⁴ Pater asked these questions in the introduction, immediately establishing that this was more than a general survey of a historical period or style.

With his re-positioning of the self and prioritization of the experience of the pleasure of art, Pater had effectively raised art to a quasi-religious status. Life was to be lived for the pleasure of art, not some religious ideal⁷⁵ Pater presented his ideas most clearly in his conclusion, which was dropped from the second edition, only to be reinstated in the third (1888) and fourth (1893) editions, under Pater's supervision. The essays themselves, in most cases published previously without a flood of criticism, were almost of secondary importance to the conclusion. In it Pater sketched out a thesis that was not a single, coherent, academic theory, but more of a tone or feeling about how life should be lived. Grounded ultimately in the freedom to pursue beauty and a "life of refined pleasure and action," art could be then addressed for its own sake, passionately and actively. "To burn always with this hard, gem-like flame, to maintain this ecstasy, is success in life."⁷⁶ And he continued, "Of such wisdom, the poetic passion, the desire of beauty, the love of art for its own sake, has most. For art comes to you proposing frankly to give nothing but the highest quality to your moments as they pass, and simply for those moments'

⁷³ Michael Levey, *The Case of Walter Pater* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), 144. The Aesthetic Movement began as primarily a literary movement in Britain and spread into other areas of art. The driving theory was "art for art's sake," which meant a focus on beauty as the most essential element in art and in life. Pater was one of the main proponents of the movement.

⁷⁴ Pater, xix-xx. Emphasis in original.

⁷⁵ Levey, 144.

⁷⁶ Pater, 189.

sake.”⁷⁷ In essence, his message was that life was short, pleasure was to grasp while you can, and art provided a medium in which to do so. His more blatant condemnations of Christianity in the essays incited further criticism, and he toned them down in the later editions.

Pater opposed the view of Ruskin and other historians who established the ideas of the completeness, paganism, and decadence for the Renaissance as well as its total separation from the Middle Ages. Instead Pater established the Renaissance as a mindset for a lifestyle pursued for beauty and experience that did not follow the moral constrictions of the Victorian period.⁷⁸ It was not simply a temporal period, but an attitude, a mindset, a movement, and a process.⁷⁹ While it occurred mainly in fifteenth-century Italy, its characteristics—“an age productive in personalities, many-sided, centralised, complete”—could also be found in the age of Pericles and even in the Middle Ages.⁸⁰ Pater did not perceive a caesura between the Renaissance and the Middle Ages that many writers did, and he thought the “care for beauty” and “worship of the body” were not unique to the Renaissance and had occurred in the Middle Ages as well.⁸¹

Symonds’s and Pater’s interpretations of the Renaissance answered a shift of thinking after 1860 towards a more positive characterization of the period.⁸² These writers and others offered alternative interpretations to that of Ruskin, and they paved the way for the next generation to address the Renaissance without its earlier stigma as a forbidden, decadent fruit. Even Ruskin’s antipathy towards the Renaissance softened after 1858 when he was swayed by his Pre-Raphaelite friends to appreciate the works of sixteenth-century Venetian artists, in particular Veronese, whom he now felt to be not only a “first rate painter,” but one whose work also

⁷⁷ Ibid., 190. Note that most of these essays had been previously published in periodicals.

⁷⁸ Pater was also homosexual, and some writers have tried to read his writings as veiled attempts to discuss homosexuality in Victorian society. The association between gay writers and the Renaissance did nothing to quell the concerns of those who saw it as a decadent period.

⁷⁹ J. B. Bullen, *The Myth of the Renaissance in Nineteenth-Century Writing* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 274, 278-9.

⁸⁰ Pater, xxiv.

⁸¹ Bullen, 285.

⁸² Ibid., 256.

required the viewer to be “rather a little wicked—and entirely a man of the world.”⁸³ These new men of the world accepted and embraced the Renaissance for its decadence and sensuousness as well as everything else that it had to offer.

General Works on Renaissance Architecture

In the late nineteenth century in Britain the writing of books on the architecture of the Renaissance was linked to two circumstances: the desire in practice to move away from the Gothic Revival and the requirements of the newly established educational programs in architecture. The need to serve these markets, in combination with recently developed methods of reproduction of images of buildings and drawings as photographs, led to a surge in the publication of books on architecture which were smaller, more affordable, and did not require the subscription process for publication.⁸⁴ In the early nineteenth century, books on architecture tended to fall into several categories: folios of drawings and details, treatises, chronological lists of buildings, and studies of specific buildings. As the century progressed the architecture of the Renaissance in both Italy and England became a more popular topic for study.

The R.I.B.A. annually published book lists to guide the young architects’ studies. The lists were meant to correspond to the material covered in the membership examinations, thus any changes in the lists reflected shifts of direction in the examinations. The earliest lists were comprised of lectures by prominent members of the Institute, first recorded in 1865. The speakers read what were in essence annotated bibliographies with short overview histories.⁸⁵

⁸³ Ibid., 259: citing *The Correspondence of John Ruskin and Charles Eliot Norton*, ed. John Lewis Bradley and Ian Ousby (Cambridge, 1987), 46. Ruskin’s new acceptance of the Venetian Renaissance is evident in his 1860 work *Modern Painters*.

⁸⁴ The impact of this dramatic increase in the publication of books on architecture can be compared to the initial impact of printing on the development of Renaissance architecture. There was also an increase in the publication of architectural periodicals. See Frank Jenkins, “Nineteenth-Century Architectural Periodicals,” *Concerning Architecture. Essays on Architectural Writers and Writing presented to Nikolaus Pevsner*. John Summerson, ed. (London: Allen Lane the Penguin Press, 1968), 153-160.

⁸⁵ Royal Institute of British Architects, Voluntary Examination Lectures 1865, RIBA Archive 7.2.2. Ten lectures were initially scheduled, although not all were given. The topics of the early

After the lectures by Sydney Smirke (1824-1867) and William Burgess (c.1826-1878) on the architecture of antiquity and medieval architecture in England, Sir Matthew Digby Wyatt (1820-1877) gave a lecture on “The History and Literature of Architecture from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries.” Books on architecture were very expensive, and Wyatt noted that even he could not afford them. Therefore, Wyatt spent a large part of his lecture telling the enterprising student where he might find the books he needed, listing libraries, booksellers, and publishers, as well additional resources for bibliographies.⁸⁶ Wyatt then listed works on architecture written in French, German, and Italian before giving a brief overview of the architecture in those countries, concluding with the Renaissance in England and the publications of James Gibbs and Colin Campbell’s translation of Palladio.⁸⁷ A translation of Vasari along with several general books on architecture were the only works in English that Wyatt cited, indicating the intense need for works in English that would be accessible to the young architect. Participants at later meetings that took place in order to compile the book lists reinforced the desperate need for inexpensive books in English on architectural topics.

The 1897 list published in R.I.B.A.’s *Kalendar* was divided into the categories of Art and Science. The History of Architecture was included under Art, as it was in the examinations. In addition to a collection of books on the general history of architecture, the *Kalendar* also included a section on “Mouldings, Features, and Ornament” which was divided into “Classic” and “Mediaeval.” Books on Renaissance architecture were few, but those that were listed were categorized under “Classic” and included Letarouilly’s *Édifices de Rome Moderne*, J. A. Gotch’s

examination lectures were split between the history of architecture and the more technical aspects of the profession such as construction and plumbing.

⁸⁶ Sir Digby Wyatt, “History and Literature of Architecture. Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries,” (1865) 11-15/51-55. RIBA Archive 7.2.2. As these students would not have had an affiliation with a university, or even the R.I.B.A., and the majority of libraries at that time were not public, Wyatt had to give the students some direction as to where books that he mentioned might be found.

⁸⁷ Wyatt, 93/132. The transcriber of this particular lecture was not familiar with many of the foreign works that Wyatt cited and left them as blanks with questions marks in the margin, possibly signifying that many of the works were not commonly available or well known.

Renaissance in England, and Palladio's *Architecture*.⁸⁸ This format would remain for the next decade with only a few works specifically on the Renaissance listed.⁸⁹

By 1911 the format of the list had undergone a transformation and the various styles of architecture were each broken out separately with twenty-seven titles listed under the heading of "Renaissance." Within this collection of titles were works on architecture up through the eighteenth century across Europe, not just Italy.⁹⁰ The definition of "Renaissance" therefore extended beyond the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Italy to include the architecture of France, England, Spain, and Germany. These lists did not include the works of Burckhardt, Pater, Symonds, or even Ruskin, preferring instead to focus on works that addressed architecture specifically.

The lists did include the several attempts in Britain to create "surveys" of the history of architecture that for the first time included Renaissance architecture. The few prior surveys of architectural history tended to stop at the end of the Middle Ages, as the architectural historian James Fergusson pointed out in his introduction that "...[they] all stop short about the year 1500, in so far at least as Europe is concerned. None venture across the forbidden boundary of the Reformation; so that both the Renaissance and the Revival want a historian in recent times."⁹¹ Of the more inclusive surveys on the R.I.B.A. lists, four stand out either for their initial popularity or later endurance, those of Joseph Gwilt, E. A. Freeman, James Fergusson, and that by Banister Fletcher and Banister F. Fletcher.

⁸⁸ Royal Institute of British Architects, *R.I.B.A. Kalendar 1897-98* (London, 1897): 251.

⁸⁹ The change in the book list was a result of the 1907 study by the Board of Architectural Education in which they recommended a "both revision and re-classification" of the booklist in the *Kalendar*. R.I.B.A. Board of Architectural Education Minutes, vol. 1 1901-1913. R.I.B.A. Archives (13 March, 1907).

⁹⁰ Royal Institute of British Architects, *R.I.B.A. Kalendar 1911-12* (London, 1911): 478-79. Of the twenty-seven titles given, only eight are on the architecture of Italy of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and only fourteen books cited were in English, although many were collected folios of drawings that would have still been legible to the architect who could not read French or German.

⁹¹ James Fergusson, *History of Modern Styles of Architecture* (First edition published 1862; third edition, edited with comments by Robert Kerr in two volumes, London: John Murray, 1891), 6.

The first of these was Joseph Gwilt's *An Encyclopaedia of Architecture. Historical, Theoretical, and Practical*, first published in 1842 and illustrated with woodcut engravings based on drawings by his son John Sebastian Gwilt.⁹² In true encyclopedic and positivist fashion the elder Gwilt (1784-1863) attempted to include everything that the practicing architect might need, from a history of architecture to mathematical tables and technical information on construction materials. Gwilt approached the history of architecture scientifically, despite his claim otherwise, and he loaded his formal and often dry descriptions of buildings with dimensions and technical details. From these details the reader was to determine "first principles" which transcended architectural styles. "Fashion may, and indeed,—nay, often does,—change the prevailing taste of the day, but first principles remain the same; and, as in a cycle, the planets, after a period of wandering in the heavens, return to the places which they occupied ages before, so, in the arts, after seasons of *extravaganza* and *bizzaria*, a recurrence to sound taste is equally certain."⁹³

Gwilt organized his history geographically, and he included the Renaissance initially under "Italian" architecture, before describing its spread across Europe. Mentioning only a handful of architects and only one or two of their buildings, the section on Italian architecture was strangely bereft of any real discussion or mention of the style. He defined the Renaissance as simply the revival of the arts, and he assigned the revival of architecture to the work of Brunelleschi specifically, noting that the field of architecture was otherwise "unoccupied," allowing the ambitious young man to make his mark.⁹⁴

⁹² Joseph Gwilt, *An Encyclopædia of Architecture. Historical, Theoretical, and Practical*. (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1842). The engravings themselves were done by R. Brantson. Gwilt is a character of the early nineteenth century who has been decidedly overlooked in the scholarship. He also published an earlier very short work on Italian architecture which does not seem to have gained much attention: Joseph Gwilt, *Notitia Architectonica Italiana, or Concise Notices of the Buildings and Architects of Italy. Preceeded [sic] by a short essay on Civil Architecture and an Introductory view of the Ancient Architecture of the Romans to which are added some table of general use, and two plates*. (London: Printed for the author and sold by T. Egerton, 1818). This early work is primarily a chronology of Italian buildings and architects prefaced by a short essay on the use of the orders and a review of ancient Roman building types.

⁹³ Gwilt, *Encyclopædia*, v. Emphasis in original.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 132.

Gwilt presented three schools of architecture in Italy: Florentine, Roman, and Venetian, each with its exemplary architects. He lavished the most attention, and several illustrations, on St. Peter's, Rome, yet his description of the various alterations in the design lacked real architectural understanding. The building served as a marker against which he gauged the change in style to the Baroque:

Between the foundation of the church by Bramante, and its entire completion by Carlo Maderno ... a century had elapsed, but during that century architectural as well as graphical and plastic taste had undergone great changes; and though the first was still far from the vicious point to which Borromini carried it, the great principles of order and authority, as founded on the models of antiquity, were passed away, and no longer occupied the attention of the architect. The spirit of innovation, too often mistaken for genius, had made such inroads, that regularity of plan, simplicity of form, and the happy union of taste with common sense had altogether disappeared.⁹⁵

His contempt of the Baroque was evident, and he ended his discussion of the Roman school with a harsh critique of Borromini and Bernini, whose main fault was to be too ingenious and break the rules: "where beams are broken, pediments, which are the gables of roofs, are broken into fantastic forms, and none of the parts seem naturally connected with each other," creating a "licentious" architecture.⁹⁶

For Alberti and Palladio, Gwilt held the highest praise. He felt that the writings of each should be well known by every architect, and he included a brief synopsis of Alberti's *De Re Edificatoria* in his history of the Renaissance. In the same discussion, he also cited the *Polyphili Hypnerotomachia* [sic] which he attributed to a member of the Colonna family, and stated that it

⁹⁵ Ibid., 140-2.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 149, 676.

was a more important book than Vitruvius as it gave a better description of classical architecture, because it was more poetic.⁹⁷

In Book III “The Practice of Architecture” Gwilt discussed the orders, beginning with an attempt to define the characteristics and “maxims” of beauty in a way that would be appropriate in a practical, desktop reference. He felt that the goal of architecture was “to be useful, and to connect the use with a pleasurable sensation in the spectator of the invention.” But he was not interested in the psychology of the spectator, nor did he link this idea to the new field of *Æsthetics*, which he called “one of the metaphysical and useless additions to nomenclature in the arts, in which the German writers abound, and in its application to architecture of least value.”⁹⁸ Gwilt was much too practical for that. An architect was meant to follow the sequence of eight maxims to create beauty in his designs. Written to be abstract enough to apply to a variety of situations, the maxims addressed strength, proportion, unity, variety, symmetry, and usefulness.⁹⁹ Despite these maxims Gwilt recognized that there was no “fixed standard of taste” that could be determined from a study of architecture from different periods.¹⁰⁰ Beauty in architecture was dependent on the place and time in which it was created.

By the 1888 edition, edited and enlarged by Wyatt Papworth (1804-1888), Gwilt’s *Encyclopædia* had already passed through seven reprints.¹⁰¹ The sections on Italian architecture and beauty remained untouched by Papworth, and the book continued to be a standard desk-top reference for architects for many years. While its focus was on the more technical and constructive aspect of architecture, the fact that he began the work with a section on the basics of

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 134-5.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 673.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 676.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 677.

¹⁰¹ Joseph Gwilt, *An Encyclopædia of Architecture. Historical, Theoretical, & Practical. New Edition. Revised, Portions Rewritten, and with Additions by Wyatt Papworth* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1888), x.

architectural history reveals the importance of history to the practice of architecture in the nineteenth century.

The second survey of the history of architecture, Edward A. Freeman's *A History of Architecture* (1849) had only a short period of popularity.¹⁰² Freeman was a Gothicist and a fellow at Trinity College, Oxford. The work was not illustrated with the exception of the frontispiece engraving of a small rural church "representing one of the noblest specimens of parochial Gothic architecture in all England."¹⁰³ Freeman seemed to care little for architecture and even commented that he had not seen most of the buildings that he wrote about and found that when he did, that it only confirmed what he already knew from drawings.¹⁰⁴ Nonetheless, the objective of the book was to present architecture as a fine art and to trace the sequence of the styles. Even though Freeman was a staunch defender of the Gothic, he felt it necessary to present other styles: "That gothic architecture is beyond all comparison the noblest effort of the art, that it is the only style to be adopted for modern structures in western Europe, the present writer would never dream for a moment of calling in question; but this surely does not preclude us from looking on the architecture of other nations as being at last as curious and valuable a study as other researches of the kind."¹⁰⁵ He determined that climate, available material, and religion of a country or people at a specific time were the factors that determined style.¹⁰⁶ In addition, each style represented the resolution of the tension between the desire for novelty and the power of tradition.¹⁰⁷

There were only two real divisions of style in western architecture, that of the entablature and that of the arch.¹⁰⁸ These corresponded to the Greek and the Gothic, the two forms of

¹⁰² Edward A. Freeman, *A History of Architecture* (London: Joseph Masters, 1849).

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, xix.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, x.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 14.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 15.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 20. He has taken this division from the writings of A. W. N. Pugin.

architecture worthy of further study. Greek architecture was a reflection of the intellect and of taste, while Gothic reflected the holy and moral aspects of man.¹⁰⁹ Even though he considered Greek architecture important, the Gothic was the primary focus of the book. After a brief review of the “Earlier and Ruder Forms” of architecture in Asia and Egypt, the history of ancient Greece, and a quick synopsis of the architecture of Rome, “We now feel at once that we have arrived at the most perfect form which the art can assume.”¹¹⁰ The Gothic surpassed all other styles because it had no fixed rules, no set proportion for its columns, and was therefore all experiment.¹¹¹

When Freeman does actually address the architecture of the Renaissance at the very end of the book it is in the chapter entitled “The Decay of Gothic Architecture.” Freeman considered the architecture of the “Revived Italian” as being “completely valueless.” He held that the architecture of the Renaissance was

in the first place, open to every objection to which the Classical Roman is liable, and is besides loaded with every species of fantastic vagary, of which imperial Rome, amid her worst corruptions, had never dreamed. Then, as not being a real development, but a violent re-action, a return to worn-out and abandoned forms, it lacks—in this resembling even the best Gothic of our own day,—the interest which attaches to every natural and original phase of the art. And, above all, when we consider that this corrupted style was deliberately, by formal purpose, in contempt of all ancient precedent and tradition, and in despite of every religious and national feeling, substituted for the most glorious forms that Christendom has ever beheld, it is impossible but that our admiration for the genius and skill of many of its

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 17.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 27.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 28.

authors must be altogether overbalanced by a feeling approaching to disgust at the utter perversion of their mighty powers.¹¹²

The Renaissance architecture in England, he disliked equally, tolerating the work of Sir Christopher Wren only because of his “appreciation of Gothic outlines” in his steeples.¹¹³ Conceding that St. Paul’s was a “great building,” he thought its style “wretched” and mused how wonderful it would have been if were Gothic.¹¹⁴ Ultimately, Freeman’s history was simply a polemic for the Gothic. It was non-architectural, with no illustrations and little description of actual buildings.

A more important and influential survey of architecture was James Fergusson’s 1862 *History of the Modern Styles of Architecture*, published several years after his *The History of Architecture* (1855), which covered architecture from the pre-historic through the medieval styles.¹¹⁵ Fergusson spent much of his early adulthood in India as a businessman and an indigo farmer, and he lacked university and architectural training. But his deep interest in the current state of architecture and the architecture that he saw around him in India drove him to write about first Indian and later European architecture. Fergusson’s writings were the first attempt in English to provide a complete historical survey of architecture.¹¹⁶ Although he took a global approach, incorporating the architecture of India, China, Mexico, and Russia into his argument, his goal was to find a style of architecture appropriate for a modern, progressive England.¹¹⁷

¹¹² Ibid., 28-9.

¹¹³ Ibid., 449.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 446.

¹¹⁵ Fergusson’s *History of the Modern Styles of Architecture* was not his first book on architecture. James Fergusson, *The History of Architecture* is a two-volume work that was published in 1865-67 and was reprinted in 1874. It was a revision of the 1855 work, *The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture*, from which the sections on Indian architecture were removed and developed into *The History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 1876. All of these works were published by John Murray of London.

¹¹⁶ John Paul Primiano, “James Fergusson: Architectural Philosopher, Critic, and Historian,” unpublished MSS, (November 18, 2002): 283.

¹¹⁷ It is interesting to note that Fergusson’s work as the first attempt at a comprehensive history of architecture included non-western history as well, particularly as these areas are only recently being reinstated into the general survey which for so many years addressed only western architecture.

Critics responded to his 1855 publication negatively, in part because of its factual inaccuracies, but it was very popular, was re-published in numerous subsequent editions, and was frequently referred to by later architectural historians.¹¹⁸

Fergusson defined the Renaissance as a “modern” style, in part through its inclusion in the book, as well as in his later descriptions. This categorization becomes somewhat problematic, however, as he did not discriminate between the later architectural styles such as the Baroque and Rococo from the Renaissance, all of which he considered to be “modern.” Instead, Fergusson established two main types of architectural style: the True and the Imitative, also called “Sham.” A True architectural style was one where architecture was designed to meet the needs of the users and “the ornamentation grew naturally out of the construction, or was such as was best suited to express the uses or objects to which the building was to be applied.”¹¹⁹ Imitative architecture began in the sixteenth century, and it was comprised of architecture that copied a previous style, with ornamentation did not express construction. It therefore included not only the Renaissance but also the Gothic Revival. “It is, perhaps, not too much to say that no perfectly truthful architectural building has been erected in Europe since the Reformation.”¹²⁰ Fergusson went on to note that “There is no building, in fact, the design of which is not borrowed from some country or people with whom our only associations are those derived from education alone, wholly irrespective of either blood or feeling.”¹²¹ The result of this sham architecture was a lack of truthfulness of the art.

Fergusson continued this idea into his two definitions of types of art: the “Technic” and the “Phonetic.” Architecture, cooking, and tailoring were all examples of a technic skill that could be developed into an art. He used the comparative analogy of building to architecture as

¹¹⁸ Primiano, 290-4.

¹¹⁹ Fergusson, *The History of the Modern Styles of Architecture*, third edition (1891), 3. All citations for this work will be from this edition unless otherwise noted.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. I, 3.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, vol. I, 5.

boiled mutton to a king's sumptuous feast.¹²² The phonetic arts were those such as painting, sculpture, and poetry, and they arose out of speech. The primary difference between these two types of art was their relationship to the artist. A technic art was ruled by its age, not the individual artist, whereas the phonetic art was dependent on the individuality of the artist for its artistic quality, an individual who was both of his age and above it. Phonetic arts required authorship, through which they gained their authority. In the Renaissance the major problem that occurred was that architecture shifted from being a technic to a phonetic art.

If all this is clearly appreciated it will easily be perceived that the really great change that was introduced into the practice of Architecture at the Reformation was this: a Technic art came to be cultivated on the principles which belong only to one of the Phonetic class. After this it would be ridiculous to talk of St Peter's without naming Michael Angelo, or St Paul's without alluding to Wren, or Blenheim or the Parliament Houses without the name of Vanbrugh or Barry. Though the cause has hardly been understood, this has been so essentially felt, that hardly any one has attempted to write a continuous history of the Renaissance styles of Architecture; but Vasari, Milizia, De Quincy, and many others have written the lives of the most eminent architects.¹²³

Because the role of the individual became the primary factor in the architecture, the writing of architectural history, he noted, also changed. It had shifted from a history of the age in general, to a history of the lives of the artists.

The third factor in Fergusson's history of architecture was his theory of ethnography.¹²⁴ This played a larger role in his earlier works, and he felt that it could not be as developed in the modern period because architecture was copied from previous styles and ages, removing it from

¹²² Ibid., vol. I, 25.

¹²³ Ibid., vol. I, 30.

¹²⁴ Ibid., vol. I, 54. Fergusson also saw this period as the period that was the rise of the Teutonic and Aryan races to the loss of the Celts, etc.

its natural development by a people. Ethnography and racial appropriateness were important, and he emphasized that the classical ruins which the Cinquecento architects revived were Roman, not Greek because "... the Classical style was their own, invented in their country, suited to their climate and, to a certain extent, to their wants: so much so that whatever little inconvenience might arise from its adoption was more than compensated for by the memories which every detail called up, and to recall and rehabilitate these glories of their vanished greatness was the guiding idea of all the aspirations of that age."¹²⁵

Comparing the revival of antiquity to a "contagion" that spread across Europe, Fergusson was certain that the style could not reach perfection on its current course.¹²⁶ Curiously, however, it was this lack of perfection that ultimately also made the Renaissance a viable style for further study. Unlike the Gothic or the ancient Greek, which Fergusson considered to be fully complete and perfect styles, the Renaissance was incomplete.

It has also this advantage: in its devious course it has been so far adapted to the wants and exigencies of modern times, that it is perfectly suited to all our purposes and is so familiar to us that we may base on it any improvement we may invent without its seeming strange and out of place. It has also this immense advantage, which the Gothic never can possess, that it requires and demands that the highest class of Art in painting and sculpture should be associated with it, instead of the crude barbarism of the Middle Ages.¹²⁷

Fergusson's history included a small selection of buildings of the Renaissance and later periods, breaking them into ecclesiastical and secular divisions within the major geographical areas of Italy, Spain and Portugal, and France. He presented a much more detailed survey of English architecture defining it by the works of Inigo Jones and Sir Christopher Wren. Despite having designed several buildings in his own lifetime, none of his descriptions are particularly

¹²⁵ Ibid., vol. I 62.

¹²⁶ Ibid., vol. I, 8-9.

¹²⁷ Ibid., vol. II, 429.

architectural, and he relied more on determining whether a building was in good or bad taste, often pointing out some specific element or detail.¹²⁸

Because of its republication thirty years later Fergusson's book provides valuable evidence for the changes of attitude to the Renaissance specifically, and the history of architecture generally by the late nineteenth century. When the book was re-issued in a third edition in 1891, the architect Robert Kerr (1823-1904) served as editor. Instead making changes to the original work, Kerr inserted comments in brackets leaving Fergusson's original text intact, creating the effect of an over-narration. Kerr gave context for and even rebutted Fergusson's arguments, often simply in the form of questions for the reader. For example after Fergusson stated his theory of True and Imitative styles, Kerr responded: "In plainer words, all Modern Architecture, he seems to say, is only a Sham Art. But of course the reader may form his own judgment of an allegation so remarkable."¹²⁹ Kerr saw the Renaissance style in a more positive light than Fergusson, believing it to be a natural style for Italy, and not imitative.¹³⁰ In a response to Fergusson he wrote: "The style of design, therefore, which arose in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, whatever may be its demerits, was the natural style of the New Europe, of which Italy was the exultant mother. If it was an Italian style, it was not for Italy alone, but for all the modern (or Italian) world—for all westward lands, in turn, as the empire of Italian culture should hold its westward way. ... There was no sham in the initial principle."¹³¹ Kerr felt that

¹²⁸ Fergusson designed a gallery in Kew Gardens for his friend Marianne North to hold her gift of over 800 paintings of botanical subjects. Completed in 1882 the building was the result of Fergusson's study of the lighting of Greek temples.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. I, 2.

¹³⁰ "As a matter of good sense alone, it must sooner or later become clear to the mind of anyone that the Cinque-centists, on their own Italian ground teeming with relics of the past, and in exhilarating intellectual air of their great philosophical revolution, enjoyed a truly grand architectural opportunity. ... Indeed, *à priori* philosophy may very fairly affirm that to sacrifice the claims of the Italian Renaissance in Art to be worthily regarded as a genuine and admirable Modern European Style is to undermine the whole reputation of that Modern European intellect whose brilliancy in history no one but a frivolous pessimist could even pretend to dispute, and whose astonishing vigour seems to be still, in these apparently latter days, only in its robust youth." Fergusson, vol. I, 169-170.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, vol. I, 9-10.

medieval architecture had begun to decay as a style and was therefore re-invigorated by the revival of classical styles.¹³²

The Renaissance was not without fault for Kerr, however, and he criticized certain buildings and details. For example, he thought that the application of pilasters on the Rucellai palace was simply for stylistic effect and did not properly reflect the construction of the building.¹³³ In response to Fergusson's conclusion that St. Peter's in Rome was a "failure," Kerr asked: "Is St. Peter's a Failure? ... But is not failure glorified by the attempt? ... Better surely to have tried and 'failed,' than never to have tried at all!"¹³⁴ Fergusson's main critique of the building was that it was in essence a gothic building with classical details and that the gigantic scale of the pilasters and columns force the other details to be too large and dwarf the building. The details also concealed, not accentuated, the construction.¹³⁵ The final impression of this edition is one of the rapid change of attitude to the Renaissance and the gradual professionalization of architecture and its history.

The next survey history of architecture in Britain was enormously popular in the second half of the nineteenth century, *A History of Architecture for the Student, Craftsman, and Amateur Being a Comparative View of the Historical Styles from the Earliest Period* by the father and son team of architects, Banister Fletcher (1833-99) and Sir Banister F. Fletcher (1866-1953). First published in 1896 the book went through numerous, almost annual, editions.¹³⁶ Both men taught in the new university programs for architecture, and it was for this new audience that they wrote the book. The Fletchers took a unique approach in their history of architectural styles for which

¹³² Ibid., vol. I, 16.

¹³³ Ibid., vol. I, 57-8.

¹³⁴ Ibid., vol. I, 90-91.

¹³⁵ Ibid., vol. I, 86-89.

¹³⁶ Banister Fletcher and Banister F. Fletcher, *A History of Architecture for the Student, Craftsman, and Amateur Being a Comparative View of the Historical Styles from the Earliest Period*. 2nd edition (London: B. T. Batsford, 1896). Sir Banister Fletcher made major format changes in the 1901 fourth edition. The work is now in its twentieth edition. For a study of the architecture of Sir Banister Fletcher see W. Hanneford-Smith, *The Architectural Work of Sir Banister Fletcher* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1934).

buildings were merely exemplars. They established a systematic method of comparing styles and buildings using a set guideline of factors and building elements. Beginning with ancient Egypt and ending in the nineteenth century, they applied what they called the “comparative method” equally across all styles, time periods, and countries. Their analysis included a study of influences (geographical, geological, climatic, religious, political, and social); an analysis of architectural character and selected examples of buildings; and comparisons of architectural elements such as plans, walls, openings, roofs, columns, mouldings, and decoration. They grouped architectural styles into two types: the Classic, the architecture of the beam, and the Gothic, architecture of the arch.¹³⁷ These terms did not necessarily align with existing stylistic categories. Roman architecture, for example, was a transitional style as it incorporated both arches and beams.¹³⁸

The Fletchers saw Renaissance as an intellectual movement that was not confined to Italy alone, but had spread across Europe.¹³⁹ The movement began with the revival of interest in classical literature and was fanned by the invention of printing, eventually leading to the Reformation. The changes in architecture were equally influential, and were characterized mainly by the revival of interest in classicism and the classical orders.¹⁴⁰

They presented Renaissance architecture as a series of geographically influenced styles, divided into schools: the Florentine, the Roman, the Venetian, those centered around Verona and Vicenza, and of Genoa and Milan. The authors outlined the differences in architectural character of each and included a comparative table of the Florentine, Roman, and Venetian Schools.¹⁴¹ They also recognized the rise of the individual architect, which forced them to step out of their rigid comparative format to address prominent architects such as Brunelleschi and Alberti

¹³⁷ Fletcher, 3.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 200.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 202.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 227-29.

individually. “As we have reached the period when the personality of the architect has increased in importance, we will now enumerate very briefly the chief works of Brunelleschi and Alberti, as being the leaders of the Florentine school.”¹⁴²

Because of the adoption of the revival of the orders by the rest of Europe, the Renaissance was both a return to its antique heritage and it constituted a style that was accepted as its own. “It must not be supposed, however, that in this development no advance was made. It is true that classic precedent was the basis, but the classic decoration of column, pilaster, entablature and details, was applied in many novel and pleasing forms. System in their application was gradually evolved, and a style built up which has become the *vernacular of all modern states*.”¹⁴³ The Renaissance in England, Spain, Portugal, and France, as well as Italy are all presented, and they showed that Renaissance threads continued through even the “Rococo”—the term they used for what we now call the Baroque. “The attentive student will trace the progress of the Renaissance movement, the application of classical ideas to modern forms, beneath the trappings of bad detail.”¹⁴⁴

Ultimately the Fletchers’ text was not what primarily drew students to the book. The architectural descriptions were primarily in the comparative format, and instead of addressing such issues as composition or proportion, only dissected and analyzed building parts. What drove the popularity of the book were the illustrations. Offered in a companion set of large format sheets for lectures, the line drawings of plans and sections of buildings drawn in comparison to each other made a unique contribution to the history of architecture at the time (figure 6.3). The book also supplemented these drawings with photographs, creating a handy desktop style reference and textbook.

In addition to these surveys of architectural history on the reading lists and in the R.I.B.A. library, architects could also turn to other types of books concerned with the

¹⁴² Ibid., 212.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 202. Emphasis added.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 231.

Renaissance and its buildings. Biographies of the major artists and architects of the period were popular, with the translation of Vasari's writings on Renaissance artists into English in 1851 being an important and popular resource.¹⁴⁵ Symonds wrote a biography of Benvenuto Cellini and also one of Michelangelo, focusing on his sonnets and translating them into English. Chronologies of Renaissance buildings were also popular, despite their lacking any architectural description or even illustration.¹⁴⁶

The most popular format for the presentation and study of architecture, however, was the folio collection. These large and expensive books would have been typically purchased by subscription to offset the high costs of engraving and publication. They could typically be purchased as either individual plates or bound together into a large folio. The most famous of these was the *Édifices de Rome Moderne* by Paul-Marie Letarouilly (1795-1855).¹⁴⁷ This multi-volume set of plates with companion books of text would have been invaluable to the architect interested in the Renaissance. In his twenties Letarouilly had studied architecture in Paris under Charles Percier before traveling to Rome where he developed his passion for Renaissance architecture and decided to devote his life to its study. Letarouilly visited, measured, drew, and researched the palaces, houses, villas, and civic buildings of the Renaissance. He studied architectural drawings and documents in archives in the Vatican, Florence, and Siena. For the reproduction of his own drawings, Letarouilly insisted on only the best engravers. The result was a monumental work of multiple volumes that presented Renaissance buildings in perspective,

¹⁴⁵ Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects: vol 1-10*, translated from the Italian of Giorgio Vasari with notes and illustrations chiefly selected from various commentators by Mrs. Jonathan Foster (London: Henry G. Bohn 1851).

¹⁴⁶ J. Tavenor Perry, *The Chronology of Mediaeval and Renaissance Architecture. A date book of architectural art from the building of the ancient Basilica of St. Peter's in Rome to the consecration of the present church* (London: John Murray, 1893).

¹⁴⁷ Paul-Marie Letarouilly, *Édifices de Rome Moderne ou Recueil des Palais, Maisons, Églises, Couvents. et autres monuments publics et particuliers les plus remarquables de la ville de Rome* (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1840-57). The first volume lists the early subscribers. Many of the orders were for the French government, but Letarouilly also had many foreign subscribers whom he listed by name and country. In the first volume, 1840, there were twenty-two subscribers in London with another five copies going to addresses in England outside of London, including in Manchester and in York. See the subscribers list pp. x-xi.

plan, elevation, section, and detail (figure 6.4). For the Palazzo Pietro Massimi, for example, there are fourteen plates of over forty drawings.¹⁴⁸

Letarouilly accompanied the plates with companion texts. In these smaller paper-bound books he presented essays on the period, identified the individual plates, gave the history of the building, a brief description, and further references. Although Letarouilly is normally thought of now for his illustrated plates, the textual accompaniments would have been equally of interest to the nineteenth-century architect.

Letarouilly's work was surely the finest and most comprehensive study of Renaissance architecture at the time, but other authors also published folios of Renaissance architecture and architectural details. Three in particular were popular. The first of these was John Kinross's 1882 work *Details from Italian buildings chiefly Renaissance*.¹⁴⁹ Kinross focused on the decoration and ornament of selected buildings, those that he thought were "now well known to students of architecture," but never showed one building in its entirety.¹⁵⁰ As for text, he simply introduced the detail and gave the building, location, and architect. His particular focus was on mosaics, which he promoted for adoption in Britain to "render our streets more independent of bright skies, and give them a quiet beauty even in the dullest weather."¹⁵¹ Unfortunately, Kinross's drawings have none of the life or fineness of detail of Letarouilly's, and they appear static on the page (figure 6.5).

The second of the folio collection was George Oakeshott's *Detail and Ornament of the Italian Renaissance*, 1888.¹⁵² This smaller work, only forty plates, was the result of the author winning the R.I.B.A.'s Mr. Thomas W. Adwinkle Travelling Scholarship in 1886. While

¹⁴⁸ Letarouilly, vol. 3, plates 280-293.

¹⁴⁹ John Kinross, *Details from Italian Buildings Chiefly Renaissance* (Edinburgh: George Waterston & Sons, 1882). A note on the plate opposite the title page stated that three hundred copies of this work had been printed.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Preface, no page number.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵² George J. Oakeshott, *Detail and Ornament of the Italian Renaissance. Drawn by George J. Oakeshott* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1888).

Oakeshott also focused on the ornament and details, he showed them first within a larger composition, such as a porch, a tomb, or chapel screen. This work is interesting in that it is an example of a type of work published by students on their return from a tour abroad as a way to advertise his abilities as an architect.

The third and the least popular of the folios was J. Buehlmann's *The Architecture of Classical Antiquity and of the Renaissance*.¹⁵³ Buehlmann, an architect and professor in Munich, presented the orders and the iconic classical buildings from Greece, Rome, and the Renaissance. In the English translation of the second edition (the first edition did not include the Renaissance) Buehlmann collected seventy-two plates of classical architecture and the orders. The plates in this case are of less interest than the text, in which the author explained architecture in relation to the theories of earlier German writers.¹⁵⁴ From Gottfried Semper came the idea that decorative forms originated in the arts of weaving, metallurgy, and pottery. From Karl Bötticher came the idea that the role of ornament was to give expression to the functions of the architectural elements and their overall composition and character.¹⁵⁵ Great architecture originated in "material necessities" and "has for its principal object the forming of closed spaces" but ultimately "had a loftier aim."¹⁵⁶

Prior to introducing the plates, Buehlmann presented what he held to be fundamental aesthetic laws of architecture. These laws included unity of form, relationship to the ground and gravity, symmetry, movement of the form against gravity, and the study of proportion, which he defined as "the threefold division according to the vertical axis."¹⁵⁷ Buehlmann's work was used

¹⁵³ J. Buehlmann, *The Architecture of Classical Antiquity and of the Renaissance. 79 Plates in three parts with descriptive text. Translated from the German of the Second (revised and enlarged) edition by G.A.Greene.* (Berlin: Bruno Hessling, 1892).

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Preface, no page number.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 1-2.

in England less than those of Kinross and Oakeshott, but the translation by Greene would have made German ideas on aesthetics and architecture more readily available to young architects.

Themes raised in these works

Several themes raised in these works recurred in later writings on the Renaissance architecture. The first of these was the defining of the Renaissance as both a period and/or style in relation to the Middle Ages. As the two periods were often defined in opposition to each other, the transition from one to the other was important as it established the beginning of one and the end of another. Of equal importance was the determination of the end of the Renaissance. The descriptions of paganism and decadence that had initially hung over it from the writings of Ruskin and others gradually shifted to describe the Baroque. In many of these works Michelangelo was prominently cast as a transitional figure between the two periods. The histories of architecture reflected the polemical debates surrounding the promotion of specific styles as the jumping off point for a new architecture.

Second, was of the role of the revival of antiquity in the architecture of the Renaissance. Some authors, like Burckhardt, insisted that the revival of antiquity, while key, was not the core impetus for the changes that occurred. For others, such as Fergusson, this was its main point of difference with the Middle Ages and was what defined the Renaissance as either imitative or scholarly.

Third, was the importance of the individual—as architect, artist, or client. The ideal of the “Renaissance man” as an intellectual and an artist fit seamlessly with the increasing interest in the individual in the nineteenth century. This image provided the model for how the nineteenth century could construct the ideal of the modern architect.

There are many other themes that run through these histories and the ones that followed, including questions of race, nationalism, and progress. The writings on Renaissance architecture and its history reflected the multitude of attitudes on not just architecture but on its place in

society, its aesthetic role in culture, and how it related to its own past. The following three chapters will look more closely at three specific approaches to architecture of the Renaissance as it was studied in Britain 1890-1914.

Chapter 7

A Mere Flicker. Writings on Italian Renaissance Architecture by William J. Anderson

The architect William James Anderson (1863-1900) wrote one of the first historical surveys of Italian Renaissance architecture in English, *The Architecture of the Renaissance in Italy* (1896). The book was an attempt to refute many of the contemporary criticisms and prejudices against the period. In this work Anderson established a complex and multi-layered definition of the period and argued why it was worthy of attention by architects, students, and historians. The Renaissance was, according to Anderson, unique for both its brevity and its brilliance, but it was still “a mere flicker compared to the evanescent flame of Greek art.”¹ Despite its briefness, he argued that the first half of the sixteenth century “may be regarded as the most brilliant and productive half century in the arts of form which the world has yet seen.”²

Little is known about Anderson’s life and education aside from obituaries and what he wrote on his nomination papers for membership to the R.I.B.A.³ In 1877, at the age of fourteen, he entered the office of the architect James Gillespie in St. Andrews, Scotland, where he worked for four years. He then took a job in Edinburgh in the office of architects Rowand Anderson and G. Washington Browne, before moving on to Glasgow where he was an assistant first in the offices of T. L. Watson and then with William Leiper. Anderson applied for and won the first Alexander Thomson Traveling Studentship, 1887, with which he traveled for four months in

¹ William James Anderson, *The Architecture of the Renaissance in Italy. A General View for the use of Students and Others* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1896), 78.

² *Ibid.*, 78.

³ R.I.B.A. Nomination papers for Associate Membership for William James Anderson. R.I.B.A. Archives #AV 12 p.36 or microfiche 53/D1. See also British Architectural Library and Royal Institute of British Architects. *Directory of British Architects 1834-1914, A-K* (London and New York: Continuum, 2001): 42; “Contemporary British Architects,” *The Building News*, (November 14, 1890): 700; *R.I.B.A. Journal*, v.7 (April 28, 1900): 312-13; and *The Builder* (April 14, 1900): 381-2.

Europe, primarily in Italy.⁴ A year prior to opening his own practice in 1891 in Glasgow, Anderson served as President of the Glasgow Architectural Association, which was similar to the AA in London. In the two years prior to his R.I.B.A. nomination he noted that he had “executed some unimportant work.”⁵ He passed the R.I.B.A. examinations in April 1893 and was nominated and accepted that same year. In 1896 he Director of the Architectural School, having served as a Professor of Architectural History there for three years. Anderson was dedicated to his teaching and his own practice was starting to take off when he died at the age of thirty-six⁶ At the time of his death, Anderson had drafted a book on classical Greek architecture, *The Architecture of Greece and Rome. A Sketch of its Historical Development*, which was completed and edited by R. Phené Spiers.⁷ Anderson had also planned a book on French Renaissance architecture, to be based on a collection of his lectures at the Glasgow School of Art given in early 1899.⁸

Anderson’s work was the product of almost two decades of increased interest in classicism and the Renaissance. He was, in a sense, one of the first generation who had “grown up” with a continuous interest in classical architecture. It is no surprise that it was in Scotland that Anderson grew up, studied, and practiced as it was there that classicism had first regained its prominence in the works of Alexander “Greek” Thomson, who set the stage for the study and adoption of other classical styles.

⁴ The Alexander Thomson Traveling Studentship was intended for the study of classical architecture.

⁵ R.I.B.A. Nomination papers for Associate Membership for William James Anderson. R.I.B.A. Archives #AV 12 p.36 or microfiche 53/D1.

⁶ A handwritten manuscript in the British Architectural Library Biographic file for Anderson states that he died of worry over the collapse during construction of one of his projects, the Napier House, causing the death of five workers. Although he is now considered to be innocent, at the time of the inquest he was held to be at fault for the tragedy. This same manuscript lists known works by Anderson, and has attempted to verify them when possible with his cousin and his pupil.

⁷ William J. Anderson and R. Phené Spiers, *The Architecture of Greece and Rome. A Sketch of its Historical Development* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1902). Spiers maintained Anderson’s text for the first four chapters, but the remaining eleven were written by Spiers alone.

⁸ *RIBA Journal*, v.7 (April 28, 1900): 313. See also *The Builder* (April 14, 1900): 381-2.

Anderson's first publication was the direct result of his travels on the Alexander Thomson traveling studentship.⁹ Upon his return, he published *Architectural Studies in Italy* (1890) in a limited edition of 150 copies, most of which were purchased by subscription.¹⁰ A collection of forty-one plates of drawings and sketches, Anderson's *Studies* also wrote brief introductory paragraphs for each drawing, often including comments from Vasari and other authors to reinforce the importance of certain aspects of the buildings or architects. His drawings ranged in technique from sketches done onsite and watercolor washes of perspectives to measured plans, elevations, and sections of buildings, mouldings, and furniture (figure 7.1-7.2).

Anderson stated that he had chosen the architecture of the Italian Renaissance as his subject of study, because for him it exemplified a balance of attention to both detail and composition. He felt that the Renaissance was "the perfected period of the whole classic revival, [and] is marked by the equal attention given on the one hand to the refinements of proportion and to design in mass, and on the other to the proper subordination and homogeneity of the details."¹¹ Anderson explicitly stated that the intent of the publication was not to provide drawings of details for copying, "but rather that they may be interesting in themselves as examples, on a moderate scale, of the first and freshest modern work ..."¹² He went on to note that the Renaissance was "the product of the spirit which in the fifteenth century awakened men to the romance and beauty of the ancient world, and to a sense of their freedom of design and selection."¹³ An important part of the definition was the determination of its origin:

⁹ The Alexander Thomson Studentship in 1887 awarded Anderson the sum of £60. Clipping from *The Building News* (Nov. 14, 1890) in the British Architectural Library Biographic file. Anderson's traveling companion was Mr. D. B. Burne, who helped him with the on site measurements and prepared several of the drawings for the lithographer, including those of San Salvatore. The lithographer was Mr. F. M. Miller. William James Anderson, *Architectural Studies in Italy* (Glasgow: Maclure, Macdonald & Co., 1890), Preface, no page number.

¹⁰ Anderson noted at the beginning of the work the names of all the subscribers and whether or not they were architects; of the sixty-two subscribers, 28 were listed architects. See Anderson, *Architectural Studies*, no page number.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Preface, no page number.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

Of course it depends upon what is understood by the term Renaissance. If merely a re-birth of interest, a clear insight into nature is understood, then we may cheerfully yield to the sculptors the credit of the origin of the movement; but if besides this we understand it to include (as architects have always done) the tendency to the revival of classic forms and principles, then the architectural demarcation is correct which dates the Renaissance from the beginning of Brunelleschi's remarkable labors.¹⁴

With these statements, Anderson had pulled together many of the issues and problems surrounding the study of the architecture of the Renaissance in late nineteenth-century Britain. He admired the Renaissance as a "modern" style, constructing a continuous thread between that period and his own, an argument that was central to how he justified its study. In its freedom of design, as opposed to a strictly imitative and archaeological approach, Anderson saw a way to correct the problems of the architecture of his day. The Renaissance should not be copied, but it was certainly presented as a model for how to approach architecture; that is, with imagination guided by a strong foundation in history.

Anderson was particularly concerned with mouldings and ornamental details, reflecting the contemporary interest in architectural ornament as the primary characteristic of architectural style.¹⁵ A collection of antique fragments from the Museo Laterano, the Campidoglio, and the Vatican were all drawn *in situ*, and Anderson included them as examples noting how they differed from comparable modern details (figure 7.3). "The honeysuckle ornaments ... and, indeed, the subjects generally, indicate a freedom of drawing for which the ancients are not often credited, and which is certainly absent from modern interpretations."¹⁶ The characteristic of freedom in these designs, while not typically attributed to the ancients as Anderson noted, was

¹⁴ Anderson, *The Architecture of the Renaissance in Italy*, 10.

¹⁵ This interest in architectural ornament feeds directly into the idea of the architect as artist as opposed to surveyor or engineer.

¹⁶ Anderson, *Architectural Studies*, Plates XIII, XIV. Emphasis added.

seen as one of the more positive aspects of Renaissance design and was considered lacking in late nineteenth-century architecture, which had for too long been copying styles in an archaeological manner.

He analyzed and presented the details of three buildings in particular: the Palazzo Massimi, Rome, and the Palazzo Albergati, Bologna by Baldassare Peruzzi, and the Church of San Salvatore del Monte, Florence, by Simone Cronaca.¹⁷ Of Peruzzi's buildings, Anderson was struck by their simplicity and lack of adornment. Noting that students typically overlooked Peruzzi's works due to the "extreme delicacy and true modesty of this most excellent master," as well as to justify his own architectural preferences, Anderson cited Vasari's praise of Peruzzi of him "never having an equal in architecture."¹⁸ He also cited Michelangelo's admiration for San Salvatore del Monte, in addition to Vasari's, so as to further bolster his own praise of it. His inclusion of this historical praise was an attempt to legitimize the study of these buildings specifically, as well as the period as a whole.

In Peruzzi's work Anderson found a model for modern Victorian architecture; an architecture of "naïve simplicity and unaffected grace, without adornment."¹⁹ Anderson considered the Cortile of the Palazzo Massimi as the "kernel" of Peruzzi's best work for its "exquisite proportions and refined technique."²⁰ To emphasize this, he made measured drawings of the entire cortile in plan and elevation and included many of its details and mouldings.

In addition to the strictly architectural works, Anderson also included several examples of architectural furnishings. Interest in Renaissance interiors and furniture in the Victorian period paralleled that in Renaissance architecture. Museums in London were actively adding furniture

¹⁷ Ibid., Introduction to Plates VI-XI for the Palazzo Massimi; Plates XXIX-XXI for the Palazzo Albergati; and Plates XIX-XXIII for the Church of San Salvatore del Monte.

¹⁸ Ibid., Introduction to Plates VI-XI.

¹⁹ Ibid., Introduction to Plates VI-XI. Also Anderson, *The Architecture of the Renaissance in Italy*, 32.

²⁰ Anderson, *Architectural Studies*, Introduction to Plates VI-XI.

and decorative art to their collections of Renaissance art.²¹ Anderson included the Marble Pulpit of the Church of Sant'Annunziata, Genoa, giving plans, elevations, and details, as well as drawings of a wood settee in the Museo Nazionale the Lavatio in the Palazzo Vecchio, and a chimney-piece in the Ducal Palace, Venice (figure 7.4). The design of similar furnishings would have been considered within the domain of the architect in the nineteenth-century, typically for country houses designs. So the inclusion of the drawings of furnishings, like those of the architectural details, would have served as practical resources for future designs.

Anderson's *Architectural Studies* was typical of the type of folios of drawings being published at the time. As noted in the previous chapter, several other architects had produced similar folios of drawings, such as John Kinross's *Details from Italian Buildings, Chiefly Renaissance* (1882).²² Kinross, like Anderson, had felt obliged to justify his study of Renaissance architecture: "Renaissance work has been subjected to much adverse criticism; but it is now looked upon in a more catholic spirit, and its beauty more generally acknowledged. Its study along with the Gothic work would no doubt have had a refining effect on many of the crude Gothic buildings erected of late years..."²³ George J. Oakeshott's 1888 publication of *Detail and Ornament of the Italian Renaissance* was, similar to Anderson's, the result of travels undertaken as the result of winning a studentship.²⁴ Of these three works, only Anderson presented architecture the most completely, including plans, elevations, and sections in addition to the ornamental details. These folios of drawings were limited in their publication and were not

²¹ I am indebted to Tracey Avery at the University of Melbourne for her input and for allowing me to read her unpublished conference paper, "Re-branding the Renaissance: Reception and Re-conception of the Sgabello in the Nineteenth Century," (Paper given at the Association of Art Historians Conference, Bristol, UK, 2005).

²² That both Kinross and Anderson hailed from Scotland has not gone unnoticed. See Deborah Mays, "Sketching Tours 1850-1914," *Scotland and Europe. Architecture and Design 1850-1940*. Proceedings of a Symposium held at the University of St. Andrews May 19, 1990. John Few and David Jones, eds. (St. Andrews, 1991), 1-8; and Deborah Mays, "Design Inspiration from Abroad: A Review of Three Continental Sketchbooks," *Architectural Heritage II. The Journal of the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1991): 99-108.

²³ Kinross, Preface, no page number.

²⁴ Oakeshott noted in his Preface that he had won the Thomas W. Adwinkle Travelling Studentship in 1886, which was awarded through the R.I.B.A.

analytical of the works that they presented. They functioned in some ways as the equivalent of the glossy architectural magazines of today, presenting images of architecture for inspiration and study.

Anderson cited several references for his drawings. The first, and most important, was Letarouilly's *Édifices de Rome Moderne*, which would have given him a strong overview of the works of the period as well as ideas on how to layout and approach the drawings. Anderson did not directly copy Letarouilly's engravings, however, and he did not include nearly as much detail and ornament. A study of both architects' drawings for the Palazzo Massimi, Rome, reveals many critical differences in approach as well as detail. The plans differ in the length of the entry corridor.²⁵ The dimensions given by Anderson indicate that he had measured the building himself and redrawn it, even if he had followed Letarouilly's or Suy's drawings initially as guides. Anderson showed only what he had access to—for example he shows only the entry sequence and courtyard, and does not indicate or draw any of the private rooms, or the upper loggias of the courtyard. He included many more dimensions than the other publications, and he appeared to be equally concerned with the proportions and composition of the building as its details. The manner in which Anderson has shown only a minimal amount of the building's ornamental detail, reinforced his praise of the design as spare and almost Greek in its clarity. He did not show the ornate decoration of Letarouilly's engravings, which indicated a building in which the surfaces were covered in intricate paintings, mouldings, frieze panels, and carvings. The two architects had different intentions in their representations of the building. Anderson's more student-like approach highlighted specific aspects of the building that he felt best exemplified the Renaissance, stressing in particular its ornament, while Letarouilly, in comparison, wanted to document the building completely.

²⁵ Suys and Haudebourt show the corridor as the same length as Letarouilly, and they note that they copied the plan from Nolli. See F. T. Suys and L. P. Haudebourt, *Palais Massimi a Rome. Plans, Coupes, Élévations, Profils, Voutes, Plafonds, etc. Des Deux Palais Massimi Dessinés et Publiés* (Paris, 1818). There are several points of similarity. Plates 8, 9, 12, and 13 in the Suys are all simplified and shown in a similar layout in Anderson as Plate xxxix-xxxj and on page 87. Suys gives little description of the building, only giving it context within the body of Peruzzi's work.

More influential and more widely disseminated than his folio of drawings, Anderson's second book, *The Architecture of the Renaissance in Italy* (1896) was one of the first historical surveys in English of the architecture of the Italian Renaissance. Written initially as a series of lectures while he was Professor at the Glasgow School of Art, Anderson used the book to promote the Italian Renaissance as a style worthy of both scholarly and artistic attention.²⁶ He illustrated the book with drawings—some of which were taken from his folio collection—and with the relatively new medium of photography.²⁷ Many of the new drawings that he included were based on those from previous folios. The drawings of the Palazzo Massimi, for example, included several that he had initially published in his own folio collection as well as some that appear to be variations of the 1818 folio on the building by Suys and Haudebourt.²⁸ The R.I.B.A. added the book to its reading lists for the membership examinations, and the new programs in architectural education adopted it as a textbook. Critically well received by the architectural press, the book quickly became a standard and went through several editions over the next decades. One reviewer wrote: “We know of no book which furnishes such information and such illustrations in so compact and attractive a form. For greater excellence with the object in hand there is not one more perspicuous, particularly for the architect.”²⁹

In the second edition of the book, 1898, Anderson conceded that he had wanted to rewrite the whole thing, but realized that the work “might then lose what value it possesses as an

²⁶ Synopses of Anderson's lectures at the Glasgow School of Art were published in the *Royal Institute of British Architects Journal*, vol. 1, third series (1894): 126, 156, 243, 319, 363. For these lectures Anderson included Etruscan, Roman, and medieval Italian architecture as an introduction to the Renaissance. These earlier periods were not incorporated into the book. Anderson illustrated these lectures with lantern slides.

²⁷ For a discussion of the British collection of photographs of Renaissance architecture as souvenirs see Graham Smith, “Florence, Photography and the Victorians,” John E. Law and Lene Østermark-Johansen, eds., *Victorian and Edwardian Responses to the Italian Renaissance* (Hants, England: Ashgate, 2005), 7-32. For a more comprehensive history of architectural photography, see Robert Elwall, *Building with Light. The International History of Architectural Photography* (London/New York: Merrell, 2004).

²⁸ Suys gives little description of the building, only giving it context within the body of Peruzzi's work.

²⁹ “The Italian Renaissance,” *The Building News* (Dec. 25, 1896): 908.

impression of the works of the period written soon after I had studied and measured some of them ten years ago, having at the time small acquaintance with the large Continental literature on the subject.”³⁰ He did, however, rewrite much of the chapter on Brunelleschi, and he added a chart of the buildings covered, which was, like his book, arranged both chronologically and geographically. The book maintained its popularity after his death and was still in publication in 1927, revised and edited by Arthur Stratton.³¹

As in his earlier work, Anderson justified the study of historical styles—and of the Renaissance in particular—for the contemporary practice of architecture, implying that the study of past styles was a contentious and questionable approach to architectural design. “Much has been urged against the teaching of architectural history to students, but only by those who have failed to grasp the true inwardness of the development. For if the work of modern architects, or some of them, takes a high place among that of other art workers, it is largely because they are more thoroughly and effectively steeped in the traditions of an art which is greater than man’s little span of life and achievement.”³² The success of the best architects, in Anderson’s view, depended on the study of the traditions of their art. Architecture’s history was the study of these traditions and was therefore central to the practice of architecture. He did not condone an archaeological approach to past styles for the purpose of copyism, but as one reviewer noted, a study of the “art of building gracefully.”³³

³⁰ William J. Anderson, *The Architecture of the Renaissance in Italy, A General View for the Use of Students and Others*, second edition (London: Batsford, 1898): Note to second edition, no page number. All further citations to this book will be to the first edition unless noted otherwise.

³¹ By 1924 the book was in its fifth edition. This edition had been revised and enlarged by the architect and educator Arthur Stratton. The biggest change that Stratton made was to include later phases of the style, which Anderson had considered to be part of the Baroque. Stratton wrote: “The outlook, however, has been broadened since his day, and there is little doubt that had he lived he would have extended the scope of the book to include the later phases of the Renaissance, which were universally disparaged not so long ago.” Stratton noted that he thought the reissuing of the book was important because it was “such a widely read and, in fact, indispensable book”. William J. Anderson, *The Architecture of the Renaissance in Italy. A General View for the Use of Students and Others*, Fifth Edition revised and enlarged by Arthur Stratton (London: B. T. Batsford, 1924), v. All further citations to this book will be to the first edition unless noted otherwise.

³² Anderson, *The Architecture of the Renaissance in Italy*, v.

³³ “The Italian Renaissance,” *The Building News* (Dec. 25, 1896): 907.

Anderson recognized the shadow that had been drawn across the Renaissance with the writings of Ruskin and the dominance of the Gothic Revival. “It is time to be rational, and to leave off such characterization of Renaissance architecture as a plague or a pestilence, a sham or a scenic affectation; ...”³⁴ Criticizing other authors’ dismissal of Renaissance architecture, he noted that they tended to look at only the later phases of the style. Because these authors defined the entire style by this phase only, they misunderstood and therefore misrepresented it. He agreed that the later phases of the Renaissance were degradations of the early period, which he considered to be the highpoint of the style. Anderson criticized J. Fergusson’s surveys of architectural history, in particular, for only looking at the Renaissance architecture in the time of Vignola, and he equally condemned Gwilt’s *Encyclopædia* for omitting a critical example of the period.³⁵

Anderson did not intend, however, his book as a call for a revival of Renaissance architecture. “[I]t would be scarcely more conformable to common sense to exult and delight in it after the extravagant fashion of its originators, and the chief performers of the movement, still less to attempt its servile imitation in our time.”³⁶ The study of architecture’s history was not meant for direct imitation, but to develop an understanding of architectural traditions as well as for inspiration.

Anderson presented the origins of the Renaissance in Florence, its appearance in other cities, its culmination in Rome, how Rome in turn influenced northern Italy, and finally the decline of the Renaissance into the Baroque. By presenting the architecture of the Renaissance chronologically, Anderson stuck to his belief that history was a natural process in which the style

³⁴ Anderson, *The Architecture of the Renaissance in Italy*, 146. Anderson was responding to Fergusson’s accusation that the Renaissance was a “contagion” and a “sham” style.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, vii.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 146.

would “arise, grow, flourish, decline, and decay.”³⁷ This was not strictly an evolutionary approach to history, but it was a biological one.

J. A. Symonds had taken a similar approach in his essay “Application of Evolutionary Principles to Art and Literature,” 1890, where he stated that art held “qualities analogous to those of an organic complex undergoing successive phases of germination, expansion, efflorescence, and decay.”³⁸ The application of scientific, specifically biological processes, to non-scientific fields of thought was popular in the nineteenth century.

Anderson paid particular attention to the origins and decline of the Renaissance, because he believed that it was at these points when the lessons of history were most evident. The first of these lessons was the recognition that Renaissance architecture served a “high and useful purpose” and was master of the arts, a position that many believed it had lost in the nineteenth century.³⁹ The second lesson was that study of the Renaissance allowed the student to learn “the errors and excesses which characterize degeneracy, and which it is possible to shun.”⁴⁰ By gaining an understanding of how the Renaissance declined, it might be possible to right the ship of contemporary architecture’s own degeneracy. Both of these lessons framed the study of architecture’s history as not only relevant but critical to the practice of contemporary architecture, connecting the architecture of the past with that of the present.

In addition to the chronological organization of the book, Anderson also recognized the geographical differences of the style and further divided the style by region. “[I]t may be better in dealing with each period, that its course in any district where it appeared should be considered

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ John Addington Symonds, “Application of Evolutionary Principles to Art and Literature,” *Essays Speculative and Suggestive*, 3rd edition (London: 1890; reprint 1907), 37 as cited in K. Theodore Hoppen, “The Evolutionary Moment,” Chapter 13 in *The Mid-Victorian Generation 1846-86*, part of the series, *The New Oxford History of England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 504. Symonds’s biological analogy for history gradually took on more of Darwin’s theory of evolution. Walter Pater also framed his history of the Renaissance within an evolutionary context. This was not an unusual approach. The prominent social writer Herbert Spencer, for example, applied the theory of evolution to the social sciences.

³⁹ Anderson, *The Architecture of the Renaissance in Italy*, 147.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 123.

separately.”⁴¹ Through this split chronological and geographic approach, he maintained the “sense of locality” and “continuity of local progress.”⁴²

Throughout the book Anderson refuted critiques and prejudices held by earlier writers and architects. He tried to break down the misconceptions built up during the period of the Gothic Revival, during which the Renaissance had been characterized as the antithesis of all of the positive aspects of the Middle Ages. Addressing the Renaissance from these difference vantage points of earlier criticism, Anderson recast the Renaissance as a style relevant for contemporary British architects. One of the first of these critiques was that the Renaissance was an inappropriate style for study by British architects because of the racial differences between Britain and Italy. To refute this argument Anderson creatively linked the Germanic and Roman races to create a race of “Romano-Germanic peoples,” in effect a single European race.⁴³ He grounded his argument in the belief that European civilization was embodied in the religion, law, and culture of a unified Europe with its roots firmly in the Roman Empire. “I feel convinced that no reasonable objection can be taken to its purpose as a contribution to the teaching of traditions of the Western arts of design, as these took form in Italy. In a profound sense, *we are all Romans*, as our language, religion, law, literature, and arts remind us.”⁴⁴ With this link to the past through racial categorizations that other architectural historians such as J. Fergusson had used to argue against the study of the Italian Renaissance, Anderson established the Italian Renaissance as not only a style worthy of study, but one that was equally applicable in Britain as in Italy.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Ibid., 39.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid., 2.

⁴⁴ Ibid., v-vi, 146. Emphasis added.

⁴⁵ James Fergusson, *The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture. Being a Concise and Popular Account of The Different Styles of Architecture Prevailing in All Ages and Countries*. in two vols. (London: John Murray, 1855), lii. The twelfth “property of design” is Ethnography, and Fergusson wrote: -“... as far as I can judge, I believe that architecture is in all instances as correct a test of race as language, ...” See also the section on Ethnography in James Fergusson, *History of the Modern Styles of Architecture*, 54.

In addition to the Renaissance's racial foundation, Anderson considered the Renaissance, like all styles, to be "unquestionably an embodiment of the temper of the time, and it was precisely on that ground that it had life and became so important a part of the world's architectural history."⁴⁶ Architecture was the constructed reflection of the society that created it, and to study the history of architecture was to study the history of a people "written in stone."⁴⁷ It was from this position that Anderson addressed the characterization of the Renaissance, promoted most forcefully by Ruskin, as an embodiment of a corrupt and pagan society. Ruskin saw that the Renaissance as fundamentally the revival of classical, and, therefore, pagan, learning, and it was partly this non-Christian core, which led Renaissance architects into problems of pride and infidelity in their art.⁴⁸ Anderson, however, did not believe that the revival of learning during Renaissance made it a pagan style, and he instead saw the period as being steeped in a devout sense of Christianity. The "predominance of the Christian religion... in the forms of the Roman Catholic Church" was one of the main factors of the "revival in architecture" in the Renaissance.⁴⁹ This linking of the Renaissance with Catholicism might have been problematic in late nineteenth-century England, when there were still many prejudices against Catholicism—but Anderson included as part of the Renaissance the period of the Reformation. The inclusion of Protestantism as part of the Renaissance "spirit" was part of the general "awakening" throughout Renaissance society.⁵⁰

To further refute criticism of the Renaissance as a pagan style, Anderson argued that the "vener of learning" which characterized the period was not the origination point of the style, but a result of it. The Renaissance was not, therefore, based mainly on a revival of ancient literature. "The paganism with which they are charged was little more than a veneer of learning, a

⁴⁶ Anderson, *The Architecture of the Renaissance in Italy*, 4. Anderson has clearly borrowed this idea from an earlier author, but it is not clear from whom specifically.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 3-4

⁴⁸ Ruskin, *Stones of Venice* in *Works*, XI. 369-70.

⁴⁹ Anderson, *The Architecture of the Renaissance in Italy*, 6.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

superficial gloss, which scarcely serves to veil the *essentially Christian* destination of the expression of the great mass of the work of the early and formative period.”⁵¹ Anderson placed the Renaissance interest in classical literature second to that of its interest in the physical remnants of Roman imperial monuments.⁵² He determined that it was the Renaissance recognition of the ancient monuments that had actually spurred the interest in classical texts, which for him were *secondary* sources of inspiration for the Renaissance architect. The physical remains were always primary. “The Italian Renaissance has been claimed as a result of the influence of literature, but literature, while sustaining it in its decline and fall, had scarcely more influence on its origin than the writings of Virgil, Horace, Livy, and Ovid had on the architecture of the Augustan age they adorned.”⁵³ With this distinction he separated the study of texts from that of buildings for both the Renaissance and the nineteenth-century architect.

Scholarship was still considered to be an important characteristic for an architect, and Anderson presented Leon Battista Alberti as the quintessential example, because he was the first architect to approach architecture’s design as the study of architecture of the past. Alberti “attempted the recreation of Roman architecture as distinct from Roman principles.”⁵⁴ It was on this point that Anderson drew a parallel between Alberti and the nineteenth-century architect. Alberti’s approach to architecture “in a scholarly manner” was “in this an other respects more akin to the typical modern architect than any who preceded him.” This implied that the “modern” architect, like the Renaissance model, was a scholar-architect, studying the architecture of the past as part of his own design process.⁵⁵

Anderson emphasized that the Renaissance architect had not gained his architectural knowledge solely in the *bottega*, the workshop, but that under Lorenzo di Medici the *bottega*

⁵¹ Ibid., 3. Emphasis added.

⁵² Ibid., 6.

⁵³ Ibid., 4.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 27.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

system had been supplemented by additional classes on art “very similar to those in our own day.”⁵⁶ Just as the Renaissance architect was a scholar who studied the buildings of the past, read texts on architecture, attended classes on art, and gained experience in the *bottega* on the craft of architecture, the nineteenth-century architect learned in a similar manner—from historic structures, books, classes, and workshops. Anderson noted, however, that the best architects—Peruzzi, Bramante, and Brunelleschi—had not learned architecture primarily from the *bottega*, but through the study of ancient buildings. They also approached architecture as part of “one art,” as they did not perceive a division either among the arts or the labor that created them.⁵⁷

Anderson also presented himself as a scholar-architect. As a student he had visited Italy to study and draw its important buildings, and the plates from his first book were reused here with additional drawings and photographs. He was familiar with earlier histories of the Renaissance, to which he often referred, often giving another author’s impression of a building or noting what that author considered to be important. The selected authors were both historical—such as Vasari and Palladio—and contemporary—such as J. Ruskin, Geymüller, G. Baldwin Brown, and J. Symonds.⁵⁸ He included a list of selected books on the Renaissance, breaking it down by period. The majority of the works are folios such as Letarouilly, although he does include Symonds and several other more general histories. Anderson typically cited these authors by name in the text (he did not use footnotes for his citations), This approach provided an example as to how an architect should approach the study of architecture’s past—through both the buildings themselves and texts. Even though Anderson did not define the origin of the Renaissance as the study of classical literature, scholarship for him remained at the core of both Renaissance and nineteenth-century architectural practice.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 26-27

⁵⁷ Ibid., 23.

⁵⁸ Of these, the art historian G. Baldwin Brown is probably the least well-known. His work *The Fine Arts* gave an account of the life of a Florentine craftsman during the Renaissance. G. Baldwin Brown *The Fine Arts: a manual* (London: John Murray, 1902). Baron von Geymüller was an occasional contributor to *The Builder* and would have been known to architects of the time.

Another conception of the Renaissance that Anderson questioned was that of the Renaissance as a complete break with the Middle Ages. While he perceived Renaissance and medieval architecture as two distinct styles, he also felt that “it was impossible that hand and eye and mind should not have been unconsciously, even willingly, tenacious of what had been their habit through generations. ... The Italians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries may have been a supersession of the mediaeval population presenting distinct characteristics, but they were at the same time the product of that stock, and in corresponding degree was their architecture related to what had preceded it.”⁵⁹ Even though Renaissance architecture was a product of the medieval; he did not present the architecture of the Middle Ages in a positive light, calling the medieval architecture of northern Italy “illogical” and “merely corruptions of old Roman methods.”⁶⁰ The Renaissance was therefore “a purification of the corrupt Italian Gothic and Romanesque.”⁶¹ The continuity was not with the medieval characteristics but with the classical, those that had continued throughout the Middle Ages.

The Renaissance architects when “their eyes opened to the knowledge of ancient principles” attempted to develop the existing Gothic style through the revival of classical form. They created “not a single style, but what might be better described as a complex combination of styles rather than a revival of any one in particular.”⁶² The Renaissance architecture of northern Italy maintained certain medieval characteristics just as the medieval was also a continuation of the Roman. New stylistic characteristics were “grafted” onto existing bases creating new subcategories.⁶³ His appreciation for the complexity and inevitable messiness of stylistic categorization reinforced his thesis of architecture as a natural progression.

⁵⁹ Anderson, *The Architecture of the Renaissance in Italy*, 3.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 67.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Ibid.*, 68.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 52.

Anderson declared that part of his purpose in writing the book was to point out how Gothic, Byzantine, and other stylistic elements were present in early Renaissance architecture and “how little tendency to direct imitation of classic models was manifested: and how slight a bondage even to classical principles.”⁶⁴ The early Renaissance was a more complex and conflicted period than had previously been recognized. It was a transitional period, according to Anderson, and it bridged from the medieval to the sixteenth century, by which time the stylistic conflicts had disappeared.⁶⁵ By framing the Renaissance as a continuation of the medieval, Anderson reinforced what he saw as the continuity of history, and the concept that one style naturally progressed from another.⁶⁶

His understanding of the history of style as a natural progression was also at the core of why the Renaissance was not a copyist or imitative style. Attacking this criticism from several angles, he first pointed out that the Renaissance was often considered a copyist style because this was how Ruskin and Fergusson had presented it.⁶⁷ Anderson’s argument took the approach that even if the Renaissance was a purely imitative style (which he did not believe), it was not “the first time that men looked back to emulate and imitate.”⁶⁸ Citing examples from the Egyptian Ptolemaic period—as a “renaissance of the Theban age”—and Augustus’s revival of Greece, Anderson presented the adoption of previous architectural styles as part of the power of history. “Perhaps, it would even be discovered that all ages of healthy human prosperity are more or less revivals, and have been marked by a retrospective tendency.”⁶⁹ The Renaissance, Anderson argued, may have been imitative to a degree, as were many other styles, but that was not the style’s primary characteristic.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 76.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 77.

⁶⁶ An evolutionary view of history was not uncommon in the late nineteenth century, taken from Charles Darwin’s *Origin of the Species* (1859).

⁶⁷ Ruskin went so far as to suggest that Renaissance architecture could be made by machine because of the lack of originality in the use of the orders. Ruskin, *Stones of Venice*, in *Works*, XI, 119.

⁶⁸ Anderson, *The Architecture of the Renaissance in Italy*, 4.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

Anderson also conceded that the Renaissance, while not initially imitative, “degenerated into something like formal copyism.”⁷⁰ This later phase of copyism led to the degradation of the style, and Anderson fell in line with Ruskin and other anti-Renaissance authors at this point. Where he did depart from them was in his characterization of the early phase of the style as one that “bears no trace of this insincerity.”⁷¹

Part of the larger Victorian tendency towards what the historian Walter E. Houghton has called “hero-worship,” where a figure would be idealized and idolized, Anderson hinged the momentous changes of the Renaissance on single individuals.⁷² The early stage of the Renaissance was the result of the originality of “real works of genius”, mainly in the works of Brunelleschi.⁷³ “[I]t required a great personality like Brunelleschi, who, of the time and circumstances, yet rose superior to them, to lay the foundation of the revival of the arts.”⁷⁴ For painting and sculpture other key individuals were responsible for this artistic leap, namely Giotto, Orcagna, and Niccola da Pisa.⁷⁵ The individualism of the period was also reflected in other fields in figures such as Galileo, Copernicus, Columbus, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. Drawing a comparison between Brunelleschi and Christopher Columbus, Anderson framed the work of Brunelleschi as both of equal courage and “audacity” to that of Columbus. “Brunelleschi, too discovered a hidden world, and in the most brilliant way. His discovery was not fraught with the

⁷⁰ Ibid., 5.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Walter E. Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1957), 305-310. Houghton stated that “hero-worship” was part of the “cult of enthusiasm” in the Victorian period where enthusiasm as a characteristic was considered a virtue, a concept that dated back to the Romantic movement and the writing of heroic poetry and literature earlier in the century. Ruskin also promoted this approach in his work *Modern Painters*, 1856, in which he described the artists as men whose character was heroic, strong, and noble: “Great art is produced by men who feel acutely and nobly; and it is in some sort an expression of this personal feeling.” Houghton, 308 citing Ruskin, *Works*, vol. V, 32.

⁷³ Anderson, *The Architecture of the Renaissance in Italy*, 5.

⁷⁴ He restated this idea a few pages later when he associated the origin of the Renaissance with the period “when through the powerful individuality of Filippo Brunelleschi (1379-1446), the ancient Greek and Roman forms were successfully resuscitated in architecture.” Ibid., 6, 9.

⁷⁵ This division into different “renaissances” for each of the arts might have been drawn from Symonds.

material consequences of that of the mariner, nor the scientific results of the astronomer, but it has had an incalculable influence upon all forms of art production to this day.”⁷⁶

It was also because of specific individuals that the Renaissance declined. Anderson placed the responsibility for the degeneration of the style on the shoulders of Vignola, Palladio, Borromini, Michelangelo. Anderson considered Vignola and Palladio to be too strict in the following of classical rules, resulting in an architecture that was academic and “cold.” By contrast, it was the exaggerated freedom from the rules in the approaches of Borromini and Michelangelo that brought the style to its end, creating an architecture that disregarded not only tradition but also the visual logic of construction.⁷⁷ One reviewer noted that while other writers may have stated this idea, “we are not aware that it has been so defiantly propounded in a text-book before.”⁷⁸ He also criticized Anderson for not recognizing that each architect was representative of his own style: “It is not the style of the country or of the age that we recognise in a Renaissance palace or church, than the treatment and manner of the special architect whose work it was.”⁷⁹ It was this “air of the individual” which marked both the Renaissance and the Victorian periods, with buildings reflecting each architect’s own personal style.

Anderson wrote his history of Renaissance architecture for architects. The book gave a historical context and framework to the chronological progression of the style and recognized its geographic differences. One of the main benefits of the book would have been Anderson’s descriptions of the architecture in combination with the illustration of the buildings in drawings and photographs. Although his descriptions of the buildings were formal, they would still have been a rare and valuable resource for the young architect who had not traveled abroad. He reinforced the positive characteristics of the style in two ways: first by praising specific aspects of

⁷⁶ Anderson, *The Architecture of the Renaissance in Italy*, 7.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 145.

⁷⁸ “A Revised View of Italian Renaissance Architecture,” *The Builder*, vol. LXXII, no. 2836 (June 12, 1897): 526.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

the buildings of architects such as Brunelleschi or Peruzzi; and second, by critiquing buildings, particularly those built during the period of decline. With this approach, he was able to guide the young architect as to the proper study and lessons of the Renaissance.

It was through the work of the Culminating Period, specifically the buildings of the architect Baldassare Peruzzi that Anderson used as a guideline in defining the characteristics of the Renaissance style. The primary aspects of Peruzzi's designs were the unified character of the work and the "attention given to proportion and design in mass."⁸⁰ No single aspect—detail, mass, or proportion—was forgotten or neglected. Details were important but were "strictly subordinate to the *tout ensemble*."⁸¹ Appropriate design of the detail required great skill. "Renaissance decoration has a high ideal and demands for its successful accomplishment a full knowledge and perfect command of the principles of Nature's design, whether the vegetable or the animal world, as well as of the arts of Greece and Rome."⁸² The job of the detail was not to overwhelm, but to clarify the legibility of the architecture's tectonic expression. Contributing to the decline of the Renaissance was "the loss of conformity to constructive principle" and an "absence of truthful construction or logical articulation."⁸³ Decoration and architectural elements were no longer part of an overriding logical composition but arose "out of an unwholesome dread of unbroken wall surface."⁸⁴ In other words, the clarity and simplicity that the early Renaissance works exemplified was lost in the trumping of logic by ornament.

Like many late nineteenth-century writers, Anderson used the study and presentation of history—in this case of the Renaissance—as a critique of the present; specifically to provide instruction to the young architect. Writing history provided a way for Anderson to analyze and

⁸⁰ Anderson, *The Architecture of the Renaissance in Italy*, 98.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² *Ibid.*, 101.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 128-9. Anderson directly blamed Michelangelo as responsible for this loss.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 129.

promote alternatives for the present day.⁸⁵ By pushing the defining period earlier to the work of Peruzzi and others instead of Palladio and Vignola, he had in a small way redefined the style. Few of Anderson's arguments were actually original, however, as he borrowed from and reacted against various authors to construct his own image of Renaissance architecture. What was novel about his approach, however, was his architectural focus. Anderson was a practicing architect writing about the Renaissance for other architects, and in this respect his work was unique. He described buildings and design with an innate understanding of the complexities of both, and in the process presented a study of a style that only a few years earlier would have been disdained. As one reviewer recognized: "That the expression 'Italian Renaissance architecture' could stand for much which is fanciful, original, and picturesque, is an idea which would almost have startled the older generations who just preceded the Gothic revival."⁸⁶

⁸⁵ The historian A. Dwight Culler has termed this a "reflexive" use of history. He argued "that the great Victorian debate about science, religion, art and culture always had a historical dimension, always was concerned with the relation of the present to the past." History was used in two distinct ways as an analogy, drawing parallels between the two periods, or as a contrast, either better or worse than the current time. A. Dwight Culler, *The Victorian Mirror of History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), vii-iii.

⁸⁶ "A Revised View of Italian Renaissance Architecture," *The Builder*, vol. LXXII, no. 2836 (June 12, 1897): 525.

Chapter 8

History and the Mistress Art. Sir Reginald Blomfield's Writings on the Renaissance

Reginald Blomfield's 1897 book, *A History of Renaissance Architecture in England 1500-1800*, reaffirmed the study of the Renaissance through its interpretation in England.¹ The work was the first scholarly approach to the period and presented a consistent lineage of classical buildings in the English architectural tradition, and it established England's classical architecture as worthy of serious architectural and scholarly attention. Raising Inigo Jones and Sir Christopher Wren to the same level of genius as the Italian Renaissance masters Bramante and Peruzzi, Blomfield staked a claim for revived classical architecture as an integral part of British architectural heritage. As previous connections between architecture and a national ideal had already been made with medieval architecture, one goal of Blomfield's book was to infuse the increasing interest in the Italian Renaissance with a distinctly English flavor.

The practice of the "Mistress Art," as Blomfield called architecture, *was* the practice of history. Throughout his teaching at the Royal Academy, his practice, and his writings, Blomfield promoted the relevance of the past to the present: first, through the proper study and writing of architecture's history, and second, and more importantly, through the application of the lessons that could be drawn from history to the problems and needs of the present day. By identifying the revived classical tradition in England, Blomfield wove an argument for a classically based modern architecture that he called the "Grand Manner."

Charles Herbert Reilly, Director of the University of Liverpool School of Architecture, called Sir Reginald Blomfield the "doyen of the architectural profession" and noted that "[i]t was due to his influence, more than anyone else's, that the Orders, and all that they implied in big

¹ Reginald Blomfield, *A History of Renaissance Architecture in England 1500-1800*, 2 vols. (London: George Bell and Sons, 1897). Please note that his name is pronounced "Bloomfield."

scale and simple shapes, were once again thoroughly studied.”² Blomfield was extremely prolific in both his practice and his scholarship; he wrote seventeen books and numerous articles and was active in a variety of professional organizations. A key member of the 1892 Memorialists, Blomfield was among those who resigned from the Royal Institute of British Architects in protest of the move towards architectural registration, which he considered to be against the ideal of the architect as an artist.³ He rejoined the Institute in 1905 and quickly rose through the ranks, serving then chairing the Board of Architectural Education. He was acting President after Leonard Stokes became ill in 1911, and was elected President of the Institute in 1912.⁴ Blomfield went on to receive the Institute’s highest honor—the Gold Medal—in 1913. The following year, 1914, he was elected a full member of the Royal Academy of Art, for which he had served as Professor of Architecture 1906-11; he was knighted for his contributions to the architectural profession in 1919. His most prominent works are Piccadilly Circus, London, 1923-27; the Menin Gate, Ypres, 1922; and the War Cross that he designed after World War I as a member of the Imperial War Graves Commission.⁵

Blomfield has now been largely forgotten in architectural history, primarily because of his book *Modernismus*, 1934, a diatribe against continental modernism and the influences of Le Corbusier. He had actively fought against the ideological shift to the modern movement in the education and practice of architecture. As architectural history has tended to be written from the point of view of the Modern Movement, many Edwardian architects who promoted alternatives to continental modernism have been neglected in favor of those whose works and ideas more clearly

² C. H. Reilly, “Sir Reginald Blomfield,” chapter in *Representative British Architects of the Present Day*. Essay Index Reprint Series (London: 1931; reprint New York: Books for Libraries press, Inc., 1967), 54.

³ Sir Reginald Blomfield, *Memoirs of an Architect* (London: Macmillan and Co, Ltd., 1932). Blomfield’s theory of architecture at the time was heavily influenced by the group surrounding R. N. Shaw.

⁴ From this position he also took an active role in the establishment and construction of the British School at Rome. Blomfield tells in his memoirs how Lutyens was supposed to have offered him the design partnership for the New Delhi project that was instead given to Herbert Baker. Lutyens had most likely been correct in his fear that Blomfield would have been “too strong” for him. Blomfield, *Memoirs*, 148.

⁵ For a list of Blomfield’s architectural works see R. Fellows, *Sir Reginald Blomfield: An Edwardian Architect*. (London, A. Zwemmer Ltd., 1985), Appendix 2, 168-174.

fit a “modernist” approach or could be seen as being predecessors to later modernist ideas. Only one biography of Blomfield has been written, despite the proliferation of evidence available, namely his own memoirs as well as sketchbooks and professional letters. Scholars are just beginning to appreciate his full contribution to the turn of the century British architectural profession.

Reginald Blomfield (1856-1942) was the third son of an established but not wealthy British family. His father was a vicar, and his maternal grandfather was the Bishop of London; both of his parents were from the Blomfield lineage.⁶ As financial support for his education was minimal, Reginald Blomfield attended Exeter College, at Oxford University, on scholarship.⁷ His determination to receive the scholarship and his later studies marked him as an ambitious, driven, and competitive young man. While at Exeter, he studied the *Litterae Humaniores*—known as “Mods” and “Greats”—an intense study of classical literature, languages, and history.⁸ A rigorous and demanding syllabus, the “Greats” required translation and critique of major classical works in both Greek and Latin, and the “Moderations,” or “Mods,” tested Greek and Latin literature and history.⁹

It was at Oxford where Blomfield was exposed to the ideas of some of the most prominent historians and writers of the time, including John Ruskin. Blomfield criticized Ruskin for lecturing more on Ruskin than on art, and drew a caricature of him in 1877 with Ruskin

⁶ Blomfield was very interested in his genealogy and wrote a short history of the Blomfield family. Reginald Blomfield, *A Suffolk Family. Being and Account of the Family of Blomfield in Suffolk* (London: Privately Published at the Chiswick Press, 1916).

⁷ Blomfield. *Memoirs*, 22. The scholarship provided £110 per year for his four years there. See also A. Stuart Gray, “Sir Reginald Blomfield,” *Edwardian Architecture. A Biographical Dictionary* (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co., 1985): 113-116.

⁸ Blomfield, *Memoirs*, 29-30. He received a second in the Mods, which discouraged him greatly, and a first in the Greats.

⁹ For a good background on the study of the classics at Oxford in the Victorian period see Frank M. Turner, *The Greek Heritage in Victorian Britain* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981). For a more general view of Oxford life and study was like in the nineteenth century see W.R. Ward *Victorian Oxford* (London: Frank Cass & Co., Ltd., 1965).

blowing two horns, one labeled “Ruskin” and the other “Turner” (figure 8.1).¹⁰ Blomfield thought well of the other Oxford dons, and two professors made a particularly strong impression: Ingram Bywater (1840-1914), a professor of ancient Greek, and Henry Pelham (1846-1907) who taught classics at Exeter College (1870-89).¹¹ Bywater introduced him to the writings on the Italian Renaissance by Walter Pater, which he “read eagerly;” Blomfield noted in his autobiography that Pelham “gave me a living interest in history which I have never lost.”¹² His connection to Pelham remained important in his life, and they worked together in the 1910s as Pelham was instrumental in the founding of the British School at Rome, and Blomfield was President of R.I.B.A. during that time.¹³ Blomfield frequently peppered his writings with classical quotes and references (which would have been intelligible to the educated Victorian gentleman) as evidence of his classical education.

Upon graduating from Oxford, Blomfield briefly traveled on the continent as a tutor, after which he was forced to recognize that he had no idea what he wanted to do and no immediate prospects for a career. He was not an architect who had been “called” to the profession, but in the fall of 1881 “More by circumstance than anything else,” he entered the office of his uncle the architect Arthur W. Blomfield (1829-99) as a pupil.¹⁴ The elder Blomfield was primarily a Gothacist, and his younger nephew, who had hoped for an “atmosphere of high ideals,” found the office work boring and the atmosphere stifling.¹⁵ In 1882 he began to study at the Royal

¹⁰ Blomfield, *Memoirs*, 27. “The atmosphere of rapt adoration with which Ruksin and all that he said was received by the young ladies of Oxford was altogether too much for me, and I relieved my feelings by making a pen-and-ink drawing of Ruskin blowing two trumpets, his own above, Turner below. This I sold to Mr. Shrimpton, the publisher of Oxford Caricatures, and with the proceeds bought a much-coveted engraving.”

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 28-29. Bywater was friends with Walter Pater, William Morris, and Swinburne, as well as a member of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings. Pelham was equally well connected.

¹² *Ibid.*, 29-30.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 149+.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 33-35.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 34, 37. “My uncle was very good to me, and so far as his time allowed took unusual trouble to instruct me, but the fact was that in those days one had to acquire most of one’s knowledge on one’s own, and it was here that I found my training at Oxford invaluable.”

Academy of Art junior school in architecture, which was at the time under the direction of R. Phené Spiers, who had trained at the Ecole des Beaux Arts.¹⁶ The visiting critics in those years were primarily Gothicists, and included Alfred Waterhouse, G. F. Bodley, and G. E. Street, men whose presence minimized Spiers's classicizing influence.¹⁷ Blomfield quickly progressed to the senior school and won prizes at both levels.

After a brief trip to France and Spain in 1883, Blomfield opened his own architectural office at 17 Southampton Street, London, upstairs from that of Edward Prior.¹⁸ It was through Prior that Blomfield became a part of the Richard Norman Shaw "family" of young architects and also joined the Art Workers Guild.¹⁹ Blomfield felt a great affinity with these other young men and the ideals of the Guild. "The idea of the Art Workers' Guild was to bring all the arts together, to place artists and craftsmen of all sorts in touch with one another, without any foolish attempt to discriminate between fine art and any other art. It was an honest and sincere attempt to find a common standpoint from which all the graphic and plastic arts and crafts should be

¹⁶ Ibid., 43. "Every seat in the architectural room was occupied, and a very keen interest was taken in the work. In those days the Architectural Association and other important schools were in their infancy, and by far the best training in design, and the best criticism on it by well-known architects, were to be obtained in the architectural school of the Royal Academy."

¹⁷ Ibid., 38. While a student at the Royal Academy, Blomfield won two prizes. The first, while he was in the Lower School, in 1882, was for a "Set of Drawings of an Architectural Design," for which he received £10. He won the next prize the following year in the Upper School for "A London House," £25. Royal Academy of Art. Annual Report from the Council of the Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians for the year 1882 (London: William Clowes & Sones, 1883), 33; Same for the year 1883 (published 1885), 35.

¹⁸ Ibid., 44-45. The trip was primarily to look at Early French Renaissance architecture. Blomfield later complained that he was mistaken in his approach to studying and sketching the architecture on this trip as he focused almost solely on ornamental details and neglected the plans and construction of the buildings. "The fact was that, owing to the disastrous misconception of architecture spread abroad by Ruskin and zealously advocated by Gilbert Scott, Street and the Gothic revivalists, students in my time were taught to waste their time on details of sculpture, the mason's craft in short, instead of using their brains on the critical and analytical study of buildings." This was not Blomfield's first trip abroad. After his graduation from Oxford, Pelham had arranged for him to be a traveling tutor for a young man. During this trip, Blomfield visited France, Germany and Italy. See *Memoirs*, 33-34.

¹⁹ The "family" consisted of Shaw's pupils and assistants—Edward Prior, Mervyn Macartney, Ernest Newton, Gerald Horsley, and his chief draughtsman William Lethaby. Blomfield was a "hanger-on" in this group, even though he later considered Shaw more of an influence and mentor than his uncle. Sir Reginald Blomfield. *Richard Norman Shaw, R.A. Architect, 1831-1912* (London: B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1940), 87.

approached.”²⁰ He joined the Guild in 1885, becoming honorary secretary in 1892 before leaving the organization in a tiff over meeting attendance. Despite never attending another meeting, Blomfield maintained his connections to many of the members, often inviting them over for dinner prior to the meetings. He also insisted “... it is due to the young men of the 80s and their leaders that the arts were rescued from the paralysing conventions of the Victorian era, and that architecture finally escaped from the slow death of revivalism.”²¹

In the early days of his office Blomfield often lacked steady work. He used this time to travel around the countryside studying and drawing buildings, gardens, and details (figure 8.2). From these ramblings, Blomfield gathered information on English architecture, decorative ironwork, and gardens, and he soon began to write articles for publication in architectural journals which formed the foundation for his first book, *The Formal Garden in England*, 1892.²² The book created quite a stir as it recommended that architects—as opposed to landscape gardeners—should design the gardens because it should relate to the design of the house. This idea went directly against conventional practice of a separate landscape garden and architect, and received a backlash of criticism in later publications (mostly by landscape gardeners).²³ The book also included many key ideas that he expanded in his later publications and designs, namely the development of a characteristic Englishness that could be seen in early architecture and garden designs. This early publication brought Blomfield clients for his practice, and he began designing gardens, as well as additions and renovations to country houses.

²⁰ Blomfield, *Memoirs*, 55.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 56.

²² These early articles were on a wide range of topics including foundries, half-timbered houses, ironwork, Palladio, early English architects, and English gardens. For a list of early articles see Fellows, 175-6. Reginald Blomfield, *The Formal Garden in England* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1892).

²³ For a study of Blomfield’s 1892 publication in the context of landscape garden history see Anne Helmreich, *The English Garden and National Identity. The Competing Styles of Garden Design 1870-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). See also Judith B. Tankard, *Gardens of the Arts and Crafts Movement* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc. 2004). Blomfield would later apply this concept of the architect having control over the building’s surroundings and setting to the urban scale.

Blomfield's Approach to History

Blomfield's next book, *The History of Renaissance Architecture in England*, 1897, established him as a serious scholar of the history of architecture.²⁴ Typical of many late nineteenth-century historians, Blomfield often wove his own theories regarding the contemporary situation into his histories. Much of Blomfield's attitude toward the relationship between history and his own time can be traced back to his study of the classics at Oxford. While the selection of specific classical texts changed over the course of the nineteenth century, at the core of the study of Greats was an approach to the study of the past not simply for its own sake, but as it related to the present.²⁵ To paraphrase the historian Frank Turner: the Victorians wrote about the past to write about themselves.²⁶ It was this synthesis of past and present in conjunction with the ability to discern—and, more importantly, create—relationships and continuities between the two periods that Blomfield carried into his study of architecture. In his writings on the history of architecture, he consistently interjected comments regarding the contemporary architectural scene, and he attempted to promote an understanding of architecture's history as a necessary component of architectural design.

Blomfield's scholarly training at Oxford prepared him to research, analyze, and write history in a way that most contemporary writers on architectural history, could not because their training to work in an office. Blomfield read and referenced not only other histories on the selected topic, but, whenever possible, he actively sought out archival sources, looking at drawings, letters, and public or state records in addition to using the building itself as a form of documentation. Critically analyzing his sources, he often found contradictions and inaccuracies.

²⁴ This work was condensed and re-issued in 1900. In this work he avoided the details of the history that marked the earlier publication noting "Extensive knowledge of detail is, in my opinion, of less importance to the student than a clear grasp of the historical development of this movement." Reginald Blomfield, *A Short History of Renaissance Architecture in England, 1500-1800* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1900), v.

²⁵ Livingstone, 251-77.

²⁶ Turner, 8. "Writing about Greece was in part a way for the Victorians to write about themselves."

Blomfield approached all secondary texts with a grain of salt, comparing them to the primary evidence and critiquing them with often harsh or sarcastic remarks, or occasional praise for some small insight. As part of this thorough approach, his histories included rich footnotes, giving the locations of original drawings, papers, or refuting another historian's argument.

In his introduction to his series of collected essays, *Studies in Architecture*, 1905, Blomfield protested that most architectural histories were flawed in two ways.²⁷ First, they were often just lists of dates or technical information, which was of no use to the layman; or they were a “vehicle for moral disquisition,” which Blomfield held was neither good nor useful for the artist. To Blomfield the application of historical method to the history of architecture could bring nothing but good to the discipline. If done properly it could overshadow the emotional approaches of Ruskin and Pugin and ground the study of architecture on the evidence, specifically the methodical analysis of buildings and documents. This approach would alleviate what he felt was the problem of contemporary writers looking only at other secondary materials and not at the buildings themselves, which Blomfield felt led to a desire to theorize instead of analyze the evidence at hand.

Like Anderson and other late Victorian architects, architecture for Blomfield was a living thing subject to the states of birth, maturity, and death like other biological systems. He also saw, however, a stronger continuity that was beyond stylistic progression, which is evident in his statement “ideas in art do not die.”²⁸ He insisted that after the Renaissance style itself had died out in England in the late eighteenth century, its influence and traditions continued.

The study of history could also provide lessons that were relevant for the contemporary practice of architecture. In part because of turn-of-the-century architecture's anxiety over the lack of a specific direction and the confusion of revivals of past styles, Blomfield felt that he needed to justify the study of architecture's history so it was not merely a promotion of the next

²⁷ Reginald Blomfield, *Studies in Architecture* (London: Macmillan and Co, Ltd., 1905), v.

²⁸ Blomfield, *History of the Renaissance in England*, 393.

revival. In his 1903 article on Palladio, for example, republished *Studies in Architecture*, he argued that “[i]n the present state of uncertainty the study of history is extremely important, and it is essential that careful critical study should be applied to the architecture of the past, and that the facts should be presented in true historical perspective and proportion.”²⁹ Blomfield explained that he had written the article because too many students of architecture—and other architectural writers—took Palladio’s reputation at face value without analyzing his work critically. Palladio had become an almost mythic figure, and Blomfield thought that the application of historical criticism should be used to bring better understanding to the architect and his influence. Specifically, Blomfield wanted the young architectural student to understand Palladio’s place in history, how he got there, what came before him, what his sources of inspiration were, his methods of thought and design, and the intellectual atmosphere.³⁰ While this approach seems standard now, it was radical at the time, and Blomfield can in some sense be credited with the development of a more rigorous approach to architectural history in England.

When Blomfield approached a building for analysis, he looked first at the overall conception of the design, then at the plan and construction, and at the details only last. He thought that too many writers on architecture focused only on the details and neglected the plan, and went so far as to say that only architects could truly understand architecture’s real complexity.³¹ This was in part a reaction against the method of many architects who focused solely on the design and composition of ornamental details as the defining aspect of architecture, neglecting their relationship to construction, structure, function, and composition. Blomfield when he was younger had fallen into this trap when he traveled to France as a young man and had sketched only architectural ornament: “The fact was that, owing to the disastrous misconception of architecture spread abroad by Ruskin and zealously advocated by Gilbert Scott, Street and the

²⁹ Blomfield, *Studies*, 71.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 46-7.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 14-15. “... for architecture is a difficult subject, and this aspect of it [attention to plan and construction] can only be handled by architects.”

Gothic revivalists, students in my time were taught to waste their time on details of sculpture, the mason's craft in short, instead of using their brains on the critical and analytical study of buildings. ... I find nearly all my drawings made on that tour (about one hundred) are drawings of the details of architectural ornament ..."³²

The idea of the singular conception of the building was intricately tied to the idea of the individual artistic genius. One of Blomfield's goals in the historical criticism of architecture was to "find in architecture the personal equation of the architect."³³ This "personal equation" was the individuality of the architect, his singular influence or genius. The concept of the individual architect was a fundamental theme that ran through Blomfield's writings and was integrally linked to the rise of the idealization of the Renaissance architect, replacing the equally romantic ideal of the medieval communal approach to construction. Once a decision had to be made in the selection of a style, a single individual had to take control. Blomfield traced this idea through his history of English Renaissance architecture, noting that "In architecture the work of the Renaissance was to substitute the individual artist for groups of artists; whether this was desirable or not is hardly worth considering, it was the inevitable result of a change in the conditions of social life, and it was the essential service which Inigo Jones rendered the art of this community."³⁴ Blomfield maintained this theme throughout his work, and in his 1924 essay "Off the Track" he stated that, "[t]he change came with the Renaissance. Up to that date artists had been humble persons working among their fellows and with their fellows, on the same plane, and without any claim to exceptional merit. With the Renaissance they emerge as individuals. ... the Arts become conscious of themselves, and henceforward the initiative of the individual was to take the place of the pre-destined course of immemorial tradition ..."³⁵ This was the birth of the

³² Blomfield, *Memoirs*, 45-7.

³³ Blomfield, *Studies*, v.

³⁴ Blomfield. *History of the Renaissance in England*, 396.

³⁵ Sir Reginald Blomfield, "Off the track: Some Thoughts on Art," Presidential address 1924 to the Birmingham Midland Institute. pamphlet. (Birmingham: Council of the Birmingham and Midland Institute, 1924): 15.

modern architect, because “under modern conditions as opposed to mediaeval, architecture must be an individual affair.”³⁶ In reference to the work of Christopher Wren, Blomfield was adamant on the importance of the individual, recognizing that “The inevitable result of the Renaissance has been that the individual ideal has taken the place of the collectivist. Whereas generations of mediaeval craftsmen could go on building a great cathedral without material check or abrupt transition, since the days of the Renaissance a great work had to be the conception of a single mind, clearly foreseen from the first, and dependent for its full realization on the permanence of its initial impulse.”³⁷

Blomfield criticized some architects for lacking a high degree of individuality—which he associated with imagination and creativity. Of Hawksmoor’s work however, Blomfield was dubious, but he still praised the idiosyncratic designer for his originality.³⁸ To lack individuality was harsh criticism, and he thought J. Talman’s “his work is dull, what individuality there is in it is ungracious, unattractive, and limited; there is little trace in it of fine imagination, or even of that wild ambition which gives a morbid interest to the works of Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor.”³⁹ The idea of the individual was tightly knitted into Blomfield’s conception of architectural style and progression. It was, he noted later in his *Memoirs*, “in the very blood of our race.”⁴⁰ A single architect had the power to push architecture forward, or to send it into decline.

Inigo Jones was for Blomfield the “strong individual intelligence” that had rescued English architecture from the “chaos of eclecticism” brought on by the use of the pattern book.⁴¹ Jones was, therefore, the “founder of modern architecture in England.”⁴² Blomfield extended his concept of the individual to the scale of the nation and race. To understand the work of Wren or

³⁶ Blomfield. *History of the Renaissance in England*, 396.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 176.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 208.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 196-97

⁴⁰ Blomfield. *Memoirs*, 165.

⁴¹ Blomfield, *History of the Renaissance in England*, 396.

⁴² *Ibid.*

Jones it was necessary to first understand the man himself, “and if this is so with individuals, still more must it be the case in the art of a great people.”⁴³ Unlike Anderson who tried to connect the Italian Renaissance to Britain by defining a single race of Romano-Germanic people, Blomfield maintained the different races and defined a distinctly English Renaissance, based on the infusion of English traditions by Italian ideas. While he understood English architecture—and all European architecture—as being rooted in the “heritage of the Romans,” Blomfield thought that it was the combination of the later influences of the Saxon and Norman races created a singularly English approach, its own “peculiar bias.”⁴⁴ It was ultimately through the English people—what he called the “permanent human equation”—that tradition developed.⁴⁵ Each race had its own “habit of mind” which no foreigner or outsider could fully understand, and which he argued was intensified by distance in time. He pushed this methodology in his definition of race into the creation of tradition, noting, “one may define [tradition] as an inherited psychological standpoint in regard to art.”⁴⁶ Blomfield ultimately boiled down this psychological, national, and racial influence on architecture to a single force.

Anyone who studies the history of architecture must feel that behind all the classifications and artistic genealogies which are prepared for us there lurks an *elemental force* which defies exact analysis and classification. It is fluid, constantly changing form, yet always there, ... It is no affair of details. ... These are no more than the words and the syntax of architecture; architecture itself is something very much greater, something beyond and outside all this. There is at the back of these words and of this syntax an intelligence which informs and vitalizes them; an idiosyncrasy which colours them with its own individuality; some deep-set quality which differentiates the architecture of one country from

⁴³ Ibid., 398.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 399.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 398-9.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 399.

that of another; and without which, indeed, architecture would be a mere plaything and fashion, unworthy of study, something apart from the serious stream of human development.⁴⁷

It was this force—both national and individual—that made architecture a reflection of its own culture and time as well as imbuing it a larger meaning. The study of architecture’s history was meant to reveal this tradition.

Blomfield was not able, however, to articulate specific characteristics of the English tradition in the contemporary architectural situation. “It is perhaps impossible to define more exactly the exact nature of this tradition. It is not, indeed, any one quality, but rather a group of qualities tending in one direction making always for sanity and reticence in art, ...”⁴⁸ Blomfield repeatedly uses terms such as “admirably sane” and “sanity and reticence” to describe the English tradition. In seeming contradiction to his previous argument, however, he thought that the English tradition had been “dormant in England these last hundred years.”⁴⁹ The study of historical styles, therefore, had something to contribute in the understanding of architecture, because “though the language of architecture is manifold, every time has its own individual art, its own methods of expressing its necessities and ideals.”⁵⁰ Architectural styles could not be compared along the same criteria (as Fletcher had done), and the comparison between Greek and Roman architecture was meaningless to Blomfield “because in their highest developments the two are different in intention, aim at different ideals and express quite diverse kinds of intelligence.”⁵¹ Each was a reaction to and product of its own time and place, its own social and political circumstances.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 398. Emphasis added.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 403.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 400.

⁵⁰ Reginald Blomfield, *The Mistress Art* (London: Edward Arnold, 1908), 261.

⁵¹ Ibid., 260-61.

The English Renaissance

In 1892 Walter Armstrong of Bell Publishers asked Blomfield to write a history of English architecture. Blomfield thought that the topic was too big but agreed to address the period from Henry VIII to the end of the eighteenth century, which he defined as the English Renaissance.⁵² Little had been published at the time on the topic and Blomfield had already written several articles on it, which he quickly adapted for the book. The book was well received in both architectural and popular publications. It went through several editions including an abridged version, first published in 1900.⁵³

Key to the book's popularity was Blomfield's ability to depict the Renaissance in England as a period in which architecture exhibited specifically English characteristics—while still being part of a larger European tradition. Blomfield drew upon contemporary nationalist sympathies and laid a course for a modern British architecture grounded in the principles of the English Renaissance. Prior attempts to associate nationalism with an architectural style in England had focused primarily on English medieval architecture—both the early Anglo-Saxon and the later Gothic. Historians David Watkin and Ann Helmreich have pointed out how Blomfield aligned his interest in architecture with contemporary nationalist tendencies, by looking to the English Renaissance as a period for inspiration and development; and Peter Mandler has noted the relationship between the idea of English national characteristics as being essentially modern and progressive, in opposition to “Englishness” which was anti-modern and anti-urban.

Blomfield established a broad definition of the Renaissance, understanding it as a style that had occurred across Europe with geographic and cultural modifications. In each country the style was marked by an increased interest in both scholarship and the classical architecture of the past. The Renaissance, in all its derivations, was grounded in the study of antiquity and the rise

⁵² Blomfield. *Memoirs*, 79.

⁵³ Reginald Blomfield, *A Short History of Renaissance Architecture in England* (London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1900; reprinted 1904, 1907, 1910, 1924, 1932).

of the architect as an individual. It was a “whirlwind of energy which had swept through every nook and cranny of the arts.”⁵⁴ Beginning his discussion of the English Renaissance with an acknowledgement of the problem of defining the origin of the period in Italy, Blomfield stated:

A word of explanation may be necessary in regard to the title ‘Renaissance Architecture.’ By the Renaissance is generally understood the Humanist Revival of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the term has not been extended to its subsequent phases. Yet no other term exactly covers the ground in regard to architecture. ... By Renaissance architecture is to be understood the art that derived its first impulse from the revived interest in scholarship at the end of the fifteenth century,—particularly in the remains of Roman architecture in Italy,—and which ran its course through successive and clearly traceable stages until the original inspiration was superseded by other motives.⁵⁵

Palladio marked the end of the Renaissance in Italy, and it was the reaction against the “dogmatism” of Palladio’s work that triggered the Baroque and academicism.⁵⁶

Prior to Blomfield’s 1897 book on the English Renaissance and the articles that prefaced it, there had been little published on the period as a whole.⁵⁷ A. Mackmurdo’s 1883 publication, *Wren’s City Churches*, (more famous for the design of its title page than the text) argued for the preservation of Wren’s churches, which were under threat of demolition, and presented Wren’s architecture as “the product of the first complete and fully sympathetic union of the Northern mind and the Southern art.”⁵⁸ By “Northern,” Mackmurdo meant “Gothic,” therefore it was

⁵⁴ Blomfield, “Andrea Palladio,” *Studies in Architecture*, 51.

⁵⁵ Blomfield, *History of the Renaissance in England*, vi.

⁵⁶ Blomfield, “Andrea Palladio,” 52.

⁵⁷ Blomfield included a list of “authorities consulted” at the beginning of his book. The list included mainly treatises by architects of the period (including Wren’s *Parentalia*, 1750; and Palladio’s *Four Books*). some general works (such as Gwilt’s *Encyclopaedia* and Fergusson’s *History of the Modern Styles*), and several biographies of Inigo Jones and other prominent architects. Blomfield. *History of the Renaissance in England*, xv-xix.

⁵⁸ A. H. Mackmurdo, *Wren’s City Churches* (Sunnyside, Orpington, Kent: G. Allen, 1883),10-11.

Wren's ability to fuse the Gothic and classical that made him great. He argued that while people preferred Gothic forms, they misunderstood that everything else they liked was Renaissance, specifically, Church literature, Renaissance paintings of religious figures, and Renaissance church music.⁵⁹ He does not advocate copying it, but preserving the buildings that do exist and use inspiration "any groundwork of form that may be gathered from the varied treasures of art we have inherited."⁶⁰

The Architecture of the Renaissance in England, 1560-1635 (1894) by J. Alfred Gotch (1842-1942) was a two-volume folio of photographs and drawings addressed primarily early English Renaissance country houses built during the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I.⁶¹ Gotch did not include the works of Inigo Jones and Wren, because he classified them under a later phase of the style. In addition to limiting himself to this early phase, he also defined the style as primarily domestic. Gotch's work was not an analytical history of the period however, and was instead a photographic variation on the folio collection of drawings.⁶² Sold by subscription, the subscribers included Reginald Blomfield and his uncle Arthur Blomfield, John Kinross, and many other prominent architects of the day.⁶³

Gotch did present a brief introduction on the development of the English Renaissance style before giving a chronological list of the buildings, which were arranged topographically in the book. Contextualizing each house briefly, he also noted the location of important papers or publications relating to the house or the family. The photographs generally were of the exterior of the house, with an occasional interior shot that highlighted a staircase, chimney-piece, or moulding profile.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 58

⁶⁰ Ibid., 60.

⁶¹ J. Alfred Gotch, *Architecture of the Renaissance in England, 1560-1635* (London: Batsford, 1894).

⁶² Ibid. The Preface states that Mr. Charles Latham, of Balham, was the photographer for the work and they were printed by Sinsel & Co., Photoprinters, Leipzig. Gotch, Preface, no page number.

⁶³ Ibid.

Unlike Blomfield's later work, Gotch gave a good deal credit to the foreign craftsmen for the inception of the English Renaissance style. Although he noted that the use of the term "architect" in the Elizabethan period was not the same as how it was used in the nineteenth-century, he consistently attempted to identify the "architect" for each house, often giving credit for an overall conception, if not the design of every detail.⁶⁴ A general series of characteristics distinguished the style: the use of symmetry, a "strong classic flavour", and a "mixture of grandeur and simplicity."⁶⁵ Of these characteristics, it was the "classic flavour" that Gotch felt was the key in identifying the work as English Renaissance. "Hitherto England had had an architecture entirely her own, which had developed and decayed without much assistance from outside. Henceforth, like the rest of the world, she was to take inspiration from Italy, whose influence on all matters pertaining to Art and Literature had been making itself felt further and further from its source, till at length it reached the shores of England."⁶⁶ The classical influence had already been mediated by its interpretation by other European countries before "England modified it again."⁶⁷ For Gotch these buildings were distinctly English, because "It was useless to overlay English ribs with Italian flesh, it was in vain that the burly form of the northerner was decked in the delicate garments of the south. ... After all, the essence of a building is its plan, and the plans of the period are all English."⁶⁸ The classical influence was therefore mainly decorative, leaving the plan as part of the continuity of the English tradition.

Blomfield's work tapped into an increased interest in the period and marked him as a leader in its revival.⁶⁹ He organized his history of English Renaissance architecture both chronologically and by individual architects, clustering them into small groups defined by similarities in their ideas, often tracing influences of or divergences from the architecture of Jones

⁶⁴ Ibid., xi-xii.

⁶⁵ Ibid., xii.

⁶⁶ Ibid., xi.

⁶⁷ Ibid., xxii.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Service, *Edwardian Architecture*, 145.

and Wren. Two chapters focused exclusively on the development of the house plan, emphasizing the importance of the country house in the development of the style and reinforcing the continuity of the English building tradition. He also included a chapter to the publication of architectural treatises during the period and two chapters addressing the changes that occurred in the building trades.

Blomfield used photographs, reproductions of archival drawings, and his own drawings to illustrate his descriptions of the buildings (figure 8.3-8.4). He was careful to include plans whenever possible, reinforcing his belief that the key to understanding architecture was to understand its plan and construction, not merely its ornament. His descriptions of the buildings were formal, often giving dimensions of the rooms in the text to highlight proportional relationships or changes in scale or height.

Distinct from its origin in Italy, the Renaissance in England was a style that developed exceedingly slowly over a long period and was marked primarily by the work of two individuals: Inigo Jones and Sir Christopher Wren. Blomfield wrote: "For the purposes of this history the Renaissance in England will be taken to mean that fresh departure in architecture which began with the tentative efforts of imported workmen in the reign of Henry VIII., which reached its highest development in the hands of Inigo Jones and Wren, and eventually ran itself out in the uncertainties induced by the literary eclecticism of the end of the eighteenth century."⁷⁰ Blomfield was careful to point out that part of the slow adoption of new ideas in England was the continuity of medieval working methods and building techniques, which only slowly displaced by those of the Renaissance.⁷¹ Beginning his history of the style with a review the early Italian influences during the reign of Henry VIII (1509-47), primarily from the importation to the court of Italian workmen, he argued that the long-term influence of the foreign craftsmen was slight as they did not work as architects and the building practices of the medieval period had remained

⁷⁰ Blomfield, *History of the Renaissance in England*, 1.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 394. Blomfield credited Dr. Creighton for noting, "in regard to scholarship, English people were extremely slow to adopt the new ideas."

unchanged.⁷² The last of the Italian craftsmen left when Queen Elizabeth rose to the throne in 1558, creating an atmosphere that was inhospitable to Catholics but simultaneously provided refuge for the next wave of workmen, Protestants from Flanders and Germany. Like the Italian craftsmen, northern artists did not leave a long term impression on English building tradition: “the first efforts of the Renaissance in England were abortive, they merely glanced off the strong habit of tradition without affecting the organic structure ...”⁷³ Blomfield still cited and described specific works of these foreign craftsmen, but he maintained that the dominant thread in architecture was the existing building tradition of England. This combination of traditional methods of construction and new decorative influences yielded a hybrid condition that was neither truly one nor the other.

Despite the early influences of foreign workmen, the English Renaissance proper began for Blomfield with the return of Inigo Jones from Italy and his early practice as an architect.⁷⁴ Jones’s impact on architecture was not merely the introduction of a new architectural style based on classicism, but an entirely new way to approach architectural design. Design was now to be grounded in scholarship, not tradition. The development of the role of the architect as the sole designer was also a key to this change.

He [Inigo Jones] returned to England filled with the very spirit of the great Italian artists of the Renaissance, and lifted the art of this country on to an altogether different plane. The homely fancy, the lovable humility, as one might say, of its traditional art were laid aside; the art of this country was to be no longer an affair of happy instinct, but completely conscious, dependent on scholarship almost as

⁷² Ibid., 19. “That the Italians were present in England in considerable numbers in the early part of the sixteenth century is evident, but in spite of Henry’s lavish employment of Italian artists, we cannot point to a single instance of a building of the sixteenth century designed and carried through by any one Italian in England. The evidence on every hand points to the conclusion that they were employed as workmen, and in no sense as architects.”

⁷³ Ibid., 2.

⁷⁴ The chapter on Jones and that on Wren both could be read independently from the rest of the book. The chapter on Jones is a full biography of him, including his early years, his designs for stage sets, in addition to his architectural works.

much as on capacity in design. Henceforward abstract thought, and imagination under rigid restraint, were to supersede the poetry of mediaeval fancy.⁷⁵

Jones was setting a course for English architecture for which “There was, in fact, no precedent whatever in England ...”⁷⁶ The Banqueting House at Whitehall was the building that Blomfield felt best exemplified this turning point in design (figure 8.5).

Blomfield repeatedly attempted to establish the English Renaissance on equal footing to that of Italy. One way that he tried to do this was by paralleling Jones and his works to those of the Italian Renaissance; they were, he thought, “not inferior to the finest work of Palladio and the great Italian masters.”⁷⁷ Blomfield praised Jones’s use of proportions, his ability to embody his work with a “large architectural idea,” and his scholarship. Most of all, Blomfield saw in Jones a genius who was able to adapt the spirit of the Italian Renaissance to the traditions of England. It was the complete synthesis of these two sources that allowed the style to become part of the English building tradition for the following century and a half.⁷⁸

Blomfield downplayed the impact of the Civil Wars on the continuity of architectural design in England. “The stream of development was never in fact arrested.”⁷⁹ The best evidence of this continuity was that as the design skills of Sir Christopher Wren progressed, they became more like those of Inigo Jones.⁸⁰ When Wren’s work was divergent from that of Jones, Blomfield reasoned that it was because Wren lacked formal architectural training. He did not like Wren’s early work including the Sheldonian Theater at Oxford and did not present him as a heroic figure of the same scale as Jones. Blomfield does, however, praise Wren’s plan for London after the Great Fire and also his tower designs for the churches of the city, and he thought that Wren’s final design for the rebuilding of St. Paul’s, London, was “superb,” mainly due to Wren’s

⁷⁵ Blomfield, *History of the Renaissance in England*, 103.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 109.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 121-2.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 149.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

conscientious supervision of the building as it was under construction. Unlike architects who relied too heavily on their drawings and did not pay attention to the actual building, Blomfield thought that Wren understood the construction process well enough to make changes in the design.⁸¹

One of the main characteristics that Blomfield for which credited Wren was the “masculine character” of his designs.⁸² This masculine quality was in part what led to the revival of architecture as an art. Synonymous with strength and virility, this sexualization of Wren’s designs was one of the aspects of the English Renaissance that Blomfield hoped to revive in contemporary architecture. It was ultimately Wren’s ability to conceive of the design as a whole that marked him as a Renaissance architect for Blomfield. “The special strength of Wren’s genius lay in this largeness of idea, in this power of conceiving a great architectural scheme as a whole, of grasping it in complete perspective, and keeping his purpose proof against all the temptations of unnecessary detail. Wren was a true child of the Renaissance in this, fairly claiming kinship with Bramante and Michael Angelo, ... and with his great forerunner Inigo Jones. ... The details of his work, his range of idea, and comprehensiveness of view, he stands unrivalled.”⁸³ But, in Blomfield’s mind, Wren was more of an engineer than an artist. “Wren was throughout his career thoroughly conscious of what he was doing, and though an architect of extraordinary capacity, he possessed little of the *abandon* of the purely artistic genius.”⁸⁴

The decline of the English Renaissance during the eighteenth century was due primarily to architects becoming enamored with the academic rules of Palladio. Architecture became “polite,” a “fashion,” and an activity for dilettantes and eclecticism in the work of the Adam brothers.⁸⁵ The presentation of the later architects and their works refuted any claim to them as a

⁸¹ Ibid., 169-70.

⁸² Ibid., 186.

⁸³ Ibid.176.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 156.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 221.

viable English precedent. He was categorically critical of their works, their abilities, and their approach to architecture. Of Sir William Chambers, Blomfield conceded that while he had maintained classical traditions, he had approached architectural design from the detail to the whole, i.e. not beginning with an initial overriding conception.⁸⁶ The Adam brothers work was equally problematic as “[w]ith this latter school, the eclectics as one may call them, quite modern architecture with all its disastrous experiment begins. ... evidence of the slow decay that was surely overtaking the once magnificent school of English architecture.”⁸⁷ For Blomfield, this decline of English Renaissance architecture led directly to many of the problems of architecture in the nineteenth century. The building arts of masonry, carpentry, and ironwork degenerated into experimentation instead of tradition, leading to a “cul-de-sac” in the arts.⁸⁸

The Grand Manner

Closely related to how Blomfield understood and wrote about architecture’s history, and how he championed the architecture of the Renaissance in Italy, England, and France, were his ideas regarding contemporary architecture. He created a new style—the Grand Manner— that was to reflect the best principles of the architecture of the past. The essential characteristics of the style bear a strong resemblance to those that he praised in his early history of the English Renaissance. Inherently linked to the “spirit” of architectural masterpieces, the Grand Manner was a theoretical framework or approach to architectural design using history not as the basis for a copying of styles, but for the study of greater principles. Although typically associated with classicism, Blomfield saw the Grand Manner as a style-less approach to architecture. But his arguments were often contradictory, and he promoted a specifically classical style in other writings. Excluding his description of ancient Egyptian architecture as characterizing the Grand Manner, the other styles that he gave as examples were all classical: ancient Greek, Imperial

⁸⁶ Ibid., 267-8.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 252.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 392.

Roman, Italian Renaissance, and French Renaissance. He presented this new style most fully in the 1908 publication, *The Mistress Art*, a collected series of lectures.

Three major principles defined the manner. First among these principles was that the building should have a larger conception or idea, “a certain distinction of mind which rises clear of the details to some predominant idea.”⁸⁹ When considered in the light of the mid nineteenth-century study of architecture through the detail, this shift in focus is particularly radical. It required a change of mindset away from an archaeological and eclectic approach to detail as the foundation of architectural style and design to an architecture based on abstract principles that were discernable in the study of architecture. Blomfield linked the singular conception of a building to the inherent in the changes during the Renaissance. Once decisions had to be made regarding stylistic choice, the single architect dictated the direction of the design with a single idea. This overriding idea was closely linked in Blomfield’s mind to the unity of art.⁹⁰ “The central idea is predominant everywhere, it is never sacrificed to detail, but serenely maintains its sway, undisputed and irresistible.”⁹¹ The development of this characteristic produced a “certain abstract and impersonal simplicity of treatment” that allowed the reading of the main conception of the building.

The second principle of the Grand Manner was size (or scale). “Great size, or I should say the power of producing the effect of great size in orderly distribution, is one of the essential qualities of architecture. Short of that power I do not think any architecture can be called beautiful—at least it falls below the highest excellence of the art.”⁹² Blomfield recognized the

⁸⁹ Blomfield, *The Mistress Art*, 250.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 188.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 167.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 166. Even though he called it “mass”, size was also one of the main architectural principles for James Fergusson. See James Fergusson, *The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture. Being a Concise and Popular Account of The Different Styles of Architecture Prevailing in All Ages and Countries*. in two vols. (London: John Murray, 1855): xxxi.

difficulties of designing architecture to great size noting that the opportunities for failure were equally exaggerated.⁹³

One reason that Blomfield was concerned with the size and scale of architecture was that he understood its importance to architecture's role at the urban scale. He recommended the study of Imperial Roman architecture as a model for an appropriately urban character for contemporary architecture.⁹⁴ He praised the Roman sense of urban spectacle and the relationships of the great buildings to each other. In the 1896 lecture, published the following year as "Of Public Spaces, Parks and Gardens," he insisted on the importance of architecture's role in the city: "It is in this sense that architecture is architectonic,—the wise mistress who brings order and sanity into chaos, and combines the music of the other arts into one perfect symphony."⁹⁵ Architecture, for Blomfield, defined the city, and the architect should be the primary figure in the planning of the city, just as he had in the garden surrounding the house. Architecture's realm was not the building alone, but also its context and the public spaces it created.

Blomfield was deeply worried about what he saw as an absence of history in the study of architecture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and he continued to use his essays and books as a soapbox for the promotion of the study of history. He lamented in his memoirs: "Our 'new architects' will probably not admit it in view of my criticisms of their efforts, but in point of fact, by opening fire on the revivalists and the silly sentimentality of the last century, I provided them with an open way along which architecture might advance. Unfortunately, they have ignored the teaching of history and taken the wrong turn."⁹⁶

⁹³ Blomfield, *The Mistress Art*, 183-4. "Faults of proportion are magnified, difficulties of scale are greatly complicated, and to master these difficulties is one of the highest achievements of architecture."

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 250-51. "No rulers in the history of the world have ever done so much for their cities as the Caesars did for Rome."

⁹⁵ Reginald Blomfield, "Of Public Spaces, Parks and Gardens," Chapter IV in *Art and Life, and the Building and Decoration of Cities, A series of Lectures by Members of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, Delivered at the Fifth Exhibition of the Society in 1896* (London: Rivington, Percival, & Co., 1897), 175.

⁹⁶ Blomfield, *Memoirs*, 80.

Not wanting to get caught up in revivalism, he repeatedly assured the reader that the study of history was not about archaeological copying, but about the discernment and critical evaluation of architectural principles that would maintain a connection to the architecture of the past while still creating an architecture appropriate for the current day. “Deep down in our people there is an abiding sense of the continuity of things, which will in due course assert itself and will not tolerate the attempt to break utterly with the past. We of the present had to set our face forward, but only fools or madmen would ignore the experience of those who have gone before.”⁹⁷ This would in essence be a new way of looking at architecture’s history—neither for its archaeological correctness, nor its details, but as the evidence of a continuous thread of architecture’s best lessons of principles and ideas.

Over time Blomfield became shriller in his criticisms of continental modernism. In the interwar period he was convinced that the war had erased architectural tradition: "Since the war Modernism, or ‘Modernismus’, as it should be called on the German precedent, has invaded this country like an epidemic, and though there are signs of reaction, its attack is insidious and far-reaching, with the wholly fallacious prospect of a new heaven and earth which it dangles before the younger generation."⁹⁸ The term “Modernismus” was Blomfield’s way of differentiating the modern architecture of the continent from that of England. The distinction was for him important, because it meant that he maintained it as separate from the contemporary—“modern”—architecture that was being built in Britain at the same time, which maintained a continuous English tradition.

⁹⁷ Sir Reginald Blomfield, *Six Architects* (London: Macmillan and Co, Ltd., 1935), 186.

⁹⁸ Sir Reginald Blomfield, *Modernismus* (London: MacMillan & Co., 1934), v-vi. The selection of the term “Modernismus” reinforced its foreignness and non-Englishness, supporting his argument that England’s modern architecture was something else.

Chapter 9

Experiencing the Renaissance. Geoffrey Scott's Architecture of Humanism

Similarly to earlier Victorian writers, Geoffrey Scott (1884-1929) in his 1914 book, *The Architecture of Humanism*, used history as a way to theorize and present a new direction for contemporary architecture.¹ But instead of a chronological history of architecture, the book was a theoretical treatise that both discredited nineteenth-century architectural criticism and laid out a new course for architecture—what he called the “destructive” and “constructive” arguments. In the “destructive” section, Scott critiqued each of the “fallacies” of architectural criticism— which he called the romantic, the mechanical, the ethical, and the biological—and he noted how each fallacy had prejudiced Renaissance architecture. In the second portion of the book, he outlined his theory of “humanism” as it related to the fundamentals of the architectural aesthetic experience. Scott’s work has endured and was reprinted again in 2005. It has eclipsed the writings of William Anderson, Reginald Blomfield and others, which now seem distinctly to be of the nineteenth century. Scott’s work represents a turning point in architectural writing and criticism, by enabling history’s literal presence in the studio as a model for design, and by demanding a more theoretical basis for design.

While other writers on architecture had incorporated the ideas and histories of continental authors, Scott was one of the first to apply European, specifically German, aesthetic and psychological theories to architecture in England and have them accepted. The philosophers Theodor Lipps (1851-1914) and Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) and the art historian Heinrich Wölfflin (1864-1945) were among his strongest influences. He was exposed to these writers in two ways, first through his readings at Oxford, and second through his affiliation with the community of Anglo-expatriates near Florence, such as Vernon Lee (pseud. for Violet Paget,

¹ Geoffrey Scott, *The Architecture of Humanism. A Study in the History of Taste* (London: Constable and Company, Ltd, 1914).

1856-1935) and Bernard Berenson (1865-1959). Scott's biographer, Richard Dunn, argued that it was this circle that "had schooled him in a way different from contemporary architects who had only been trained in England."² From within this rarified world he distilled a theory of architecture that was universally democratic in its applicability, because it was based on the body and the unconscious memory of physical experience.

At the time of its initial publication, the architectural and popular journals were divided in their opinion of book, which is indicative of how it marks a turning of one generation to another in the study of architecture. Scott always saw the audience as both architects and the general public, even though this had to be a select group that was ready to tackle his ideas. Virginia Woolf, who was not a fan of Scott personally, praised the book because it "made her think."³ Scott's close friend, the writer Edith Wharton reviewed the book for *The Times Literary Supplement*, calling it "brilliant and discriminating".⁴ *The Architectural Review* lauded the books as "a very solid contribution to æsthetic philosophy ... [and] a delight to read."⁵ A. S. G. Butler in his review for *Burlington Magazine* gave the book a positive review overall, but thought that Scott had pushed his argument too far in terms of his use of the Renaissance style as the primary example.⁶ Despite the generally positive reviews of the book, its initial impact was limited due to World War I, and it would not be until its republication a decade later that Scott's ideas would gain more ground.

² Richard M. Dunn, *Geoffrey Scott and the Berenson Circle. Literary and Aesthetic Life in the Early 20th Century*. Studies in British Literature vol. 34. (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1998), 127. Dunn's work is constructed primarily from letters by and to Scott from Mary Berenson and others. This foundation gives his book a focus on the circle of people that Scott was in contact with as well as a personal and informal tone.

³ Woolf and Scott had no love lost between them. Scott had fallen madly in love with the writer Vita Sackville-West, for whom he had left his wife Lady Sibyl Cutting. Vita soon fell for Woolf, and left Scott for her. It was on this relationship that Woolf would base her book *Orlando*.

⁴ Edith Wharton, "The Architecture of Humanism" [Review] *The Times Literary Supplement* (June 25, 1914): 305.

⁵ "The Architecture of Humanism," *The Architectural Review*, 36 (1914): 65.

⁶ A.S.G. Butler, "Reviews. The Architecture of Humanism," *Burlington Magazine*, XXVI (1914): 251-2.

The main criticism of the book, even after the war, came from within the architecture profession's old guard. Reginald Blomfield, for example, in *Modernismus*, 1934, devoted an entire chapter to critiquing Scott's book, in particular condemning his redefinition of humanism. The difference between these two men's understandings of and definitions of humanism indicates to some extent the gap between their two generations and their approaches when it came to accepting new theoretical ideas in architecture. Both men looked at the Renaissance as an exemplar. Both saw that the key to using architecture's history in the creating a modern architecture was not imitation or copyism of details or even specific styles, but the development of abstract principles to guide architectural design and criticism. Blomfield however stated repeatedly that he felt that Scott had not defined humanism at all in the work: "Humanism, as I understand it, means the open tolerant mind, unfettered by dogmatic authority, that finds its interest in all the finer realisations of man's intelligence."⁷ Scott's humanism was completely different, it was the pure æsthetic experience of architecture.

Scott was the last of eight children born in a Unitarian, Liberal, upper-middle class family that was well established in the Hampstead community of artists, politicians, and intellectuals.⁸ Dunn noted that Scott was of the generation in England that had been educated in the manner and system of the nineteenth century "to deal with a world that no longer existed."⁹ He attended the public school Rugby, studying greek and latin as well as mathematics, scripture, and history.¹⁰ These studies, in addition to a year at St. Andrews, prepared him to enter New College, Oxford, in 1903 where he studied the "Greats" under Professor Gilbert Murray (1866-1957), a well-

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Hampstead is a well-to-do suburb of London known for its artistic and intellectual residents. Geoffrey Scott's father, Russell Scott, was friends with artists such as Val Prinsep and Lord Frederic Leighton. He was also a member of Parliament and President of the local chapter of the Liberal Party. Dunn, 3.

⁹ Dunn, xx.

¹⁰ Ibid., 10. It should be noted that a "public" school in Britain is what in the U.S. would be termed a "private" school, in that it typically required tuition and entrance examinations.

respected and prominent British scholar of Greek history.¹¹ Spending much of his time at Oxford reading philosophy and socializing, Scott was less concerned with his exams, resulting in disappointing marks on his preliminaries and a second on the overall.¹² The university and the town left a mark on Scott (as it had on Blomfield), and he often looked back on his days there not only with affection but also with the sense that he had not fully appreciated his time there.¹³

More influential than the books he read at Oxford were the personal and social connections that he made during those years. In 1906, after his third year at New College, Scott received an invitation from Mary Berenson, the wife of the art historian Bernard Berenson, to accompany her two daughters and herself on a trip to Tuscany.¹⁴ It was a trip that would change his life—by forging a life-long connection to both Berensons, and to Mary in particular.¹⁵

Like Blomfield, Scott was not immediately drawn to architecture as a career, but while still at Oxford he began to think about his future and thought it a profession that might satisfy his needs for intellectual stimulation and a stable salary. The idea was reinforced after he was introduced to the young architect Cecil Pinsent (1884-1963) by Mary Berenson (figure 9.1).¹⁶

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 18. Murray was a very highly respected scholar and professor. He and Scott became very close, with Scott often visiting him and his family when school was not in session.

¹² Dunn noted that Scott read Walter Pater, Cicero, Kant, Plato, and other philosophical texts. Dunn, 18-19.

¹³ Years later Scott wrote to Nicky Mariano of Oxford that it “is certainly one of the wonderful places of the world, but ones goes there too young. I think there ought to be a portion of the university set aside for those who go at 40, when they have made all their mistakes and know what they want out of life!” Dunn, 22 citing a letter from Geoffrey Scott to Nicky Mariano 10 August 1923 in the Villa I Tatti archive.

¹⁴ Mary Berenson’s sister had recommended Scott along with John Maynard Keynes (1883-1946) from King’s College, Cambridge, who would later become a distinguished economist. Keynes joined the group, but the future writer Lytton Strachey (1880-1932) declined the offer.

¹⁵ Much has been made in the scholarship on Scott regarding Mary Berenson’s affection with him, his homosexuality, and her subsequent nervous breakdown when he married Lady Sibyl Cutting often figuring prominently. The extent of her feeling for him are not at issue here (and Dunn reprints numerous excerpts from their letters), but it is clear that her role in his introduction to Berenson, Cecil Pinsent, and others was critical to Scott’s development and his life.

¹⁶ Dunn, 44-45. Pinsent was articled to the architect William Wallace in London for three years beginning in Nov. 1900. Also during this time he attended the AA, from March 1901 to February 1903, after which he intermittently attended the Royal Academy School and traveled in Europe. He opened his own practice in London in 1908 before moving to Florence the following year. For a list of his projects and other professional experience see his nomination paper to the R.I.B.A. in 1933, #3110 in the R.I.B.A. archive.

During the following fall of 1907, Scott enrolled at the Architectural Association, then located at Tufton Street. He did not however find the intellectual stimulation that he sought. The professors at the AA that fall included T. G. Jackson, Reginald Blomfield, and C. F. A. Voysey, whose work Scott dismissed as backward and “derivative.” In a letter to Bernard Berenson that year he described it as “ a wonderful place (where) no one has gone through the simplest mental process ... twenty-five mechanized and uneducated people who faithfully copy.”¹⁷ The following spring he realized that he wanted to leave architecture school, and left the AA to take a position, arranged by Mary as a traveling tutor for the son of the prominent banker Henry Canon.¹⁸

Scott’s brief time at the AA influenced his ideas regarding architecture however and in 1908, still technically also a student at Oxford, he won the Chancellor’s Prize for his essay “The National Character of English Architecture.”¹⁹ This recognition, in combination with his 1906 award Newdgate Prize for his poem “The Death of Shelley,” established his desire to be a writer and critic of art.²⁰ Jobs for art critics were not falling from the sky however and in 1909 Mary talked Scott into coming to Florence to join Pinsent in working up some designs for the Berenson’s home, the Villa I Tatti, and for Bernard’s library in particular (figure 9.2).²¹ The two

¹⁷ Dunn, 53, citing letter from Geoffrey Scott to Bernard Berenson fall 1907 in the I Tatti archive. BB, as Berenson was known, and Scott were not always on the best of terms, as BB was jealous of Mary’s time and attention to Scott, and he thought that Scott distracted her from the editing of his own essays.

¹⁸ Dunn, 57.

¹⁹ Geoffrey Scott, “The National Character of English Architecture” *The Chancellor’s Essay MCMVIII* (Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1908). In this essay Scott reviewed the history of architecture in England and argued that the national character of English architecture was dependent on the racial, climatic, and topographic specificity of England. He praised Sir Christopher Wren for his translation of Italian architectural motifs into the English building tradition, but he criticizes Inigo Jones for using the Italian forms directly and not taking into consideration the differences in meaning of the forms in the two countries. Scott looks closely at the Renaissance, dividing it into Greek and Roman influences. The overall tone is very late nineteenth century, and there is little besides his writing style and argument structure that hints at his later works, particularly his ideas on the aesthetic experience of architecture.

²⁰ Dunn, 35, 61. Previous winners of the Newdgate Prize included John Ruskin and Oscar Wilde. For the poem itself see Geoffrey Scott, *The Death of Shelley. The Newdigate Poem 1906*. pamphlet (Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1906).

²¹ The Berensons had been working with an Italian architect, Zanobi, with whose work they were very unhappy. Mary used her powers of persuasion to convince Bernard to hire the young men to take over the project. Dunn, 70. Mary had also convinced the American architect and interior designer Ogden Codman, Jr. to take on Scott as an assistant to help him write a book on eighteenth-century French

young men worked intermittently on the villa and its garden for many years. The Berensons also introduced them to their friends in the Anglo-American expatriate community, which led to several commissions to design and renovate their nearby villas. The most famous of these was Le Balze, owned by C. A. Strong. In 1912 they designed the renovations to the villa together, and Pinsent later went on to design the gardens (figure 9.3).²² Intermittently during these years Scott also served as Bernard's secretary and librarian.

The intermittent work of The Firm, as Scott and Pinsent's practice was informally known, gave Scott enough of an understanding of the more technical and practical aspects of architecture that balanced and enriched his ideas his interest in aesthetics. By late 1912 he had drafted the "destruction" portion of *The Architecture of Humanism*. He continued to work on the book throughout the following year, refining his final argument.²³

The Architecture of Humanism was not the last of Scott's literary works. He continued to write both prose and poetry, and in 1925 he won the James Tate Black Memorial Prize for his *The Portrait of Zélide*, a biography of the Belle de Zuylen, an intelligent and independent woman born in eighteenth-century Netherlands.²⁴ Considered groundbreaking for its ironic and psychological approach, the work was one of the first modern biographies of a female subject.

chateaux. Codman was not completely engaged in the task, however, and Scott found himself simply organizing the tens-of-thousands of postcards of chateaux that Codman had collected.

²² Berenson had even recommended the young men to Eugenia Strong, the Assistant Director of the British School at Rome, for the School's new building. The project was given to Lutyens instead. Dunn, 96. The Villa I Tatti was his first project with Scott. Dunn, 83; see also Pinsent's R.I.B.A. nomination papers for a full list of his own villa projects.

²³ Dunn, 110, 120. Scott's editor at Constable was so pleased with his early manuscript that discussions regarding two more books were started. Scott was heavily involved with the publication of his first book and selected the paper as well as the dark green cover.

²⁴ Richard Holmes, ed., *Scott on Zélide. The Portrait of Zélide by Geoffrey Scott*. (London: Harper Perennial, 2004), xxvi. Due to the book's success, Scott was listed in the *Vogue* (Britain) Hall of Fame of the same year, 1925. The first edition of *The Portrait of Zélide* was a special publication of the work limited to 25 copies, printed on Japanese vellum, and signed by Scott. A copy of this edition survives in the British Library. Scott, Geoffrey, *The Portrait of Zélide*. London: Constable & Co., 1925. There was presumption at the time that the work was semi-autobiographical with Mary taking the part of Zélide and Scott of her young consort and confidante Benjamin Constant. See C. P. Courtney, "Portrait of Geoffrey Scott," *Lettre de Zuylen et du Pontet*, n.6 (Sept, 1981): 3-4. Scott's wife worked with him on the book, and the same year published a related work, *Four Tales by Zélide*, translations of a collection of stories written by Zélide.

The success of this work granted him the invitation to edit the James Boswell papers. He traveled to New York to do so, and had completed six volumes when he died from pneumonia caught while on a trip in England. None of his other writings however (his poetry is virtually unknown) was to have the lasting impact of his book on architecture.²⁵

Scott divided *The Architecture of Humanism* two main sections: the “destructive,” in which he outlined the “fallacies” of nineteenth century architectural criticism, and the “constructive,” in which he presented his answer to the current architectural situation. In each of his discussions of the fallacies, he presented how that particular criticism had affected attitudes toward Renaissance architecture, which he considered to be the ultimate example of “humanist” architecture. The Renaissance, as Scott defined it, lasted four centuries, beginning with the architecture of Brunelleschi and the revival of classical forms in the fifteenth century and ending with the Gothic Revival in the nineteenth century.²⁶ Although it was made up of many “phases of extraordinary diversity, brevity and force,” the period was still marked by an “obvious unity” of style and intent; it had “one language.”²⁷ Ultimately, the Renaissance style was one of “taste,” the “disinterested enthusiasm for architectural form.”²⁸ It was the Renaissance people’s taste that drove them to prefer classical as opposed to the medieval forms. To argue his point, Scott reviewed and critiqued what other authors had cited as the causes of the Renaissance—race, social change, the “spirit of the time,” materials, and constructive innovations—noting that none of these on their own was why it began. Instead it was because the people “liked to be surrounded by forms of a certain kind.”²⁹

²⁵ See the bibliography for a full list of Scott’s poetry and other writings and articles.

²⁶ Geoffrey Scott. *The Architecture of Humanism: A Study in the History of Taste*. second edition (1924; reprint New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1954), 20. Citations from Scott, unless otherwise noted are from this reprint of the second edition.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 25, 20.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 36, 28.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 36.

The “Destruction” of Fallacies

Scott first attacked the “Romantic Fallacy,” which had two parts: the literary or poetic aspect and the natural or picturesque aspect. The literary aspect implied that the associations created by architecture were symbolic and fixed.³⁰ Style now not only recalled the emotions of a specific period but symbolically stood for that period. The result was a stylistically focused and antiquarian approach where the architectural detail gained excessive importance. Scott criticized the nineteenth century’s multitude of styles where the focus was on the style itself—be it Byzantine, Gothic, Egyptian, or Classical—and the details were the primary means by which the style was characterized. Renaissance architecture was different, according to Scott, because it made the detail “subservient” to the overall design. But this had been misinterpreted in the romantic fallacy, because what the classical details symbolized had at a certain point become unpopular. For Scott, the problem with the literary approach to architecture was that it gave a fixed association to architecture, when instead the experience of architecture should be sensual and psychological.

The second aspect of the romantic fallacy focused on nature and the picturesque as they had developed during the Romantic movement and subsequently influenced architecture. “Nature” and the “Natural” had come to take an almost sacred position, creating in effect a “cult of Nature.”³¹ As architecture (and even more pointedly, garden design) was inherently artificial, that artificiality had to be disguised, to be visibly free of “human agency” and therefore reason.³² Renaissance architecture was particularly unnatural in that it adhered to principles of order,

³⁰ Ibid., 50-51. Note that Scott was writing before the later movements of semiotics and deconstruction, and his understanding of architecture as a symbol implied a fixed, if not necessarily permanent, meaning. Paul Barolsky has suggested that Scott got this dislike of literature as a framework for art from Bernard who “was hostile to the idea that painting should be evaluated by its dependency on its subject or what he called ‘illustration.’” Paul Barolsky, “The Aesthetic Criticism of Geoffrey Scott,” introductory essay in *The Architecture of Humanism* (1924; reprint London and New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1999), xvii.

³¹ Ibid., 68.

³² Ibid.

proportion, and symmetry in its design, all of which exemplified human reason and rationalism.³³ The rationality and order of Renaissance architecture and garden design created a consistency and predictability that was directly at odds with the Romantic view of nature as exotic, remote, and strange.³⁴

Another architectural consequence of the Romantic view of nature was the focus on representation and “fidelity to the natural fact.”³⁵ In painting this was best seen in the extreme attention to detail in the works of the Pre-Raphaelites (figure 9.4). In architecture this “emphasis on representation” was manifested in the increased importance of architectural sculpture. Thus it was through sculpture that architecture was then considered an art. This approach however was prejudiced against the Renaissance because its architecture lacked representational sculpture. Instead it relied on order and proportion, which Ruskin had dismissed as “mere doggerel.”³⁶

The aesthetic aspect of romantic naturalism was the “Picturesque,” which, like nature, was “unexpected, wild, fantastic, accidental.”³⁷ The basis of the picturesque, Scott conceded, was part of the psychological perception of art. Renaissance architecture was not picturesque however because it was designed to “infiltrate” the attention of the viewer slowly.³⁸ In contrast picturesque architecture “arrested” the viewer’s attention immediately and eventually exhausted it. Renaissance artists were perfectly aware of the effects of the picturesque, according to Scott, as they employed it in the backgrounds of their paintings, which included examples of fantastic architecture. But the Renaissance architect surrounded and dominated the viewer with his work and therefore it had to be “formal, coherent, and in some sense, serene.”³⁹

³³ Ibid., 62, 60.

³⁴ Ibid., 60.

³⁵ Ibid., 68.

³⁶ Ibid., 69.

³⁷ Ibid., 71.

³⁸ Ibid., 72.

³⁹ Ibid.71-2.

The picturesque was dominant in British architecture of the time, and it was antagonistic to the return of Renaissance principles of formalism, order, and composition, all of which were applied during the process of design. The picturesque ideal (but not necessarily the picturesque itself) was incompatible with formality; and formality, at the core of Renaissance architecture, required design. Scott emphasized, “Everything in architecture which can hold and interest the intellect; every delight that is complex and sustained; every subtlety of rhythm and grandeur of conception, is built upon formality.”⁴⁰

For Scott, the two sides of the coin—formality and the picturesque—were reconciled in the Baroque. As a style it was fantastic and varied, yet it was still “subject to the laws of scale and composition,” as well as being logical.⁴¹ The Baroque was, in several ways, the resolution to Scott’s criticism of the various fallacies and his promotion of the Renaissance. In his book he presented a much more positive view of the Baroque than many other previous architectural writers.

The second criticism that Scott refuted was a reaction to the Romantic movement. The “Mechanical Fallacy” was the application of science and calculation to all aspects of life and art. In architecture this left architects with one of two possible approaches: either a primacy of construction and structure over aesthetics, or the complete separation of art from science as in Pater’s “Art for Art’s sake.”⁴²

At the heart of the problem was the relationship between construction and design and therefore construction to beauty. The mechanical fallacy was biased against Renaissance architecture on the grounds that construction was subordinated to aesthetic effect. Many structural elements were hidden, while others, such as arches, cornices, columns, and pilasters,

⁴⁰ Ibid., 77.

⁴¹ Ibid., 73-4.

⁴² Ibid., 79-80. Scott argues that Pater’s brand of aesthetics which attempts to claim an autonomy for art in fact shows its subservience by trying to separate itself so definitely.

were used as decoration.⁴³ The classical orders were not always used structurally, and they became instead the representation of an ideal, with the added incongruity that they had to be “particular statements of constructive fact wherever they occur.”⁴⁴ Scott argued that good architecture must have both beauty and good construction, but critics thought that because the Renaissance had prioritized beauty over construction that the beauty was actually diminished.⁴⁵ For Scott however, the architects of the Renaissance “grasped this distinction between the several architectural designs with extreme clearness. It [the Renaissance] realised that, for certain purposes in architecture, *fact* counted for everything, and that in certain others, *appearance* counted for everything. And it took advantage of this distinction to the full.”⁴⁶

Scott also briefly analyzed Greek and Gothic architecture, both of which were typically considered to be exemplars of construction over aesthetics, arguing that in both styles it was really the aesthetics of the design that made the style great. In ancient Greek architecture, for example, he posited that it was the optical refinements of the later Doric temples that made the building beautiful.⁴⁷ Likewise, Michelangelo’s dome of St. Peter’s in Rome, gave the impression of “grandeur” and “mass,” but was actually constructed with hidden iron chains to absorb the outward thrusts, thus giving an untruthful appearance.⁴⁸ But Michelangelo was not concerned that the viewer should understand the process of construction, he was more interested in conveying “the *apparent* power and vigour of the dome.”⁴⁹ What was important therefore was not that the structure was readily understandable to the viewer, but his aesthetic reaction to the forms themselves. “We feel the value of certain curves and certain relations of pressure to resistance by an unconscious analogy with our own movements, our own gestures, our own

⁴³ Ibid., 81-2.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 92

⁴⁵ Ibid., 86, 83.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 89-90. Emphasis in original.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 89.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 90-1.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 92. Emphasis in original.

experiences of weight. ... Our aesthetic reactions are limited by our power to recreate in ourselves, imaginatively, the physical conditions suggested by the form we see: to transcribe its strength or weakness into terms of our own life.”⁵⁰ For Scott the appreciation of architecture led ultimately back to the aesthetic experience of the viewer, not the strict expression of the structure.

In the “Ethical Fallacy,” the argument addressed how the conduct of the artist influenced the reception of his art. Scott began his critique of the ethical fallacy with a quote from Ruskin’s *Stones of Venice* of 1851: “I might insist at length on the absurdity of (Renaissance) construction ... but it is not the form of this architecture against which I would plead. Its defects are shared by many of the noblest forms of earlier building and might have been entirely atoned for by excellence of spirit. *But it it’s the moral nature of it which is corrupt.*”⁵¹ More than half a century later, Ruskin’s prejudice had become accepted into the conception of the Renaissance and Scott had to address it. Scott cited Charles Moore’s *The Character of Renaissance Architecture*, 1905, as an example of how deeply this moralized intolerance had penetrated architectural criticism. Despite its title, the book was deeply anti-Renaissance and was simply a reinterpretation of many of Ruskin’s ideas. He recognized that “*It no longer forms part of a conscious system of thought, but of a general atmosphere of prejudice.*”⁵²

Scott conceded that Ruskin’s criticism had produced two positive results. First, it made architecture important. If architecture could affect the viewer so strongly and at such a deep level, then it had to be significant. Second, it “asserted the psychological reference of

⁵⁰ Ibid., 93.

⁵¹ Ibid., 97; citing Ruskin, *Stones of Venice*, vol. III, ch. ii, §4.

⁵² Ibid., 99. Emphasis in original. In his conclusion, Moore wrote: “In the light of what we have seen I think it must appear that the claims which have been advanced for the architecture of the Renaissance as the only architecture of correct principles since that of classic antiquity, and as an architecture in comparison with which the Gothic art of the Middle Ages should be considered as the barbarous product of an unenlightened age, are without justification.” Charles Herbert Moore, *The Character of Renaissance Architecture*. (London and NY: Macmillan Company, 1905), 250.

architecture” in that it focused on how architecture made men *feel*.⁵³ The viewer’s reaction to the architecture also became important.

Baroque architecture, in particular, fell prey to the criticism of moral deficiency, because it was seen as being the result of a “diseased character.”⁵⁴ Scott contended that a Baroque building had to be first understood as a large and complete mass in which the parts “should appear to flow together” creating the effect of both strength and movement.⁵⁵ Both the Baroque, and the Renaissance, were “misunderstood.” Their strength and power were seen as a deceit, but there was none, according to Scott, *because no deceit was intended*. Shams and visual trickery in architecture, such as a blind window on a façade, had to be quickly and easily understood; a surfeit of such aesthetic trickery, however, resulted in an architecture that was closer to theater decoration.⁵⁶ Scott noted that some deceptions, such as the galleries connecting Bernini’s colonnade to St. Peter’s and Greek optical refinements, were deceptions in which the psychological perception of the stability and the mass of the building were not changed, and may even be enhanced.⁵⁷

Scott identified one analogy between the ethical and the aesthetic that was “true:” “The ‘dignity’ of architecture is the same ‘dignity’ that we recognise in character. Thus, when we have discerned it aesthetically in architecture, there might arise in the mind its moral echo.”⁵⁸ Architecture and morality were not therefore incompatible, and architecture could even “extend the scope” of our morality.⁵⁹ The architecture of the Renaissance reflected the humanism that was at its core.

⁵³ Scott, 106.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 115. It is interesting that the critics who followed the ethical fallacy, like Scott, saw that architecture held a psychological—in this case, a moral—impact on the viewer.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 115-16.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 120.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 121-22.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 125.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

Another aspect of the ethical fallacy was how it gave political implication to an architecture style. In the critics' eyes, the rulers during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were aristocratic, decadent, and often tyrannical, and the majority of people were repressed. These political interpretations were translated to architecture and the building process. "It [the Renaissance] stood for the subordination of the detail to the design, of the craftsman to the architect, of conscience to author-organised control."⁶⁰ This concern for a democratic architecture, worked on two levels. First, it meant that everyone had to be able to "read" and understand architecture—such as the peasant "reading" the sculpture of the medieval cathedral. This interpretation biased "trained discernment," which was key to the architecture of the Renaissance.⁶¹ For their full comprehension, the orders, proportions, etc. all required a knowledge of the forms of antiquity. Second, it claimed the subordination of certain members of society in the design and construction processes. This misconception was best idealized in William Morris's medieval "happy craftsman." Scott refuted this myth by pointing out that the majority of any building—even a medieval cathedral—such as the foundations, walls, and piers, was not its "aesthetic end."⁶² The craftsmen would have had little artistic freedom in the carving and construction of these elements. Citing Vasari and Cellini, Scott argued, "In all this labour there was nothing to choose between the Mediaeval and Renaissance style: neither more nor less liberty, neither more nor less joy in the work."⁶³ The worker was, therefore, never fully free, not even in the construction of medieval cathedrals.

Scott considered the fourth fallacy—the "Biological"—to be ultimately the most influential and the "most penetrating in its reach."⁶⁴ Rooted in the new and fashionable ideas of

⁶⁰ Ibid., 107.

⁶¹ Ibid., 108-9.

⁶² Ibid., 111.

⁶³ Ibid., 111-12. Scott also used Ranke's description of the raising of the Vatican obelisk to show how the workers were ignited by "religious enthusiasm" and "their delight in the work." This is a somewhat problematic argument as Ranke's description is not a first person account.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 127.

Darwin's theories of evolution, the Biological Fallacy prioritized sequence and imposed the values of biology on art. The primary principle/assumption of this fallacy was "that things are intelligible through a knowledge of their antecedents."⁶⁵ One could better understand an object by figuring out from where it came. In architecture this meant that the "succession of styles" became more important than the building itself, with two results. First was the "leveling tendency" in which critics equalized the importance of the variety of buildings and styles. What might have been a minor example could gain new importance if placed within a certain sequence.⁶⁶ Furthermore, because the focus of the analysis shifted to the sequence, it did not adequately address the appreciation of the object itself. This inappropriate concentration oversimplified and misinterpreted architectural forms and often neglected the building's "aesthetic purpose."⁶⁷

Renaissance architecture again fell under criticism in this fallacy. Because it was an architecture of taste, it was an architecture of choice. Part of the logic of many Gothic Revivalists was that they were returning architecture and design to the point at which the continuous thread of artistic development had been severed. The Renaissance was not part of a sequence; it deliberately created a break in the continuity by the willful turning away from the existing path to look back to antiquity.⁶⁸ Histories of the Renaissance often divided the style into three periods: the Florentine period of the fifteenth century, marked by the work of Brunelleschi; the climax in the buildings of Bramante, Raphael, and Peruzzi; and the decline into the Baroque.⁶⁹ This application of the preconception of the three phases of man—growth, maturity, and decay—to the past required that the facts be molded and forced to fit.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 129.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 140.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 130-31.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 133.

Scott attacked this criticism in three arguments. First, the architecture of the climaxing period was not inherently or automatically better or more complete than that of the Florentine Quattrocento. “To Brunelleschi there was no Bramante; his architecture was not Bramante’s unachieved, but his own fulfilled.”⁷⁰ Second, some architecture of the climax period could be viewed as already in decline. Scott presented the Tempietto as a possible example: “If a servile attendance on the antique is a mark of declining force, Bramante himself must stand convicted of decadence, for no imitation is more self-effacing than his domed chapel of S. Pietro in Montorio.”⁷¹ Finally, there was an inherent contradiction in the criticism of Baroque architecture as a decadent style. If it was “decadent,” then it no longer fit the evolutionary model, because decadence implied a lack of energy and power.⁷² But Baroque architecture was filled with vigour and strength. It was radically different, and its psychological approach required that the entire frame of reference to the viewer be changed to accommodate it. Renaissance architecture in all its forms, including the Baroque, did not fit the biological model. It broke out of sequence and had to be taken, like all art, on its own terms.

Finally, using a quote from “architecture’s principal historian,” James Fergusson that critiqued the Renaissance as an imitative and copyist style, Scott acknowledged the impact of the academic tradition on architectural prejudices.⁷³ The Romantic movement had reacted against the academic influence of Palladio and his followers, judging architectural rules such as the orders as constrictive. The resulting prejudice against the Renaissance followed Fergusson’s criticism that it was imitative and “unalive.”⁷⁴ Renaissance architecture was either too classical in that it followed the rules too strictly, or not classical enough in that it was too inventive and broke the rules. For Scott, at the heart of the Renaissance was humanism, the “opposite of pedantry”

⁷⁰ Ibid., 134.

⁷¹ Ibid., 136.

⁷² Ibid., 137.

⁷³ Ibid., 141.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 154, 151.

stylistic imitation. It encouraged thinking and invention, whereas academic art did not. Acknowledging that in the imitative prejudice there was also a “grain of truth,” Scott noted the several factors that conspired to make the Renaissance an academic art. The first of these was the revival of scholarship, and in particular the study of Vitruvius, which was further enhanced by the new ability to disseminate information with the invention of printing.⁷⁵

The Construction of a New Theory

From this vantage point of negated fallacies and prejudices that Scott went on to build his argument for a contemporary architecture. In the first edition, he divided his “constructive” argument into two chapters: the first established “Humanist Values,” and the second addressed “Art and Thought.”⁷⁶ At the core of his thesis was the æsthetic experience of architecture.

We have looked at the building and identified ourselves with its apparent state.

*We have transcribed ourselves into terms of architecture. ... The whole of architecture is, in fact, unconsciously invested by us with human movement and human moods. ... We transcribe architecture into terms of ourselves. ... This is the humanism of architecture. The tendency to project the image of our functions into concrete forms is the basis, for architecture, of creative design. The tendency to recognise, in concrete forms, the image of those functions is the true basis, in its turn, of critical appreciation.*⁷⁷

This reciprocal translation of our own movements into architectural form and our “simple and immediate” experience of architecture was, for Scott, “Humanism.” This approach still centered on “man”—not on his intellectual faculties, but on his unconscious, psychological tendency to create the world around him based on his own body.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 146-7.

⁷⁶ The chapter “Art and Thought” was shortened in the second edition published a decade later and was re-titled “Conclusion.”

⁷⁷ Scott, 159. Emphasis in original.

Scott drew from several authors and philosophies in creating this concept. The application of Theodor Lipps's "very German and seemingly fantastic formula" was at the root of Scott's definition of humanism.⁷⁸ He borrowed Lipps's idea of *Einfühlung* and combined it with theories from the writings of his direct circle of friends, including Bernard Berenson and Vernon Lee.⁷⁹

Berenson had written a short article on Renaissance churches that touched on ideas of the viewer's perception. When he re-published it in 1902, he noted that few critics had "dealt with architecture from the point of view of the aesthetic spectator. ... for whom—for whom only, if they but knew it—all the arts exist."⁸⁰ Domes, for example, made the viewer feel as though he was soaring. The Renaissance struggle between centralized domed spaces and longitudinal ones, was in essence the conflict of different sensations (the dome draws the eye and body upward, while the longitudinal space draws them forward). This haptic experience was a reaction to the spatial effects of the building. In the article Berenson portrayed the Renaissance architect as a "space-composer" who "strove to produce an effect that would make one on entering a church feel the existence of space as a positive fact, instead of a mere negation of solidity; as a material capable of being shaped in the subtlest fashion."⁸¹ From Berenson Scott received not only the idea of space as a material, but a fledgling theory of aesthetic experience.

A member of the Florentine expatriate community and Scott's circle was Violet Paget, who wrote under the pseudonym Vernon Lee. She was an extremely intelligent woman (the

⁷⁸ Vernon Lee and C. Anstruther-Thomson *Beauty & Ugliness and Other Studies in Psychological Aesthetics* (London: John Lanes, The Bodley Head, 1912), 23.

⁷⁹ Scott, *The Architecture of Humanism*, 159-160. Bernhard Berenson, "A Word for Renaissance Churches," *The Study and Criticism of Italian Art*, second series (London: George Bell & Sons, 1902), 62-76 It is clear that these ideas were floating around amongst the group surrounding Berenson, and Scott and Berenson must have had long discussions (which may have included Lee) on the topic.

⁸⁰ Berenson, "A Word for Renaissance Churches," vi; for the article see pp. 62-76.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 69. Blomfield criticized Berenson for this approach in his lecture "Andrea Palladio" published in *Studies in Architecture*, 61-2. Blomfield thought Berenson's description was more applicable to Byzantine architecture and that it was "unhistorical" when applied to the Renaissance because there was no textual evidence that the architects of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries cared specifically about architectural space.

Edwardians called her “clever”—not a compliment for a young woman), who had grown up abroad and fluently spoke and read several European languages.⁸² The author of several books on æsthetic theory as well as works on travel, she would certainly have discussed her ideas with her friends Berenson and Scott.⁸³ In her 1912 publication, *Beauty and Ugliness*, written with Clementine (Kit) Anstruther-Thomson, Lee surveyed the major theories on æsthetic experience and psychology and applied them to how the viewer determined Beauty in art.⁸⁴ She synthesized the ideas of Theodor Lipps, Karl Groos, Edward Bradford Titchener, and many others, providing extended translations of the critical passages.

Translated Lipps’s term *Einfühlung* as “feeling ourselves into,” *Beauty and Ugliness* quoted at length from his writings.⁸⁵ Lipps described the experience of looking at a Doric column and having the sensation of the column lifting. But the column itself was not “lifting,” as the roof was not really “pressing.” These were simply the terms used to describe the experience, and these terms are based on our own movements. We have inscribed in our mind onto the “static” column the movement of lifting. The viewer has therefore an active relationship with the work of art. “Considered as an activity of the soul, Empathy...cannot be denied existence; we revive it and derive satisfaction of dissatisfaction from its projection into what we call visible form.”⁸⁶

Lee and Anstruther-Thomson applied their ideas briefly to architecture. They hypothesized that we prefer pointed to round arches, because we can see the two halves of the arch more clearly and therefore can more readily discern the forces created. We do this by our

⁸² There are many biographies of Lee; for a biography that addresses the issue of Lee as a woman writer see Christa Zorn. *Vernon Lee, Aesthetics, History, and the Victorian Female Intellectual*. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2003). See also: Carl Markgraf “Vernon Lee., A Commentary and an Annotated Bibliography of Writings about Her,” *English Literature in Transition* 26, n. 4 (1983): 268-312 for a criticism of her works and Phyllis F. Mannocchi, “Vernon Lee: A Reintroduction and Primary Bibliography” *English Literature in Transition* 26 (1983): 231-67 for a bibliography of her writings.

⁸³ Berenson accused both Lee and Scott of stealing his ideas and publishing them.

⁸⁴ Lee, *Beauty & Ugliness*. See also Vernon Lee, *The Beautiful. An Introduction to Psychological Aesthetics*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1913).

⁸⁵ Lee, *Beauty & Ugliness*, 18, 20. In 1909 Titchener translated *Einfühlung* as “empathy,” and the study is often called “empathy” theory.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 23.

own direct physical experience of the pressure of standing on our own two feet and the “arches” that are made by our legs.⁸⁷

Lee and her partner’s works however were not widely read within the architectural circles of Britain. Scott was surprised that empathy theory had not been previously applied in architectural criticism in Britain, and he noted that even “the most philosophical of our critics,” Reginald Blomfield, had discounted it.⁸⁸ In *The Mistress Art*, Blomfield admitted that he did not fully understand this type of æsthetic theory and felt that it was of no use to the “practical artist.” He did, however, recognize that an emotional connection did exist between the art object and the viewer: “We may leave it to the industry of German speculation, and start a little further on with the fact that certain human creations do raise in us a certain thrill of feeling. ... The justification of our work as artists is that it does as a fact stir this emotion, and we may take this as our datum without further researches into the fact itself.”⁸⁹ Lee also acknowledged the importance of the theory to the artist as well as to the viewer. “But every æsthetic form embodies, in its individual reality, the empathic preferences of one individual; of this artist or that, who informs that type, that schematic abstract form, given him by school, country, or all mankind, ... So that ... the æsthetic form which gives us joy is giving us the finest vital rhythms and patterns of a great, rich, and harmonious individual ...”⁹⁰ In *The Architecture of Humanism* Scott was the first to systematically apply empathy theory in British architectural theory.

To achieve aesthetic beauty in architecture, Scott called for the careful study and application of four “irreducible elements” that related directly to the relationship between architecture and its æsthetic experience: “Line,” “Space,” “Mass,” and “Coherence.”⁹¹ In each

⁸⁷ Ibid., 196+. The discussion continued to the application of the pointed arch in Gothic architecture and the tension that its tension between balance and movement that is pleasurable to the eye.

⁸⁸ Scott, 159-60.

⁸⁹ Blomfield, *The Mistress Art*, 118-19. Instead of the empathetic theories of Lipps and others, Blomfield based his study of æsthetics on Plato, Aristotle, and Lessing.

⁹⁰ Lee, *Beauty & Ugliness*, 364.

⁹¹ Scott, 165-177. The entire third section of the chapter “Humanist Values” is dedicated to the elaboration of these ideas.

case the viewer projects an experience of movement onto the building, either by following of a line with their eyes or by connecting to a past physical memory of movement. Architectural design was the knowledgeable manipulation of these experiences through the four elements.

Each element reflected a different type of physical experience. In space we can imagine movement. In mass we feel the pressure of weight. In line we follow its direction. In coherence we have all the elements working together. Line expressed motion and determined mood. “Identified with ourselves, movement has meaning; and line through movement, becomes a gesture, an expressive act.”⁹² The viewer follows the line with his eyes, and through an “unconscious analogy” feels it in his body. Whereas the act of tracing a vertical line with our eye is uplifting and “awakens in a sense of upward direction,” horizontal lines imply rest.⁹³

Space was the element that distinguished architecture from the other arts. Only architecture uses space as a material, a fact that architectural criticism had not yet recognized.⁹⁴ “The architect models space as a sculptor in clay. He designs his space as a work of art, that is, he attempts through its means to excite a certain mood in those who enter it.”⁹⁵ Scott gave the example of the nave of a church, and how “we begin, almost under compulsion, to walk forward.”⁹⁶ As with line, space adds to the viewer’s emotional interaction with architecture. The pleasure that the viewer derives from architecture is in a large part due to the way he experiences its spatial qualities.

The architect uses mass—the solid material of the building—to shape space. Mass implied weight and resistance. Scott outlined three conditions in the use of mass in architectural design: “the effect of the whole must predominate over the parts;” “the whole must conform to our sense

⁹² Ibid., 165.

⁹³ Ibid., 166.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 168. Interestingly Scott differentiated between two and three-dimensional space. Two-dimensional space was the arrangement of forms on a surface, he used the analogy of arranging pictures on a wall—a task that he frequently did for Bernard Berenson at the I Tatti. The pictures would give the impression of feeling either “crowded” or “lost.” Ibid., 166.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 169.

⁹⁶ Ibid. His example is strikingly similar to those in Berenson’s article.

of powerfully adjusted weight;” and “the several parts of the building should be kept in proper ‘scale’.”⁹⁷ From mass the viewer can feel security, power, and strength. He pointed to how the volutes and sculpture of the church of Sta. Maria della Salute of Venice created a “unity of bulk.” Similarly the heavy cornice of an Italian Renaissance palazzo also contributes to the bulk and mass of the building, emphasizing the building as a whole.⁹⁸

Coherence was “the basis of style.”⁹⁹ While Scott’s other elements all contributed directly to the aesthetic experience, coherence took into account the means by which decisions were made in relationships to the infinite permutations of the other elements. While the other elements contributed directly to the “humanism” of architecture, through its interpretation by the body, it was from coherence that order and beauty ultimately occurred in architecture.

The final chapter of the book, “Art and Thought,” as published in the first edition, presented a conclusion that was complex and difficult to understand. Setting up an allegory of Architecture, Taste, and Criticism (the mistress, her lover, and the nurse, respectively) Scott tried to frame the relationships between the characters, concluding with the moral that “how opposite in their nature are the arts of form to the intelligence which reasons them.”¹⁰⁰ Art and thought, he concluded, were in “mutually exclusive isolation.”¹⁰¹ This was exacerbated by the nineteenth-century revival of styles—“For the first time in history the whole of art has become contemporary”—that led architecture to lose its common language.¹⁰² This lost common language was the “humanism” of architecture. For art to improve, the focus of criticism had to

⁹⁷ Ibid., 172-3.

⁹⁸ One of the few negative examples that Scott gave was of the addition to South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria and Albert). He criticized the details and the individual parts for being at a scale that was too small for the building’s overall mass. Ibid., 173.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 175.

¹⁰⁰ Scott, 1914, 247.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 252.

¹⁰² Ibid., 253.

shift from the work of art itself to the viewer's reaction to it, "since it is this, and this alone, which determines its quality."¹⁰³

The way to study and quantify the viewer's reaction was through the use of psychology.¹⁰⁴ This application of psychology to architecture would be new in Britain. For Scott it created an opportunity to analyze the different reactions to the fundamental architectural elements of line, space, mass, and coherence. "This will be the true æsthetic of architecture, and here would be found the laws ... of the third 'condition of well-being'—its delight."¹⁰⁵

Scott himself was never happy with this final chapter. In a letter to Mary Berenson in 1913 he wrote:

It is the one in which I deal with the relation to architecture of the ideated sensation theories of the Lipps-BB-Hildebrand-and (alas!) Vernon Lee-nexus. The difficulties of exposition—especially in a single chapter—are very great. You see an exact and true statement of the matter, as I see it, is too philosophical and tedious for a book like mine,—and for the space I can afford, while an agreeable adumbration such as BB goes in for, sails too lightly over really grave philosophical difficulties, it is too slippery, and scandalises the logically minded beyond measure while it puzzles the exact psychologists ... I don't know when I shall feel I have got the chapter to my taste. That the rest of the book is pretty good I feel confident.¹⁰⁶

For the second edition, Scott condensed his roughly twenty-page final chapter into less than six pages. He clarified the argument substantially by deleting the allegory at the beginning and the

¹⁰³ Ibid., 255.

¹⁰⁴ For a thorough analysis of this topic primarily outside of Britain see Mark Jarzombek, *The Psychologizing of Modernity. Art, Architecture, and History*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 243, including a brief mention of Vernon Lee and other British writers who took up empathy theory.

¹⁰⁵ Scott, *The Architecture of Humanism*, 1914, 258.

¹⁰⁶ Dunn, 111; citing letter from Geoffrey Scott to Mary Berenson Oct, 18, 1913. Dunn states that Scott continued to refine the last chapter even after the remainder of the manuscript had gone to the publisher.

conflict between art and thought, leaving the final—and strongest—argument on humanism as the æsthetic experience of architecture. These changes strengthened his core thesis, and it is this edition which is most commonly assigned to students of architecture and aesthetics today, and that has been recently re-issued.¹⁰⁷

Scott also added a brief epilogue to this second edition where he tried to respond to some of the criticism of the original publication and clarify his ideas. Noting that the work had been referred to as a defense of the Baroque, he responded that his use of the Baroque was primarily as an example of its “purely psychological approach to design.”¹⁰⁸ He was careful however to distinguish this psychological and æsthetic approach from “theory”—“precisely one of the roots of all our mischief.” For Scott theory was purely intellectual, and he accused it of taking the place of building tradition, including the architecture of both Nash and Wren.¹⁰⁹ The contemporary lack of recognition of the works of these architects by the public and government officials was evident in the demolition of Nash’s work at Regent Street and several of Wren’s churches during this period.¹¹⁰

For Scott Renaissance architecture was the perfect model to use in an analysis of the state of contemporary architecture for several reasons. First, it “was an architecture controlled beyond all others by disinterested taste ...”¹¹¹ Second, it maintained one language—that of the orders—within great variations and experiments. “No æsthetic purposes could well be more divergent

¹⁰⁷ Geoffrey Scott, *The Architecture of Humanism: A Study in the History of Taste*. (New York: Norton Press, 2004). Reviewed by Witold Rybczynski, “The Triumph of a Distinguished Failure,” *The New York Review of Books* (Oct. 21, 2004): 30-31.

¹⁰⁸ Scott, 187.

¹⁰⁹ This is somewhat ironic as Scott’s book was inevitably placed immediately on the reading lists under the heading of “Theory,” not history. Scott, 184.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 186-7. One other possible way to read Scott’s book, therefore, is as a treatise on the preservation of the English Renaissance building tradition, which was being replaced and surrounded by what he called “commercial and municipal monstrosities.” To find an example of architectural beauty in the streets of London now he compared to having to “tune a violin in the midst of a railway accident.” *Ibid.*, 186. Scott in calling R. N. Shaw’s new building at Regent Street “tumid”, a building which Blomfield held in high regard, he presented it as an example of this loss of the tradition of building and the understanding of what brings pleasure in architecture.

¹¹¹ Scott, 1914, 258.

than those of Bramante and Bernini, yet they employed a single speech.”¹¹² Thirdly, the Renaissance had a fairly limited range of building typologies. Finally, and most importantly, “The centre of that architecture was the human body; its method, to transcribe in stone the body’s favourable states; ...”¹¹³

Ultimately, however, Scott did not present a new architectural “style.” Nor did he propose a method in which to create one that could be considered clear and direct. He began with the Vitruvian triad of “firmness,” “commodity,” and “delight”—taken from Sir Henry Wotton’s interpretation—focusing his attention on “delight.” He then interwove new theories of aesthetics and psychology to forge a new path away from the mistakes—the fallacies—of architectural criticism. As for Renaissance architecture, he did not call for its revival in an archaeological sense, but as the means by which to learn what methods brought about “delight.”

Therefore the Renaissance simply provided the formal exemplars for Scott’s arguments. He fought the fallacies of Ruskin and incorporated the interpretation of Burckhardt. He held most firmly to the approach of Pater, which revolved around the aesthetic experience of deriving pleasure from art. Scott translated this idea to architecture and attempted to give it a psychological interpretation. He sought to explain and promote pleasure in architecture through our own immediate experience of it. Nothing could have been further from the archaeological revival of architectural styles.

By following the trajectory of Scott’s work historians now recognize how it harbors many ideas of the Modern Movement. Setting himself apart from the nineteenth century, both by destroying the fallacies of that period’s architectural criticism and by incorporating and including German aesthetic theory, Scott established an architectural theory that was “reconcilable” with the ideas of the International Style of the 1920s.¹¹⁴ Macleod recognized this influence when he wrote that Scott’s book “had an impact wholly disproportionate to its size, and in some respects, its

¹¹² Ibid., 259.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Macleod, *Style and Society*, 135.

content; it was undoubtedly the most influential single publication on architecture since Ruskin's *Stone of Venice*: it effectively killed many of the developing preoccupations of the nineteenth century, and it shaped the thinking of the succeeding two generations."¹¹⁵ Similar works, such as those by Lee, have not been so fortunate. What can be said about Scott's adherence to the Renaissance as a model? Was it simply a vestige of the previous twenty years of British scholarship? Or was it a sincere attempt to promote a new classically-based language for architecture? Either way, his work represented a distinct transition away from the architectural criticism of the nineteenth century towards a new approach that drew from across disciplines to create an architectural theory.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 130.

Conclusion

The initial increase during the 1890s in Britain in the publication of books on the Renaissance was the culmination of the previous half-century of changes in architectural professionalism, practice, and education. The new university programs in architecture, the Royal Institute of British Architects and its membership examinations, and the decline of the Gothic Revival all contributed to this renewed interest. Many architects sought a single direction in architecture that would be accompanied by an appropriate historical “canon.” Architects were also the primary authors of these first publications and were in effect writing their own history. The early publications on the Renaissance, therefore, reflected the initial fractures and differences within the profession, as many of the writings took on a more polemical tone as there were, according to the authors, lessons to be learned from history. These histories, initiated from a desire for a new classical-modern architecture, in turn influenced education and practice, continuing the reflexive relationship between architectural design and publication that has been in place since the Renaissance.¹

Throughout the decades surrounding the turn of the century, architects interpreted the Renaissance in a variety of ways in their buildings and writings. With the initial shift of focus away from the moralism of the Gothic Revival, Renaissance architecture was taken up as an appropriate model. After a period of eclecticism and liberal stylistic interpretation, architects sought a more regular and uniform approach. The new schools of architecture provided the circumstances in which to mould a generation of architects within a single ideology. While initially the schools each had their own ideology—with a focus on Arts and Crafts, engineering, or art—the programs gradually became more homogenous, aligning themselves with the R.I.B.A.

¹ For a discussion of the impact of publication on architecture in Renaissance Italy, see Mario Carpo, *Architecture in the Age of Printing: Orality, Writing, Typography, and Printed Images in the History of Architectural Theory*. transl. Sarah Benson (London and Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2001).

examination requirements. The possible exemption from the examinations of “registered” programs drove the schools to create curricula that taught to the exams. Students who attended schools that were not exempt had to complete additional requirements to become a member of the R.I.B.A. Classicism was the style of choice in many of these “sanctioned” schools, as it was both teachable and, as the historian Robert Macleod recognized, “evocative” of learning.²

The attraction of the Renaissance was not just intellectual, the style was also understood as creative and imaginative, not a strict following of the rules of classicism. This perception of freedom gave the architect creative liberty and artistic control. The idealization of the Renaissance architect as not only an intellectual fluent in the study of the past but also an artist and highly respected professional held an appeal for the Victorian architect. Architects both within the R.I.B.A., who wanted a more formalized approach to architectural education, and those who were members of the Art Workers’ Guild, opposing the R.I.B.A. and registration, adopted the Renaissance architect as a model; although they emphasized different aspects.

The image of the Renaissance that the late Victorian architects created was linked directly to their own time. Both consciously and unconsciously they modeled and defined the period to reflect themselves. Each author interpreted history through his own contemporary situation. None of the histories was, therefore, neutral; each staked a claim to how architecture should be practiced by a specific interpretation of a historical model. The Renaissance was portrayed as a “modern” style, and even as late as Geoffrey Scott’s book in 1914, it was perceived as having continued uninterrupted from the mid fifteenth century to the revival of medievalism in the nineteenth.

Ultimately, these works on the Renaissance both contributed and limited the architecture of the following decades. They provided a system of architectural education that was easily applicable to groups (as compared to the apprentice system which had more individualized

² Macleod, 86-7.

attention), the remnants of which are still visible today. They also reinforced the idea of the individual, creative genius, i.e. the architect that struggled with the process of the production of his singular image of the design.³ Because these histories were so tied to the system of professionalization, they also legitimized not only the architectural profession by giving it a clearly defined history, but contributed to the formation of the historical canon of western architectural history. Through the prioritization of the Renaissance at such a critical point in the development of architectural history, the continuity of classicism has dominated architectural history with an emphasis on the history of the architecture Western Europe, countries which experienced the Renaissance.⁴ One of the most important contributions was that it worked at both the level of the detail, as seen in the purchasing of ornamental casts by Reilly and other schools, and at the level of the abstract principle, i.e. proportion, symmetry, etc. The abstraction of Renaissance principles that were maintained even during the influence of continental modernism once it had reached the shores of Britain. This flexibility extended the life of the style.

The placement of the Renaissance as an exemplar may have also limited several aspects of architectural development. First, by establishing the opposition between Renaissance and medieval architecture, the study of which has subsequently been in many ways removed from the realm of architectural history and shifted outside the discipline to art history. Second, the revivals of the Renaissance had not planned for a development or progression to another style. While as a style it could be adapted and abstracted, it could not adjust to the radical changes brought on by World War I. It was not openly expressive of technology, and tended not to focus on the building's function or material development.

The study of the Renaissance in these years could not have prepared the architect and the profession for the influx of continental modernism. The "old guard" such as Blomfield protested

³ This fed directly into the idea of the "star" architect that we have today.

⁴ There are obviously many other factors, but the rise of the Renaissance at such a critical juncture of architecture's historiography played a critical part.

the new style, calling it an “epidemic.”⁵ What they could not have been foreseen was the total lack of interest in history and architecture’s past as a core of architectural design. For many this was out of the question. Blomfield, in his diatribe *Modernismus*, recognized that young architects were “starting a new manner of their own ... They consider that the past has no meaning for them, and that all they have to do is look to the present.”⁶ Those who held by the ideals of the Renaissance highly valued the history of architecture. To remove history totally from design would have been outside the realm of the nineteenth-century mentality.

The historian Eric Hobsbawm has posited that the establishment of a connection to the past can be made through an “invention of tradition.”⁷ While he was writing specifically about practices that are established as rituals, the revival of historical styles (more specifically the use of the classical orders) worked in a similar way to create “continuity with a suitable historic past.”⁸ With the emphasis on “suitable,” these early writings on Renaissance architecture can be seen as attempts to reconstruct this tradition. While they are all “history,” they are equally “factitious” in that “they are responses to novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations, or establish their own past by quasi-obligatory repetition.”⁹ This repetition was the gradual building of a canon of the history of the architecture based on the Renaissance that was accepted as the core of architectural education.

Reginald Blomfield’s selection of the name “Grand Manner” at first seems to preclude any reference to the past, except that he used primarily examples from throughout history to illustrate his ideas. He was setting up what was in his mind a new and “modern” approach to architecture. That he had not chosen to name the new approach after a specific past style or

⁵ Blomfield, *Modernismus*, v.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁷ Eric Hobsbawm, “Introduction: Inventing Traditions,” *The Invention of Tradition*, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1-2. Hobsbawm briefly applied his thesis to architectural style, specifically addressing the reconstruction of the Houses of Parliament after WWII.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.

architect—such as the Wrennaissance, Re-renaissance, or Queen Anne—implied the desire at some level for a break with the past, when he was actually framing it as a direct connection to the classical building tradition. Hobsbawm noted that “[i]n all such cases novelty is no less novel for being able to dress up as antiquity.” Blomfield’s ideas—and even his buildings to a degree—were novel, in part because of how they chose to use the architecture of the past to create a new architecture.

William J. Anderson’s untimely death precludes an analysis of how his writings on the Renaissance might have influenced his designs. As one of the first to write on Renaissance architecture in English, he had specific goals in mind for the book. Primarily, he wanted to refute the prejudices of the Gothic Revivalists and establish Italian Renaissance architecture as worthy of study, in effect replacing one invented tradition with another. Pointing out the lessons to be learned in the study of history and the positive and negative aspects of the style, he was using his survey of the Italian Renaissance as a way to further its legitimatization.

Both Anderson and Blomfield were filling a niche in the architectural publication market. Each saw the need for a historical context for the buildings that were already being studied in folios of drawings, photographs, and in person. They were trying to educate architects by a consolidation and formalization of the history of the style. These books were the first forays into the establishment of a canon of architectural history beyond the architecture of the Middle Ages.

Geoffrey Scott in *The Architecture of Humanism* had to dismantle the “invented traditions” of the nineteenth century before he could construct his own for a new architecture. His new architecture was not based directly on the architecture of the past, although like Blomfield, he used history as an example. Scott instead chose to base his proposition on æsthetic theories. Through his interpretation of *Einfühlung*, he introduced English architects to its possible application to architectural theory. Scott’s emphasis on the architecture of the Renaissance and Baroque was not as a study of its history, but as examples of the experiences that buildings should give to those who visit and occupy them. While the book’s initial reception in

1914 was reduced because of the war, it received positive reviews, and on its republication a decade later it was immensely popular.

It might even be argued that Scott's interpretation of the Renaissance through these continental theories, prepared the English architect for the influx of intellectuals from Germany in the following decades. These writers—Rudolf Wittkower, Nikolaus Pevsner, etc.—brought with them a more intimate knowledge of continental modernism and the theories and methods behind it. But Scott's book was in a sense a first step and was a thoroughly English application of German empathy theory.

Inevitably, any work of this breadth ultimately raised more questions than it answered, and there are several issues that are worth researching further. The first of these is the role that Oxford University played in the development of the study of the Renaissance in Great Britain. It was the first university in England to offer a course on the period titled "Italy 1492-1513," by Edward Armstrong in 1885, and was also the home for many the first writers on the Renaissance, including John Ruskin, J. A. Symonds, and Walter Pater.¹⁰ That Blomfield and Scott were both educated there in the Greats is an indication of not only the considerable impact of a classical education in the nineteenth century in the development of historiography, but possibly also an affinity that they felt with the Renaissance humanists as compatriots in the study of antiquity. These young men would have had to learn the classical languages as well as contemporary German, as it was the language of scholarship in classical archaeology. While Blomfield focused on his studies, Scott did not and was more interested in the books available in the library but not on his reading lists—Kant, Wölfflin, and other books on philosophy—but both men were deeply influenced by their time there.

¹⁰ D.S. Chambers, "Edward Armstrong (1846-1928), Teacher of the Italian Renaissance at Oxford," Law, John E. and Lene Østermark-Johansen, eds., *Victorian and Edwardian Responses to the Italian Renaissance* (Hants, England: Ashgate, 2005), 213.

Although these men were not all at Oxford at the same time, there seems to have been a continuous discourse on the Renaissance throughout the period. A thorough comparison of the figures and courses at Oxford versus Cambridge and other universities might give an indication as to specific influences or relationships in this discussion. While a closer look at the personal papers of these men and others to paint a picture of the intellectual and social scene at Oxford might indicate connections and discussions occurring at a more informal level.

The second issue is the importance of the individual in Victorian culture. The creation of the image of the architect as a singular creative genius in charge of the entire design was in part owing to the larger Victorian belief in the pre-eminence of the individual. The definition of individualism can be particularly tricky as the historian Norman Nelson has pointed out. In his questioning of whether or not individualism was a criteria for the Renaissance, he recognized that “[t]he term individualism ... has been used so broadly as to include recognition of the individual as a value, the sanction for singularity, moral autonomy, and self assertiveness. It has also been employed to designate what is more accurately called subjectivity.”¹¹ Julie Codell’s analysis of the artist biography would be a perfect starting point for this study.¹² She noted that the nineteenth century was a period that was at a certain level obsessed (Nietzsche called it an “epidemic”) with the biography. While the main focus of my research would be the biographies of Sir Christopher Wren, Michelangelo, and other prominent Renaissance architects, of equal value would be a study of the biographies and memoirs of the late Victorian and Edwardian architects. Almost all the prominent architects of this period left a memoir (Blomfield, Reilly, Jackson, etc.), and how they portray themselves would be a fascinating study.

¹¹ Norman Nelson, “Individualism as a Criterion of the Renaissance,” *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 32 (1933): 332.

¹² Edward Bristow, *Individualism versus Socialism in Britain, 1880-1914. Modern European History*. A Garland Series of Outstanding Dissertations. William H. McNeill, ed. (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc. 1987), and Julie F. Codell, *The Victorian Artist. Artists’ Lifewritings in Britain ca. 1870-1910* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

The third question that this research has raised is the relationship between Great Britain and America at the turn of the century in the establishment of architectural education and an idealized modern classicism. Blomfield, Reilly, Scott, and many other architects of the period traveled to the U.S. to visit the new schools of architecture there and see the works of architects such as H. H. Richardson and McKim, Mead, and White.¹³ They visited the architecture schools at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Harvard University, and Columbia University and came back with new ideas for curricula and new connections to the American architectural circle. As there was a distinct antipathy by many British architects towards France, the Ecole des Beaux-Arts as a direct academic model was out of the question for some (despite desperately wanting to have such state support). Their interpretation of the Beaux-Arts seems to have come through its adaptation in American schools, which were producing work of which the British highly approved. Reilly so respected American design that he sent his best students to internships in architectural offices in New York on a regular basis. A closer study of these visits and the resulting correspondence would highlight this aspect of British architectural education, which has tended to be overlooked.

Fourth, would be the study of race as it related to the writing of the history of Renaissance architecture in the nineteenth century. James Fergusson, in particular, framed much of his work within an ethnographic analysis. How he and other architects used race to justify the study or neglect of certain periods would be of particular importance to better understand how later writers like Anderson and Blomfield still felt the need to include a racial justification in the study of the Italian and English Renaissance.

Finally (although there are really many more issues that can be pursued) is the development of town planning as a separate discipline from architecture and what role it might have had in the acceptance of the Baroque. As the history of architecture was on the wane in

¹³ Reilly wrote the first book on McKim, Mead, and White outside of the U.S., and he held their architecture as an ideal for his students at Liverpool. C. H. Reilly, *McKim, Mead & White* (reprint New York: Benjamin Blom, 1972).

terms of its importance in the studio, town planning was developing its own history. This history was a way to legitimize this new field—just as the history of architecture had been really a history of the *profession* of architecture—and it relied primarily on the urban interventions of Renaissance and Baroque Rome as focal points for study.

These issues and others are a testament to the depth and richness of material available for the period. The questions could have equally well have been asked regarding the Middle Ages or another period, but it is ultimately the Renaissance which has been established as the beginning of modern architecture, because it was the period in mind when the late Victorian and Edwardian architects were defining themselves. Ultimately, they were no more Renaissance than we are, but in the continuities in their histories, they created a Renaissance that was a reflection of their own interests and desires.

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Archives

British School at Rome
 Glasgow School of Art
 King's College London
 Royal Academy of Art
 Royal Institute of British Architects
 University College London
 University of Liverpool
 Victoria and Albert Museum

Illustration List

- 1.1. Map of typical routes to Rome.
Source: B. Barefoot, *The English Road to Rome* (Upton-upon-Severn: Images, 1993): 114.
- 1.2. Advertisement for Passport Service.
Source: John Murray. *A Handbook for Travellers in Central Italy Part One: Southern Tuscany and the Papal States*. London: John Murray, 1857.
- 1.3. Discovery of Roman Mosaic. *The Illustrated London News*, 29 May 1869.
Source: "Roman London," *The Illustrated London News* 29 May 1869; as reprinted in Leonard de Vries and Ilonka van Amstel, *History as Hot News 1865-1897. The late Nineteenth Century world as seen through the eyes of The Illustrated London News and The Graphic*. (London: John Murray).
- 1.4. Ford Madox Brown. *The Romans Building a Fort at Mancenion*, 1880. Great Hall, Town Hall, Manchester.
Source: Kenneth Bendiner. *The Art of Ford Madox Brown* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998): fig. 73.
- 1.5. Piranesi, View of Colosseum, Rome.
- 1.6. Map of Rome.
Source: A. Hare, *Walks in Rome*. 16th edition (New York: George Rutledge and Sons, 1904): foldout.

- 2.1. Val Prinsep's House. Holland Park, London, by Philip Webb, 1864-76,
Source: M. B. Adams. *Artists' Homes*, 1883, as illustrated in Giles Walkley. *Artists' Houses in London 1764-1914* (Hants, England: Scolar Press, 1994): 51, fig. 35.
- 2.2. Marcus Stone House. Melbury Road, Holland Park, by Norman Shaw, 1876.
Source: M. B. Adams. *Artists' Homes*, 1883, as illustrated in Giles Walkley. *Artists' Houses in London 1764-1914* (Hants, England: Scolar Press, 1994): 60, fig. 42.
- 2.3. Marcus Stone House 2.
Source: Photo of studio from *The Art Annual 1896, The Art Journal*, in Giles Walkley. *Artists' Houses in London 1764-1914* (Hants, England: Scolar Press, 1994): 61, fig. 43.

- 4.1. Royal Architectural Museum.
Source: *Specimens in the Royal Architectural Museum Westminster, 1869-79*. Photographs by Bedford Lemere. Courtesy of the R.I.B.A. Photographs Collection.
- 4.2. H. Chalton Bradshaw, View of Praeneste restored, 1919.
Source: A. Wallace-Hadrill, *The British School at Rome* (London, The British School at Rome, 2001): 52.
- 4.3. The Study as painted by Joseph Gandy in 1822
Source: *Sir John Soane's Museum. A Short Description*. pamphlet (Nottingham: Sherwood Press, 2005).
- 4.4. Crystal Palace Medieval Court by A.W.N. Pugin, 1851.
Source: Eric de Maré, *London 1851. The Year of the Great Exhibition* (London: The Folio Society, 1972): figure 61.
- 4.5. Elgin Marbles in the Elgin Room of the British Museum (1817-31), depicted by A. Archer, c. 1819. Archer has included himself in the right foreground.
Source: Christopher Hitchens, *Imperial Spoils. The Curious Case of the Elgin Marbles* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1987): 29.

- 4.6. Royal Architectural Museum. General View.
Source: *Specimens in the Royal Architectural Museum Westminster, 1869-79*. Photographs by Bedford Lemere. Courtesy of the British Library.
- 4.7. The Architecture Lecture Room, the Classic Side, King's College London.
Source: B. Fletcher and B. F. Fletcher, *A History of Architecture for the Student, Craftsman and Amateur: being a comparative view of historical styles from the earliest period* (London: Batsford, 1896): fig. 32.
- 4.8. The Architecture Lecture Room, the Gothic Side, King's College London.
Source: B. Fletcher and B. F. Fletcher, *A History of Architecture for the Student, Craftsman and Amateur*, fig. 33.
- 4.9. Charles Reilly in a Liverpool School of Architecture studio c. 1930s. Note the lack of casts.
Source: *Charles Reilly and the Liverpool School of Architecture* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1996).
- 5.1. Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, London, Charles Barry. Plan and Elevation from Carlton Gardens
Source: Rev. Alfred Barry. *Life and Works of Sir Charles Barry* (New York: Benjamin Blom, Inc, 1972): illustrations 1-2.
- 5.2. Reform Club, Pall Mall, London, Charles Barry. Plan and Elevation from the Mall.
Source: Rev. Alfred Barry. *Life and Works of Sir Charles Barry* (New York: Benjamin Blom, Inc, 1972): illustrations 3-4.
- 5.3. Carlton Club, Pall Mall, London, Sydney Smirke.
Source: James Stevens Curl. *Victorian Architecture* (London: David & Charles, 1990): 95, plate 51.
- 5.4. Houses of Parliament, Westminster, Charles Barry and A.W.N. Pugin. Plan of Principal Floor, 1843.
Source: M. H. Port. *The Houses of Parliament. Studies in British Art* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1976): 107, fig. 66.
- 5.5. Houses of Parliament, Westminster, Charles Barry and A.W.N. Pugin. view from across the Thames.
Source: Christine Riding and Jacqueline Riding, eds. *The Houses of Parliament. History Art Architecture* (London: Merrell Publishers, Ltd., 2000): 6.
- 5.6. Royal Courts of Justice, The Strand, London, G.E. Street, 1874-82. Strand view looking east.
Source: James Stevens Curl. *Victorian Architecture*, 65, plate 21, photo from Royal Commission on the Historical monuments of England No BB88/5488.
- 5.7. George Gilbert Scott's final Gothic design for the Foreign Office, Whitehall, London, 1859.
Source: Ian Toplis, *The Foreign Office. An Architectural History* (London: Mansell Publishing, Ltd., 1987): fig. 10.
- 5.8. Scott's 1860 Byzantine scheme for the Foreign Office.
Source: Ian Toplis, *The Foreign Office. An Architectural History*, fig. 11.
- 5.9. Scott's Classical design for the Foreign Office, 1861.
Source: Ian Toplis, *The Foreign Office. An Architectural History*, fig. 12.
- 5.10. Bedford Park, London. Plan.
Source: T. Affleck Greeves. *Bedford Park—the First Garden Suburb* (London, 1975; reprint London: The Bedford Park Society, 1999).
- 5.11. Bedford Park, London, Example of House design by Richard Norman Shaw.
Source: T. Affleck Greeves. *Bedford Park—the First Garden Suburb*.
- 5.12. Institute of Chartered Accountants, Moorgate Place, London, John Belcher and Beresford Pite, 1893. General View. Photo 1893.
Source: Terry Friedman, Derek Linstrum, et. al., *The Alliance of Sculpture and Architecture. Hamo Thornycroft, John Belcher and the Institute of Chartered Accountants Building* (Leeds: The Henry Moore Centre, 1993): figure 16. The 1893

- photographs were originally published in John Belcher, *The Institute of Chartered Accountants in England and Wales* (London: B.T.Batsford), 1893).
- 5.13. Institute of Chartered Accountants, Moorgate Place, London, John Belcher and Beresford Pite, 1893. View of Corbel and Oriel. Photo 1893.
Source: Terry Friedman, Derek Linstrum, et. al., 81.
 - 5.14. Institute of Chartered Accountants, Moorgate Place, London, John Belcher and Beresford Pite, 1893. Interior of (Old) Council Chamber pre-1969 renovation.
Source: Source: Alastair Service, *Edwardian Architecture and Its Origins* (London: The Architectural Press, 1975): 314, figure 6.
 - 5.15. View of Frieze Panel “Building,” Institute of Chartered Accountants, Moorgate Place, London, John Belcher and Beresford Pite, 1893.
Source: Terry Friedman, Derek Linstrum, et. al., figure 22.
 - 5.16. Mappin House, Oxford Street, London, John Belcher and J. Joass, 1906-8.
Source: Alastair Service, *Edwardian Architecture and Its Origins*, fig. 12.
 - 5.17. British Medical Association (now Zimbabwe House), The Strand, London, Charles Holden and Percy Adams, 1907-8.
Source: Alastair Service, *Edwardian Architecture and Its Origins*, 215.
 - 5.18. Postcard view of British Pavilion in the 1911 International Exhibition, Rome.
Source: P. Hugh, *Lutyens in Italy* (London: The British School in Rome, 1992): 19.
 - 5.19. Comparison of British Pavilion and elevation of St. Paul’s Cathedral, London.
Source: P. Hugh, *Lutyens in Italy*, 14. Image of the Pavilion courtesy of the British School at Rome archives.
 - 5.20. Perspective drawing of the final scheme British School at Rome, 1916.
Source: A. Hopkins, “Lutyens’s Plans for the British School at Rome,” *Lutyens Abroad*, Andrew Hopkins and Gavin Stamp, eds. (London: The British School at Rome, 2002): 85.
 - 5.21. Image of Piccadilly Circus from *The Builder Calendar*, 1927.
Source: Richard Fellows, *Sir Reginald Blomfield: An Edwardian Architect* (London: A. Zwemmer, 1985).
 - 5.22. Images of Piccadilly Circus, 2006.
Source: photos by author
 - 5.23. “Italianate” buildings of Bayswater, London
Source: www.uncg.edu/hss/images/London/bayswater1.jpg.
- 6.1. Example of Raphael’s decoration in the Vatican loggias and how reproductions of them were displayed in the “Brompton Boilers” of the South Kensington Museum.
Source: Michael Snowden and Maurice Howard, *Ornament. A Social History Since 1450* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996): 11.
 - 6.2. Parallel of the Orders.
Source; Arthur Stratton. *The Orders of Architecture. Greek, Roman and Renaissance with Selected Examples of Their Application* (London: Batsford, 1931; reprint London: Studio Editions, 1986): plate II.
 - 6.3. Example of comparative illustration from Banister F. Fletcher’s *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method*.
Source: Sir Banister F. Fletcher, *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method*, seventh edition (London: B.T.Batsford, 1924): 607.
 - 6.4. House in the Via Giulia, View of Cortile from Vestibule, by B. Peruzzi.
Source: Example of illustration from Letarouilly as used by W. J. Anderson, *The Architecture of the Renaissance in Italy* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1896).
 - 6.5. Aumbrey in side chapel of Sant’Anastasia, Verona.
Source: John Kinross, *Details from Italian Buildings, Chiefly Renaissance* (Edinburgh: George Waterston & Sons, 1882): plate 45.

- 7.1. Title Page of *Architectural Studies in Italy*, 1890, and Plate XII Churches in Rome by William J. Anderson.
Source: William J. Anderson, *Architectural Studies in Italy* (Glasgow: Maclure, Macdonald & Co., 1890).
- 7.2. Elevation of the Cortile of the Palazzo Massimi, Rome, Plate VII.
Source: William J. Anderson, *Architectural Studies in Italy*.
- 7.3. Antique Fragments from Rome in the Museo Vaticano, Rome, Plate XIII.
Source: William J. Anderson, *Architectural Studies in Italy*.
- 7.4. Marble Pulpit of S. Annunziata, Genoa, Plates II-III.
Source: William J. Anderson, *Architectural Studies in Italy*.
- 8.1. Caricature of John Ruskin drawn by Reginald Blomfield while he was a student at Oxford University, c. 1877.
Source: Oxford University Archive. *Oxford Caricatures* vol. 3 #475.
- 8.2. Example from one of Reginald Blomfield's sketchbooks of a study of local architecture.
Source: R.I.B.A. Archive.
- 8.3. Example of illustration by Blomfield from his *The History of Renaissance Architecture in England*, 1897.
Source: Reginald Blomfield, *The History of Renaissance Architecture in England, 1500-1800* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1897).
- 8.4. Hampton Court. Example of photographic illustration from Blomfield's *The History of Renaissance Architecture in England*.
Source: Reginald Blomfield, *The History of Renaissance Architecture in England, 1500-1800*.
- 8.5. Inigo Jones's Banqueting House, Whitehall, London, as illustrated in Blomfield's *The History of Renaissance Architecture in England*.
Source: Reginald Blomfield, *The History of Renaissance Architecture in England, 1500-1800*.
- 9.1. Portrait of Geoffrey Scott by Le Chevalier de Bouvard, 1925, and caricature of Scott by Cecil Pinsent, c. 1912.
Source: *Lettre de Zuylen et Du Pontet*. No. 6 (September 1981): 3. Available in the Biographic file for G. Scott at the British Architectural Library. Caricature by Cecil Pinsent in R.I.B.A. Drawings Collection PB318/15(8).
- 9.2. Drawing of design for Bernard Berenson's library at i Tatti, by Cecil Pinsent, c. 1914.
Source: R.I.B.A. Drawings Collection PB318/10.
- 9.3. Drawing of design for villa for Charles A Strong, Esq. at Fiesole, July 1912, by G. Scott and C. Pinsent.
Source: R.I.B.A. Drawings Collection PB318/7(6).
- 9.4. William Henry Hunt (1790-1864), *Primroses and Bird's Nest*, watercolor, no date.
Source: Julian Treuherz, *Victorian Painting* (London: Thames & Hudson, Ltd., 1993): fig. 63.

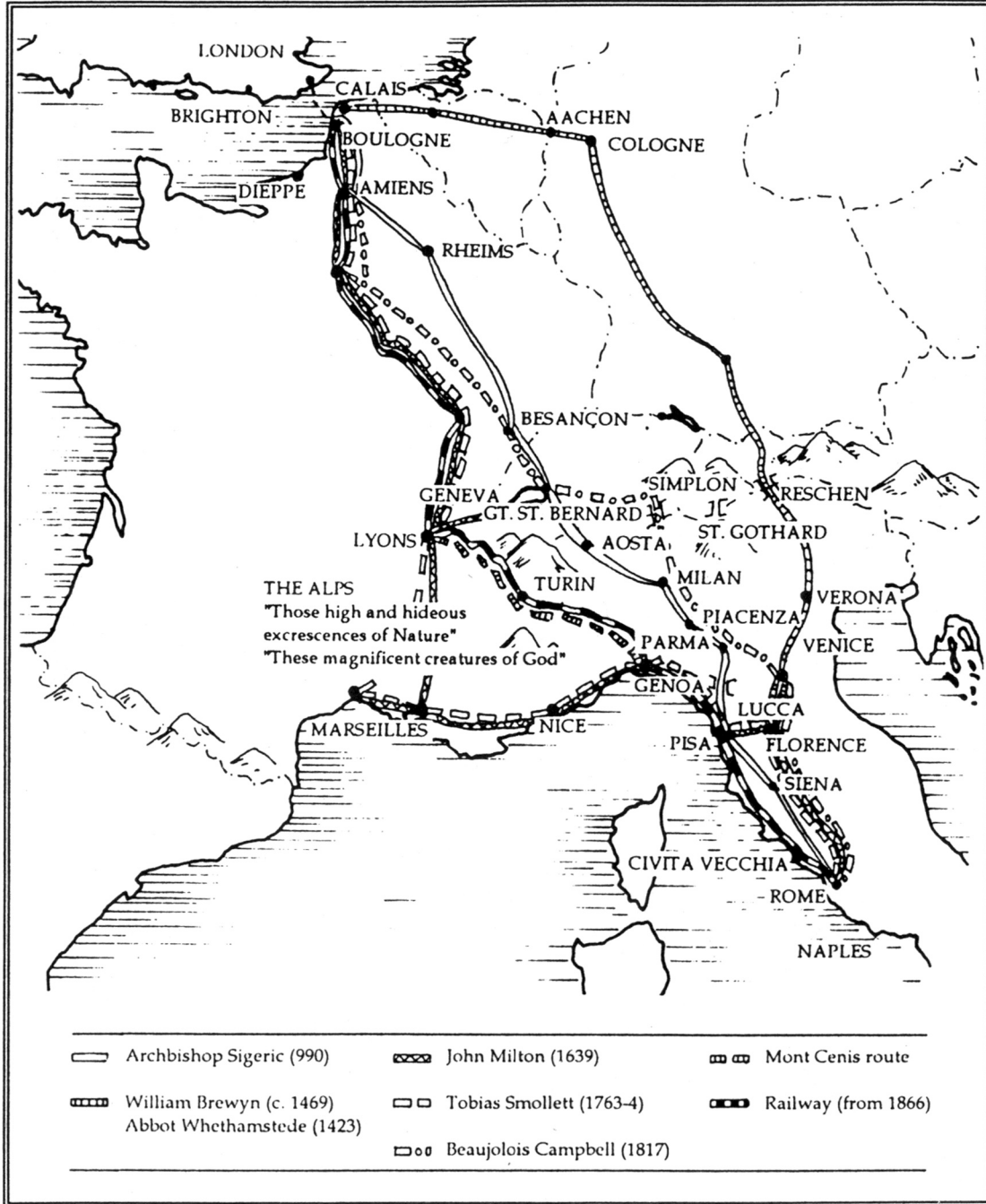


Figure 1.1. Map of possible routes from London to Rome.



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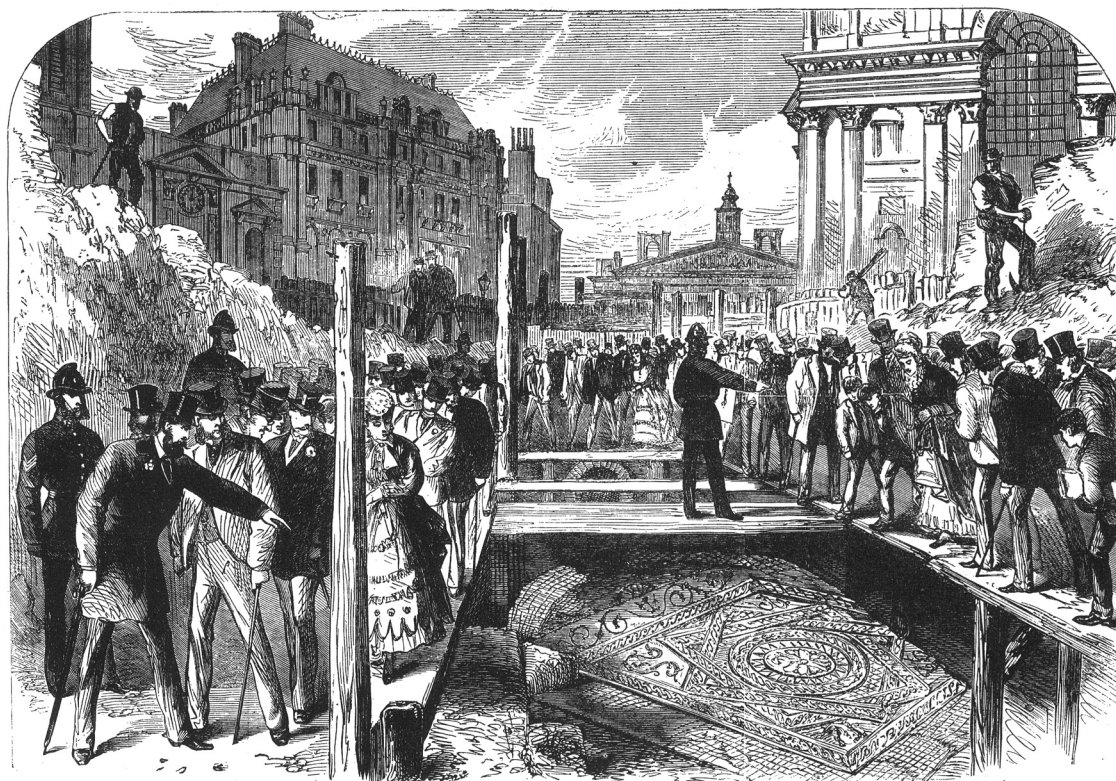
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Figure 1.2. Advertisement for Passport Services.
John Murray's *Handbook for Travellers*, 1857.



Roman Pavement found in the Poultry, near the Mansion House.

Figure 1.3. Discovery of Roman Mosaic. *The Illustrated London News*, 29 May 1869.

“An interesting addition has just been made to the evidences of Roman occupation by the discovery in the City of a tessellated pavement, in the course of excavating at the back of the Poultry for the formation of the new street from the Mansion House to Blackfriars. It lies about 17 ft. from the surface of the ground and though it is 1400 years old it is apparently fresh and perfect. It is of a bold type, of geometrical pattern. The tesserae are of five colours, by no means brilliant hue; the outer portion being of common red and yellow brick, the whole laid in the ordinary Roman mortar, and upon tiles.”



Figure 1.4. Ford Madox Brown, *The Romans Building a Fort at Mancenion*, Great Hall, Manchester Town Hall, 1880.



Figure 1.5. View of Colosseum by Piranesi.

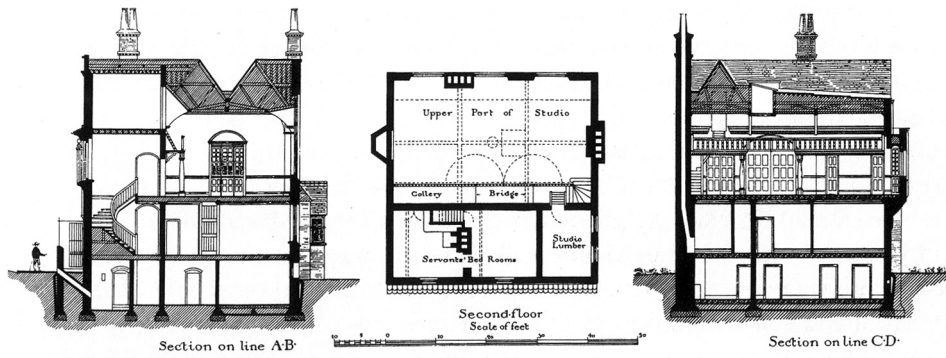


Figure 2.1. Val Prinsep's House. Holland Park, London, by Philip Webb, 1864-76.

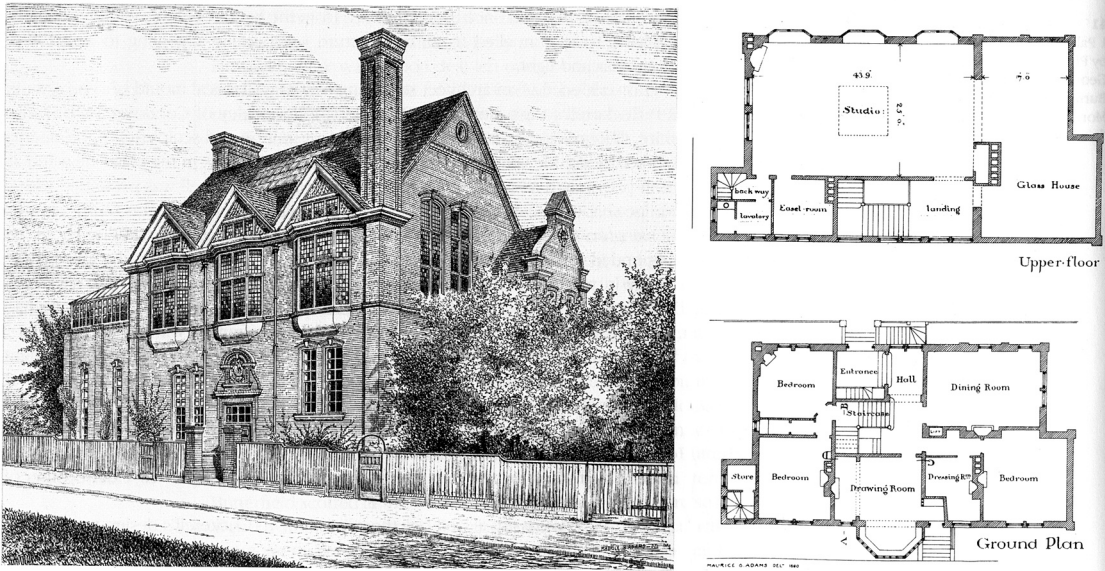


Figure 2.2. Marcus Stone House. Melbury Road, Holland Park, London, Richard Norman Shaw, 1876. Drawings from Adams's *Artists' Homes*, 1883.

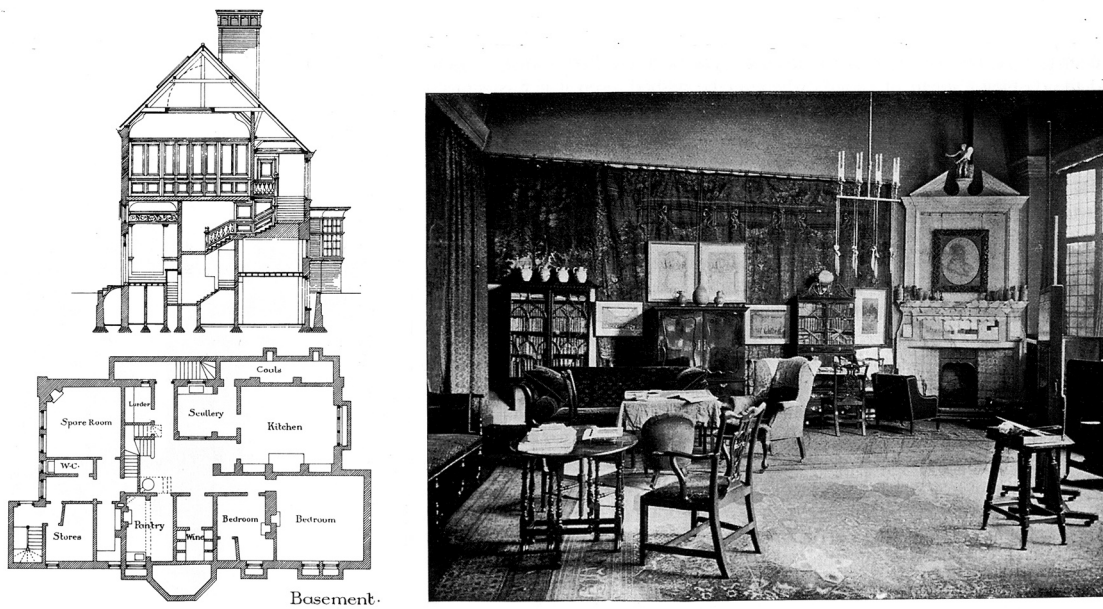


Figure 2.3. Marcus Stone House. Melbury Road, Holland Park, London, Richard Norman Shaw, 1876. Drawings from Adams's *Artists' Homes*, 1883.

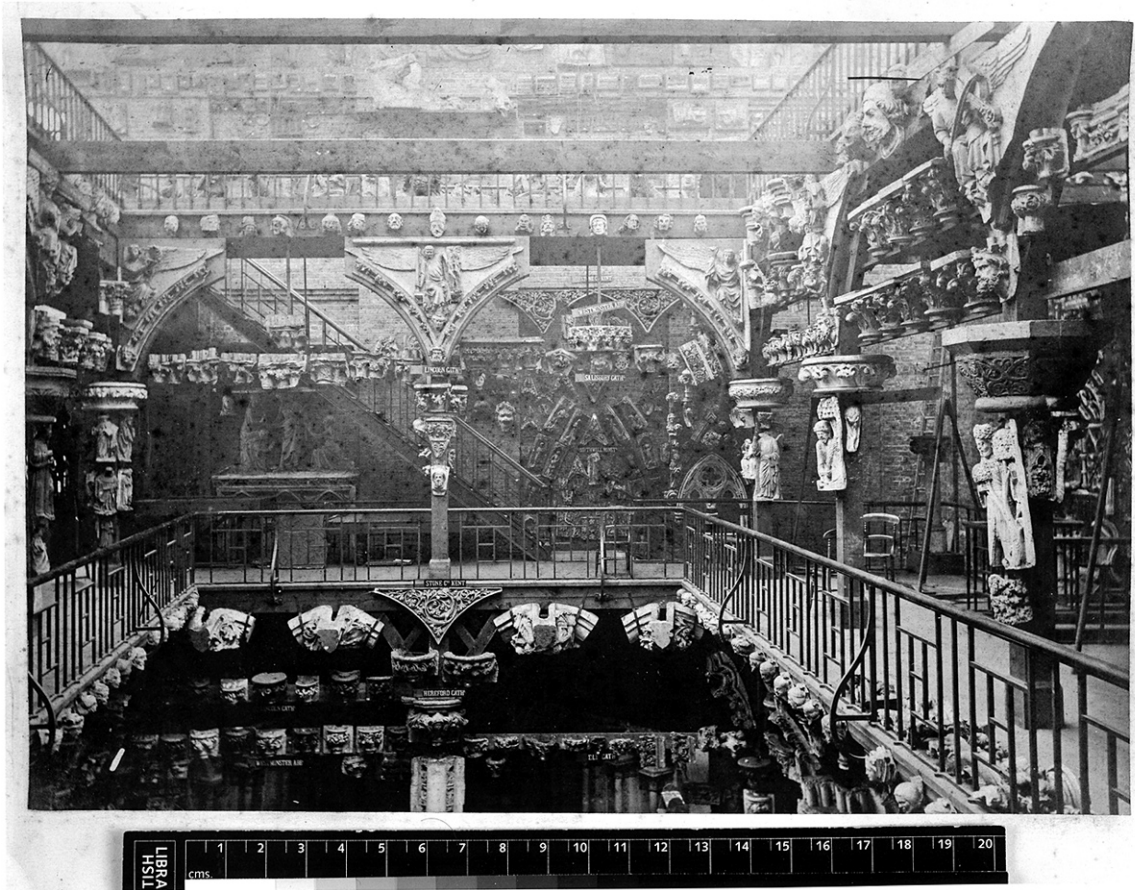


Figure 4.1. Royal Architectural Museum.



Figure 4.2. Chalton Bradshaw. Reconstruction of Praeneste done while he was a student at the British School at Rome.



Figure 4.3. The Study of Sir John Soane as painted by Joseph Gandy in 1822.



Figure 4.4. Crystal Palace Medieval Court by A. W. N. Pugin, 1851.

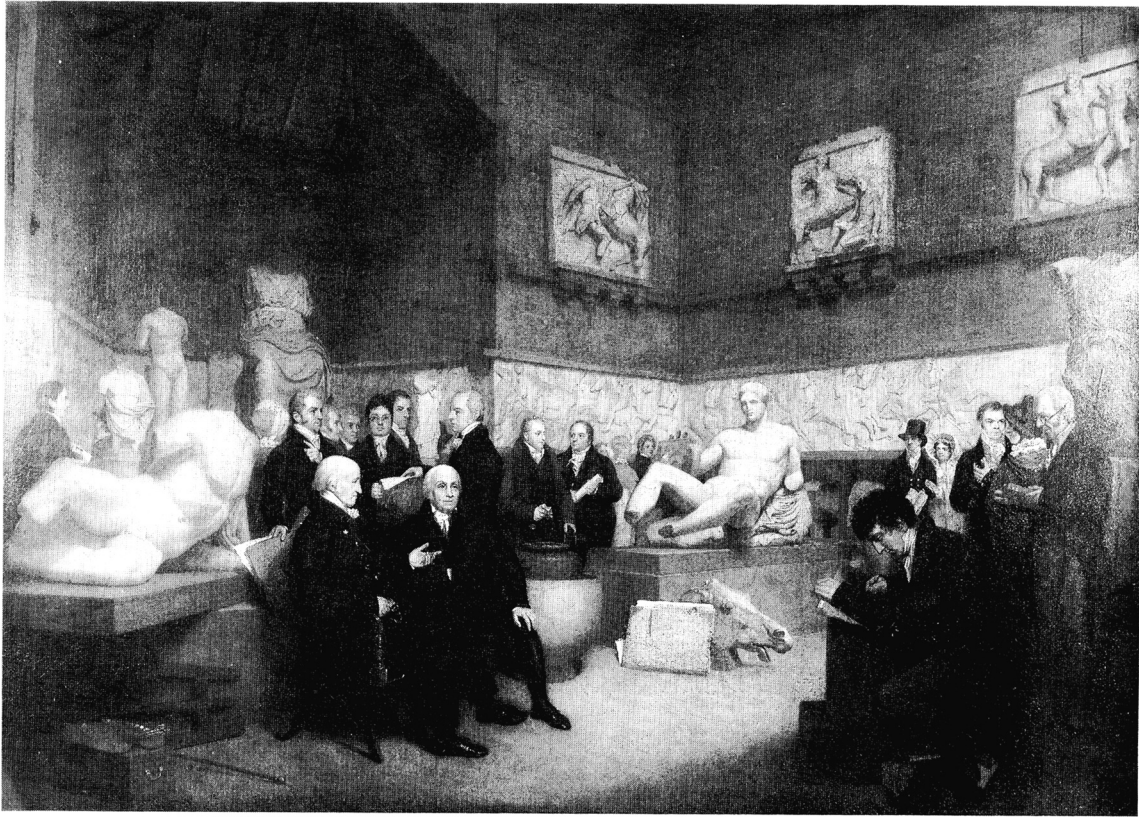


Figure 4.5. Elgin Marbles in the British Museum in the Elgin Room (1817-31) as depicted by A. Archer in 1819. Archer has included himself in the right foreground.

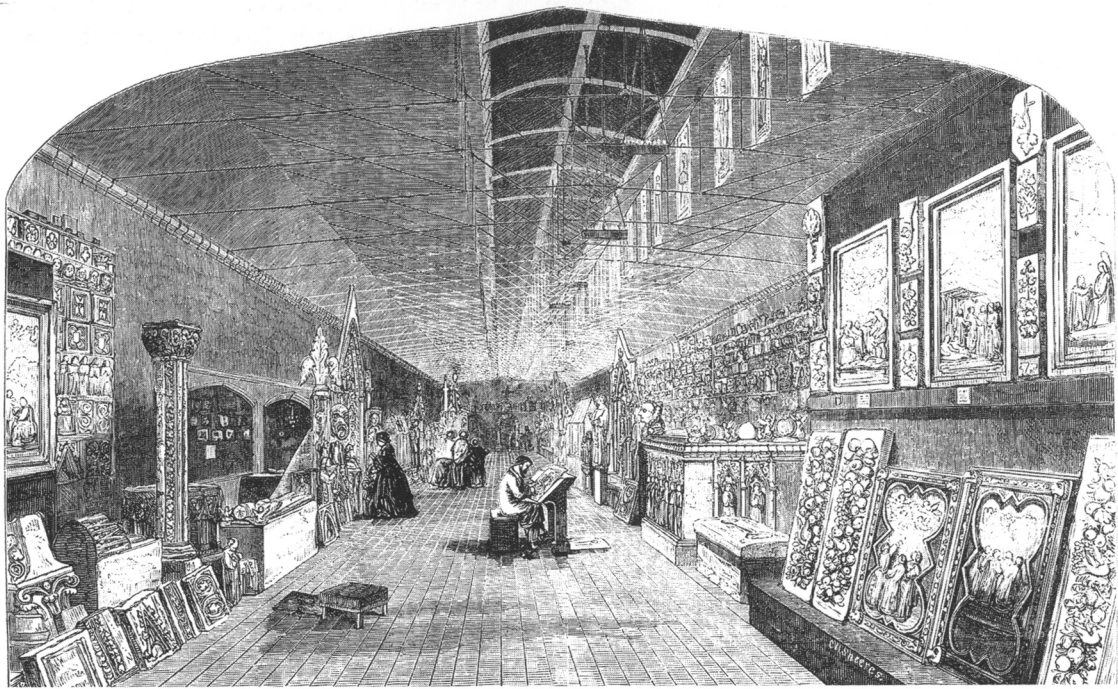


Figure 4.6. Royal Architectural Museum.

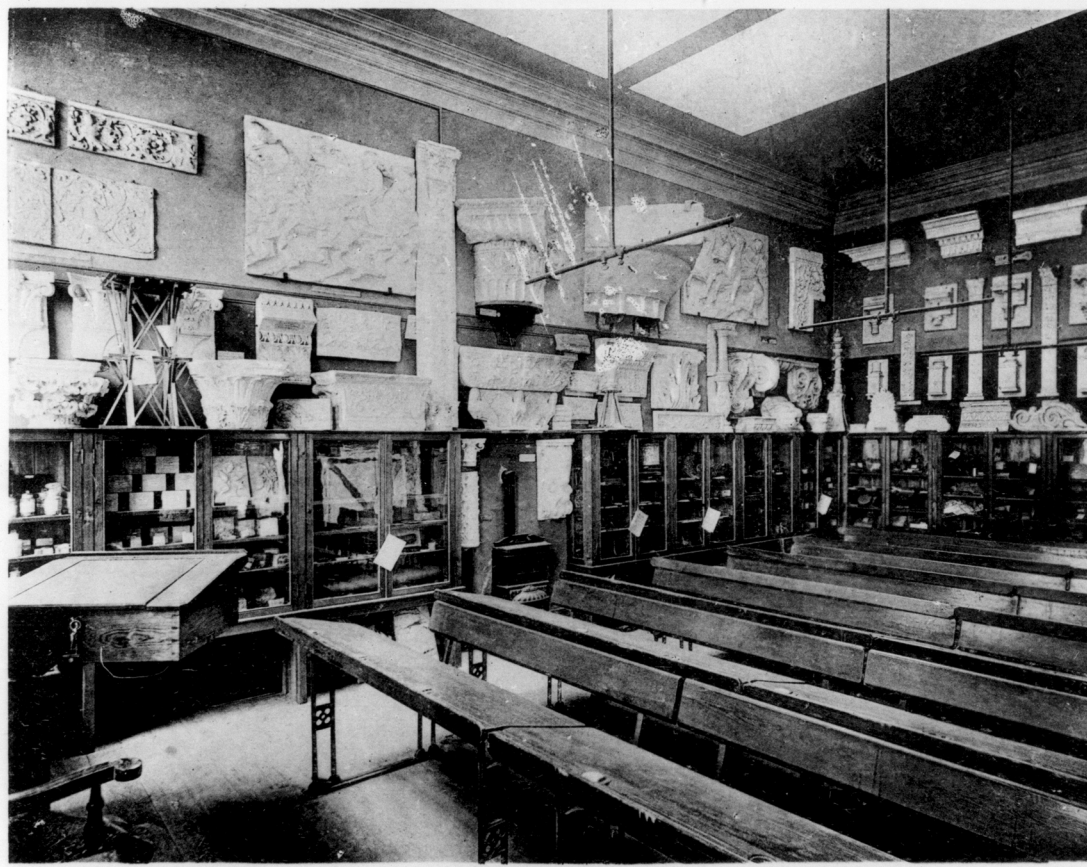


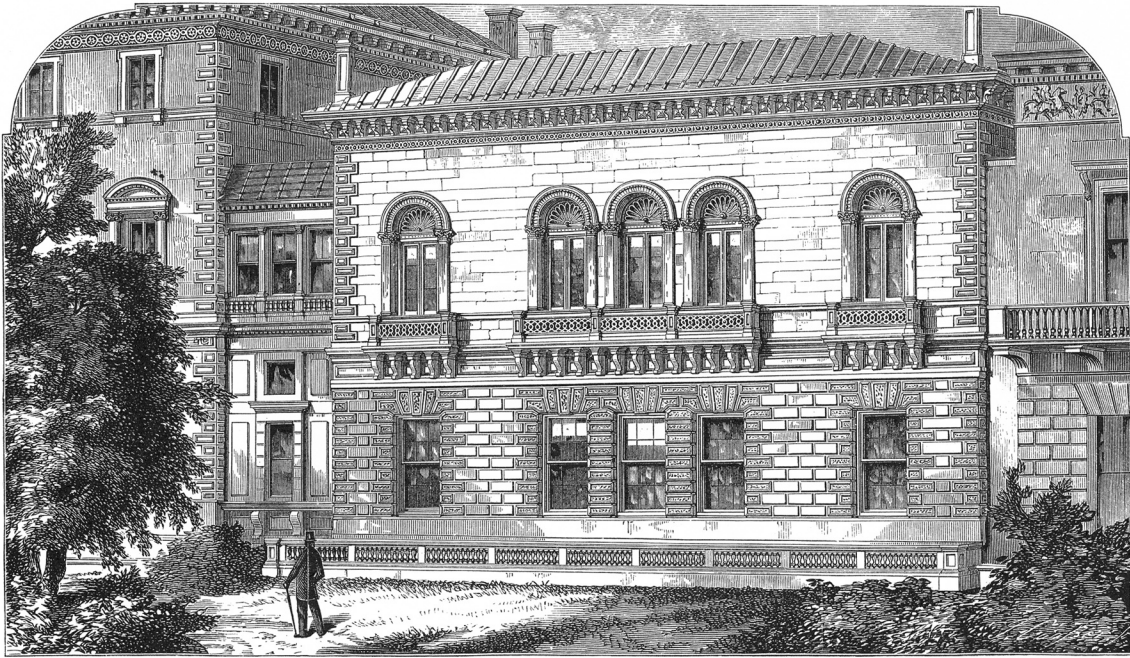
Figure 4.7. King's College Classroom. Classic Side.



Figure 4.8. King's College Classroom. Gothic Side.



Figure 4.9. Charles Reilly in Liverpool School of Architecture Studio.



TRAVELLERS' CLUB HOUSE, PALL MALL.

VIEW FROM CARLTON GARDEN

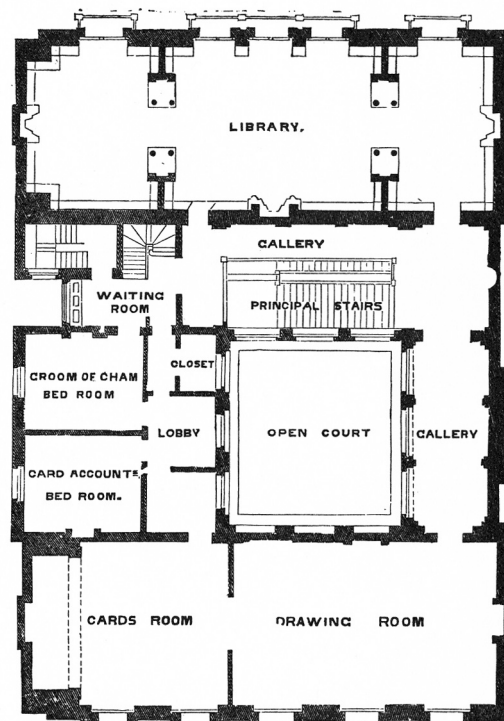
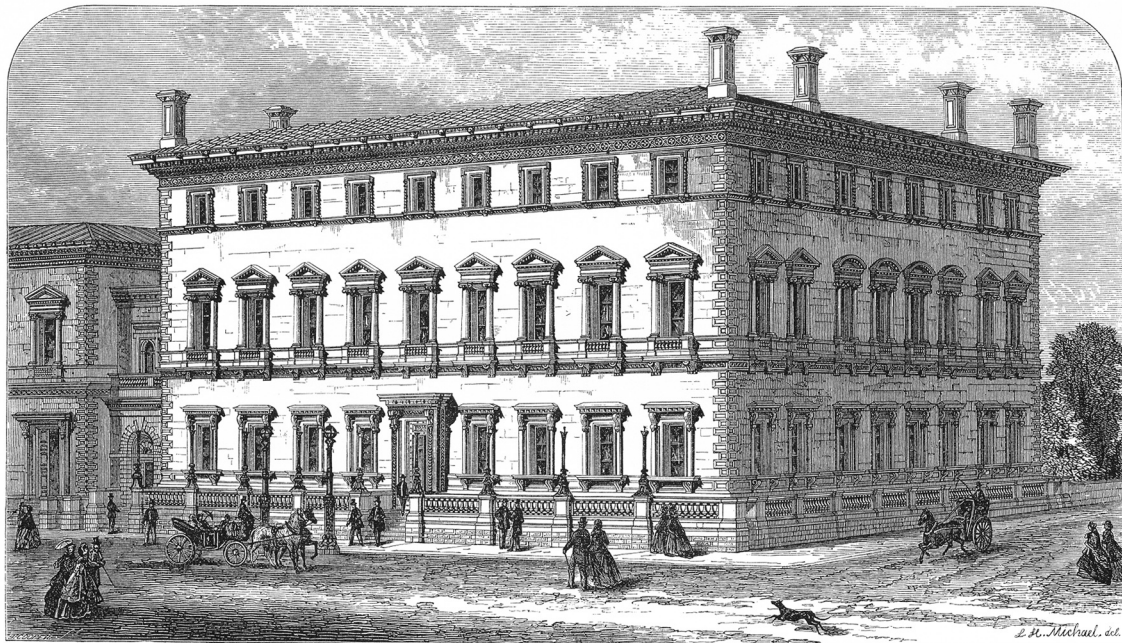
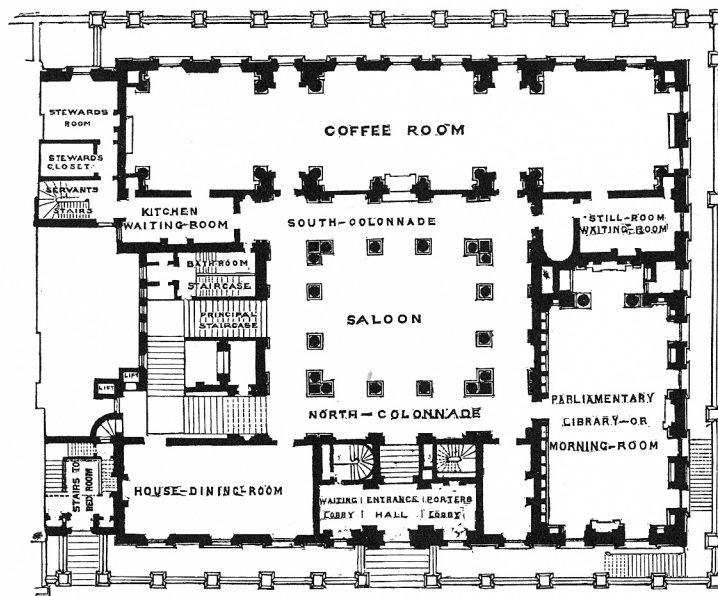


Figure 5.1. Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, London, Charles Barry, 1829-32.



REFORM CLUB, PALL MALL.
VIEW FROM PALL MALL.



SCALE OF 10 5 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 FT

REFORM CLUB HOUSE, PALL MALL, LONDON.
PLAN OF THE GROUND FLOOR.

Figure 5.2. Reform Club, Pall Mall, London, Charles Barry, 1837-41.

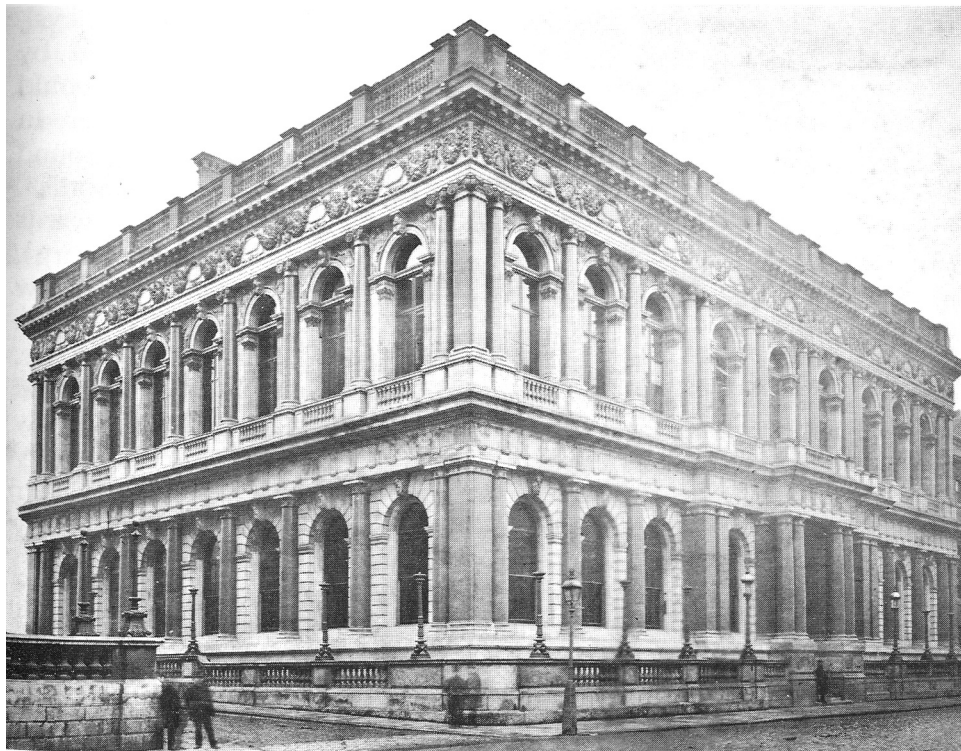
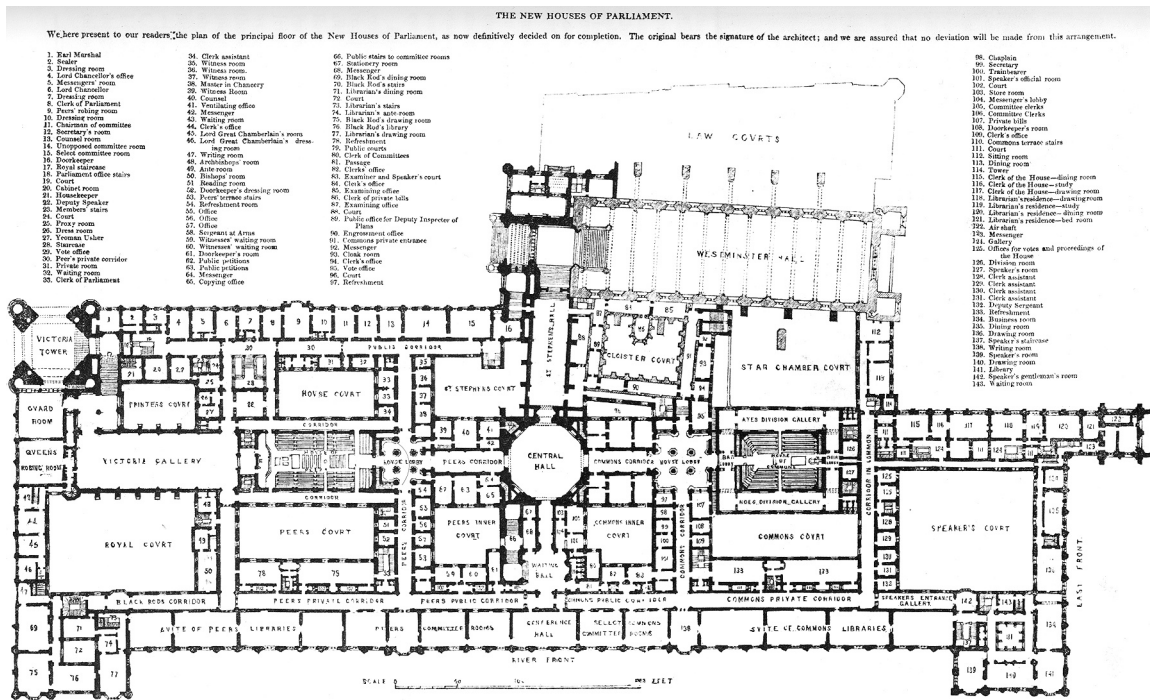


Figure 5.3. Carlton Club, Pall Mall, London, Sydney Smirke, 1854-56.
“It is an essay in Venetian Renaissance revival incorporating elements from Sansavino’s Library of St. Mark.”

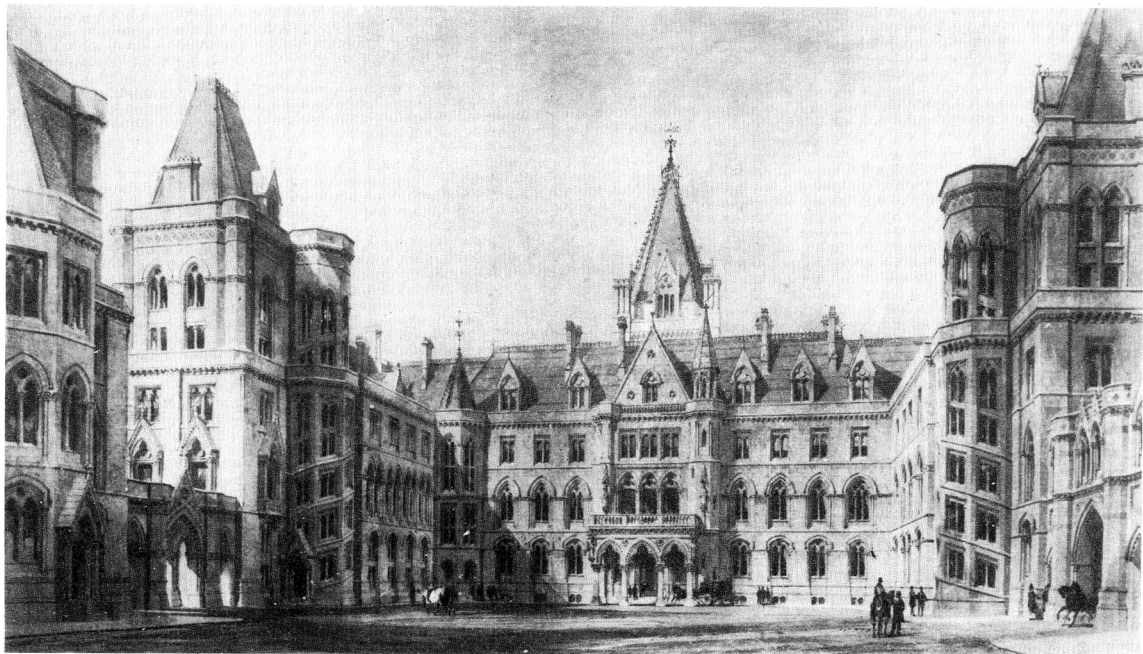


66. The Houses of Parliament: Plan of principal floor, 1843. Note the alterations in the Royal Approach (from Victoria Tower to House of Lords), compared with Pl. 33.

Figures 5.4 and 5.5. Houses of Parliament, London, Charles Barry and A. W. N. Pugin.



Figures 5.6. Royal Courts of Justice, London, G. E. Street, 1874-82,



Figures 5.7. The 1859 Gothic design for the Foreign Office by Sir George Gilbert Scott.

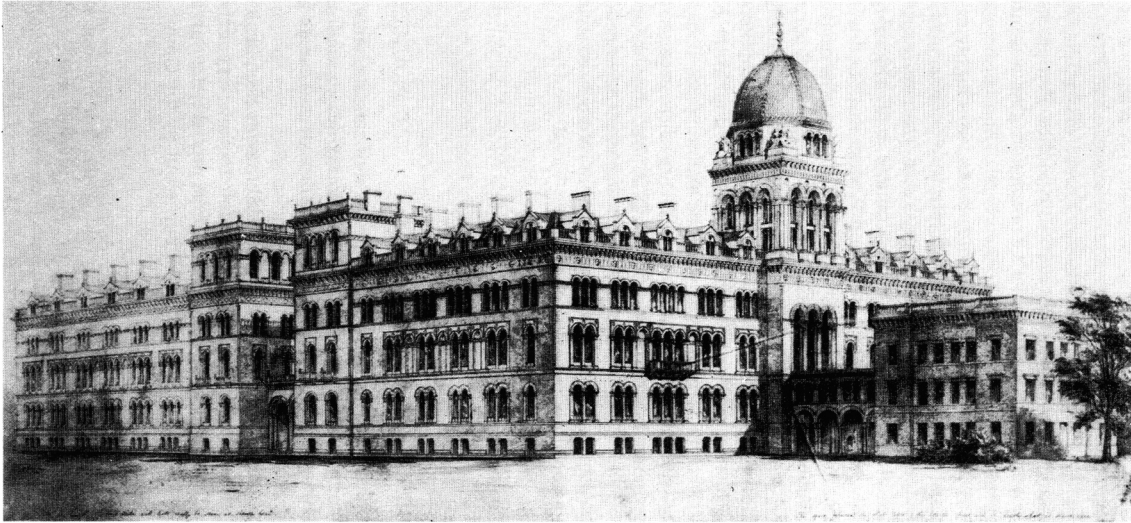


Figure 5.8. The 1860 Byzantine scheme for the Foreign Office by G. G. Scott.

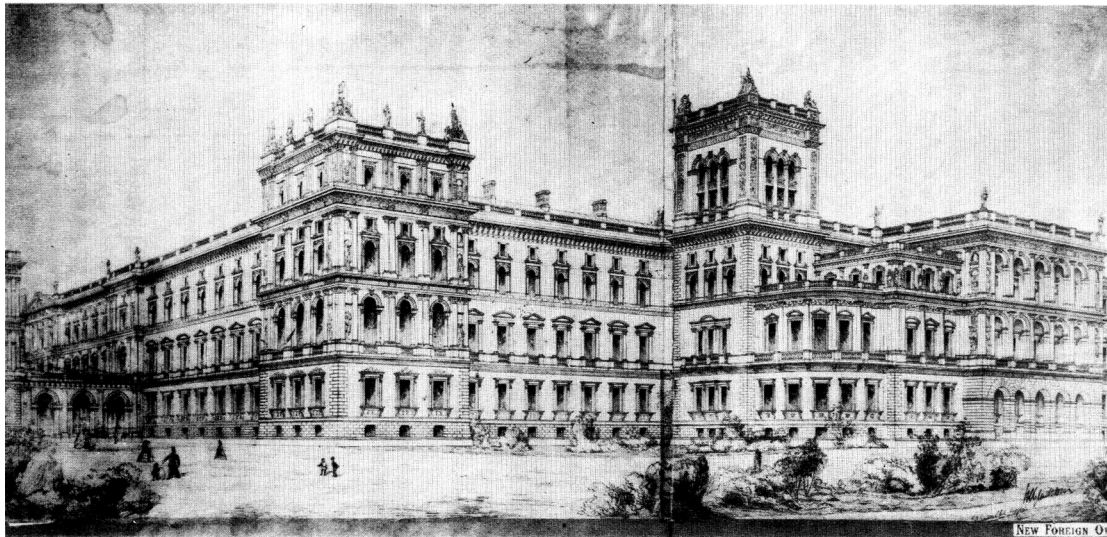


Figure 5.9. The 1861 classical design for the Foreign Office by G. G. Scott.



Figure 5.10. Plan of Bedford Park.

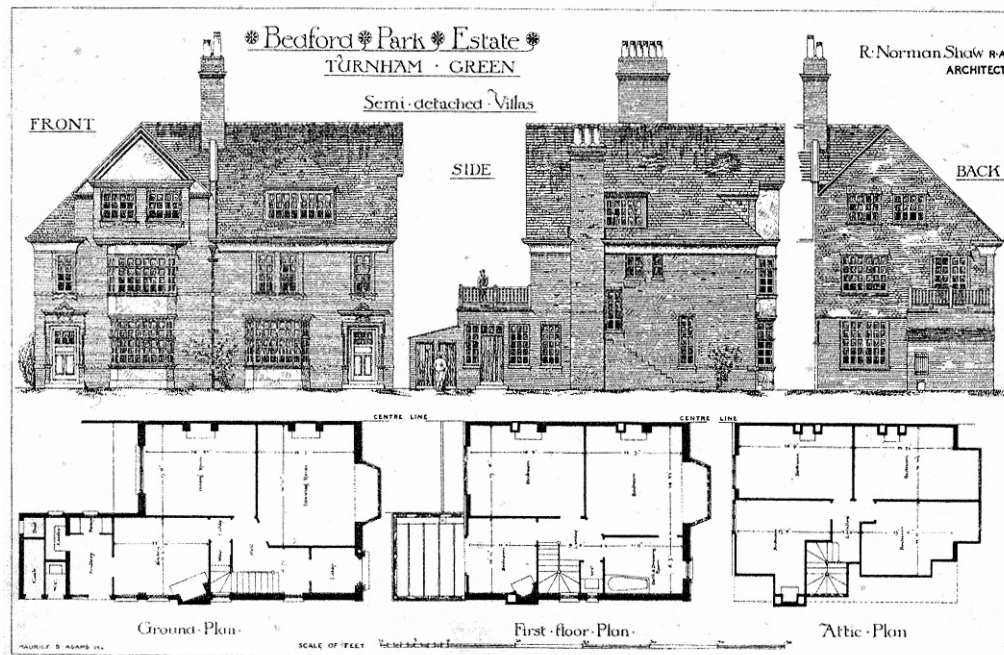
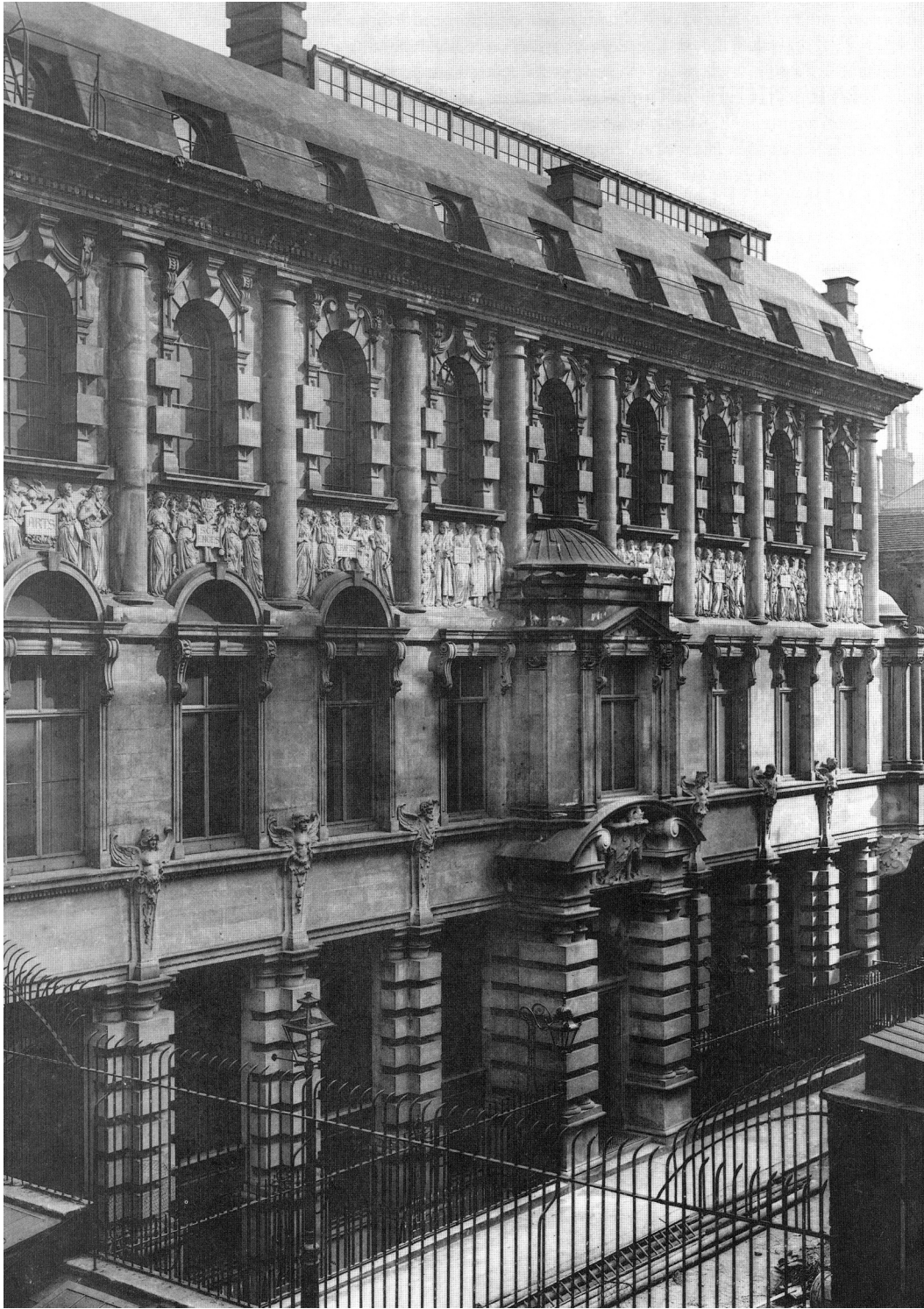
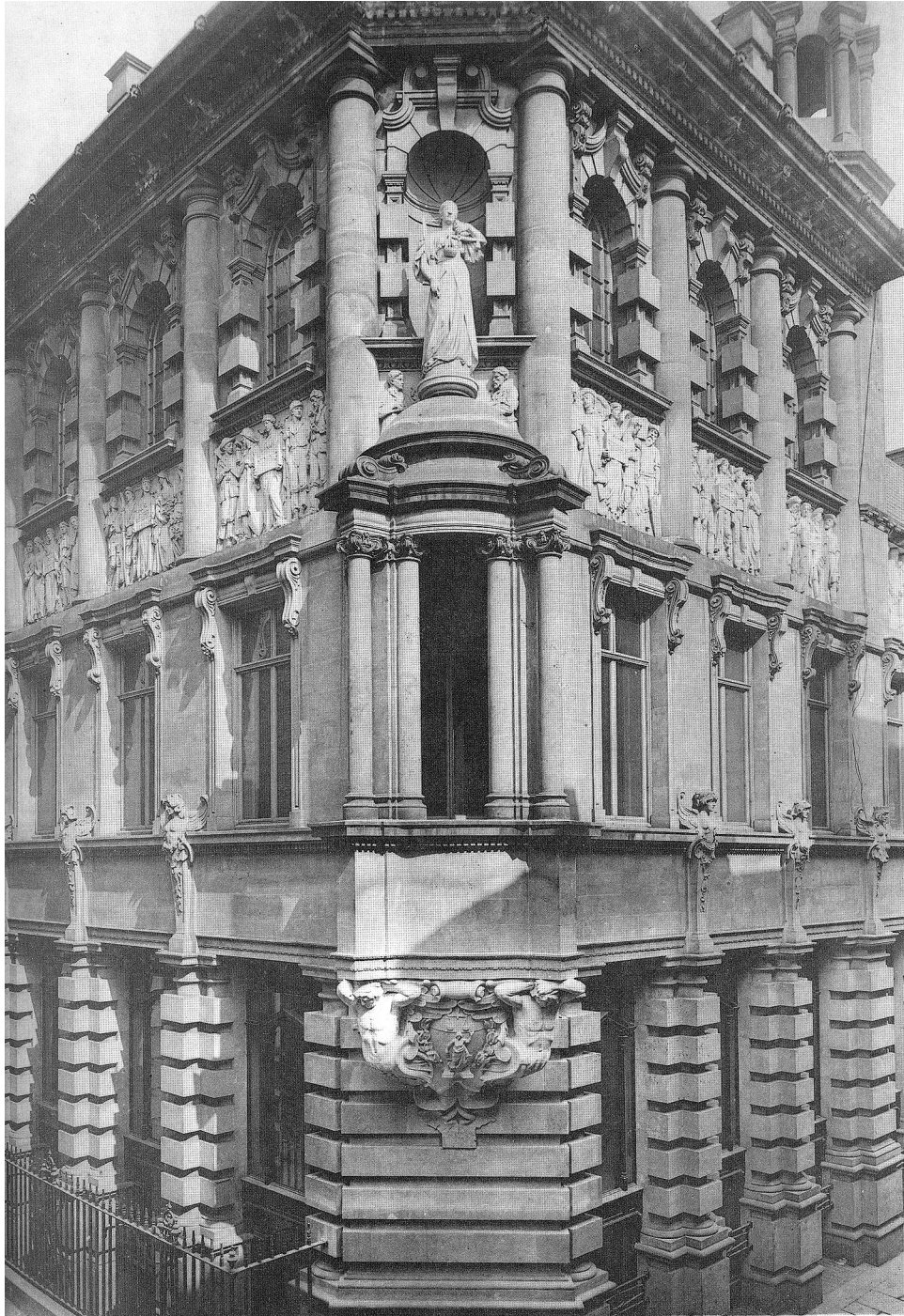


Figure 5.11. R. N. Shaw's third design for semi-detached house at Bedford Park.



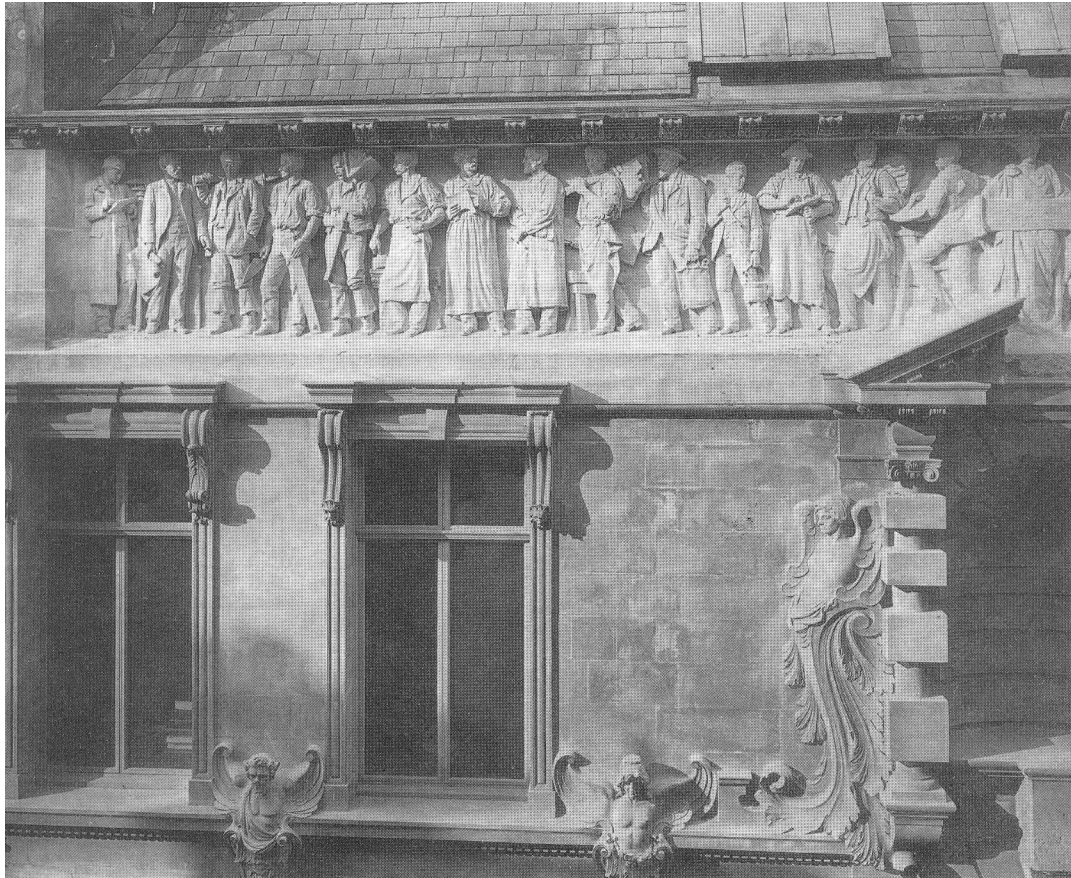
Figures 5.12. Institute of Chartered Accountants. Moorgate Place, London, John Belcher and Beresford Pite. 1893 photo.



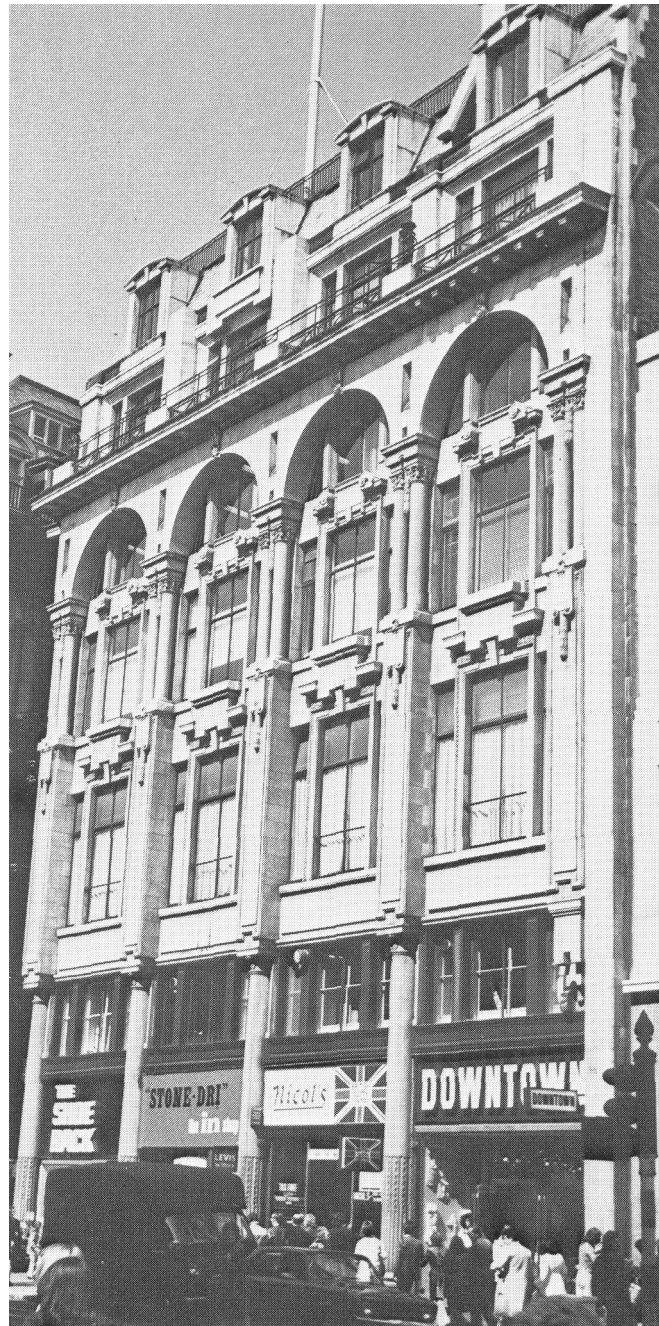
Figures 5.13. View of corbel and oriel. Institute of Chartered Accountants, Moorgate Place, London, John Belcher and Beresford Pite, 1893 photo.



Figures 5.14. Interior of Council Chamber. Institute of Chartered Accountants, Moorgate Place, London, John Belcher and Beresford Pite.



Figures 5.15. View of Frieze Panel "Building." Institute of Chartered Accountants, Moorgate Place, London, John Belcher and Beresford Pite, 1893 photo.



Figures 5.16. Mappin House, Oxford Street, London, John Belcher and J. Joass, 1906-08.



Figures 5.17. British Medical Association (now Zimbabwe House), the Strand, London, Charles Holden and Percy Adams, 1907-8.



Figure 5.18. British Pavilion (on the left), 1911 International Exposition, Rome, Edwin Lutyens.

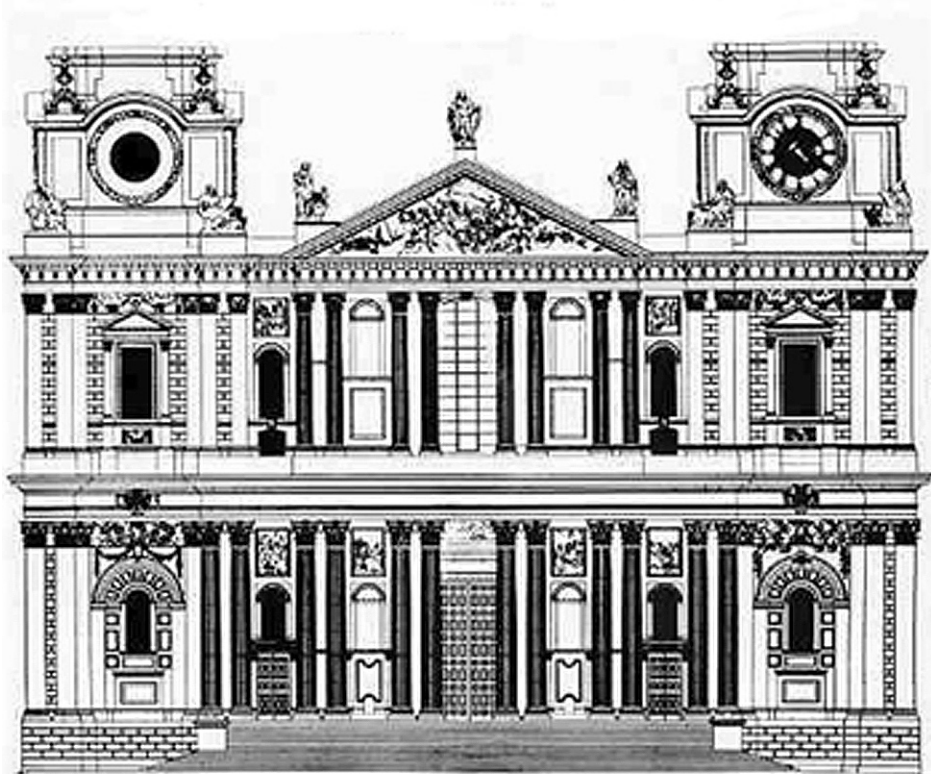


Figure 5.19. Comparison of St. Paul's, London, (above) and the British Pavilion, Edwin Lutyens. Lutyens was asked to copy the second story of St. Paul's for the Pavilion facade.

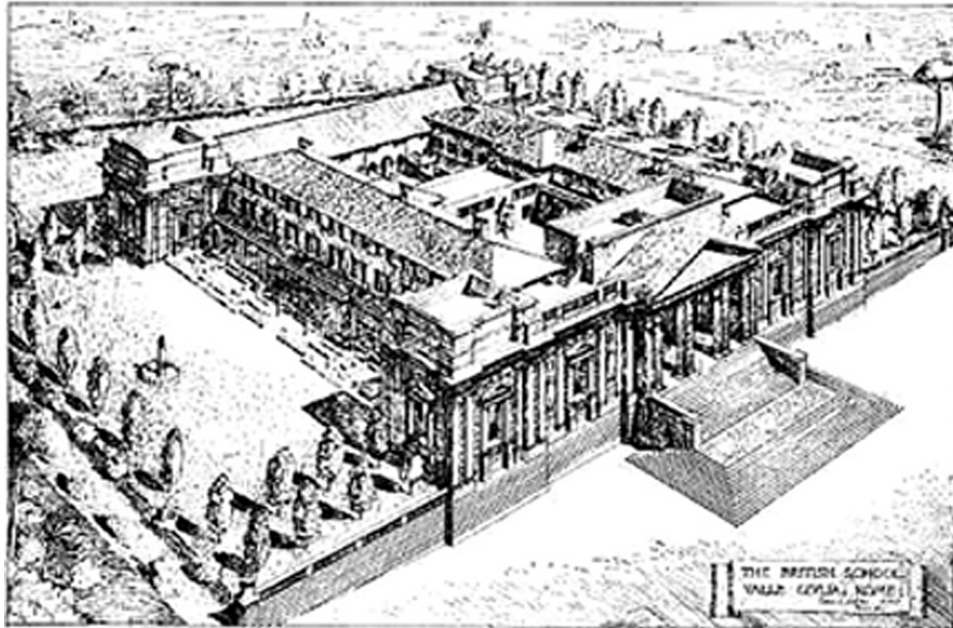


Figure 5.20. Scheme for the British School at Rome, Rome, Edwin Lutyens.

THE BUILDER CALENDAR 1927

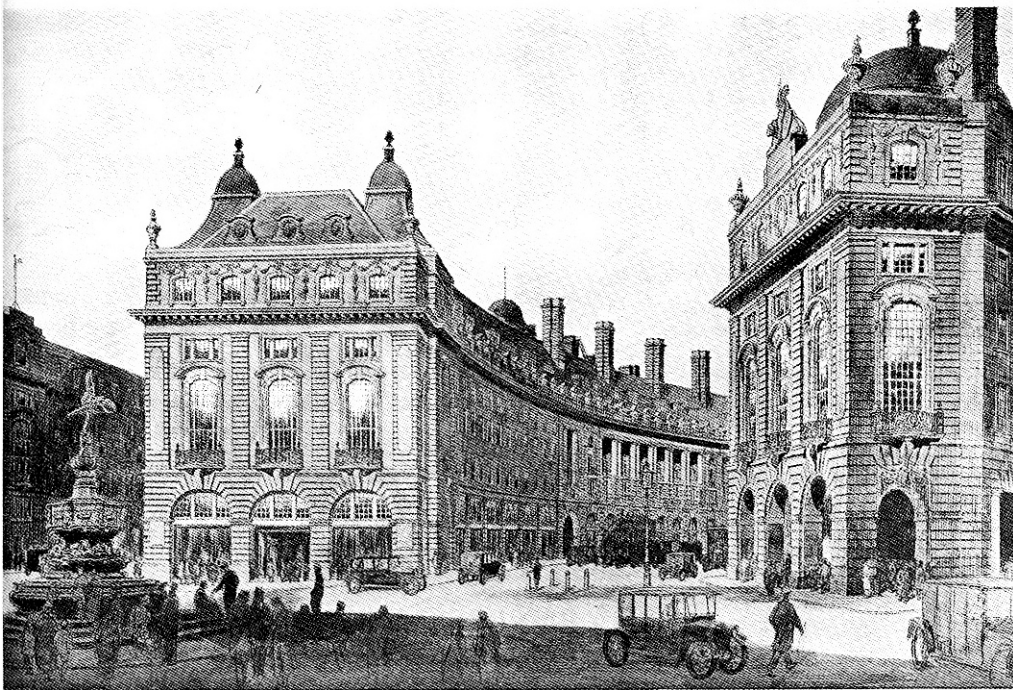


Figure 5.21. Piccadilly Circus, London, Sir Reginal Blomfield.



Looking north to Fire Insurance Building.



Looking southwest.



Looking west.



Window detail.

Figure 5.22 Piccadilly Circus, London, Sir Reginald Blomfield.



Figure 5.23. "Italianate" buildings in Bayswater, London.

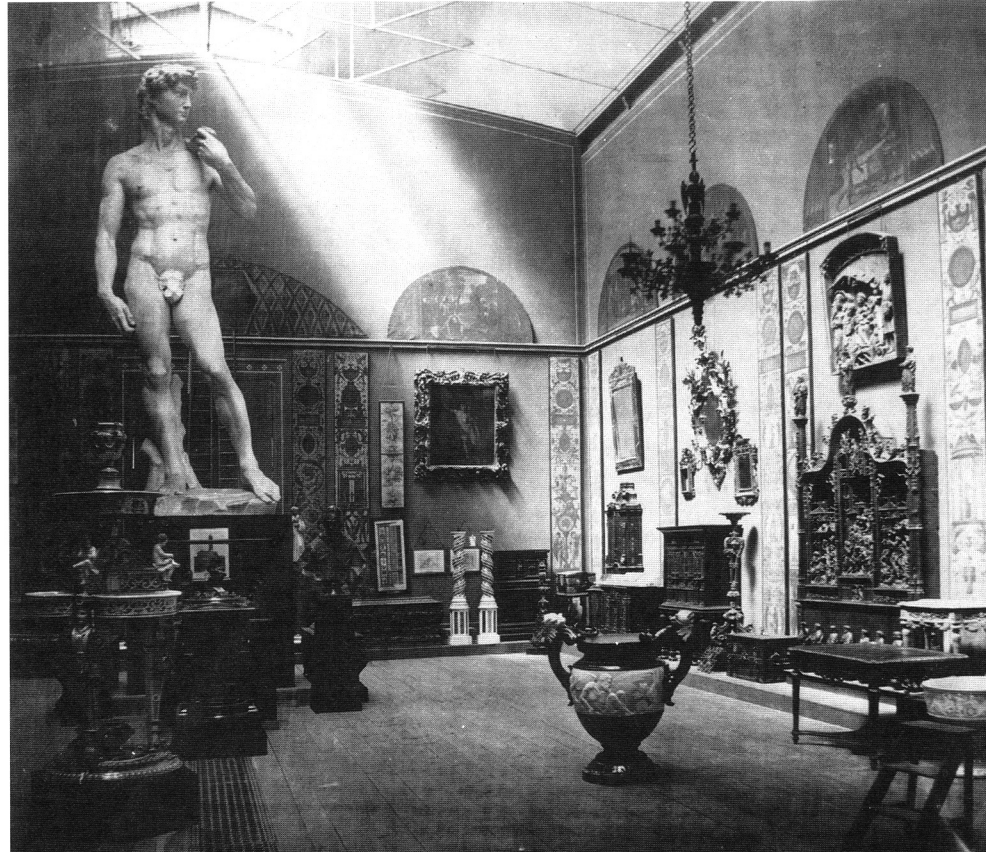
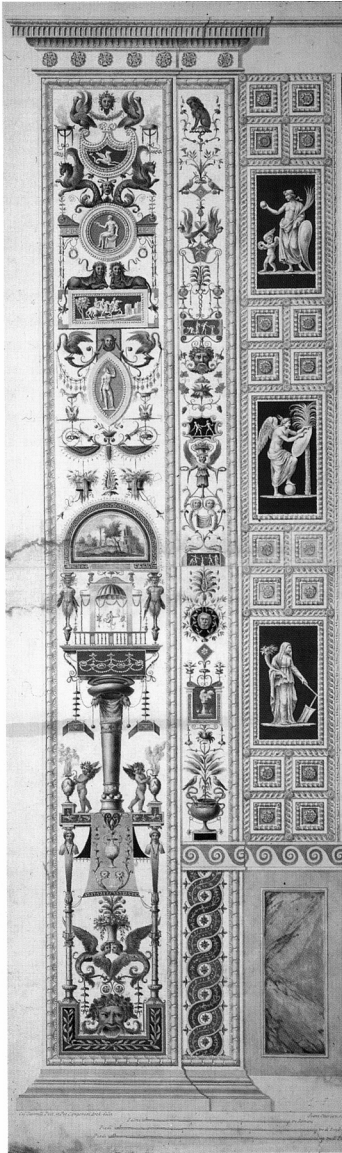
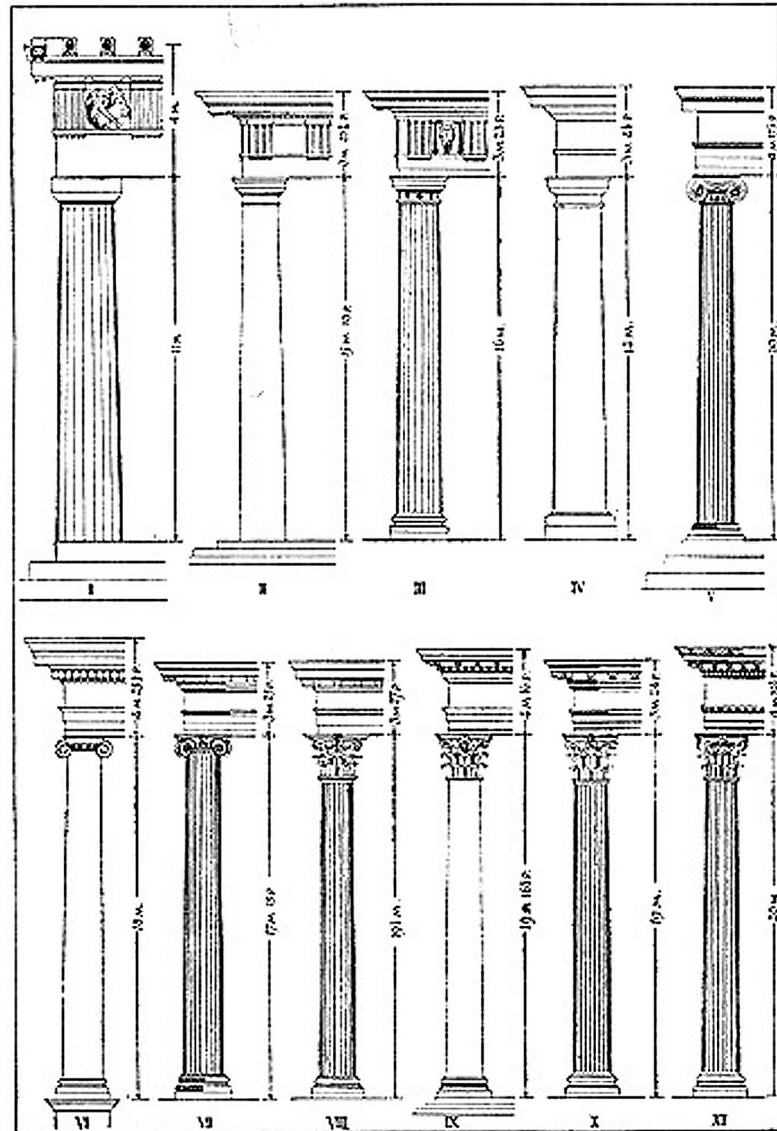


Figure 6.1 Raphael's Arabesques. Detail and as the reproductions were displayed in the "Brompton Boilers."



- | | |
|--|---|
| I. GREEK DORIC. PARTHENON, ATHENS. | VIII. GREEK CORINTHIAN. TEMPLE OF JUPITER OLYMPIUS, ATHENS. |
| II. ROMAN DORIC. THEATRE OF MARCELLUS, ROME. | IX. ROMAN CORINTHIAN. PANTHEON, ROME. |
| III. ITALIAN DORIC. AFTER PALLADIO. | X. ITALIAN CORINTHIAN. AFTER PALLADIO. |
| IV. ITALIAN TUSCAN. AFTER PALLADIO. | XI. ROMAN COMPOSITE. THE THERMÆ OF DI-
CELIAN, ROME. |
| V. GREEK IONIC. ERECTHEUM, ATHENS. | |
| VI. ROMAN IONIC. THEATRE OF MARCELLUS, ROME. | |
| VII. ITALIAN IONIC. AFTER SCAMOZZI. | |

Figure 6.2. Parallel of the Orders. Stratton.

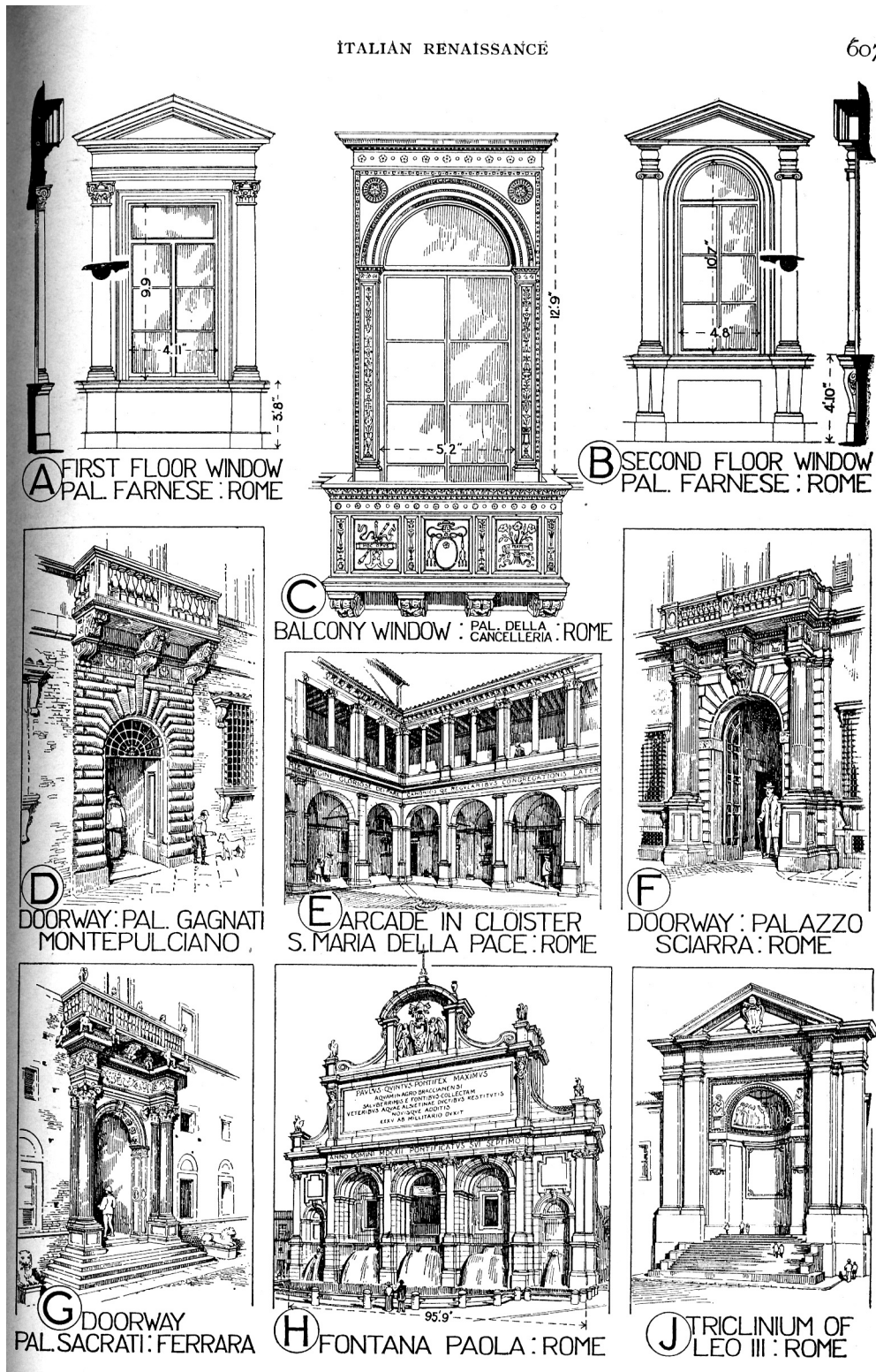


Figure 6.3. Example of comparative illustration from Banister Fletcher's *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method*.



Figure 6.4. House in the Via Giulia, Rome, View of Cortile from Vestibule, B. Peruzzi. Example of illustration from Letarouilly, as reproduced in W.Anderson's *The Architecture of Renaissance Italy*, 1896.

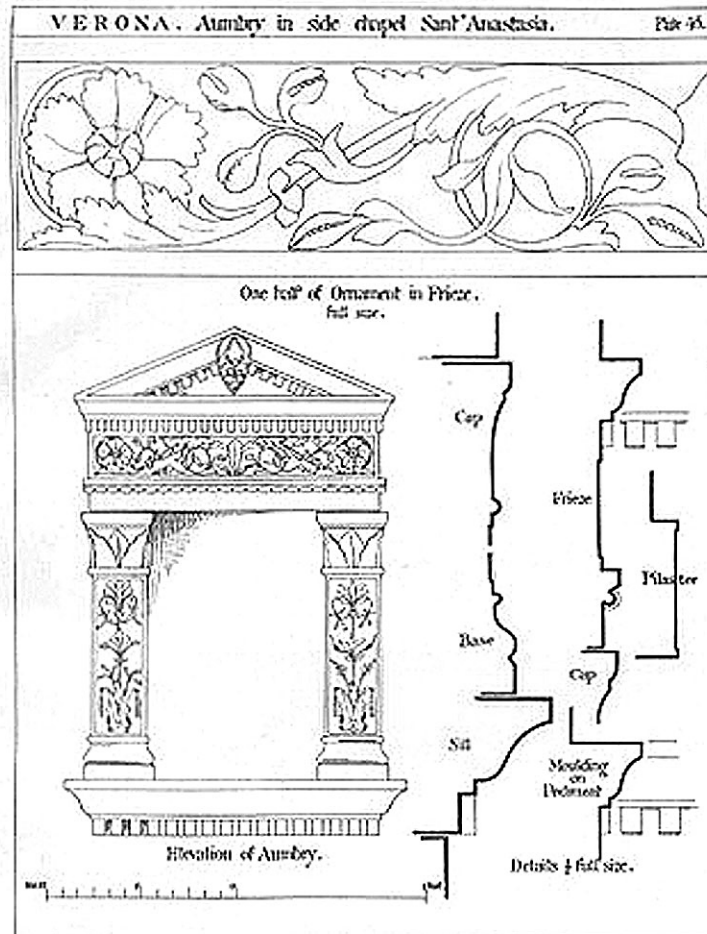


Figure 6.5. Aumbrey in side chapel of Sant' Anastasia, Verona. Plate 45 from J. Kinross's *Details from Italian Buildings Chiefly Renaissance*, 1882.

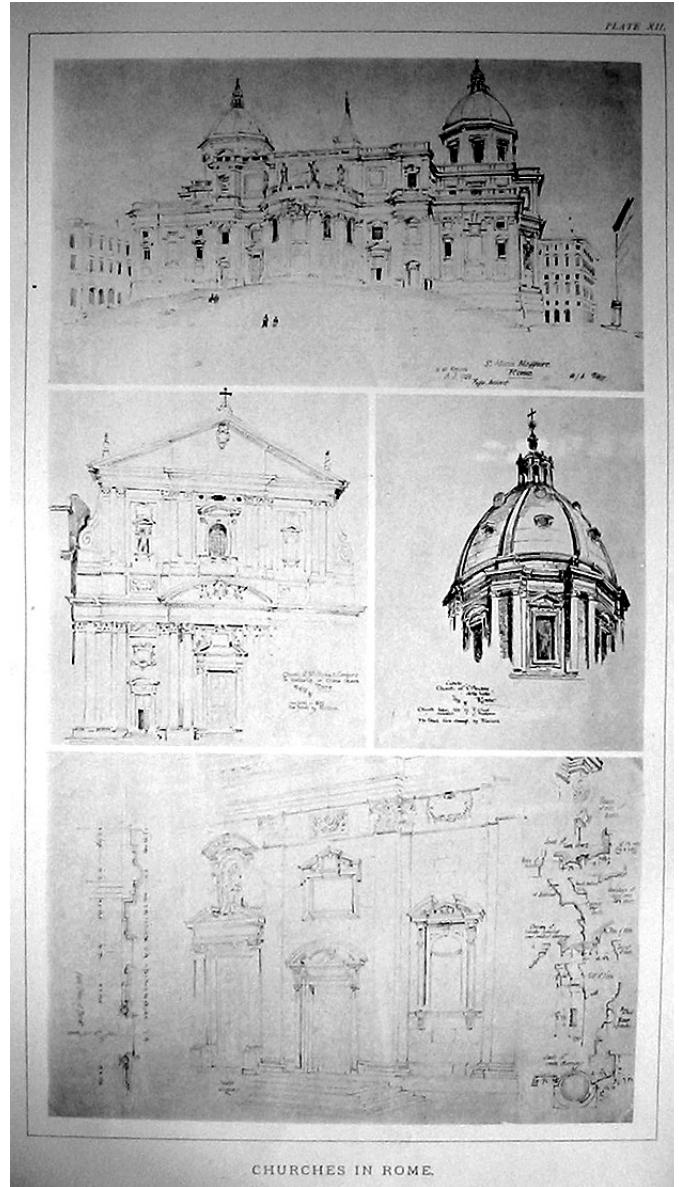
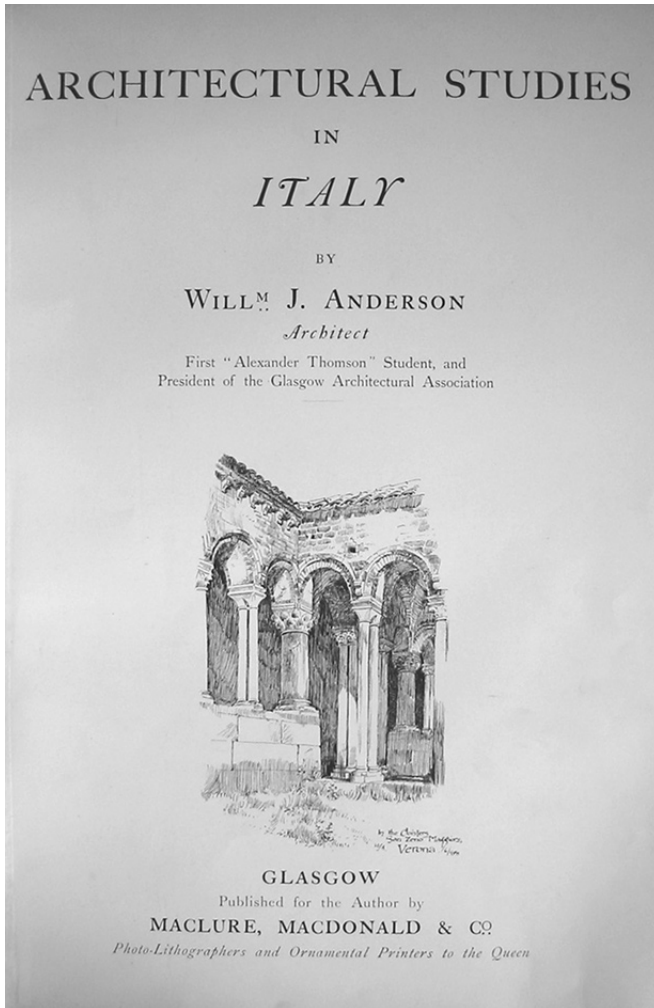


Figure 7.1. Title Page and Plate XII Churches of Rome.
 William J. Anderson's *Architectural Studies in Italy*, 1890.

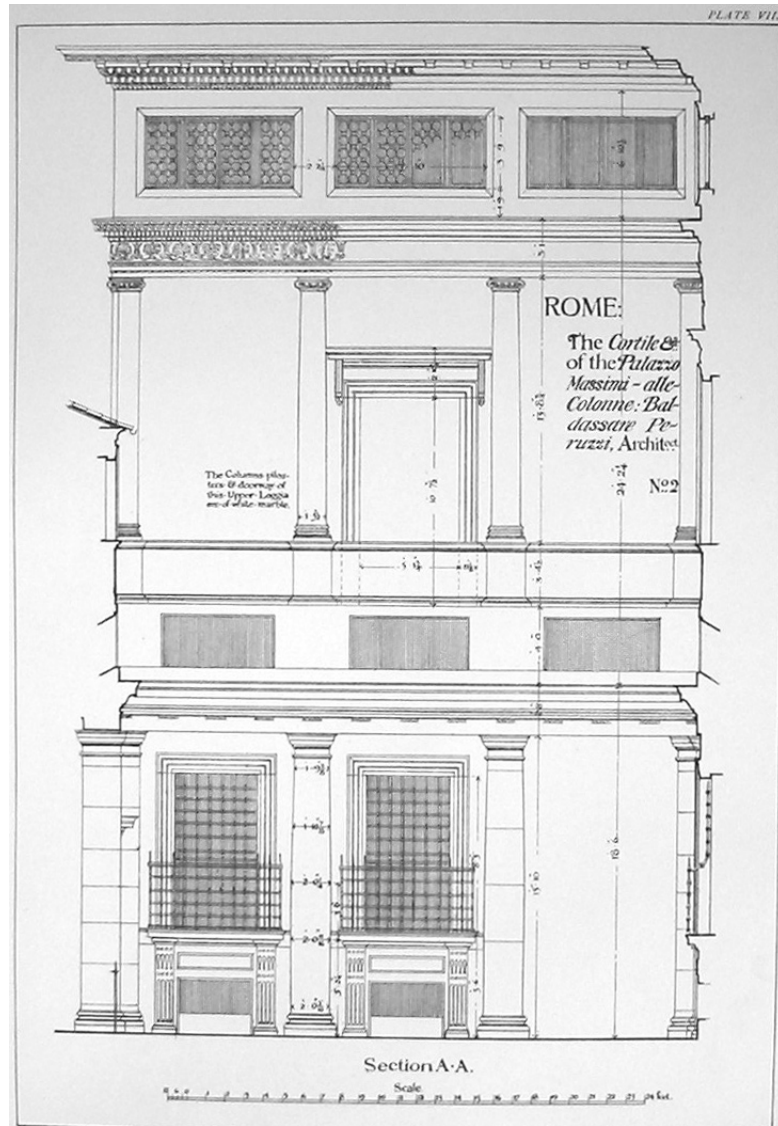


Figure 7.2. Elevation of the Cortile of the Palazzo Massimi, Rome, Plate VII in Anderson's *Architectural Studies in Italy*.

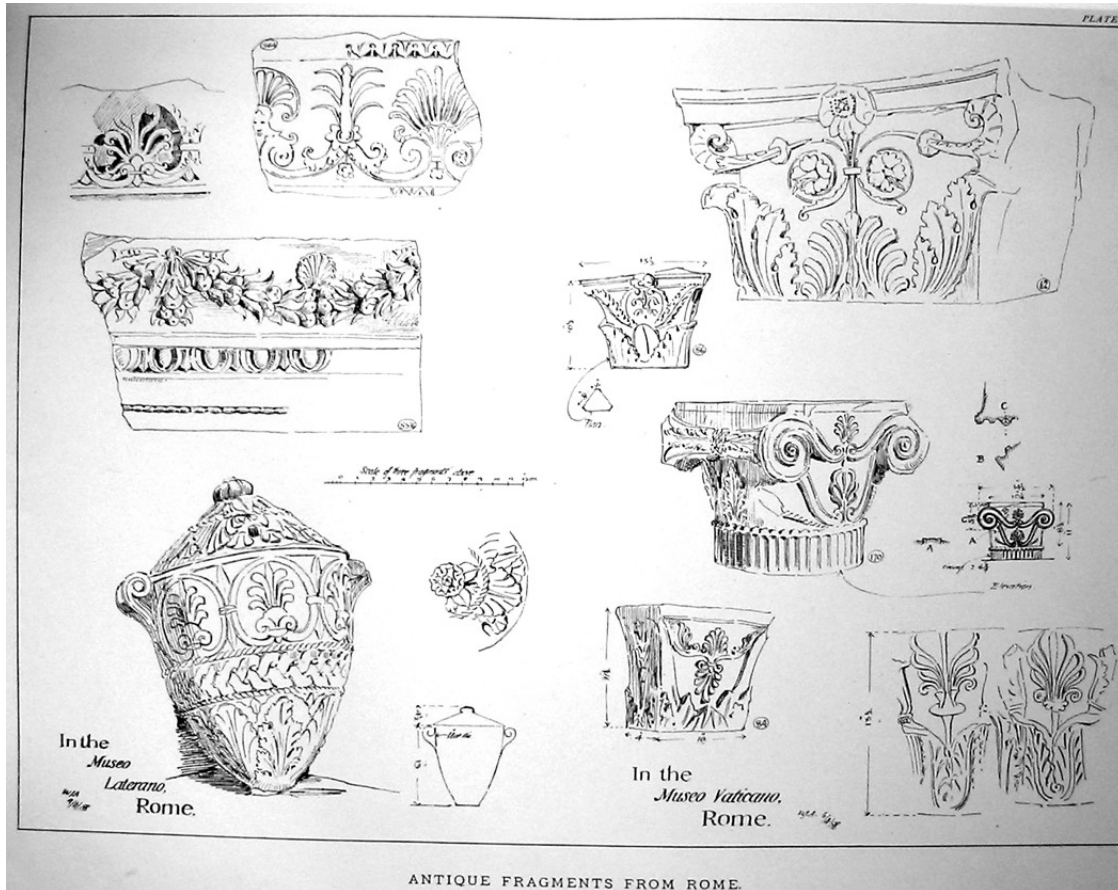


Figure 7.3. Antique Fragments from Rome in the Museo Vaticano, Rome. Plate XIII in Anderson's *Architectural Studies in Italy*.

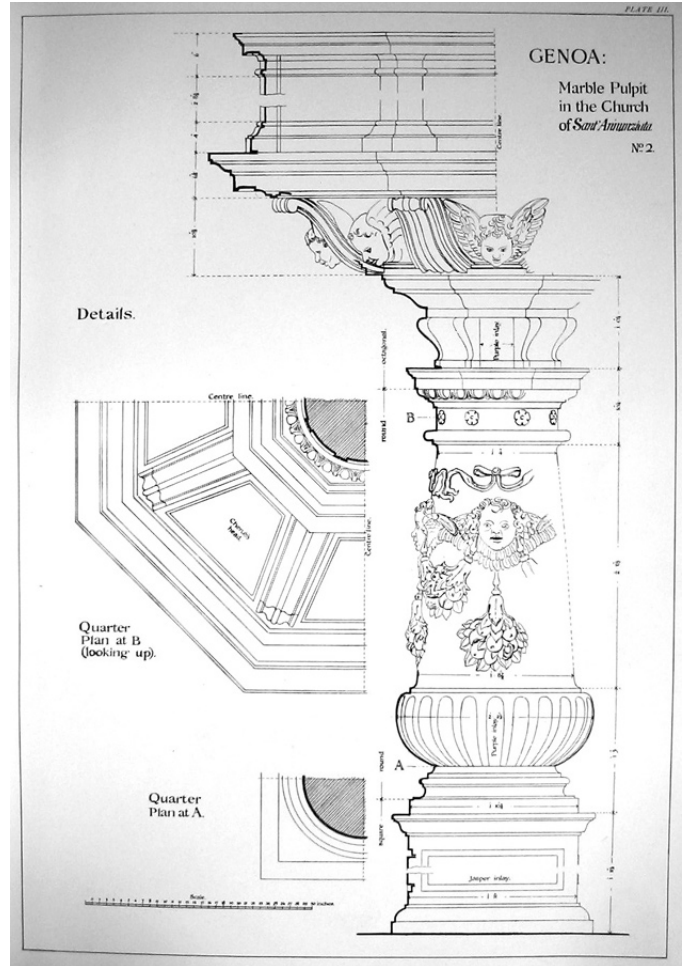
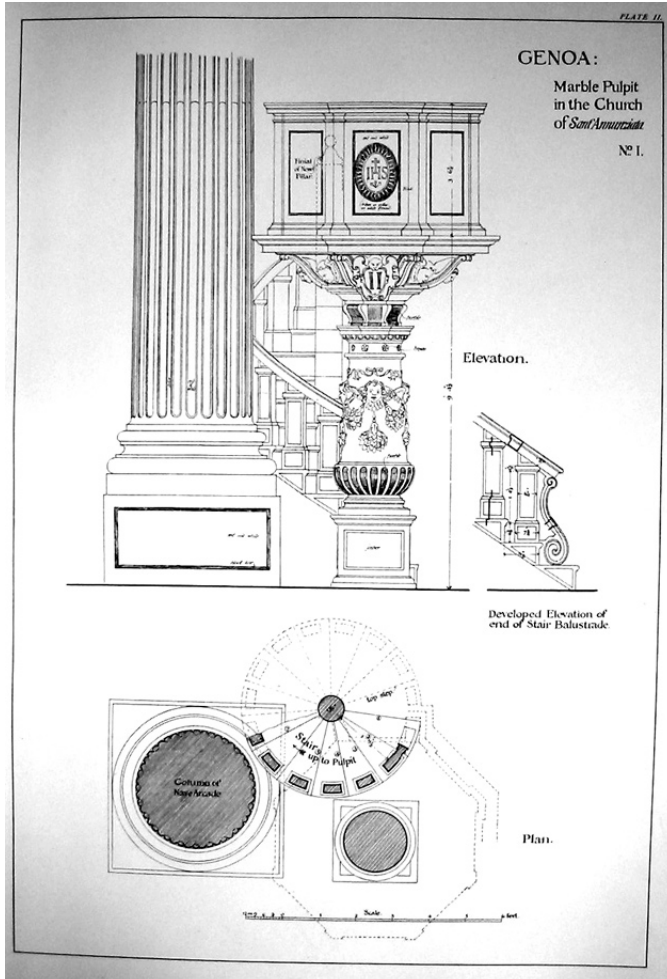


Figure 7.4. Marble Pulpit of S. Annunziata, Genoa. Plate II-III in Anderson's *Architectural Studies in Italy*.

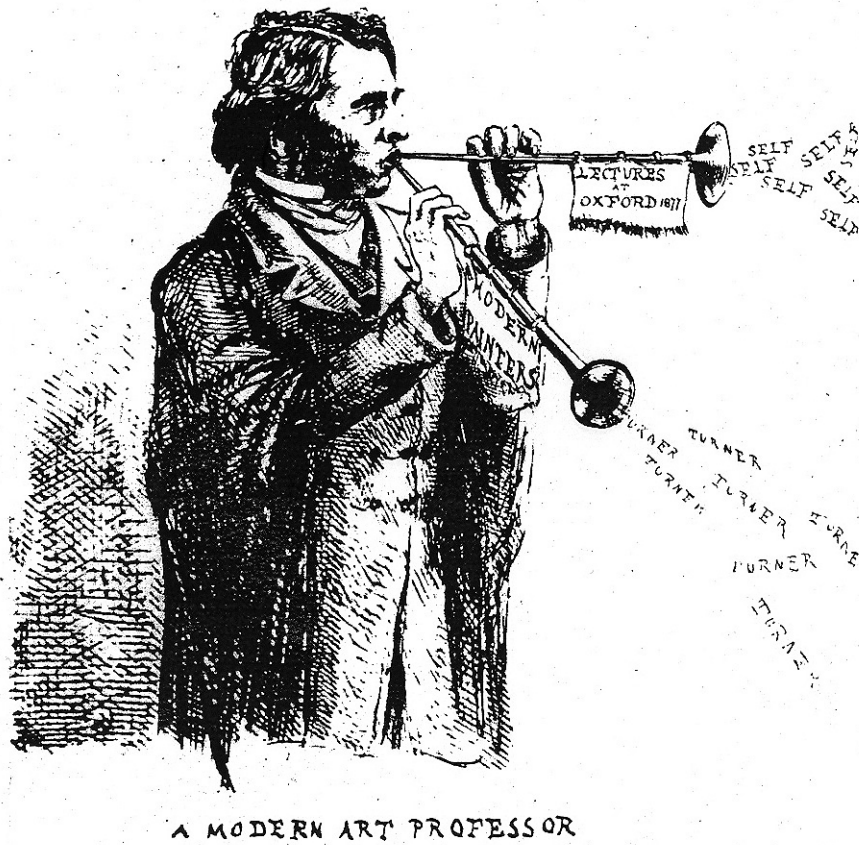


Figure 8.1. Caricature of John Ruskin drawn by Reginald Blomfield while he was a student at Oxford University.

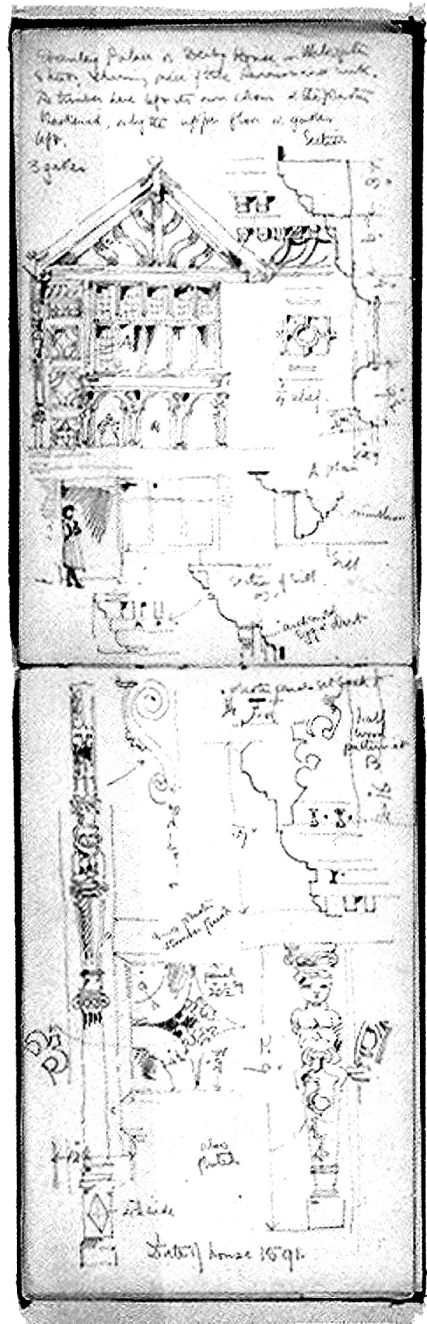


Figure 8.2. Example from one of Reginald Blomfield's sketchbooks of a study of local architecture.



Figure 8.3. Example of illustration by Blomfield from his *The History of Renaissance Architecture in England*, 1897.



Wm. Spooner & Co., Photo.

HAMPTON COURT.

Face p. 184.

Figure 8.4. Hampton Court. Example of Photo Illustration from Blomfield's *The History of Renaissance Architecture in England*.

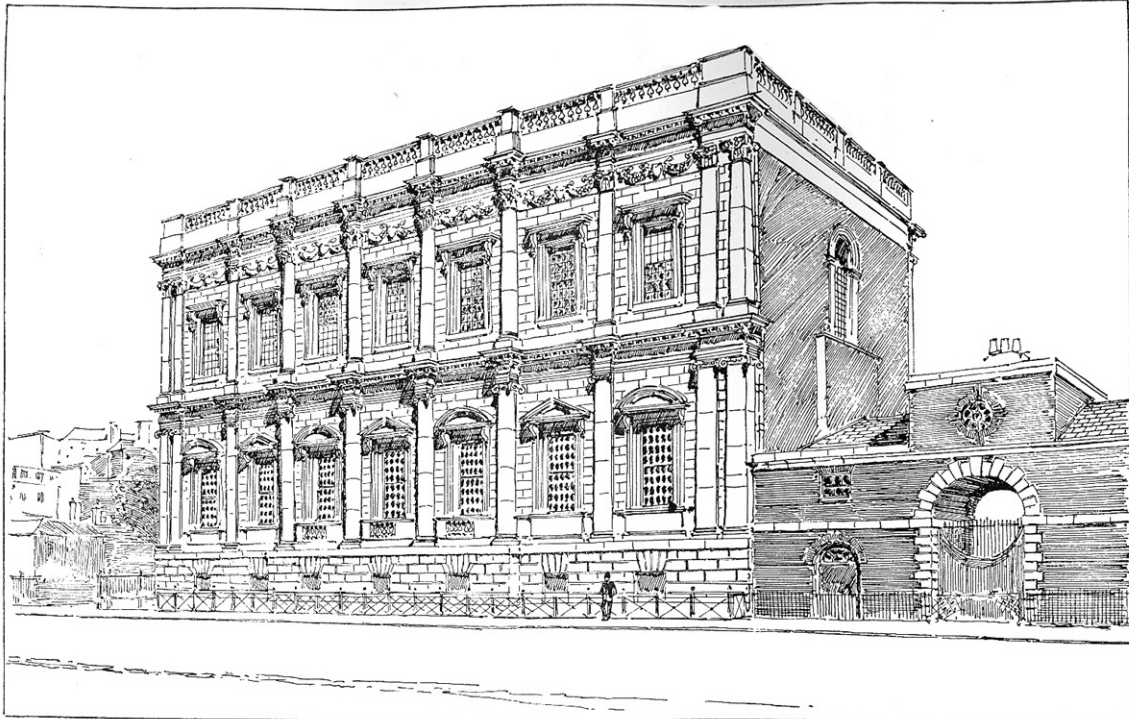


Figure 8.5. Inigo Jones's Banqueting House, Whitehall, London, as illustrated in Blomfield's *The History of Renaissance Architecture in England*.

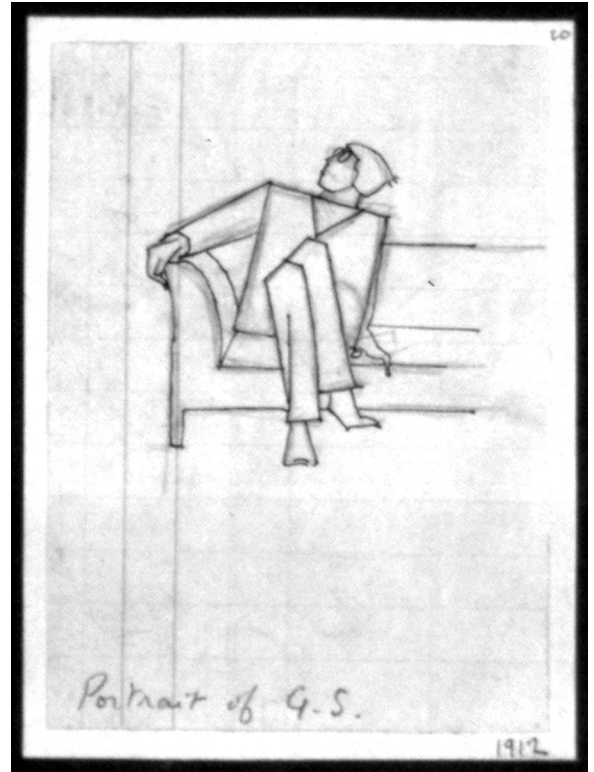


Figure 9.1. Portrait of Geoffrey Scott by Le Chevalier de Bouvard, 1925, and caricature of Scott by Cecil Pinsent.

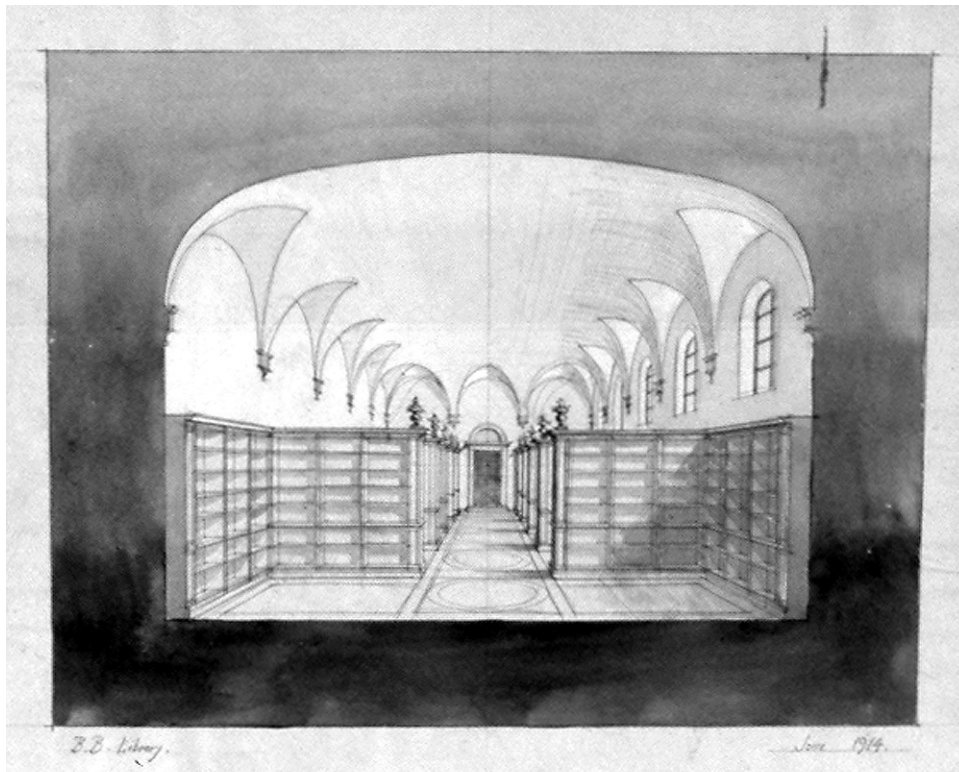


Figure 9.2. Drawing of design for Bernard Berenson's Library at i Tatti, c. 1914, signed by C. Pinsent.

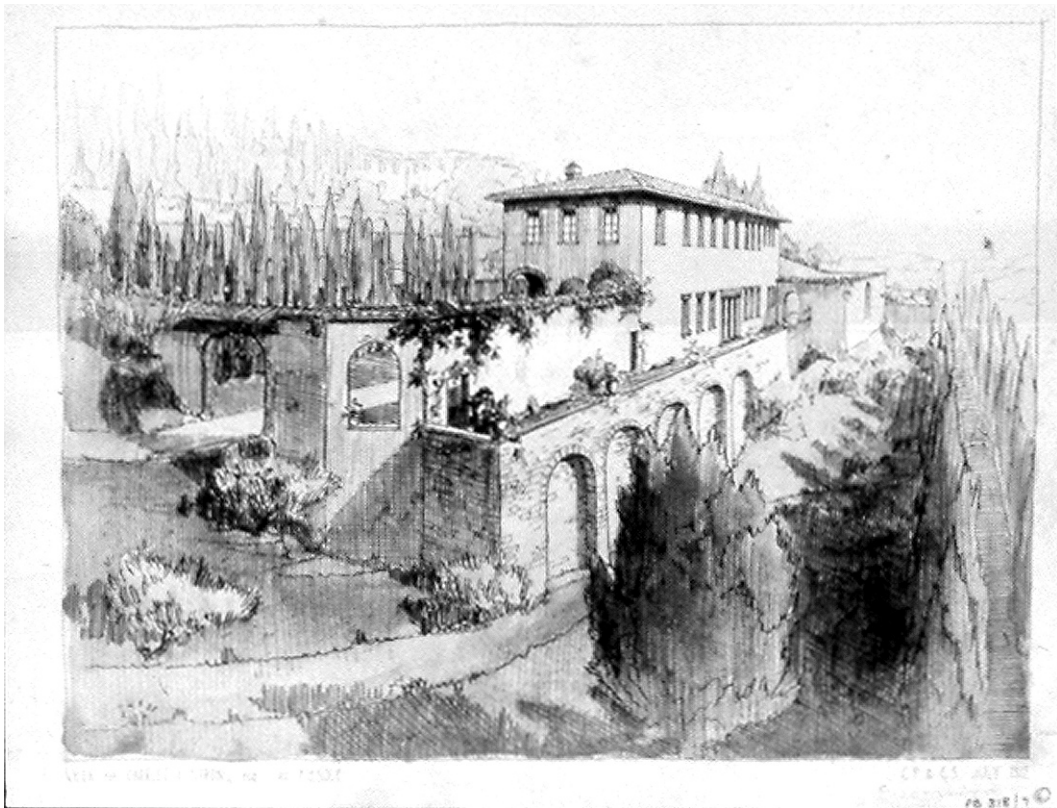


Figure 9.3. Design for villa renovation for Charles A. Strong, Esq. at Fiesole, July 1912.



Figure 9.4. *Primroses and Bird's Nest*, William Henry ("Bird's Nest") Hunt (1790-1864). Example of the detail of some Pre-Raphaelite paintings.