

**Urban Italianate architecture in Britain with particular reference to
London c.1800-c.1865**



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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is entirely my own work, and except where otherwise stated, describes my own research.

David McKinstry, Kellogg College, Oxford, 20 April 2021

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Abstract

This thesis examines the sources, critical reception and practice of the Italianate in British urban architecture c.1800-1865. In the past, the term ‘Italienate’ has largely been applied retrospectively in an attempt to categorise a manner of building wherein the architectural grammar, or at least the regional accent, of Italy can be observed to have informed the ornament and form of a building. However, within the bracket of the Italianate there existed a wide degree of variation, often too extreme to be understood as subgenres. I have used the term ‘Italienate’ to mean urban astylar structures designed and erected in Britain, while seeking to show that, for its contemporaries, the Italianate was defined by a rejection of historicism, a response to practical urban requirements and a typological understanding of urban architecture. My research focuses on the emergence and early evolution of an urban Italianate and this has led me to look at its origins and development in London. The British (primarily English) architectural press also forms a ‘geographical’ locus, which at that time was chiefly metropolitan. The 1800-c.1865 timeframe has been chosen to encompass both the Italian tours of early practitioners and the cessation of the Italianate as a ‘new’ form of architecture. This thesis demonstrates that urban Italianate was in fact the nineteenth-century urban vernacular and succeeded because it enabled debates about ‘style’ to be circumvented and allowed for regulatory compliance. But, beyond this, this thesis will seek to open early-nineteenth-century urban architecture to wider debate, by refuting the Picturesque as a defining aspect of early-nineteenth-century architectural practice. It will also be demonstrated that, far from seeking to break with eighteenth-century architecture, many early-nineteenth-century architects wished to engage with what they saw as the roots of their profession.

Introduction

The architecture commonly referred to as the Italianate was pervasive in European, indeed global, architecture between c.1830-1880. This thesis explores the development of the Italianate in British urban architecture in the first half of the nineteenth-century, primarily looking at the development of the Italianate in London before considering the manner in which it achieved wider popularity within British cities. While it would be tempting to consider the Italianate as one option from a variety of ‘styles’ available to the early-nineteenth-century architect, essentially a product of the Picturesque or historicist tendency in nineteenth-century architecture, an investigation into the Italianate demonstrates that its origins were far more complex. Indeed, the urban Italianate emerged not so much from an appreciation of the palazzo architecture of Italy as a need to find a system of architecture for a specific series of urban pressures and requirements. That is to say, a modular, perceptibly ‘modern’ means of executing a set of urban forms. Not only this, but when the historical antecedents of the Italianate were explicitly identified by British architects and observers, it was as often the English architecture of the seventeenth and eighteenth-century which was mentioned as the works of the Italian Renaissance. This study of the Italianate therefore confounds two myths surrounding early-nineteenth-century urban architecture; that it was always Picturesque/historicist, and that it universally sought visual distinction from the architecture of the preceding century. Another reassessment which the Italianate enables us to make is its distinctively anti-intellectual basis. Unlike nineteenth-century Gothic it did not embody a clear set of ethic or moral tenets but was primarily an urbane and amoral expression of modern urban life.

The development of the Italianate in nineteenth-century Britain has conventionally been understood as originating with Charles Barry's design for the Travellers Club in London in 1829.¹ Alexandra Mitchell, in her thesis 'Middle-Class Masculinity in Clubs and Associations: Manchester and Liverpool, 1800-1914,' summarises this as follows, citing the work of James Stevens Curl, Robert Dixon and Stefan Muthesius, Claude Mignot, and Robert Middleton and David Watkin:

Architectural historians have suggested that the physical structure of the nineteenth-century club house was particularly significant. Those working within the traditions of art history have shown how clubs in early-nineteenth-century London played an influential role in the wider development of architectural style. The Travellers Club (1829-1831) and Reform Club (1837-1841) on Pall Mall designed by Charles Barry have been credited with changing the direction of nineteenth-century architecture from a classicism inspired by ancient Greece to an Italianate Renaissance style.²

The commonly understood story of the Italianate therefore goes something like this; architects, Charles Barry in particular, went to Italy in the early 1820s and studied the Italian palazzi, along with the ruins of ancient Rome. Upon their return to Britain, they derived a form of urban architecture based on these palazzi, demonstrating the romantic and historicist tendencies we have come to expect of the nineteenth-century. This is the contention of writers such as Dixon and Muthesius, who assert that the Italianate works of Barry are based on 'the Renaissance palazzi of Florence and Rome of the early sixteenth-century, notably the Palazzo Farnese'³ but do not examine what Barry actually thought of these buildings or whether contemporary observers understood them as such. The contention then follows that seminal examples of the Italianate, in particular the Travellers Club and the Reform Club, were the chief models upon which

¹ I have used the Travellers Club's own convention of un-apostrophised 'Travellers Club' throughout apart from where 'Travellers' is used in direct quotation.

² Mitchell, A. 'Middle-Class Masculinity in Clubs and Associations: Manchester and Liverpool, 1800-1914', Doctoral Thesis (The University of Manchester Faculty of Humanities, 2011), p. 122.

³ Dixon, R., Muthesius, S. *Victorian Architecture* 2nd ed. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985), p.76.

subsequent Italianate architecture was based, as can be seen in the trajectory described in the writing of Marcus Whiffen which ascribes the Italianate tradition in Manchester almost solely to Barry's ability to transcribe his London club-house designs to the north.⁴ The notion that the Italianate would become particularly associated with the cities of northern England, anxious to evoke their connections to the mercantile and cultural values of the Italian Renaissance has been further developed more recently, particularly in the work of Tristram Hunt.⁵ As we shall see, virtually all of these assumptions are incorrect.

Before we consider the development of the urban Italianate as something other than a fashion created by a single architect in a seminal building, we must first address another issue regarding the manner in which the Italianate has been generally understood. One of the reasons the urban Italianate has been misinterpreted is because it has been treated as a canon of architecture, an assumption that it must have followed the same allusive propensities as the Greek and Gothic revivals, that it must have *meant* something Italian, in the way that the Greek revival could be seen as representing academic rigour or the Gothic revival evoking Christian virtue.⁶ At other times it has been erroneously understood as following the same tendencies as the picturesque domestic Italianate of the suburbs and countryside, a very different form of Italianate which perhaps did seek to evoke a pastoral representation of productive leisure taken from the Italian countryside.⁷ The domestic origins of the style have been studied, most

⁴ Whiffen, M., 'The architecture of Sir Charles Barry in Manchester and neighbourhood' in *Art and Architecture in Victorian Manchester*, Archer, John H.G. (ed), (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), pp. 46-64.

⁵ Hunt, T. *Building Jerusalem* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 2004).

⁶ Hunt, *Building Jerusalem*, pp. 130-419

⁷ Spiro, K. *A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1995) p. 572

recently by Rosemary Yallop.⁸ Yallop's research focuses on the domestic, principally villa, forms of the Italianate introduced into England by John Nash, and the diffusion of those forms into and against the rural and suburban landscape of Britain, including the influence of the Picturesque. However, an examination of the urban Italianate as a distinctive form of architectural expression reveals that, although it was rich in debate and theory, it was primarily an un-academic form of architectural expression, an urban mercantile vernacular. Nor was it greatly concerned with the pursuit of the picturesque or the evocation of accurate historical allusion. As shall be demonstrated, the Italianate was promoted chiefly as a means of avoiding the need for architectural debate and arcane historicism; it was seen variously as having 'no regard to style,' as being 'nothing more than our own vernacular,' the 'tertium quid', and 'the common-sense style.'

If the Italianate is seen as a vehicle for architectural progression in the early-nineteenth-century, a manner of architectural expression in which practicality was more important than style and the capacity for development more important than historical accuracy, it therefore becomes worthy of study not only for its own sake but as a way of reconsidering the architectural terminology of the nineteenth-century and questioning the notions of 'style' and 'historicism' that have typically characterised that era. In his 1972 work *The High Victorian Movement in Architecture* Stefan Muthesis identified the problem with applying the concept of style to nineteenth-century architecture from a twentieth century perspective:

I have avoided using the word 'style' because it is not precise: in the nineteenth century it meant the symbolical value of architectural motifs, their historical and geographical significance, and it was used for the general historical classification of buildings. In the art historical jargon of the

⁸ Yallop, R. 'Villa rustica, villa suburbana : Vernacular Italianate architecture in Britain, 1800-1860', Doctoral Thesis (University of Oxford, 2017).

twentieth century, it means abstract formal analysis, used whether as a tool for classification or for its own sake. Thus, the word ‘style’ can cover the two aspects I am trying to disentangle.⁹

However, what Muthesis does not mention is that it is that the ambiguity surrounding the concept of ‘style’ was also prevalent in the nineteenth-century. In fact, so heavily was ‘style’ identified with archaeological categorisation in the early-nineteenth-century, that when critics tried to describe architecture that did not have a classical order or use Gothic ornament ‘astylar’ was a common signifier.¹⁰

For the purposes of this thesis I have used the term ‘astylar’ in the architectural sense of the term, meaning a classical building: ‘without columns or pilasters’.¹¹ However, it is worth noting that some examples of British Italianate architecture do use engaged columns and pilasters.¹² It was the absence of a giant order, and especially a portico, which was the principal ‘astylar’ signifier for early-nineteenth-century critics, meaning something which was identifiably classical but not Grecian or Roman, as shall be explored in due course. Plurality of ornament combined with freedom from the constraints of the orders were two of the main attractions of the Italianate for architects working out the formulae for buildings such as commercial banks, railway stations and pumping stations, in which the functions were often without precedent, and which required a form of ornament and symbolism that would not strike the educated observer as incongruous, anachronistic, or even ridiculous.

⁹ Muthesius, s. *The High Victorian Movement in Architecture 1850-1870* (London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), p. xvii.

¹⁰ ‘Metropolitan Architecture, a stroll around the Bank’, (*The Builder*, October 14, 1843), p. 432: Regarding the Hall of Commerce on Threadneedle Street; ‘The peculiarity of its character is the circumstance of it being Astylar, or without columns or pilasters of any kind.’

¹¹ Papworth, W., *Gwilt's Encyclopaedia of Architecture*, (London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1876), p. 1187: ‘Astylar, a design made without the introduction of columns or pilasters is termed an astylar composition.’

¹² Thomas Hopper's Atlas Insurance Office, Cheapside, London (1837) being one early example. Sydney Smirke's Carlton Club is a later example of this, although it is debatable to what extent this building is a continuation of the Italianate or the beginning of a Baroque revival.

Twentieth-century critics seeking to define nineteenth-century Italianate architecture, notably Goodhart-Rendel, in his *English Architecture Since the Regency*, published in 1953, and Russell Hitchcock writing in *Early Victorian architecture in Britain*, 1954, tended to admit the difficulty in defining the Italianate through a consistent set of attributes, either describing it in opposition to other forms of classicism, or in the similarity of its features to the palazzi of the Italian Renaissance.¹³ Hitchcock perhaps articulated the issue best when he noted that most early-nineteenth-century architecture is best understood not as a style but a ‘stylism’ or ‘mode’ which was read differently to twentieth-century definitions of style.¹⁴ As we have seen with Muthesis’s argument against understanding nineteenth-century architecture in terms of style, the problem with most twentieth-century criticism is that this formal analysis is precisely what has been applied to the architecture of the long nineteenth-century, even for ‘styles’ which do not lend themselves to a stylistically definable canon.

In 1978 Ellen K. Morris began to touch on the problem of trying to categorise the Italianate as a style when she analysed the classical proposals for the Government Offices competition in 1850s London.¹⁵ Morris noted that the matter of style was already problematic for mid-century Victorians, and that they tended to attempt classification under two poles described as:

...a classicized approach or a medievalized approach. The language of classicized style might be termed 'Greek,' 'Roman' or 'Renaissance' (Italianate). The same was true of the language based in the architectural forms and planning principles characteristic of the Middle-Ages. Such use of a style might be termed 'Gothic,' 'Medieval' or, perhaps, 'Elizabethan'.¹⁶

¹³ Hitchcock, H-R. *Early Victorian Architecture in Britain* (Newhaven and London: Yale University Press, 1954) p.118.

¹⁴ Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture*, p. xi.

¹⁵ Morris, E.K. ‘Symbols of Empire: Architectural Style and the Government Offices Competition’, *Journal for Architectural Education*, Volume XXXII (Number 2, November, 1978), p.8.

¹⁶ Morris, ‘Symbols of Empire’, p.8.

Although Morris was attempting to unpick the issue of style her analysis actually highlights the problem of attempting to do so when the Italianate is considered. Firstly, the term ‘Renaissance’ was almost never used in connection with urban buildings in Britain until well into the 1860s, as shall be seen later in this thesis. And when British critics of the 1830s and 1840s needed a term for genuine Renaissance buildings ‘Elizabethan’ was often used, even for French or Italian architecture. As we have already seen, ‘Italianate’ was not a contemporary term for the type of architecture under examination, and contemporary terminology often reflected the fact that the Italianate defied categorisation under the poles of Greek and Gothic. As further examination of the work of James Fergusson and others will reveal, the Italianate was often understood by its contemporaries as ‘otherness’, its inability to be categorised under a classical or Gothic banner.¹⁷ Hence, while Morris assumes a classical descriptor for the Italianate on the basis of the debates which surrounded the Government Offices competition, this does not offer a convincing explanation for how the Italianate was perceived up until the point at which her analysis begins. By the 1850s there was increasing polarisation within the field of British architecture regarding the notion that a building had to be broadly Gothic or broadly classical, the notorious ‘battle of the styles’.¹⁸

The Italianate has consequently suffered from an anachronistic reading of the debates surrounding mid-nineteenth-century architecture onto a form of architecture which originated outside of those debates. The Italianate was formulated and developed before the ‘battle of the styles’ debates of the late 1850s which means it is problematic to assume that the Italianate had always been seen as falling under a general ‘classical’ heading until this point. Indeed, Pugin makes no reference to the Italianate in his

¹⁷ Fergusson, J. *History of the Modern Styles of Architecture: Being a Sequel to the Handbook of Architecture* (London: John Murray, 1862), pp. 329-30.

¹⁸ *The Building News* (12 June, 1857), pp. 613-614.

polemics against the classicism of the 1830s and 1840s, focusing primarily on Grecian architecture, and this despite the fact that the Italianate was becoming far more popular than Grecian architecture at the time of his writing. This suggests that he either did not feel comfortable classifying the Italianate on broader stylistic terms, or that he did not consider it to be a cohesive, ergo threatening, canon of architecture. An art-historical approach which takes the Italianate as a 'style', attempts to pinpoint its origins in one specific building (usually Barry's Travellers Club), and treat it as either an example of nineteenth-century historicism or classical eclecticism, is fundamentally doomed to overlook the reasons the Italianate developed as a response to nineteenth-century urban requirements.

That the Italianate went some way towards meeting nineteenth-century urban requirements can hardly be disputed, for unquestionably the civic and commercial architecture of the first half of the nineteenth-century was dominated by variations on an Italianate theme., at least in terms of sheer quantity. This is evidenced by the bank buildings, club-houses and street architecture of the day, perhaps best seen in publications such as Sandeman's *Grand Architectural Panorama of London* of 1849, a cross-section through the West End, in which almost every building of the previous two decades expresses what we would consider to be the Italianate, from the Royal Polytechnic Institution, through the club-houses on Lower Regent Street and Pall Mall, to Barry's re-facing of the Treasury buildings.¹⁹ And while it is the exceptions to the Italianate theme that have subsequently characterised studies of nineteenth-century civic architecture, from Pevsner's 1936 *Pioneers of the Modern Movement* onwards, the fact remains that as a form of expression in English civic architecture it was the

¹⁹ Sandeman, R. *Grand architectural panorama of London : Regent Street to Westminster Abbey, from original drawings made expressly for the work* (London: I. Whitelaw, 1849).

Italianate that was to be one of the most typical urban expressions of the nineteenth-century.

Far from being based on one clear prototype, the Italianate was promoted by its contemporaries as being almost an intuitive way of designing urban buildings. The work of Neil Levine has suggested that the 1830s may have been the period in which history, or time, replaced the idea of static nature as a basis for architecture.²⁰ Laugier and others had seen ornament arising from the fundamental, primitive essence of the rustic 'hut', thereby giving classical temple forms a natural, even organic, origin. The outcome of this argument was that the architects of the Greek Revival could claim to be practising the tradition which was closest to the origins of western architecture, hence the recurring adjectives of 'purity', 'chasteness' and 'simplicity' which characterised descriptions of Greek Revival buildings up until the 1830s. The Italianate fulfilled a different function to this, and forms part of what Levine sees as a tendency to escape nature and find an abstracted form of classicism. But the Italianate does not comply with Levine's assertion that history replaced nature as a form of architectural development. The Italianate sat in its own peculiar temporal frame. In fact, some of the chief proponents of the Italianate argued that it was not particularly Italian, or even noticeably historic, and emphasised its modernity and 'Englishness'.²¹

Unlike nineteenth-century Grecian and Greco-Roman architecture, the Italianate had almost no link to archaeological research or academic study; it was simply a means of expressing the realities of common architectural forms in a manner which the nineteenth-century found atheistically acceptable. Few of its defenders claimed

²⁰ Levine, N. *Modern Architecture: Representation and Reality* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 10-11.

²¹ Chambers, W. *A Treatise on the Decorative Part of Civil Architecture Revised and Edited by W.H. Leeds*, (London: Lockwood and Co, 1862), p. 321.

anything for the Italianate beyond its practicality for modern urban building, and perhaps the highest praise bestowed upon it was that it was ‘the common-sense style of architecture’.²² In an age which one may see as having been either enriched or plagued by stylistic deliberation, the Italianate offered a way of simply getting the fabric of urban Britain built with a minimum of debate. This in no ways diminishes the importance of the Italianate, indeed even its own time it was expressly valued as the ‘tertium quid,’²³ an escape from debates on the moral principle of architecture, which allowed cost-effective dignity for building types which did not merit over-thinking. This re-evaluation of the Italianate in its urban form not only examines the development of the Italianate itself, but examines the construction of urban Britain in its own terms. The desires and legislation of the municipal authorities, the expectations of the public, and the frequent need to create ‘architecture’ without an architect, means that the Italianate is best understood not as a scholarly response to the Italian Cinquecento but a nonetheless complex response to the challenges of building nineteenth-century Britain. If nineteenth-century Gothic and Greco-Roman approaches to architecture can be seen as embodying the moral and political ambitions of Victorian Britain,²⁴ the Italianate can be seen as embodying the commercial and social reality of the urban landscape.

The urban Italianate, particularly in its commercial and civic forms, has traditionally been confined to studies focusing on the work of particular architects or building types rather than being understood as a more comprehensive tendency in its own right. For the purposes of my research, I have taken urban to refer to chiefly town and city-centre development, particularly commercial, municipal and semi-public buildings (such as

²² Fergusson, *History of the Modern Styles of Architecture*, p. 329.

²³ Fergusson, *History of the Modern Styles of Architecture*, pp. 329-30.

²⁴ Hill, R. *God's Architect, Pugin and the Building of Romantic Britain* (London: Penguin, 2008) pp.226-239; Salmon, F. *Building on Ruins, the Rediscovery of Rome and English Architecture* (Aldershot and Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 138-140.

club-houses, institutions etc), usually with a primary frontage to a public thoroughfare. Domestic architecture is examined to a lesser extent, chiefly in the form of terraces and townhouses with a street frontage (i.e., not the detached and semi-detached villa forms which were the primary focus of Yallop's research). My own research has emerged from an initial study undertaken in connection with a MSt. thesis entitled 'The English Italianate: Textual and Literary Manifestations of an Architectural Moment', which attempted to understand the emergence of an 'Italianate' sensibility in English domestic architecture and the varying ways in which the Italianate was represented and interpreted from c.1800-1850.²⁵ Italianate in this context might be broadly understood as a British aesthetic sensibility towards what was at that time referred to as 'the landscape architecture of Italy',²⁶ and what we might very broadly call the Tuscan vernacular seen through the lens of Picturesque sensibility.

While engaged in my MSt. research it became clear that the concept of the 'Italianate' was a later art-historical construct, and that it could not accurately reflect the forms meanings and contexts of all the buildings ascribed to this perceived 'movement'. This thesis attempts to understand the urban forms of the Italianate in relation to a range of discourses, both theoretical and practical, and attempts to explain the emergence and popularity of the Italianate in relation to contemporary concerns regarding the place of modern architecture in the western architectural narrative and the city itself.

Like much stylistic terminology relating to nineteenth-century architecture, the concept of the Italianate has been applied to the period retrospectively. The *Oxford*

²⁵ McKinstry, D. *The English Italianate: Textual and Literary Manifestations of an Architectural Moment*, MSt Thesis, University of Oxford, 2008.

²⁶ Meason, G.L. *On The Landscape Architecture of the Great Painters of Italy* (London: C. Hullmandel, 1828).

Dictionary of Architecture, which may be regarded as reflecting the relatively standard uses of architectural terms, has a definition of ‘Italianate’ as follows:

Style of C19 architecture modelled on the astylar Italian *palazzo*, represented by the *Palazzo Farnese*, Rome...Typical are Charles Barry’s Travellers’ (1829-32) and Reform (1837-41) Clubs, Pall Mall, London, the Northern (formerly Belfast) Bank Head Office, Belfast (1845), by Lanyon, and Osborne House, IoW (1845-51) by Thomas Cubitt and Prince Albert.²⁷

This definition contains several problematic elements, as this thesis shall demonstrate, notably the assumption that the Italian palazzi were the sole inspiration for the urban Italianate in Britain, but also the conflation of rural and urban Italianate into one homogenous trend. Nonetheless, it is true that it was the generally astylar nature of the Italianate, the attempt to abstract classical massing and form from the application of orders, which came to define its urban appearance.

The nineteenth-century did not create astylar urban form, but the term ‘Italianate’ is not generally applied to classicism of the eighteenth-century or before, although English Palladianism and the works of Inigo Jones were of course often as astylar, indeed as ‘Italianate’, as the architecture of Charles Barry and other mid-nineteenth-century architects. This is largely because the use of the term ‘Palladian’ for the architecture of the long eighteenth-century enabled later critics to identify what they saw as the difference between eighteenth and nineteenth-century abstracted classicism. This seems to have contributed to the notion that eighteenth-century classicism was somehow separate from the classicism of the nineteenth-century, that the supposedly academic and formulaic ‘Palladian’ was different to the Romantic, historicist ‘Italianate’. The terminology of the post-nineteenth-century has enhanced this distinction. This is because the tendency of nineteenth-century writers to dismiss the ‘Palladian’ has been taken to

²⁷ Curl, J.S. and Wilson S., *The Oxford Dictionary of Architecture* (3rd ed) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp.384-385.

mean that they were speaking within the modern definition of the term. In fact, confusingly, in the first half of the nineteenth-century, ‘Palladian’ generally meant the late eighteenth-century neo-classical architecture of the Wyatts, Holland and Dance, not the architecture of the first half of the eighteenth-century.²⁸ This thesis argues that the development of the urban Italianate of the nineteenth-century was as much a revival, or continuation, of early-eighteenth-century British classicism as it was an attempt to create a novel form of architectural expression. Furthermore, within the bracket of the Italianate there existed a wide degree of variation, often too extreme to be understood as subgenres. For example, the earliest villa works of John Nash, such as Cronkhill, vary so much from Charles Barry’s metropolitan Travellers and Reform Clubs of thirty years later that it is inaccurate to view them as forming part of the same Italianising trend. It is clear that one is looking at two very different contexts and developments which have both come to have been brought under the ‘Italianate’ aegis by later commentators.

The earliest examples of the use of the word ‘Italianate’ with reference to nineteenth-century architecture which I have been able to find are in the *Historic American Buildings Survey* of 1940.²⁹ Here the ‘Italianate fashion’ is defined as being primarily the picturesque language of the rural villa or plantation house, occurring chiefly in the 1850s.³⁰ The references to wooden construction and plantations makes it clear that the ‘Italianate’ is here being deployed as a means of describing distinctively American,

²⁸ ‘Architecture in the Reign of George III’, *Civil Engineer and Architects Journal*, Vol VI, (September 1843), p.310: Here English ‘Palladianism’ is used to describe not the architecture represented in the work of Colen Campbell, but the late eighteenth-century works shown in Richardson’s *New Vitruvius Britannicus* of 1802-1806.

²⁹ Peterson, C.E. *Ante bellum houses of the Mississippi Valley. Catalog of an exhibition of new photographs and measured drawings, Fine arts room-St.Louis public library, October 14-28*, (St. Louis: Historic American Buildings Survey, 1940).

³⁰ Peterson, *Ante bellum houses of the Mississippi Valley*, p.6.

primarily rural, buildings, in some ways an architecture not so very different in conception from the rural and suburban villas of Nash and his successors.

One reason the term may have migrated to become a means of describing nineteenth-century British urban architecture for much of the second half of the twentieth-century is C.P. Brand's 1957 work on nineteenth-century romanticism. This not only dealt with the Travellers Club but was sub-titled *The Italianate Fashion in Early-nineteenth-century England*.³¹ Brand used the term 'Italianate' as a means of expressing what he viewed as a romanticising tendency in literature and aesthetics. This becomes problematic when applied to architecture because Brand left no room for distinction between the urban and rural, between architecture in landscape and architecture in townscape. The need to describe the astylar urban classicism of the mid-nineteenth-century became relatively frequent in the years after 1945 when a considerable number of writers began to appraise British architecture of approximately a century before.

When looking at architecturally-focused writers of the mid-twentieth-century we see the lack of a term to comprehensively described the urban astylar classical architecture of architects such as Charles Barry; there was no one accepted nomenclature for the astylar classical urban. Nikolaus Pevsner, writing as Peter F.R. Donner, in the *Architect's Review* in the 1940s uses the term 'Italianate' when referring to rural villa architecture as opposed to urban streetscape.³² Paul Reilly's *Regency Architecture* of 1948 deals with the 1830s but overlooks any urban architecture which is not Greco-Roman, representing a twentieth-century tendency of dividing British architecture of the 1830s into 'late-Georgian' and 'early-Victorian' aesthetics.³³ Hugh Casson's *Victorian Architecture* of

³¹ Brand, C.P., *Italy and the English Romantics: The Italianate Fashion in Early-nineteenth-century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957).

³² Pevsner, N. 'Edensor or Brown Comes True,' *Architectural Review* 95 (Number 566, 1944), pp.39-43.

³³ Reilly, P. *An Introduction to Regency Architecture* (London: Art and Technics, London, 1948).

1948 begins in 1830, although he still classifies the period of 1832-1845 as ‘the tail-end of the eighteenth-century’.³⁴ Casson barely mentions any of the astylar classicism of the mid-nineteenth-century, limiting his analysis to the Travellers and Reform clubs which are simply called ‘an efficient and imposing formula’.³⁵ However, in some senses this cursory remark is actually deeply penetrating because it was the efficiency and formulaic nature of astylar classicism which lent it so readily to urban use, something which a more generic ‘Italianate’, i.e. aesthetic, label perhaps fails to convey.

In *Consort of Taste*, published in 1950, John Steegman undertook an aesthetic survey of the years 1830-1870 and to a limited extent examined the astylar classicism of the period. Steegman makes no use of the phrase ‘Italianate’ but rather speaks of ‘Italian’ and ‘The revived Italian Renaissance taste’,³⁶ (a problematic concept when applied to the 1830s and 1840s when the concept of the ‘Italian Renaissance’ had not crystallised in British thought). By 1953 H.S. Goodhart-Rendel offered a more comprehensive overview of early-nineteenth-century urban architecture when he published his pre-War Slade lectures as *English Architecture since the Regency*.³⁷ Goodhart-Rendel does not settle on any one term to describe what we might now generally consider to be the urban Italianate. However, the variety of phrases he uses are not dissimilar to those which the Victorians themselves used, and his nomenclature for the Travellers Club (which he recognises as being neither Picturesque nor historicist but chiefly a means of astylar composition) encompasses ‘Italian’, ‘Italianism’ and ‘palatial-Italian’.³⁸

³⁴ Casson, Hugh, *An Introduction to Victorian Architecture* (London: Art and Technics, London, 1948), p. 11

³⁵ Casson, *Victorian Architecture*, p. 19.

³⁶ Steegman, J. *Consort of Taste 1830-1870* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson Limited, 1950), pp. 117-118.

³⁷ Goodhart-Rendel, H.S., *English Architecture since the Regency; An Interpretation*, National Trust Classics, 1987 ed. (London: Constable and Company Ltd, 1953).

³⁸ Goodhart-Rendel, *English Architecture since the Regency*, p.66.

In addition to the works already discussed, the 1950s also saw the publication of Henry- Russell Hitchcock's *Early Victorian Architecture in Britain*, at that time easily the most comprehensive twentieth-century study undertaken of British early-nineteenth-century architecture as a whole.³⁹ Despite the apparently American origins of the term, Hitchcock (an American) does not appear to have used 'Italianate' to refer to British architecture frequently. His *Early Victorian Architecture*, although containing more instances of the term 'Italianate' than had ever been used in Britain at that date, generally uses 'Italian villa', 'Italian palace', or 'palazzo'.⁴⁰ Hitchcock, while certainly contributing to the growth of the term 'Italianate' in relation to British nineteenth-century architecture, was undoubtedly more concerned with an attempt to distinguish the language of buildings by their uses, and he consequently focuses on a typological description of buildings, particularly urban buildings, more than on attempting to find or define a consistent stylistic terminology.

While the term 'Italianate' may have caused a blurring of distinction between the urban and the rural, or the picturesque and the formal, it must be acknowledged that it nonetheless is now generally understood as having some relationship to nineteenth-century architecture of the type forming the core of this thesis. This thesis is as much concerned with critical analysis and architectural theory as specific building types, and constant alteration of terminology would be cumbersome and confusing. I have chiefly used the term 'Italianate' as a shorthand manner of identifying urban, largely astylar, structures designed in Britain between c.1815-1860 in manner which still broadly corresponds to the indicators identified by Goodhart-Rendel:

Barry's Italian provided an easy way out of their dilemma. Pilasters must go, but not cornices; the necessary order could be present bodily at the top, but elsewhere

³⁹ Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture*.

⁴⁰ Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture*, p. 162.

present only in spirit. Furthermore, the cornice could be of any size, being proportional no longer to the largest columns that could be used with convenience, but to an imaginary order that might embrace the whole building. Provided such a cornice were large enough, it never need be put below the top, and no attic storey need ever appear above it. Palladio never did thus...other Italian architects had done thus most of the time.⁴¹

In addition to this, there is what I have called an ‘aedicular’ response to façade treatment present in almost all urban Italianate architecture. The use of aediculae to emphasise the voids of a façade, chiefly the windows and doors, but also carriage arches, entresols and blind windows, is one of the recurring themes of the Italianate and by the 1830s what was called the ‘fenestral’ approach to articulation had been identified as a key element of Italianate composition in urban architecture.⁴² Examples of all of these tendencies and techniques can be seen in urban buildings throughout the early-to-mid nineteenth-century such as the Travellers Club, London (1829-32), Mercer’s School, London (1830-1832), Reform Club, London (1837-41) and British & Foreign Bible Society’s House, London (1865-1866). Contemporary nineteenth-century phrases for what we now call the Italianate will be analysed in detail. But for the purposes of clarity and consistency I have used the term ‘Italianate’ while attempting to untangle and understand the many strands which went into producing a manner of urban building which was more homogenous in appearance than it was in terminology.

In terms of my own terminology, I have used the term ‘typology’ and ‘typological’ in the functional and formal sense of the word, as well as relating to the physical locus of buildings as elements within a streetscape. The question of typology in relation to

⁴¹ Goodhart-Rendel, *English Architecture since the Regency*, p. 68.

⁴² Leeds, W.H. *Studies And Examples Of The Modern School Of English Architecture. - The Travellers' Club House, By Charles Barry, Architect: Illustrated By Drawings Made By Mr. Hewitt, And Engraved By Mr. J.H. Le Keux. Accompanied By An Essay On The Present State Of Architectural Study And The Revival Of The Italian Style, By W.H. Leeds, Editor Of The Illustrations Of The Public Buildings Of London, &c. &c.* (London: John Weale, 1839), pp. 20-21.

architecture is a complex and nuanced field, and has been the subject of its own studies.⁴³ Rather than use the term ‘type’ I have used the term ‘typology’ for a number of reasons. When discussing typology I am already doing so within the confines of a type of building; Italianate, nineteenth-century, generally astylar and within a streetscape or urban block. Within this definition I then focus on functional similarities, or subsets, such as club houses, banks and offices. Therefore, when using the term ‘typology’ what I am seeking to classify are sets of buildings which are not only of the same functional type, but also of the same formal type. To me it seems that the term ‘typology’ more accurately encapsulates this than does ‘type’, as it addresses both elements of the category which I am seeking to describe.

I have focused the study of the Italianate primarily on the way in which it was used to give an external expression to the forms, proportions, functions and massing of street architecture rather than as a solution for internal planning (with the exception of some consideration of the way in which commercial requirements for equal floor to ceiling height and internal daylight requirements predicated an Italianate façade treatment). While internal planning, particularly of commercial and institutional buildings, was a considerable area of interest in the first half of the nineteenth-century there are two chief reasons why it is not considered in this thesis in detail. In the first place, there has been considerable research into the planning of internal commercial and municipal space in the nineteenth-century.⁴⁴ Secondly, the Italianate was not seen as a primarily plan-based solution, but an elevational one. Perhaps the main internal solution

⁴³ Markus, T. *Buildings and Power* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993); Koch, D. ‘Changing Building Typologies: The typological question and the formal basis of architecture,’ *Journal of Space Syntax* (London: University College London , 2014. Vol. 5, no 2), pp.168-180

⁴⁴ Booker, J. *Temples of Mammon: Architecture of Banking* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press,1990); Schmeichen, J. and Carls, K. *The British Market Hall, A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999); Duffy, F. ‘Office Buildings and Organisational Change’, King, A D, (ed), *Buildings and Society: Essays on the Social Development of the Built Environment* (London: Routledge, 1984), pp.254-280.

associated with the Italianate is the use of the glazed internal courtyard with arcaded stories. A great deal has been made of Barry's use of an Italian 'cortile' as the core of the Reform Club plan (following a smaller version on the Travellers Club plan). But I do not consider that there was anything about the structure and purpose of this device that meant it was predicated solely on an Italianate form of architecture.⁴⁵ The concept of an internal court surrounded with arcades and a compartmentalised staircase clearly had appeared in Italian Renaissance architecture,⁴⁶ and there is no doubt that Barry was referencing this in his plans for his club-houses. But at the Travellers Club it was also a useful means of allowing for all the principal rooms to be on the two visible fronts of the building.

In the case of both the Travellers and Reform the use of a central court also avoided the issue of how to light a staircase on a building which lacked a naturally-lit but concealed 'back'; a practical matter of circulation versus elevation. The same device was also used by Nash at the United Services Club which were affected by precisely the same issue of being publicly visible on three sides with a party wall on the fourth (Decimus Burton had the same constraint at the Atheneum but created an external lightwell for the staircase and top-lighting over it). In addition to this, and perhaps most crucially, a cortile plan also broke the roof structure of a deep plot into cores and segments manageable in timber construction, as well as allowing each section of the building to have different floor-to-ceiling heights (enabling more attic accommodation at the rear of the building). The only real distinction in Barry's use of circulation was to

⁴⁵ Barry, A. *The life and works of Sir Charles Barry, R.A., F.R.S., &c. &c.*, (London: J. Murray, 1867), pp.93-94

⁴⁶ *A Palazzo in Pall Mall? The Origins of the Reform Club in the Palazzo Farnese, Rome*, lecture to the Reform Club members by Paul Vonberg, November 2003: <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/56631a59e4b0c0bb91007140/t/56717801d82d5e57aec19c22/1450276865373/061122apalazzoinpallmall.pdf>.

remove the staircase from the top-lit central hall, but this plan-form had been conceived of before Barry, in many Palladian and Greek Revival buildings.

Therefore, as a planning device the cortile was not inherently linked to Italianate architecture and was simply another iteration of the central lightwell. Nineteenth-century architects had used precisely the same device long before the Reform Club, and long before the Italianate. Belsay Hall in Northumberland demonstrates an especially accomplished Grecian version of what is essentially a cortile (there expressed as an Ionic/Doric atrium) designed in 1810.⁴⁷ And throughout the nineteenth-century the double-height arcaded court with separated vertical circulation appeared in buildings in of every style, including Barry's Elizabethan Highclere Castle. Furthermore, the vast majority of urban Italianate buildings had no particular distinction in the internal planning and arrangement than any other building of the same functional requirements. Offices and banks had more-or-less the same planning requirements and constraints regardless of the manner chosen for their façade expression. One of the complications for nineteenth-century architects who *were* concerned by architectural style was that there was no plan-form reason why a railway station, bank, office or hotel could not be in any style because it was patently obvious that the plan-form was going to have to be entirely modern.

For street architecture, and mid-block especially, there was limited opportunity changing the form and elevational plane of the building. Debates about architectural language became predicated on the façade of the building and its associational power; what the façade signified about purpose, time and place, rather than what it had to say about the internal arrangements of the building. While Pugin in particular railed against

⁴⁷ RIBA67992, SC116/10. Ground floor plan of Belsay Hall drawn by C.R. Cockerell, This drawing is one of a number included in C. R. Cockerell's album of house studies entitled 'Ichnographia Domestica', which was compiled in 1825 with later insertions.

what he assumed to be the subjugation of plan-form to façade,⁴⁸ it was clear that for street architecture this relationship was in fact entirely symbiotic. In an age when curtain glazing for street architecture was only tentatively explored at mid-century,⁴⁹ a regular façade of largely equal floor-to-ceiling heights allowed most of the gross internal area to be lit equally well and to an equal depth from the front of the plot to the back of the room, maximising the value of lettable commercial space. The Italianate proved to be most straightforward manner of articulating and ornamenting the resulting grid-façade and its strength lay not in dictating internal planning but in giving it a logical and coherent elevation. Here then we can see the Italianate in something like the terms used by Hitchcock when he described it as ‘one of the prime Early Victorian symbols of functional expression’.⁵⁰

The perceived adaptability of the Italianate for modern commercial architecture was a key criterion in its use in a period when new building types were proliferating, and is examined in detail in the final three chapters of this thesis. However, it is worth stating at the outset that this relationship with the demands of commercial architecture was crucial to both the reception and development of the Italianate in its urban contexts. This relationship was arguably at its most beneficial in the creation of speculative commercial buildings, namely the lettable office block or chambers, the design of which paved the way for a later period of metropolitan hotels and government offices. These commercial chambers began to appear in London from the late 1840s onwards. The key criterion of their construction was to create as many storeys of the same height as possible, if revenue was to be maximised.⁵¹ But achieving this meant eradicating the

⁴⁸ Pugin, A.W.N., *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (London: J. Weale, 1841).

⁴⁹ Notable exceptions being Peter Ellis’s Oriel Chambers (1864) and 16 Cook Street (1866) in Liverpool.

⁵⁰ Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture*, p. 397.

⁵¹ Summerson, J. ‘The Victorian Rebuilding of the City of London, 1840-1870,’ *The Unromantic Castle* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990), pp. 195-196

implied order which had been seen in the proportions of the astylar architecture of previous decades, such as the standard Georgian brick terrace. These new buildings also need as much daylight as possible for reasons of economy, all of which led to a building type which required equal height floors with equal height windows.

An example of this tendency can be seen at Number 33 Cornhill in the City of London, an office building of 1857 by Francis and Francis. (Plates 1 & 2). Here the front of the building uses Italianate ornament and clever positioning of string-courses and quoins to give the impression of an ordered, though astylar, façade which appears to obey the conventional classical proportions of diminishing storeys. But the rear of the building demonstrates that the structure is in fact composed of storeys of equal height; essentially it is the conventional brick eighteenth-century terraced house with its proportions altered for nineteenth-century commercial use. With the structure of basement, *piano nobile* and attic absorbed into one mass of equal stories in all types of lettable space, some form of articulation was necessary to distinguish prime offices from the plainest warehouses.

Thus, the urban Italianate was never presented as a means of revolutionising internal planning, but rather articulating well-established concepts of solid-to-void ratios regardless of variations in scale caused by urban plot widths or block areas, even as these increased in area and height throughout the nineteenth-century. In addition to this, as we shall see in Chapter Five, the Italianate proved itself admirably adapted to providing a façade treatment to a building where the internal plan already existed, either due to a desire to re-face an existing building, or provide a new façade for a building suddenly truncated by street widening.

The chronological and geographical scope of this research has been necessarily limited due to the long and global popularity of the Italianate in the long nineteenth-century.⁵² My research primarily focuses on the emergence and early evolution of an urban Italianate and this has led me to look at its development with particular reference to London in the period c. 1815-1865. It is generally acknowledged that the first British Italianate urban buildings of the nineteenth-century emerged in London.⁵³ While the influence of the Italianate outside of London is explored, the chief focus of my research has been on the Italianate as a form of metropolitan building, which had influence on urban buildings across Britain. As much of this thesis focuses on the architectural debates which, I argue, led to the creation of the Italianate, the world of the British (primarily English) architectural press also forms a 'geographical' locus with the locus chiefly being the world of commercial architecture and construction. The 1815-1865 timeframe has been chosen to allow for the impressions formed on the European tours of its early practitioners, as well as to include contemporary debates on the limitations of the Greek revival. The ending point of c.1865 allows for this study to focus on the emergence of the Italianate before a period of relative stasis, the reasons for which are explored in the final two chapters. This time frame also allows for greater focus on the 1815-1850 period which in other contexts are regarded as culturally and politically distinct, but which in British architectural studies have typically suffered from,

⁵² Joyce, H. The architecture of gentlemen's clubs in New York city: a study of gender and class in America, 1879-1909, DPhil. Thesis (University of Oxford, 2019); Furlan, R. 'Cultural Traditions and Architectural Form of Italian Transnational Houses in Australia', *Archnet-IJAR: International Journal of Architectural Research*, (vol. 9, issue 2, 2015), pp. 45-64; King, S. Colony and Climate: Positioning Public Architecture in Queensland 1859-1909, PhD diss., (University of Melbourne, 2010).

⁵³ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, May 19, 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Charles-Barry>; Weale, J. (ed.), *London Exhibited in 1851*, London: John Weale, 1851), pp. 295-6; Hitchcock, *Early Victorian architecture in Britain*, p.39; 'Architecture', *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 8th ed, Volume 3 (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1853), p.506; Leeds, W.H. *The public buildings of London*, vol. II (London: John Weale, 1838), pp.259-260.

sometimes subliminal, regnal divisions into ‘late Georgian’ or ‘Victorian’.⁵⁴ While the work of historians such as Sir John Summerson has paved much of the ground for research into the architecture of early-nineteenth-century London, it has conventionally placed the 1830s at either the end of one period, or the beginning of another, rather than seeing the decade as a central point in the development of British urban architecture.⁵⁵

It must of course be acknowledged that considerable research on the architecture of London in the first half of the nineteenth-century has already been undertaken in recent years, and indeed has formed the basis of much of this thesis. The work of Geoffrey Tyack, particularly his research on Sir James Pennethorne and John Nash, is referenced frequently in this thesis.⁵⁶ Also underpinning my research is the work of Elizabeth McKellar, particularly her work on the development of London 1800-1840.⁵⁷ However, Tyack’s work has concentrated on the development of London as managed by two key figures, and McKellar has studied the outward growth of the metropolis. While my own research has built on the research of Tyack, McKellar and others, I have primarily researched the non-residential development of inner London by a range of architects, clients and contractors, as well as drawing comparisons with other British urban centres in the same period, such as Manchester, Belfast and Liverpool.

The evidence-base for research is varied, although the types of evidence used follow a broadly chronological basis. Chapter 2 examines previously unpublished primary sources relating to English visitors to Italy in the 1815-1830 period. This focuses on

⁵⁴ Hollis, P. *Class and Conflict in Nineteenth-Century England 1815-1850* (London: Routledge, 1973); Scott-Baumann, M. *Reforming Britain 1815-50* (London: Hodder Education, 2006)

⁵⁵ Summerson, J. *Georgian London* (London: C. Scribner’s Sons, 1946); Summerson, J. *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830* (London: Penguin, 1953); Summerson, J. *The Architecture of Victorian London* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976)

⁵⁶ Tyack, G. *Sir James Pennethorne and the Making of Victorian London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Tyack, G. *John Nash: Architect of the Picturesque* (Historic England in association with Liverpool University Press, 2013)

⁵⁷ McKellar, E. *Landscapes of London: the City, the Country, and the Suburbs 1660-1840*, (Yale University Press & Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2013)

their responses to urban Italian architecture and demonstrates that far from being subject to concepts of the Romantic or the Picturesque, these observers became more convinced of the virtues of what they perceived as their 'native' classical architecture and situates the emergence of the Italianate in Britain as something more complex than an interest in a direct evocation of the urban architecture of Italy. Following on from this I have examined early-nineteenth-century British interpretations of indigenous classical architecture, looking at how architectural practice developed a new regard for seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English architecture from the 1820s onwards. In so doing it can be demonstrated that the Italianate evolved not as a means of displacing British classical architecture of eighteenth-century, but of attempting to displace the more recent Greek Revival in favour of an astylar classicism which owed as much to the seventeenth and eighteenth-century interpretation of Palladianism as it did to Renaissance Italy. I also examine sources relating to lectures given at the Royal Academy and exhibited drawings to show how architectural education began to include a knowledge of English classical architecture alongside Greek and Roman classicism. Another source examined is buildings constructed or completed in the early-nineteenth-century where the earlier English classical tradition either had to be reflected or incorporated in the new work, a reminder that the Italianate was often deployed as a means of designing in a pre-existing context, or even completing buildings or streets which had been begun decades earlier.

Following this analysis analogous debates on the limitations of the Greek revival are examined, with sources being the published works of early-nineteenth-century architects, public lectures and letters and articles in the architectural press. An analysis of these sources demonstrates that the reasons for the Greek revival's decline in the 1830-40s are directly linked to the reasons for the Italianate's popularity within the

same period. These reasons largely relate to both the need for new building types and the change from a largely academic architectural profession directing private projects to the need for architects trained in project management and surveying with a client base for whom architectural expression was of limited concern. In this context the Italianate is understood not as a position within a ‘battle of the styles’ or a component in stylistic plurality, but rather as a means of constructing a building with what was perceived as adequate architectural expression, but between, or even outside of, the Gothic and classical poles of contemporary stylistic debate.

Chapters 3 and 4 focus on the execution of the urban Italianate, including the manner in which the terms used to describe it shifted from an ‘Italian’ nomenclature to a sense of it as ‘modern’, its role in the creation of new streets, and how it became the dominant expression of civic and commercial London, as well as influencing the metropolitan identity of British cities more generally. Sources used here range from the minutes of building committees to the plans submitted for approval and accompanying public and private commentary on such projects. The influence of publications such as the nineteenth-century republications of Chambers’s *Treaty of Civil Architecture* Paul Letarouilly’s *Édifices de Rome modern* is explored (see also Appendices A and B). In Chapters 5 and 6 the Italianate is examined in relation to the shift from metropolitan improvement projects to major government buildings in the mid-1850s-1860s, and the reasons why it continued to be used for commercial and municipal street architecture, but largely became unpopular for national government projects, will be considered.

The result of this research will be to demonstrate that the ‘Italianate’ had a distinct urban form which was almost entirely unrelated to its more picturesque suburban and rural expressions. It will also be demonstrated that the Italianate was not motivated by a strongly ethical or academic agenda, but rather that it evolved chiefly in response to

practical building challenges. It will be shown that urban Italianate was in fact the nineteenth-century urban vernacular, and because of this it achieved a degree of built success unparalleled by any other form of commercial architecture until the development of the Beaux Arts in the late-nineteenth-century. Beyond this, this thesis seeks to open early-nineteenth-century urban architecture to wider debate, by refuting the picturesque or conscious historicism as a defining aspect of architectural practice. Ultimately it can be observed that the Italianate was largely a pragmatic attempt at architectural expression in a world of new urban administration and typologies, and that, far from seeking to break with eighteenth-century architecture, the urban Italianate shows us a new generation of architects grafting into the roots of their profession.

Chapter 1

The Urban Italianate before The Travellers Club: Barry and his contemporaries, 1820-1830

In any discussion of the nineteenth-century Italianate revival Barry must inevitably play a large part. His villa for Thomas Attree, his church of St. Andrew's, Hove, and the Travellers' Club are the first English examples of this style.⁵⁸

Considering whether the Italianate was, in the words of Watkin, a 'style', or an attempt to break away from style is a complex matter and one which must be re-examined in due course. It will be considered whether the Italianate was in fact seen as a style, or rather an astylar alternative to Greco-Roman classicism; how a nineteenth-century building appeared when it was operating apart from both the neo-classical and Gothic. But before we can reconsider the stylistic purposes of the Italianate, we must turn our consideration of the origin myth which has arisen regarding its 'arrival' in early-nineteenth-century London. Given the general acceptance of the Travellers Club, and Charles Barry, as the progenitor of the urban Italianate in Britain it is best to begin by demonstrating that the Travellers, although certainly influential, was actually a well-developed part of an established and fertile metropolitan trend rather than something conceived in vitro.

The problem with understanding the Travellers Club as England's first Italianate urban building of the nineteenth-century is not only that it is inaccurate, but that it disregards the progressive development of metropolitan street architecture in the decade preceding 1829. The Travellers Club is a key structure in the development of the urban Italianate in the metropolis and beyond, but it is simplistic to believe, and erroneous to

⁵⁸ Watkin, D. *Thomas Hope and the Neo-Classical Idea* (London: John Murray, 1968), pp.183-184.

presume, that it somehow represented a fully formed example of astylar classicism of a type which had never been conceived of before. Certainly, the work of Barry was to become enormously influential in the promulgation of the Italianate, as shall be seen in Chapter 4, but the Italianate of the Travellers Club did not spring from a vacuum. Albert Richardson was one of the few historians to have recognised that the Travellers Club was only one part of an ongoing early-nineteenth-century tendency to form some type of astylar, or at least non Greco-Roman, classicism for the modern age, although he too saw the Travellers as having ‘marked a new departure in Classic design’.⁵⁹ H.S. Goodhart-Rendel writing in 1953 is nuanced enough to state that the Travellers Club showed that Barry showed ‘leadership in introducing the neo-Italian style’ but recognised that an aesthetic shift in design from the ‘chaste’ (Grecian) to the ‘chubby’ (Italianate) had already occurred in the early 1820s and that Barry was therefore not so much leading fashion as following it.⁶⁰ However Marcus Whiffen’s view is perhaps the most common, and he understands the Italianate as being entirely something instigated by Charles Barry; ‘the Renaissance *palazzo* formula which Barry had introduced into English street architecture with his Travellers’ Club in 1829’.⁶¹

The life and early career of Charles Barry (1795-1860, knighted 1852) has been the subject of research,⁶² although no biography of him has been produced since the mid-nineteenth-century.⁶³ However, a brief outline of his architectural studies and career helps to set the context for his role within the development of the urban Italianate. Barry was born at 2 Bridge Street, Westminster, to Walter Edward Barry (*d.* 1805), stationer

⁵⁹ Richardson, A.E. *Monumental Classic Architecture in Great Britain and Ireland* (New York: W. Norton and Company, 1982) p.89. Originally published London: Batsford, 1914.

⁶⁰ Goodhart-Rendell, *English Architecture since the Regency*, pp. 69-70.

⁶¹ Whiffen, M. ‘The architecture of Sir Charles Barry in Manchester and neighbourhood,’ *Art and Architecture in Victorian Manchester*, Edited by Archer, John H.G. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), p. 58

⁶² Blisset, D. ‘Sir Charles Barry (1795 - 1860): A reassessment of his travels and early career’, Doctoral thesis (Oxford Polytechnic, 1983).

⁶³ A. Barry, *Sir Charles Barry*.

and bookbinder to the government Stationery Office, and his first wife, Frances née Maybank (1757–1798). From 1810-1816 he was articled to Middleton and Bailey, Parish Surveyors to the parish of Lambeth, before becoming the manager of the firm and by 1812 had begun to exhibit architectural drawings at the Royal Academy including *A View of the Interior of Westminster Hall*, followed by original designs (*A Church*, 1813; *A Museum and Library, with an Observatory*, 1814; and *A Design for a Group of Buildings for a Nobleman's Park*, 1815). Barry came into an inheritance around 1817 which enabled him to travel. After leaving England on 28 June 1817 with John Soane's friend Edward Conduit, he spent nearly two months in Paris, where he admired the Petit Trianon, 'a chef d'oeuvre of architecture'⁶⁴ a fact of some interest in the development of his architectural taste given that east façade is an early example of astylar classicism in France. (Plate 3)

In late September he made the journey towards Italy through the Simplon Pass. His Italian itinerary chiefly consisted of Milan and Bologna, until he reached Rome in November where he studied architecture, painting and sculpture. Following the contemporary interest in the architecture of Ancient Greece encouraged by the mid-eighteenth-century publications of Stuart and Revett, he travelled to Greece from Naples in the spring of 1818. Of all the architecture Barry encountered on his tour it is the architecture of Greece which impressed him the most at the time, and he considered the Parthenon to be 'the finest model of grandeur, beauty and symmetry.'⁶⁵ Following several months in Greece he crossed into Constantinople and then to Egypt and Syria,

⁶⁴ RIBA Drawings Collection, SKB 399/1.

⁶⁵ RIBA Drawings Collection C. Barry, travel diary, 29 Nov 1818

paid for by a Mr. David Ballie who wished Barry to make drawings of the monuments. By March 1819 Barry had arrived in Jerusalem via Sinai.⁶⁶

In late 1819 Barry began his return journey to England, reaching Rome via the Greek islands, Malta, Sicily and Naples. While in Rome Barry encountered John Lewis Wolfe (a pupil of Joseph Gwilt). While the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* entry on Barry suggests that the two met in Rome for the first time, it seems that they may have known each other in England for some years previously.⁶⁷ Wolfe and Barry then commenced a programme of drawing the buildings of Rome, and then Florence, with more attention to the Renaissance palazzi than Barry had shown in his first visit, and according to Wolfe, ‘began to perceive that Italian was the style most capable of adaptation to modern requirements, and to study it in that view’.⁶⁸

A consideration of Barry and Wolfe’s reactions to the architecture of Italy is given in Chapter 2. Barry and Wolfe spent the early summer in Venice and the Veneto and then travelled to Paris through Milan, Turin, Nîmes and Avignon. He did not undertake a second period of study in Paris and arrived back in London in September 1820. Barry worked as an architect for eight years before the Travellers Club competition, during which time he practised largely in the Greek, Gothic and Tudor styles which were generally *au courant* in early 1820s Britain, generally using Gothic for his ecclesiastical commissions and Grecian or Tudor for the secular, as indeed he continued to for much of his career. Thus, there was no instant application of the influence of his Italian

⁶⁶ Where he met William Bankes, who would later employ Barry to remodel Kingston Lacy, as examined in Chapter 2.

⁶⁷ Wolfe had studied architecture under Joseph Gwilt and (contrary to the prevailing belief that he and Barry met in Rome) it seems that he and Barry already met in London on their daily commute, while Barry was apprenticed to Bailey and Middleton, surveyors in Lambeth. Wolfe and Barry met again in Italy when Barry was returning northwards from the tour of the Mediterranean and Middle East which he had begun in 1817. See RIBA *Transactions* 1859-60, p. 120.

⁶⁸ Barry, *Sir Charles Barry*, p. 48.

travels. However, Barry's place in the hagiography of the urban Italianate in Britain was secured by the following commissions: The Travellers Club, London (competition 1828), Manchester Atheneum (1836), the Reform Club, London (competition 1837), Bridgewater House, London (1845).⁶⁹ While Barry's work will be examined throughout this thesis, it is certainly the Travellers Club design which is seen as the origin of the urban Italianate in Britain. And while it can be demonstrated that the Travellers Club did not appear as some kind of *deus ex machina* in the architectural landscape of early-nineteenth-century Britain, it is nonetheless necessary to consider its origin and influence.

The Travellers Club had been founded in 1819 at the instigation of Lord Castlereagh. The original rules of 1819 excluded from membership anyone 'who has not travelled out of the British islands to a distance of at least five hundred miles from London in a direct line'.⁷⁰ A full account of the competition and construction of the Travellers Club, including the difficulty in securing a site and arbitration with the neighbouring Atheneum, can be found in the *Survey of London*.⁷¹ However, the essential facts are these. Having been originally located in Number 12 Waterloo Place the club moved to Number 49 Pall Mall in 1821 but by 1826 it was decided that a purpose-built structure should be erected due to a growth in membership and funds. The decision to commission new premises was taken on 5 May 1828 and on 7 May it was

⁶⁹ In terms of Barry applying the Italianate to suburban, rural and overseas architecture, the following are the chief examples identified by Blisset's research : c1829 Attree's Villa and Queen's Park, Brighton; 1834 Trentham Hall - additions - alterations and gardens - first phase of works; 1834 Bowood - alterations to house and gardens; 1835 Kingston Lacy, Dorset – alterations; 1837 Walton House, Walton-on-Thames; 1840 Kiddington Hall, Oxfordshire; 1842 Harewood House, Yorkshire – alterations; 1842 Ambassador's Palace at Constantinople - advised upon the design by W. J. Smith; 1843 Duncombe Park, Yorkshire - alterations and additions; C1845 Nos. 12,18,19 and 20 Kensington Palace Gardens, London (office of Charles Barry); c1845 Bridgewater House -executed designs; 1848 Shrubland Park, Suffolk - alterations - additions and garden; c1850 Kiddington Hall, Oxfordshire; 1851 Cliveden House, Buckinghamshire – rebuilding (Blisset, 1983).

⁷⁰ Robinson, J.M. *The Travellers Club: A Bicentennial History* (London: Libanus Press, 2018).

⁷¹ *Survey of London*: Volumes 29 and 30, St James Westminster, Part 1 (London: London County Council, 1960), pp. 399-408.

suggested that Robert Smirke, William Wilkins, John Peter Deering, William Atkinson, Decimus Burton and Benjamin Wyatt should be asked to submit drawings.⁷² Most declined and the final competition was between drawings by Barry, Blore, Deering, Harrison, Hopper, Wilkins and Benjamin Wyatt; an eighth and anonymous plan was probably by Poynter. Barry's design was chosen on 20th August 1828.⁷³ The idea of a limited competition may have originated with Edward Cust who was interested in architectural competition as a means of architectural selection and became the chairman of the building committee.⁷⁴

Barry's designs for the Travellers Club show an iterative process, quite at odds with the idea that they were based on an existing Italian palazzo. The early designs from March and May 1829 show the street frontage of the ground floor as being recessed in a rusticated arcade, not the robust Florentine manner of the Pitti or Pandolfini, but more in the manner of Gibbs, with prominent keystones. It is also known that Barry would have preferred the street frontage to be as truly symmetrical as the southern elevation, and that the choice of placing the door to one side was the result of trying to maximise internal space rather than an attempt to make the building resemble the entrance arrangement of the Palazzo Pandolfini.⁷⁵ (Plates 4 & 5)

The early design of the garden front is more reminiscent of Barry's own work for Thomas Attree than it is of any identifiably Italian source. The elements are all to be found in Italian architecture, but Barry uses them loosely to create an identifiably

⁷² London Metropolitan Archives, LMA/4519/A/01 (Travellers Club committee minutes, 5 and 7 May 1828).

⁷³ London Metropolitan Archives, LMA/4519/A/01 (Travellers Club committee minutes, 20 Aug. 1828).

⁷⁴ Rorabaugh, W.J. *Politics and the Architectural Competition for the Houses of Parliament, 1834–1837*, Victorian Studies Vol. 17 (No. 2 Dec., 1973, Indiana University Press) pp. 155–175 & pp. 164–167.

⁷⁵ Blissett, Sir Charles Barry, p.203 (see reference to Barry's earliest Travellers Club drawing in the George Penrose Kennedy Album, now in the Library of Congress, PR 13 CN 2014:203, drawing no. 318).

personal design. The building as executed differs from the early iterations. (Plates 6 & 7). The Pall Mall front is an astylar composition of two equal storeys with five bays, the upper windows all within aediculae. Every module of the façade is articulated; the windows by aediculae, the mass and form by quoins, the storeys by stringcourses, the aprons by balustrades and the roof and gutter by the cornice, perhaps the most ornamented feature with a frieze-band of paterae within a guilloche, a course of dentils and one of bracket-modillions, and a cymatium with lion-masks. The southern elevation, without the need for an entrance, is an even more abstracted exercise in astylar composition. It is symmetrical and the storeys are treated entirely independently of one another. While the entrance front evokes an almost early-eighteenth-century representation of astylar classicism, the southern elevation is almost an exercise in mannerism; Italian in its details but resolutely non-antique, with a centralised tripartite bay rhythm which is taken directly from the work of Palladio and is also seen at Barry's villa for Thomas Attree.⁷⁶ (Plate 8) The smoking-room, a belvedere storey, was added by Barry in 1842–3 but was part of the original design.

The reason for the acceptance of the Travellers Club as marking an epoch in the development of nineteenth-century urban architecture is partly due to the manner in which the building was promoted by nineteenth-century architectural critics, especially W.H. Leeds, whose influence shall be examined in due course.⁷⁷ It is consequently true to say that the *concept* of the Travellers Club as the first example of the metropolitan Italianate is not entirely a product of the twentieth-century. Even within Barry's lifetime the Travellers Club was lauded as the first example of the 'palazzo' manner, almost as

⁷⁶ And later in the works of Gottfried Semper, Herman Nicolai and other Dresden architects. Notably Semper's Villa Rosa of 1839 and Nicolai's Das Seebachsche Haus, also 1839.

⁷⁷ Leeds, *The Travellers' Club House*, 1839.

though Barry had been the first to conceive of an important but astylar building in the London street-scene. Hence in the 1850s the Travellers was described as:

...a structure that fairly makes an epoch in the architectural history of club-houses, as being almost the first, if not the very first, attempt to introduce into this country that species of rich astylar composition which has obtained the name of the Italian palazzo mode, by way of contradistinction from Palladianism and its orders. Grecianism, Nashism, and Smirkeism had been exhausted, when, in an auspicious hour, both for himself and for architectural design, Charles Barry seized upon a style that had all along been quite overlooked by English architects.⁷⁸

Yet while the Travellers Club was undoubtedly an influential building in the development of the metropolitan Italianate, it is not true that it was the first example of the Italianate influence on nineteenth-century metropolitan architecture.

In fact the first Italianate buildings in London represented a range of typologies of which the Travellers Club was only one. Far from being ‘quite overlooked by English architects’, elements of Barry’s Italianate can be seen quite clearly in English metropolitan architecture of a decade earlier, including the work of Smirke and Nash. Understanding the Travellers Club in the context of earlier developments in urban astylar classicism demonstrates that the urban Italianate was not an overnight invention but part of an ongoing urban tendency dating back to at least the early 1820s. By examining contemporary urban tendencies, particularly in London, one can begin to situate the Travellers Club within a more general inclination towards an astylar classicism, in which Barry’s Italianate was not so much a progenitor as a response. However accomplished, or well-advertised, the work of Barry may have been, the introduction of the Italianate into the London street scene was not a sudden departure for metropolitan architecture, but rather one of many attempts to create a form of astylar

⁷⁸ Weale, J. *London Exhibited in 1851* (London: John Weale, 1851), pp. 295–6.

classicism for a variety of urban typologies which had been in progress before Barry had even set out for Italy.

If one is to break down the basic elements of the external architecture of the Travellers Club described earlier, they might be summarised as follows. The north (street) façade is astylar, aedicular, ornamented with quoins and a deep cornice, with storeys of equal height and balustrade screens to the first-floor windows. The language is essentially Roman classicism abstracted from an order. (Plate 9). The south (garden) façade is of the same form and scale but with a 1:3:1 bay rhythm, a rusticated ground floor and shell tympana on the first-floor windows and pierced-work balconies to each bay. (Plate 10)

Rather than being innovative, many of the characteristics of Barry's astylar classicism can be seen not only in buildings which pre-date Barry's designs, but in buildings which were, and still are, literally across the street from the Travellers Club. Many of the supposed innovations in the facades of the Travellers Club in fact already existed as elements of John Nash's Suffolk Street and Suffolk Place development. These (now some of the few remaining elements) of Nash's metropolitan plan, lie immediately to the north of Pall Mall and were laid out broadly in 1822-1823. The Suffolk Street and Suffolk Place scheme evidences the fact that the Travellers Club, and with it the Italianate, certainly did not appear in a vacuum. The Nash development is worth considering in detail because it reveals much about the direction of metropolitan street architecture in years immediately preceding the design and erection of Barry's Travellers Club. The history of the street itself has been covered elsewhere, but its role in the development of astylar metropolitan street architecture prior to the influence of

Barry has not been studied in any detail.⁷⁹ Yet here we can see Nash and his contemporaries employ many of the devices (unusually equal storey heights and the articulation of the module not the whole; shell tympana, aedicular openings, deep cornices, quoins, consoles) which would come to characterise the urban Italianate of the 1830s and 1840s. The Nash development also forms an interesting comparison with the neighbouring United University Club House at 1 Sussex Street, built in 1822-1823 to designs by William Wilkins and J.P. Gandy (after 1828 known as J.P. Deering). The University Club House was richly expressed in a Roman Corinthian order, and the arcuated *piano nobile*, rounded end bays and recessed central bays combine to create a building somewhat reminiscent of late eighteenth-century French architecture, albeit with a typically 1820s Roman attic. (Plate 11)

The majority of the buildings which Nash erected as neighbours to the new Club were of a very different character. Rather than following the Neo-classical language of the Club, or the giant order of Nash's own Regent's Park terraces, the houses on Suffolk Street were more pared-back in their ornament, indeed most were astylar. Nash's largest block which encompasses the north side of Suffolk Place and turns into Suffolk Street has a Doric screen to the ground floor, but most of the first-floor windows are set below shell tympana, enriching them in a manner which Barry would later use on the garden elevation of the Travellers Club. (Plates 12-14). Numbers 20-22 Suffolk Street are astylar, treating the first and second floor windows as aedicules in a manner which would become the most common expression of the urban Italianate. Next to these is the rear façade of the Theatre Royal Haymarket, re-built by Nash with a ground floor clearly inspired by James Gibbs. Number 8, 9 and 11 Suffolk Street also

⁷⁹ *Survey of London: Volume 20, St Martin-in-The-Fields, Pt III: Trafalgar Square and Neighbourhood* (London: London County Council, 1940), pp. 89-94.

use aedicule treatments to the windows, with a simplified Tuscan cornice and attic above. 6 1/2 and 7 Suffolk Street, with a portico by Nash and interior by James Elmes, was originally the Society of British Artists. Its heavy Greco-Roman form reminds us that, despite the proto-Italianate details of the other buildings on the street, an Antique portico was still very much the conventional expression of institutional building in the early 1820s. (Plate 15). Indeed, Decimus Burton's Athenaeum Club of 1826-1830 and Nash's United Services Club of 1826-1828 were almost astylar compositions, but both architects still felt it necessary to express the entrances with a single storey portico. (Plates 16 & 17). In this context it can be said that one of Barry's most notable contributions to the development of the Italianate was to realise that it was possible to create an institutional building without a portico, in effect editing, or developing, the work of Burton and Nash rather than entirely breaking from it.

Of a more literally Italianate character is 6 Suffolk Street, of 1824. (Plate 18). This was designed by Edward Cresy for his own occupation, and is essentially a vertically extended, and rather distorted, version of the Casa Cogollo in Vicenza. (Plate 19). Cresy was an architect and civil engineer who had travelled in Italy with George Ledwell Taylor in 1817-1819. Upon their return they produced two works on Italian architecture *The Architectural Antiquities of Rome*, (1821–22), and *Architecture of the Middle Ages in Italy* (1829), along with an abortive attempt at a work on Italian palazzi.⁸⁰ Cresy's house has a somewhat unconventional, perhaps even awkward, appearance in the London street scene and serves as an exception to the rule; the development of the urban Italianate in the early-nineteenth-century was not usually based on literal interpretations of Italian renaissance architecture. Elmes noted that it 'is

⁸⁰ Burfield, D. *Edward Cresy, 1792-1858, Architect and Civil Engineer* (Donnington: Shaun Tyas, 2003).

a fac-simile of Andrea Palladio's (sic) house at Vicenza'.⁸¹ I have been unable to find evidence of any other substantive contemporary comment on the building, but it is unquestionably an attempt before Barry to create a quite literal expression of the Italian palazzo manner into the design of a metropolitan street.

Especially significant in the development of the urban Italianate is Numbers 12-14 Suffolk Street, designed by Lewis William Wyatt as a private speculation. (Plates 20 & 21). For this terrace of three houses demonstrate that many of the characteristics of the Italianate in nineteenth-century London had been developed as early as 1822, six years before the Travellers Club competition. Stylistically speaking they could easily have been built in 1852 as opposed to 1822. Wyatt treated the site at 15-17 Suffolk Street in same Italianate manner, but these were rebuilt in a severely plain neo-classical idiom in the 1950s.⁸² Understanding why the urban Italianate should first appear in this context can also help us to understand why it became popular throughout London. When writing of Suffolk Street in 1827 James Elmes noted that it was 'a street inhabited by architects, and replete with many architectural beauties'.⁸³ Indeed, Suffolk Street was not only inhabited by several architects (notably Edward Cressy, Lewis Wyatt and Henry Edward Kendall), but had also been designed by several architects (chiefly Nash, Wyatt and Cressy). This narrow and U-shaped street combined speculative housing, institutions, single houses and the looming rear façade of the Theatre Royal. With so much architectural expression in so small a space, the constrained corner site upon which Wyatt was to build his own speculative development must have been a challenging prospect for an architect wishing to produce something of stylistic

⁸¹ Elmes, J. *Metropolitan Improvements, London in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Arno Press, 1978), p.123 (originally published Jones & Co. London 1827-1831).

⁸² Pevsner, N. and Bradley, S. *The Buildings of England, London 6 Westminster* (New Haven and London, Yale, 2003, p.430).

⁸³ Elmes, *Metropolitan Improvements*, p. 123.

sophistication. Anything involving a portico, pediment, or giant order would have risked creating incoherence on the street. At that time the street contained two giant orders on the terraces adjoining Wyatt's site (the portico to the Society of British Artists and the giant Ionic screen of Price's Italian Warehouse). In addition to this, 12-14 Suffolk Street directly abutted the façade of 15-17 Suffolk Street at a 90 degree angle, as well as being of a smaller scale and height to the properties between which they sat.

As we shall see, one of the most practical characteristics of the urban Italianate was its ability to allow buildings of different scale, architect, and function to sit next to one another in a relatively composed manner. Wyatt's design shows that this was precisely the context in which it was first deployed in London. While several of the terraces on Suffolk Street display elements which would come to characterise the urban Italianate, Wyatt's houses combine this ornament with an *astylar* composition which is the direct antecedent for the course which the Italianate would follow for several decades. Here, for the first time, is a built example which complies with what critics such as W.H. Leeds would come to define as the Italianate:

Almost by these alone [the use of window dressings] may one or more nuances be obtained; a circumstance of the utmost advantage in buildings which, being enclosed by others, can present only a facade towards the street, and that, moreover, limited to one general plane, and nearly to one uniform outline. For such purpose, therefore, the *astylar* and *fenestral* mode, which displays itself with such *maestria* in the best works of the Italian school, offers resources which ancient architecture does not merely not supply, but actually excludes; it being hardly possible to reconcile the *columnar* with *fenestral* character; since at the best a certain *tertium quid* be the result - an Italian Grecian, or a Grecianised Italian design!⁸⁴

Wyatt's Suffolk Street houses were certainly not a mix of Greek and Italian, and were very different to Nash's neighbouring terraces which clearly display mixes of both

⁸⁴ Leeds, *The Travellers' Club House*, pp.20-21.

forms of ornament. While Nash had expressed his attic storeys above the cornice levels, Wyatt treats the first and second floor as undivided plane, terminating in a balustraded parapet. The ground floor is given channelled rustication, with single-storey Tuscan pilasters used to frame the apertures, rather than acting as a screen. Quoins are used to frame the terrace as a block, and the small scale of the terrace and the lack of any central feature above ground floor level very much create the impression of a palazzo, very different to the temple and palace forms of Nash's larger terraces. Adding to the Italianate language of the façade are the window aedicules, similar to Nash's treatment of the adjoining terrace, but with Wyatt's addition of consoles to the sills of the second floor. Wyatt dissolved the implied order of the conventional early-nineteenth-century classical façade and restricted his ornament almost entirely to the apertures and silhouette of the building. Barry would take the same approach for the Travellers Club later in the 1820s, but in Suffolk Street Wyatt developed and deployed all the key characteristics which would inform the development of the urban Italianate throughout early-nineteenth-century London.

While 12-14 Suffolk Street demonstrate that a move towards an astylar and aedicular façade treatment (W.H. Leeds's 'fenestral') had occurred in the London street several years before Barry's Travellers Club, the University Club competition of 1822 proves it was already being considered as one means of expressing club architecture. The manner in which the Italianate was to become associated with the architecture of club-houses will be explored in more detail, but it is worth noting at the outset that neither the Travellers Club nor the Reform Club were the first time nineteenth-century Italianate public buildings had been conceived in England, as was suggested by nineteenth-century commentators such as W.H. Leeds as well as later historians.⁸⁵ Wilkins won

⁸⁵ Watkin, *Thomas Hope*, pp. 183-184; Dixon and Muthesius, *Victorian Architecture*, p.76.

the competition, yet a competition entry from John Goldicutt demonstrates that even as early as 1822 the possibilities of astylar Roman forms were being considered as a possible response to the development of the metropolitan club-house. Goldicutt (1793-1842) was an architect who had studied under Henry Hakewill before studying at the Académie des Beaux-Arts and travelling in Italy and Sicily.⁸⁶ It was he who made the illustrations of the work of Inigo Jones discussed in Chapter Two. Although he entered several competitions, he was responsible for very few executed buildings. Nonetheless, he is of interest due to the manner in which he sought to adapt forms of the Italian palazzo to English building. While the principal block of Goldicutt's 1823 competition entry for new buildings at King's College Cambridge is based on Antique Roman sources, his proposal for a south façade design (presumably to face King's Lane) is entirely different. This block is based on a monumental palazzo of three equal storeys divided by banding, bold cornice and one single low roof with corner chimneys, prefigure Barry's approach to the Reform Club nearly twenty years later. Clear similarities can also be seen in elements of the arcade-and-screen design of internal double-height cortiles and circulation spaces. While the Kings scheme was for a college, not a club-house, its proposed location meant it was nonetheless a piece of street architecture, and as such it can be seen as prefiguring some of the characteristics of the metropolitan Italianate, albeit of for a differing typology. (Plates 22-25)

But, perhaps more pertinently, Goldicutt's other unexecuted works also show us that the Travellers Club was not the first time an Italianate idiom for a club-house typology had been conceived. While Goldicutt's competition entry for the University Club was unsuccessful, it is a fully-worked up set of proposals which indicates his detailed

⁸⁶ Porter, B. 'Goldicutt, John', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (online ed) Oxford University Press, 2004.

intentions for the scheme. And what this design clearly demonstrates is that all of the hallmarks of the Italianate club-house had been literally drawn up as early as 1822. The entries do not appear to have been publicly exhibited or subject to recorded discussion by the Club's committee. In addition to this, the competition pre-dated publications which commented on relatively small-scale architectural competitions, such as the *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* (1837) and the *Art Journal* (1839). Consequently, Goldicutt's design appears to have received no recorded public discussion, so contemporary reactions to it remain unknown. Therefore we cannot know if it was rejected on grounds of style, cost, practicality or patronage.

However, what Goldicutt's does demonstrate is that a form of Italianate (the astylar palazzo) was being considered for club-house design at a period when Charles Barry was still primarily engaged in designing his early, Gothic, churches. Consequently, while Barry's Travellers Club is so frequently described as the first Italianate building in nineteenth-century England, something we might describe as an Italianate sensibility already existed among architects. It had in fact already been considered as a potentially appropriate approach to the external expression of club-houses. Goldicutt's proposal takes the form of symmetrical building of two equal storeys with attic and with two double storey bows to the street façade. A full basement is concealed behind a solid area wall in the same manner that Barry's Travellers and Reform club buildings would later use solid screens in place of railings. To this form Goldicutt has added aedicule windows set within Tuscan pilasters with block pediments to the ground-floor and Corinthian with triangular pediments to the first-floor. A rich acanthus string course separates the ground and first floor, a rosette entablature and bold dentil cornice delineate the separation of main building and attic. The doorcase is plain, but articulated by twin lamps to the street boundary, and although pilasters demarcate various parts of

the building, they are broken at each floor to give the effect of panels rather than a giant order. (Plates 26 and 27)

All of these elements would develop into recurring motifs of the urban Italianate, including in the work of Barry. And to some extent this explains why the Travellers Club was to be influential in the development of metropolitan architecture. For, rather than fulfilling some sudden desire for novelty, Barry's club-houses in fact responded to a number of tastes and considerations which had been crystallising within architecture for at least a decade. The extent to which Barry was aware of this is unknown, but it might be assumed that it would be difficult for it to have passed his attention completely, not least with Nash's United Services Club and Burton's Athenaeum neighbouring the Travellers Club site and, in the case of their porches literally, hesitating on the threshold of becoming entirely astylar.

It has been seen that Lewis Wyatt's townhouses and John Goldicutt's unexecuted works show that the chief elements of a formal palazzo style were being fully worked out several years before the Travellers Club competition of 1829. To this timeframe we can also add the work of George Smith. George Smith (1782 –1869) was a London-based English architect and surveyor. He was official surveyor of the Worshipful Company of Mercers, the South East Rail Company and Morden College, Cheapside, London. In 1810 he was appointed District Surveyor of the Southern Division of the City of London and in 1814 Surveyor to the Mercers' Company, retaining both posts until his death.⁸⁷ He worked in Grecian, Gothic and Italianate (the latter most notably at Greenwich Railway Terminus, incorporating company offices, c.1838-1840, rebuilt as a line-side station in 1878, possibly re-using the original dressings). However, Greenwich

⁸⁷ 'Obituary', *The Architect and Contract Reporter* (30 January 1869), p.65.

Terminus, although a relatively early example of the Italianate in London, was not Smith's first Italianate building. (Plates 28 & 29).

In 1830-1832 Smith was engaged in supplying designs for the Mercers' School at College Hill, London. (Plates 30 & 31). The earliest drawing found for the building is a plan of the site dated 1830 on which are marked the proposed footprint of the existing building and its relationship with the church of St Michael Paternoster Royal and its rear yard, submitted for ecclesiastical faculty on the basis that a window to the church would be blocked by the new school.⁸⁸ No drawings of the elevations are known to survive, but the ground plan corresponds with the existing building.⁸⁹ Very little contemporary commentary on Smith's building exists. It is described as 'but lately finished, a very elegant stone [it is in fact stucco] structure,' in William Herbert's *History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies* in 1837.⁹⁰ However, Smith's design is of importance in understanding the development of the urban Italianate. It is clear that it must have been drawn up by around 1830, at almost precisely the same time as Barry's designs for the Travellers Club. The extent to which Barry and Smith knew one another is debatable, but it seems that they had met in 1828 in the course of arbitration over St. Peter, Saffron Hill.⁹¹

The designs of Goldicutt show that the possibility of using an Italianate palazzo manner in London had been considered before the Travellers Club. However, Smith's work suggests one of two possibilities. Either the elevational treatment of the Travellers Club was so immediately influential as to be replicated while it was actually being built

⁸⁸ Lambeth Palace Library, VH 79/149/1-3, Faculty for the Mercers' Company for blocking a window in the church and building Mercers' School next to the church, granted (Act of court, citation, exhibit, affidavit, plan of school).

⁸⁹ Lambeth Palace Library, VH 79/149/2.

⁹⁰ Herbert, W. *The History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London* (London: published by author, 1837), p.279.

⁹¹ Blisset, Sir Charles Barry, footnote 364 on p.88.

(for a building of different function) or, more plausibly, the Italianate of the Travellers Club was not so much a ground-breaking outlier as part of a wider coetaneous response within the London building world in the years around 1830. We have already seen that Italianate motifs had characterised works of the early 1820s, and that the street architecture of London was developing in a manner that predicated in favour of astylar classical forms. The contemporaneous design and erection of the Mercers' School and the Travellers Club suggest that, at least as a means of articulating the street façade, the Travellers Club was more prominent than it was truly radical. The structural and ornamental similarities of the external parts of the Travellers Club and the Mercers' School demonstrate the manner in which the Italianate was adaptable to specific architectural needs.

It is undeniable that the Travellers Club, and with it name of Charles Barry, were to become linked to the origins of the urban Italianate in Britain, not least by the architectural press of the nineteenth-century. But in order to understand the origins of the British urban Italianate it is necessary to examine a wide range of influences on urban architecture. Rather than assuming the Travellers Club sprang purely from a replication of Italian palazzi, such an investigation will reveal that the early Italianate of Barry, and his contemporaries, was more than an historicist response to the urban architecture of Italy. But before we can understand the development of the Italianate in urban Britain it is necessary to consider two chief stimuli which formed part of its background. One of these is the English response to the architecture of urban Italy, the other is the re-appraisal of the 'roots' of English classicism. It is to these sources that we now turn.

Chapter 2

Sources for the Italianate at home and abroad

The Library of St. Mark at Venice, the “greater Porto Palace by Palladio at Vicenza, and “others of the same kind, had not only the cardinal “vice of superimposed orders, but were offensive by the “multiplicity and prominence of their details.”⁹²

If the Travellers Club cannot be explained as a *deus ex machina* which represented an instant nineteenth-century Italianate in Britain where then do the origins of Britain’s urban Italianate lie? It might well be expected that it was Barry’s visits to Italy in the period of his 1817-1820 travels which formed the foundation of the British Italianate. Yet this assumption raises a number of questions. The British had been visiting Italy for centuries, and in increasing numbers throughout the long eighteenth-century, with a hiatus in 1793-1815 during the Napoleonic Wars.⁹³ Why then did the Italianate not feature in British urban architecture before the 1820s? It might also be supposed that the Italianate in Britain can be ascribed to a shift towards romanticism or the picturesque, a nineteenth-century taste for something other than, or additional to, the architecture of classical antiquity. This explanation has certainly been used to explain the emergence of the British Italianate.⁹⁴

Sources for the Italianate Abroad

The twentieth-century tendency to assume that a taste for the Picturesque or Romantic within literature and painting must necessarily have also pervaded all forms of architecture has substantially confused, or perhaps erroneously simplified, the origins of the urban Italianate. One strand of the ‘Italianate’ in British architecture was the influence of the northern Italian and Swiss vernacular on domestic cottage and villa architecture,

⁹² Alfred Barry quoting Charles Barry. Barry, A. *Memoir of the Life and Works of the late Sir Charles Barry, Architect* (London: John Murray, 1870) p. 51

⁹³ Sweet, R. *Cities and the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c.1690–1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge Social and Cultural Histories, Cambridge University Press, 2012) p. 10.

⁹⁴ Brand, C.P. *Italy and the English Romantics*.

starting with John Nash's Cronkhill in 1802. (Plate 32). But this *Campagna* manner was as aesthetically far removed from the urban classicism of Rome as its English successors in St. John's Wood were from the architecture of Pall Mall or Threadneedle Street. This highlights another danger of assuming a single British 'Italianate' in town and country. As we shall see, many English architects in Italy, such as Charles Barry, were not, at the time of their visit, greatly interested in the Picturesque potential of domestic architecture, and the Italian buildings they examined were formal, symmetrical, and predominately urban. The experience of most British visitors to Italy in the early-nineteenth-century was also primarily urban and their attention to architecture was directed by seventeenth and eighteenth-century texts and shaped by their experience of British architecture.⁹⁵ And while there is no reason why certain Picturesque qualities could not be found in Italian urban architecture, this chapter will demonstrate that the British view of Italian cities was usually shaped by a distinctly anti-Picturesque lens which favoured an aesthetic of the familiar and regular. Rosemary Sweet's research has demonstrated that after 1815 many British visitors to Italy saw the Italian urban environment not as a Romantic ideal but as somewhere lacking civic and municipal virtue:

Over the course of the eighteenth century, the British increasingly identified themselves as modern, whilst Italy and its cities lay in the past. The attributes of modern urbanity – street lighting, street paving, street cleansing – with which the British identified themselves became criteria through which modern Italian cities all too often displayed their deficiencies....once across the English Channel, the cleanliness of the urban environment was increasingly used by travellers to define themselves against the Italians (and other foreign nations)...Cleanliness was the outward and visible sign of other less tangible qualities with which the British identified: it was indicative of a well-ordered society, where individuals enjoyed liberty and took responsibility for their actions...where a practical concern for function and order took precedence over a tawdry desire for magnificent display.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, p. 3; Hultzsich, A. *Architecture, Travellers and Writers Constructing Histories of Perception 1640-1950* (Abingdon: Modern Humanities Research Association and Routledge, 2014) pp. 3-4

⁹⁶ Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, p. 269.

This concern for the municipal, the modern and the progressive becomes problematic when trying to explain buildings such as the Travellers Club as an attempt to evoke the Italian urban realm. As we shall also see, such an explanation for the British Italianate becomes even more untenable when one looks at how the British described their own Italianate buildings; usually as ‘modern’, ‘Anglo-Italian’ or by typology (‘the club-house style,’ ‘the railway style’). To turn to the first question of this chapter, ‘why then did the Italianate not feature in British urban architecture before the 1820s?’ The answer is because there was already something rather like it. As shall be seen, one tendency in the early-nineteenth-century view of Italy was to compare its architecture with what the British considered to be correct urban architecture. And a common feature between architects and non-architects was a sense that British classicism (from Inigo Jones through to their own day) was somehow more ‘correct’ than the architecture of Italy. In the case of architects this led to a reappraisal of indigenous architecture. Ironically, the true impact of Italian travel on British urban architecture was not as much a new appreciation of the works of the Italian Renaissance as a reappraisal of the works of Inigo Jones and his British successors, which was accelerated as the Greek Revival began to be questioned as a tenable means of developing urban architecture, explored in Chapter 3. The latter part of this chapter examines the manner in which Jonesian classicism was reappraised in the early-nineteenth-century by both architects and clients who recognised its astylar potential in the development of modern architecture, precisely as Burlington had done a century earlier.⁹⁷ This chapter will demonstrate that the British experience of urban Italy certainly resulted in an appreciation of astylar post-Antique classicism, but that this appreciation was often directed not to the architecture not of Italy, but Britain. In addition to this, I shall also demonstrate how the architectural education of British

⁹⁷ Sicca, C.M. ‘The Architecture of the Wall: Astylism in the Architecture of Lord Burlington’, *Architectural History* 33 (1990) pp.83-101

architects was not shaped by Italy alone, but by having their attention directed back to the architecture of seventeenth-century England, and indeed by the ongoing reliance on eighteenth-century British architectural text books well into the nineteenth-century.

In order to assess the influence of Italy on the British Italianate several elements of that experience must be addressed. Firstly, there is the question of what the British who were visiting Italy in the post-1815 period generally thought of Italian urban architecture. This gives some sense of the general British aesthetic expectation of the urban environment at a period just prior to the urban expansion and rebuilding which would characterise London and other cities from the 1830s onwards, the period when the Italianate proliferated in Britain. Secondly, the impressions and interests of British architects visiting Italy in the same period must be assessed. Given the seminal place which has been accorded to Charles Barry and the Travellers Club in the development of the British urban Italianate, his impressions of the supposed models for such buildings should especially be considered. Thirdly, the influence of Italy on the way in which existing British architecture was perceived must be addressed; did Italian travel shape British urban architecture through emulation or through a realisation that British architecture was different? In short, have later historians been too anxious to find direct Italian models for buildings which have far more complex sources and influences. How 'Italian' was the Italianate?

It should be stressed that the opening up of Europe to British travel in the years after the Treaty of Vienna did not result in a rejection of the architecture of antiquity as something of interest. Many travellers, and certainly most architects, who visited Italy in the 1820s were still measuring the buildings and ruins of Ancient Rome (in addition to

travel to Greece).⁹⁸ In particular Frank Salmon's important work *Building on Ruins* has focused on the British study of Italian antiquity in the years after Napoleon, not only in terms of the activities of architects and archaeologists in Italy but also in terms of the buildings erected following these studies, notably Birmingham Town Hall (1834), the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (1837), the Royal Exchange in London (1841) and St George's Hall in Liverpool (1841).⁹⁹ As shall be seen in the course of this thesis, the Italianate did not replace antiquity as a source for all forms of architecture in Britain but became a means of expressing a different *type* of architecture, primarily urban street architecture. Salmon is primarily concerned with how the archaeological study of ancient Rome shaped English architectural theory and practice. However, he concludes his study by stating that:

The archaeological literalism of all three of the Greek, Roman and Gothic Revivals finds a further parallel in a fourth new idiom used in English public architecture during the first half of the nineteenth-century, even though this did not draw on an 'ancient' architecture for its inspiration. Charles Barry, through his loyal friend from their time together in Italy, John Lewis Wolfe, was keen to deny that his Italianate (Renaissance Revival) buildings were overtly dependent on certain proto-types, but most historians today would hardly discuss Barry's Travellers' Club in Pall Mall or Athenaeum in Manchester without reference to Raphael's Palazzo Pandolfini in Florence, or Sydney Smirke's Carlton Club without reference to Jacopo Sansovino's S. Marco Library in Venice.¹⁰⁰

While Salmon is of course correct in his assertion that contemporary critics attempted to find Italian models for British Italianate buildings, there are many unanswered questions arising from this statement, not least why Barry was anxious to deny a direct Italian source for his work when he had no such concern with citing sources for his Tudor, Gothic or Grecian buildings? Salmon also alludes to another important point. The

⁹⁸ Pearce, S. and Ormrod, T. *Charles Robert Cockerell in the Mediterranean, Letters and Travels 1810-1817* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017); Salmon, F. *Building on Ruins, the Rediscovery of Rome and English Architecture* (Aldershot and Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2000).

⁹⁹ Salmon, *Building on Ruins*, pp. 138-210.

¹⁰⁰ Salmon, *Building on Ruins*, p.227.

Italianate was not only not inspired by ancient Rome; it was not archaeologically precise. The Italianate works of Barry, indeed virtually all British Italianate buildings, are not accurate representations of Italian urban architecture, not least in their forms and proportions, indeed often not even in their ornament.

This lack of archaeological literalism needs to be addressed and understood. Because the urban Italianate of the 1820s and beyond cannot comfortably be understood as a form of academic classicism alternative explanations have been given for its origins. We have already seen that in order to situate the Italianate in some form of narrative outside of ‘Grand Tourism’ an explanation for the Italianate has been formed around notions of the Romantic Tourist, the idea that the Italianate was a picturesque and historicist means of expressing a nineteenth-century architectural identity through sentiment. C.P. Brand attempted to draw a problematic parallel between nineteenth-century Romantic literature and urban architecture by stating:

The persisting interest in Italian architecture and the custom of Italian travel led to a new phase in English architecture at about the end of the 1820’s. Rome and Florence, where most architects had studied, were particularly rich in fine Renaissance palazzi, and more than one traveller had expressed his admiration for them. Charles Barry, who made a tour of Italy and the Middle East in 1814 – 20, was particularly impressed by the Italian palazzi, and in 1829, in his designs for the Travellers’ Club House, he introduced the Italian palazzo-formula into English street-architecture,¹⁰¹

This has become an easy explanation for the Italianate, chiefly that British architects had seen the palazzi of Rome and Florence, returned to Britain and repeated Italian Renaissance formulas in a range of urban building types. This supposition is of course partly based on fact; as we shall see British architects such as Barry did study the Italian palazzi. But if understood as the only source for nineteenth-century palazzo architecture it creates the false impression that the highly complex story of the development of the

¹⁰¹ Brand, *Italy and the English Romantics*, p.156.

Italianate in the 1820s and 1830s was akin to a souvenir architecture, gathered abroad and replicated in England.

Before examining the architectural study of Italian post-antique architecture, it is beneficial to contextualise the early-nineteenth-century British response to urban Italy more generally. As Sweet's research has demonstrated, the early-nineteenth-century British visitor to Italy was different to the aristocratic eighteenth-century visitor:

The image of Italy that we derive from the print culture of the day was rather the product of the middling sorts: the travelling tutors, clergymen, aspiring men (and women) of letters, architects, antiquaries and artists, lawyers, botanists and physicians.¹⁰²

In studying the urban Italianate in Britain these views become important. The urban Italianate was not the architecture of the country house, and when used as street architecture it was especially notable for having a client base composed by members of private clubs, directors of commercial and financial bodies, speculative developers, public institutions and municipal authorities. The typologies of the Italianate are examined later in this thesis, but for the purposes of this chapter it is enough to note that the 'client' for the urban Italianate was Sweet's 'product of the middling sorts'. Of course, the vast majority of early-nineteenth-century British 'middling sorts' had not visited Italy. However, one can turn to the first-hand observations of some British visitors to Italy in the decade preceding the initial phases of the Italianate in Britain.

In order to understand not just the responses to Italian architecture of architects, but of the English in general, diaries of three English travellers in Italy, all beginning in 1815, provide valuable evidence, before we consider the observations made by British architectural students, including John Lewis Wolfe and Charles Barry during their tour of northern Italy in 1820. By examining these sources, it can be seen that, rather than

¹⁰² Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, p. 14.

emerging from a Picturesque, historicist response to Italian architecture, the English 'Italianate' was a more complex development, informed by a taste which was Anglo-centric. We have already seen how definitions of the Italianate commonly see the chief influence as deriving from the imitation of an Italian palazzo, the absorption of evocative historicism into architecture.¹⁰³ Yet the evidence for direct emulation of Italian palazzo models in early-nineteenth-century architecture is certainly missing from both the finished buildings and contemporary observations on architecture when in Italy.

It is certainly true that by the middle years of the nineteenth-century more direct use of Italian Renaissance models was occasionally made, with Sydney Smirke's Carlton Club (based on St Mark's Library in Venice) being an early example of this trend. (Plate 33). But a study of the observations of English visitors to Italy in the post-Waterloo period suggests that even those who admired Italian architecture of the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries could only do so within the language and expectations of their own Anglo-centric taste, and while they saw much to comment on, they also saw little to advocate or emulate without substantial improvement.

By looking at those who travelled to Italy after 1815 and saw post-Antique Italian architecture for themselves we can understand the broader cultural experience in which the Italianate was to become situated. We can then assess if the Italianate does fit with the prevailing narrative of the early-nineteenth-century as a period in which historicism, revivalism and Romanticism combined to create an eclectic array of imported souvenir architecture.¹⁰⁴ An examination of sources within the Bodleian and RIBA collections suggests that this was by no means the case. In fact, when examining the evidence of British architects and amateur observers who travelled to Italy in the years c.1815-30 it

¹⁰³ Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture*, p. 170.

¹⁰⁴ Steegman, *Consort of Taste*, pp.117-119; Goodhart-Rendel, *English Architecture since the Regency*, pp. 65-66; Brand, *Italy and the English Romantics*, p.155-157.

is immediately evident that the urban English Italianate arose not so much from the inspiration of Italian forms and models, but from the renewed appreciation that such travellers found for their own English classicism when contrasting it with what they perceived to be the excesses and errors of what we now understand as Italian Renaissance and Baroque architecture.

The common theme, explicit and implicit, of most of the English commentators I have researched in this period was the superiority of the architecture of Jones, Wren, Kent and Chambers to that of Borromini, Sansovino, et al.¹⁰⁵ And perhaps this is why British observers in the first half of the nineteenth-century referred to urban Italianate buildings, such as the Pall Mall club-houses, not as Italianate, but as ‘Anglo-Italian’ and ‘modern Italian’.

In examining the English critics who visited Italy in the years following Waterloo, the continental travel journals of Robert Finch, Charlotte Lindsay (née North) and John Pye-Smith, held in the Bodleian Library, make an excellent starting point. The varied backgrounds of these three observers help to place English experiences of urban Italy in a context which is broadly representative of English culture in the first half of the nineteenth-century. Robert Finch (1783 –1830) was resident in Italy from c. 1815. He formed part of the artistic English expatriate community in Rome and left his picture collection and library to the Ashmolean Museum.¹⁰⁶ While living in Rome he contributed his views on taste and culture to the English press and was among the first cultural commentators to have formed an architectural and art-historical concept of what would later be termed the Italian Renaissance. Yet he was as concerned by the inefficiency and

¹⁰⁵ Wyatt, M.D. ‘On the Architectural Career of Sir Charles Barry’ *Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects* (21 May 1860), p.15.

¹⁰⁶ Bell, A. ‘Finch, Robert’ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online ed) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

lack of cleanliness of the Italian cities as with the extent of their historical remains. Such views were also typical of the metropolitan upper-middle classes with whom the Italianate would become so firmly associated, and this link between the Italianate and the language of metropolitan improvement will be seen in the later chapters of this thesis, particularly in the ethos of the Metropolitan Board of Works.

Charlotte Lindsay (1770-1849) toured Italy in 1815 in her position as Lady-in-Waiting to Caroline of Brunswick.¹⁰⁷ She provides the antidote to the more commonly held notion of the Picturesque tourist as delighting in irregularity, the bucolic, and the alien as well as providing a comparatively rare early-nineteenth-century female voice on architecture. Her concerns regarding the Italian cities are again built on a comparison with London, and a sense of how urban planning and urban life are more modern, ergo superior, in northern Europe. Yet her views on Roman antiquity, and the fact that she spent time at Pompeii with the antiquarian William Bankes, show that her preference for what she saw as the modernity of northern Europe was not due to an ill-informed attitude towards the antique. In fact, in terms of the urban experience of the English tourist this contrasting view of Roman architecture as art-historical object and post-antique architecture as comprising the fabric, function and even the moral character, of the city appear to have been highly typical.

The diaries of John Pye-Smith (1774-1851), written in 1816, form part of another common theme across the manuscripts; an admiration for Napoleon as a suitable 'curator' of Italy's culture. Pye-Smith, a Unitarian social reformer, saw Napoleon as a commendable enemy of the Papal States. Pye-Smith was in many ways typical of the urbanising of early-nineteenth-century Britain which led to the development of the urban

¹⁰⁷ 'Obituary', *Gentleman's Magazine* (December 18490, p. 664.

Italianate more generally. He edited the *Sheffield Iris* in its period as an abolitionist, anti-Corn Law, pro-Reform Act organ, and was a key figure in the establishment of dissenting academies.¹⁰⁸ Far from romanticising the Italian past, these commentators were self-consciously modern, socially progressive and distinctly northern European in their tastes and dislikes.

It should be acknowledged that these observers were not simply recording observations of what we now call the Renaissance architecture of Italy. They were interested in the remains of classical antiquity, but also in contemporary theatre and opera, and collections of fine art. But, because of this, the diaries reveal a positioning of the urban palazzi of Italy in an interesting context. The observations which each diarist makes on the architecture of the Italian Renaissance generally position it as something which is clearly more recent than the remains of classical antiquity, and thus more able of comparison with the urban landscape of contemporary Britain. For these three travellers, the architectural remains of ancient Rome were generally perceived with reverence, or at least acceptance, but they saw the architecture of post-medieval Italy as far more open to criticism and accessible to comparison with their own expectations of urban experience.

All three of the writers comment on the palazzi and ecclesiastical architecture of the cities they visit, and all three, especially Finch and Lindsay, appear to have almost the same opinions on what does and does not constitute ‘good taste’ in both form and ornament. While all acknowledge ancient Roman architecture as a forceful reminder of antiquity, when seeking models of good town-planning they are as much interested in the modernity of Paris and Brussels as anything in Italy. And when engaging with the palazzi

¹⁰⁸ Jones, T. ‘Smith, John Pye’ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online ed) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

of Florence, Genoa and Rome, their commentary and preferences are chiefly dictated not by Picturesque or historicist sentiment, but by their own understanding of what classical architecture 'should' look like. Perhaps inevitably (even in the case of Charles Barry) the paragon against which the form, proportion, ornament, and even the meaning, of Italian renaissance is compared is the classical architecture of seventeenth and eighteenth-century London.

One important point in understanding the manner in which all three diarists understood post-antique Italian architecture is that terms, or even concepts, such as the Renaissance, Mannerism and the Baroque did not come into general use until later in the nineteenth-century. Thus, none of the diarists have a way of easily codifying or understanding the architecture of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries which they encountered on a daily basis in the cities they were visiting. Pye-Smith, writing of Brig-GLis in Switzerland, understands the post-Medieval architecture of the town as 'the super-addition of Grecian to Gothic architecture which marks the latter part of the fifteenth century'.¹⁰⁹ Even his date-attribution was incorrect by two centuries, as most of the buildings he refers to were in fact built or remodelled in the seventeenth-century, albeit in a conservative style uninfluenced by the Baroque. (Plate 34). He admires the early seventeenth-century palazzo architecture of Turin as being 'a capital style of buildings, and whose fronts are uniform, or nearly so'.¹¹⁰ Lindsay understands what we might call the Renaissance architecture of Venice in terms of its greater proximity to her own time, in contrast with classical and medieval architecture; 'the Great Canal which is a most magnificent street, very broad and containing a great many very fine palaces; some are very old Gothic buildings, other more modern designed by Palladio, none of the them very good

¹⁰⁹ Bodleian Library, MS. Eng. Misc. e. 1375-1376, p. 15, p.15.

¹¹⁰ Bodleian Library, MS. Eng. Misc. e. 1375-1376, p. 15, p.40.

architecture but altogether producing a very fine effect'.¹¹¹ (Plate 35). This appears to have been a common tendency among British travellers. Rosemary Sweet notes that many British visitors to Rome appraised the post-antique architecture against their definition of modernity. Rather than understanding it as part of distinct periods, and rather than seeing the buildings as forming part of a distinctive evolution from Renaissance to Mannerist and Baroque, what most early-nineteenth-century did was view them as a conglomeration or a single piece of urban planning, such as 'modern Rome', and compare them (unfavourably) to eighteenth-century 'Edinburgh New Town, London's West End, Bath, Dublin or even Liverpool'.¹¹²

Finch was, architecturally, the most widely-read and articulate of the three travellers. Yet he too has no phraseology or clear concept of how verbally to express or categorise buildings which do not fit the categories of Gothic or ancient architecture. Yet he commented on a very considerable range of buildings, the majority of which fall into our contemporary definition of the Italian Renaissance. Finch was reading key Renaissance texts, such as Vasari's 'Lives of the Painters' (*Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori da Cimabue insino a' tempi nostri*), and while Vasari did coin the term 'rinascita' to explain architecture between about 1300 and 1550, Finch makes no use of this definition. Finch's interpretation of what we would consider Renaissance architecture is consistently characterised by two approaches. The first of these is art-historical; he usually knows the architect not only of each building but of each addition and alteration, along with the dates of the phases of work. A typical entry (this for the Palazzo di Montecitorio in Rome) reads 'built after a design of Bernini in 1630, and finished by Fontana in the popedom of Innocent XII'.¹¹³ (Plate 36). The second means of articulating

¹¹¹ Bodleian Library, MS. ENG. Misc, d.226, p. 3.

¹¹² Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, pp. 145-146.

¹¹³ Bodleian Library, Finch e.15, p. 98.

the architecture of these buildings is by listing the classical orders used on the palazzi, and commenting on their ‘correctness’, as with this entry for the Palazzo Massimi in Rome:

The portico...designed by Baldassar Peruzzi is supported by six Doric columns with an architrave running along the whole façade. The basement storey is Rustic with Doric pilasters, which give good effect. The roof of the portico is elegantly adorned and there are two well-proportioned arched niches. The door has denteller and ogee mouldings, their partaking of the Corinthian and Ionic, instead of the Doric, order. The roof of the vestibule, and of the porticos of the court are richly adorned but the columns and architraves of the latter are very correct. Daniel da Voltura (sic) has painted the back front in chiaroscuro, but his forms are not classically imagined.¹¹⁴

For Finch, born in the 1780s, the prevailing discourse of architectural criticism focused on the measured details of ancient Greek and Roman buildings as they might be applied to modern British classical buildings. This method of criticism he applied even to buildings of the 1500s where such concerns of archaeological exactitude may not have formed part of the architect’s intention. Hence Finch cannot understand the early-sixteenth-century mannerist frescoes of Daniele da Volterra as anything other than contrary to his own idealised Antique classical aesthetic. (Plate 37)

As a consequence of his previous experience of English and Ancient classical architecture, the dominant theme of Finch’s architectural commentary is that the buildings he most admired were those which dated from Classical Antiquity, or those which bore most resemblance to the eighteenth-century Palladianism of Britain. He even went so far as to state that ‘In Rome we look in vain for that neatness, correct taste, and symmetrical consistency, which we find in every private house in the respectable streets and squares of London’.¹¹⁵ In many ways all three of the diarists record a sensibility which, while admiring elements of Italian history, prefers the respectable, the

¹¹⁴ Bodleian Library, Finch e.16, pg.120.

¹¹⁵ Bodleian Library, Finch e.16 p.78.

comfortable and the familiar. In this sense their tastes represent something akin to an English Biedermeier, in which the past may excite interest, but is also viewed distrustfully through the lens of contemporary, perhaps even parochial, taste.¹¹⁶ Finch is consequently useful in demonstrating that the educated English traveller of the early-nineteenth-century was not only no longer giving his or her attention solely to the classical remains of Rome, but nor were they approaching post-Antique classicism with an open mind. Finch was an informed, well-read and curious observer of the palazzi of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But when it came to connoisseurship his strongest preference was for the architecture that most closely resembled the rules and proportions of classical architecture as practiced in England. That Finch was not alone in his opinions is clear not only from comparison with Lindsay and her preference for the ‘handsome’ architecture of Palladio above all others.¹¹⁷

Charlotte Lindsay, like Finch, made a point of visiting palaces, in fact her taste was for the Renaissance palaces and their paintings above any other form of architecture. Lindsay also visited the excavations at Pompeii in the company of William Bankes and Edward Davenport, where she even managed to find modernity to admire in the 79 AD ruins: ‘really the most curious and interesting thing that I have seen on my travels...gardens very much in the same style as the modern Italian gardens’.¹¹⁸ She greatly admired Genoa for its Renaissance secular architecture, remarking on 4 February 1815, her first entry in the journal:

I had the pleasure of seeing Genova la Superba! a city composed almost entirely of Palaces and Churches...these streets are filled with magnificent

¹¹⁶ In assessing the influence of the Germanic Biedermeier on architecture it has been noted that there was a tendency to distrust splendour and the palatial in favour of plainer and smaller scale architecture in which domestic comfort became more important than architectural effect, one consequence being a shift from the building as monument to an appreciation of the building as part of an urbanized whole. Mrazek, W. ‘Introduction’, *Vienna in the Age of Schubert*, Elron Press in association with the V&A, 1979, p. 19.

¹¹⁷ Bodleian Library, MS. ENG. Misc, d.226, p. 33.

¹¹⁸ Bodleian Library, MS. ENG. Misc, d.226, p. 26.

Palaces and Churches, the entrances to which are usually very fine up very large Marble staircases, the outsides of the Palaces are painted various colours and many of them with Figures, the Palazzo Spinola is covered with battles painted by Guilio Romano, this though not in good taste gives them a very gay and showy appearance.¹¹⁹

She notes that on '5th February, we went to see churches and palaces', out of all of which her favourite, predictably, appears to have been the most modern, the 'Ducal [Doge's] palace' of 1777, 'very grand'.¹²⁰ (Plate 38). In Florence she went to see the Palazzo Pitti which she also greatly admired on account of its interior and garden setting.¹²¹ A few weeks later she is in Rome and notes on 27th February 'We went in the morning to see palaces'.¹²² These included the Borghese, Farnese, Spada, Rospigliosi and Colonna. Although Lindsay comments on the collections and historical anecdotes associated with the palazzi she usually restricts her comments on architecture to 'magnificent' or 'very fine'. The exceptions to this are palaces built in what we might understand as the Baroque style, but this is of course a categorical distinction which she is unable to make.¹²³

Early-nineteenth-century opinions of what would be later understood as the Italian Baroque were again formed without any recourse to a recognised terminology. However, the diarists' opinions on Italian seventeenth-century architecture are remarkably similar to one another. Lindsay calls the palace at Caserta 'a very large building, but not a beautiful one and has little effect considering its size'.¹²⁴ In Venice she admires Palladio's S. Giorgio Maggiore but considers Longhena's Santa Maria Della Salute 'a heavy looking building, but very magnificent on the inside'.¹²⁵ (Plates 39 & 40). The architecture of late seventeenth-century Austria is no more popular with her; in Vienna she says of

¹¹⁹ Bodleian Library, MS. ENG. Misc, d.226, p. 3.

¹²⁰ Bodleian Library, MS. ENG. Misc, d.226, p. 21.

¹²¹ Bodleian Library, MS. ENG. Misc, d.226, p. 16.

¹²² Bodleian Library, MS. ENG. Misc, d.226, p. 21.

¹²³ Heinrich Wölfflin's *Renaissance und Barock* (Munich: Theodore Ackermann, 1888): perhaps the first detailed published attempt to categorise the two terms in architecture.

¹²⁴ Bodleian Library, MS. ENG. Misc, d.226, p. 23.

¹²⁵ Bodleian Library, MS. ENG. Misc, d.226, p. 33.

Hildebrandt's Baroque Upper Belvedere 'the architecture of it is bad but the inside is large and magnificent... There is an ugly old-fashioned garden'.¹²⁶ (Plate 41). The Palace at *Schönbrunn* 'is very large and the architecture is not good'.¹²⁷

For the Abolitionist, Congregationalist Pye-Smith, Continental architecture of the late seventeenth-century is not only aesthetically bad; he can find no admiration for it due to its absolutist and Roman Catholic connotations. While Pye-Smith approved of the domestic, Renaissance architecture of Turin and 'the cleanliness and ventilation of the town' he makes no remark on its palaces and Roman Catholic churches.¹²⁸ This is unsurprising given his later comments on the Portes St. Denis and St. Martin in Paris: 'Triumphal Arches with sculpture and inscriptions built by Louis XIV to commemorate his campaigns in Flanders, the association of these edifices with the name of that wretched tyrant was enough to destroy any pleasure which we might otherwise have received from the sight'.¹²⁹

Once again it is Finch, with his sustained residence in Rome, who gives the most detailed analysis of the seventeenth-century architecture of Italy. He starts with a visit to St. Peter's on 28 April 1815 and appears to find the architecture of the late Renaissance confusing, writing 'The façade of St. Peter's is correct and elegant but for grandeur and imposing effect it does not approach by many degrees the grandeur and sublimity of that of St. Paul's at London; later correcting this to the more strongly pejorative: 'The façade of St. Peter's is incorrect and inelegant, nor does it, for grandeur and imposing effect approach by many degrees the grandeur and sublimity of that of St. Paul's at London'.¹³⁰

¹²⁶ Bodleian Library, MS. ENG. Misc, d.226, p. 43.

¹²⁷ Bodleian Library, MS. ENG. Misc, d.226, p. 44.

¹²⁸ Bodleian Library, MS. ENG. Misc.e. 1375-1376, p.41.

¹²⁹ Bodleian Library, MS. ENG. Misc.e. 1375-1376, pp. 121-122.

¹³⁰ Bodleian Library, MS. Finch e.15, pp. 66-67.

Finch's opinion of Roman seventeenth-century architecture is fundamentally determined by the fact that he finds its messages without any meaning. The profusion of ornament which he encounters does not, for him, represent energy, movement, or abundance, but is simply a gaudy and unmeaning profusion. The emotive qualities of the architecture are not admired, but rather its lack of classical rule and order lamented. In this sense, Finch is looking at architecture with eyes untouched by Romanticism and the Picturesque. Unlike Pye-Smith, Finch's view does not appear to be coloured by anti-Catholic sentiment. In fact, despite being a member of the Anglican clergy, Finch seems entirely uninterested in the theological connotations of the churches he visits. His only regret seems to be a typically eighteenth-century Gibbonian view that Christian Rome, while architecturally admirable, is generally inferior to ancient Rome. This seems to suggest that while the taste of the three diarists is remarkably similar, the reasons for their tastes are somewhat different. Pye-Smith is the most associational in his response to Italian architecture; it is not simply the fact that it does not represent architecture as seen in England, but also that it represents an un-English religious and political system.

Back in Britain the Italianate would not develop an identity explicitly based on a set of socio-religious doctrines. As we shall see later in this thesis, the associational values of Italianate buildings were based around their modern functions, or typology, but it is worth noting here that there appears to have been almost no criticism of the Italianate on the basis that it evoked a Roman Catholic form of architecture. This suggests that the British Italianate was seen as something other than a direct reference to the architecture of Italy, even while the Greek Revival was being attacked for pagan connotations and the Gothic Revival was attacked for its Roman Catholic origins.¹³¹

¹³¹ Pugin, A.W.N. *An Apology for The Revival of Christian Architecture in England* (London: John Weale, 1843); Close, F. *The Restoration of Churches is the Restoration of Popery*, (A Sermon, preached

Finch's distaste for Roman late seventeenth-century architecture appears to have arisen from the fact that he had no frame of reference for understanding it. The Via del Corso façade of the Palazzo Doria-Pamphilj, built to designs by Valvassori between 1731 and 1734, is 'loaded with fanciful ornaments warring against all rules', in contrast to the façade facing the Collegio Romano which, although built by Antonio del Grande in 1660, looked firmly backwards to the 1500s and is in Finch's opinion 'the best piece of architecture'.¹³² (Plates 42 & 43). The heavily ornamented 1570s ceiling in the otherwise commendably Antique interior of Santa Maria in Aracoeli is 'flat, and gilt in a tasteless, tawdry manner, and there is much puerile frippery generally prevailing'.¹³³ (Plate 44)

Finch generally found any form of ornament not used in English Palladianism to be superfluous. The staircase to the Palazzo Senatorio 'hides too much of the building, and is in itself awkward and unmeaning, although the work of Michelangelo'.¹³⁴ Of Alessandro Galilei's 1730s façade to St. John Lateran he remarks 'The surface is crowded and wants mass and breadth. The pediment and attic are extremely heavy. The ornaments are trifling and without taste. The architect profited nothing from the noble examples before his eyes...the divisions of the different parts is awkward and confin'd'.¹³⁵ The extravagant façade of Borromini's San Carlo is also criticised for being 'sadly loaded with an encumbrance of columns and unmeaning projections in every part'.¹³⁶ (Plate 45). This architecture was not only without meaning for Finch, but it was also barbarically alien. He calls Borromini's spire to Sant'Ivo della Sapienza a 'Chinese cupola...a

in the Parish Church, Cheltenham, on Tuesday, November 5th, 1844, printed as a pamphlet): <https://archive.org/details/556850100closuoft>.

¹³² Bodleian Library, MS. Finch e.15, p.110.

¹³³ Bodleian Library, MS. Finch e.15, p.105.

¹³⁴ Bodleian Library, MS. Finch e.15, p.124.

¹³⁵ Bodleian Library, MS. Finch e.15, pp.162-164.

¹³⁶ Bodleian Library, MS. Finch e.16, p.25.

whimsical bauble of Boromini'.¹³⁷ Even the individual parts of St. Peter's are broken down into those Finch admired and those not like the work of Wren:

Today I ascended to the top of the Basilica of the Basilica of St Peter, which is highly interesting to the architectural amateur. ..Here I admired the principal dome, which is grand and solid; and its proportions are accurately just. The smaller cupolas near it are not nearly so well constructed. There is less simplicity, and pilasters are needlessly employed...Neither does the dome seem to rise well from this part (the drum). It appears too vast. What a majestic accordance there is between the detail of Saint Paul's at London, and its dome!¹³⁸

This tendency for British travellers to compare St. Paul's to St. Peter's was common in eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century criticisms, encouraged by the difference in religious denomination.¹³⁹ But even allowing for patriotism and anti-Catholic feeling, it is clear that Finch is genuinely motivated by architectural taste; Italian architecture as a whole, and St Peter in particular, does not accord with his expectations of ornament and proportion.

For Finch the architecture which he most readily admired was that which bore closest resemblance to the Italian palazzi as adopted by the English in the early-eighteenth-century. Such pre-conceptions also explain why the English 'Italianate' of the later nineteenth-century often bears more resemblance to early-eighteenth-century English Palladianism than it does to the buildings Charles Barry et al saw in Florence and Rome. Even such a supposedly 'Italianate' building as Charles Barry's 1837-41 Reform Club has far more in common with the language, rhythm and proportions of James Gibbs's 1730s main block St. Bartholomew's Hospital or the west front of Colen Campbell's 1718 Rolls Office in Chancery Lane, than with the Palazzo Farnese. (Plates 46-48). Given this predilection for the familiar, it is not surprising Finch closes his remarks on St Peter's

¹³⁷ Bodleian Library, MS. Finch e.15, p.110.

¹³⁸ Bodleian Library, MS. Finch e.16, pp.248-252.

¹³⁹ Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, p.151.

by stating, 'Let England boast her unrivalled glory in her metropolitan cathedral being built by her Wren and her dictionary compiled by Johnson!'.¹⁴⁰

The admiration for regular, symmetrical urban buildings is also uniform across the accounts of Finch, Lindsay and Pye-Smith; none expect or desire cities to be picturesque in terms of their architecture or street plan. Lindsay admired Siena for its modernity, and found Ferrara 'a large, old ugly town',¹⁴¹ Bologna was 'built upon ugly irregular arcades, looking more German than Italian',¹⁴² and Padua 'built, like Bologna, upon ugly irregular arcades' the main attraction being the university 'a handsome building designed by Palladio'.¹⁴³ This admiration of urban modernity was consistent throughout her travels. She regarded Trieste as 'a clean and rather a handsome town, at least the new part of it is so. The streets are broad and regular, with some good houses...in the old part the streets are narrow, steep and dirty'.¹⁴⁴ While she found aesthetic interest in the 'sort of ugly handsomeness',¹⁴⁵ of Nuremburg, her chief admiration was for modern Brussels: 'the park...is the prettiest spot I ever saw in a town; it is a considerable space of ground surrounded by a very large Square of remarkably handsome houses...This is the most beautiful and fashionable part of the town but the whole of it is clean, cheerful and handsome'.¹⁴⁶ Most of Lindsay's appreciation of townscape centres on the availability of clean places in which to walk. She says of Venice 'Perhaps one might tire of staying there long as there are no places where you can walk, except at St. Mark's and the little streets at the backs of the houses, which are very narrow and dark',¹⁴⁷ and of Trieste 'very little

¹⁴⁰ Bodleian Library, MS. Finch e.16, p.230.

¹⁴¹ Bodleian Library, MS. ENG. Misc, d.226, p.33.

¹⁴² Bodleian Library, MS. ENG. Misc, d.226, p.32.

¹⁴³ Bodleian Library, MS. ENG. Misc, d.226, p.33 (The University building is not by Palladio but by Andrea Moroni).

¹⁴⁴ Bodleian Library, MS. ENG. Misc, d.226, p.39.

¹⁴⁵ Bodleian Library, MS. ENG. Misc, d.226, p.47.

¹⁴⁶ Bodleian Library, MS. ENG. Misc, d.226, p.50.

¹⁴⁷ Bodleian Library, MS. ENG. Misc, d.226, p.38.

advantage is taken of its situation upon the Adriatic towards beautifying the town, for there is no handsome quay or walk by the sea side'.¹⁴⁸

In this sense, Lindsay was expressing much the same taste and views as early-eighteenth-century English visitors to Italy such as Celia Fiennes and Daniel Defoe, or indeed Lady Pomfret who summed up Tuscany as 'rough and dismal' in 1741.¹⁴⁹ Like Finch and Pye-Smith, Lindsay has a mind largely untouched by Romanticism.¹⁵⁰ She understands Italy not in the terms of Byron and Shelley but in the terms of practicality. Much of her commentary speaks of a rational, Enlightenment frame of mind seeking not sensation, but sanitation, comfort and order.

While it is easy to assume that this perhaps represents Lindsay's own parochial view of the Italian and other European cities, it is a view that is shared with Finch and others. This demonstrates that the quest for the Picturesque sometimes formed almost no part of even the most educated and fashionable visitor's itinerary when on the Continent, certainly with respect to the urban environment. Here they expected to be well-served by good pavements, hygienic accommodation and regular streets. It was also a matter of importance; Finch died of malarial fever in Rome in 1830.

For Pye-Smith the existence of good roads was concomitant with social progress, on 12 August 1816 he notes:

At four o'clock we commenced our journey upon the celebrated road of the Simplon. This road was made by the direction of the late French Emperor, principally perhaps for the facilitation of ambitious projects; but it is capable

¹⁴⁸ Bodleian Library, MS. ENG. Misc, d.226, p.39.

¹⁴⁹ Lady Pomfret, diary entry at Radiconfani (Tuscany), 15 March 1741, quoted in Black, J. *The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (London: The History Press, 1992), p.137.

¹⁵⁰ George Elliot noted of the late 1820s in *Middlemarch*; 'Travellers did not often carry full information on Christian art either in their heads or their pockets; and even the most brilliant English critic of the day mistook the flower-flushed tomb of the ascended Virgin for an ornamental vase due to the painter's fancy. Romanticism, which has helped to fill some dull blanks with love and knowledge, had not yet penetrated the times with its leaven and entered into everybody's food; it was fermenting still as a distinguishable vigorous enthusiasm in certain long-haired German artists at Rome, and the youth of other nations who worked or idled near them were sometimes caught in the spreading movement.'

of being a great benefit to the districts and countries between which it opens a ready communication. It is a noble work, presenting a most distinguished of what science, labour, & perseverance can affect in overcoming natural difficulties.¹⁵¹

Given that this road passed through the Alps, it is worth noting that the Sublimity of the scenery, at a period when one may have expected it to be at its height, is afforded nothing like the praise for the engineering works of Nicolas Céard and the way in which they had beaten wild nature into civilised submission. (Plate 49)

Pye-Smith saw Napoleon as a social reformer and bringer of progress to the Popish south. On his way into Italy from Switzerland he noted:

Through the most mountainous part of the road, there are excellent & strongly built cottages of stone, at a distance of about two miles, with their number and the word REFUGE in large gold letters on a slab of black marble over the door. These were the wise and benevolent provision of the late French government. But now only a few of them are inhabited (for the plan was that a family should reside in every one, in order to afford fire, food, & attention as well as shelter,) and the rest, with dilapidated doors & windows, are going to decay.¹⁵²

Pye-Smith contrasts what he perceives as the enlightened, secular, benevolence of the Napoleonic regime against the effect of Popery on the inhabitants of Turin, who on 15 August 1816 were celebrating what he thought was ‘the saint of Turin’s day’ (actually the Feast of the Assumption) and not attending to the ‘lawful occupations of life’.¹⁵³ He also contrasted the south of France to northern Italy and concluded: ‘We rested this evening at La Tour du Pin, a town of middling size, but presenting nothing that appeared particularly observable. The superiority of the French houses, shops, and streets over the Savoyard became soon apparent; though much inferior, in every respect, to those of our own country’.¹⁵⁴ La Tour-du-Pin, especially in 1815, must have been an extremely Picturesque town, but again, we see that Pye-Smith’s interest in architecture is not

¹⁵¹ Bodleian Library, MS. ENG. Misc.e. 1375-1376, pp.15-16.

¹⁵² Bodleian Library, MS. Eng. Misc. e. 1375-1376, p.19.

¹⁵³ Bodleian Library, MS. Eng. Misc. e. 1375-1376, p.40.

¹⁵⁴ Bodleian Library, MS. Eng. Misc. e. 1375-1376, p.62.

motivated by the Picturesque, the quaint or the historical, but by a concern for cleanliness, orderliness and public amenity. (Plate 50)

Continued admiration for the modern and the civic, as opposed to the medieval and Catholic, can be seen in Pye-Smith's remarks on Paris. He was impressed by its public buildings and boulevards but did not consider it equal to London in terms of town planning. His account of Paris, at that time still a largely ad hoc, Medieval city, is detailed and combines concerns regarding practicality with the aesthetic desirability of having large squares of grand houses with good pavements, expectations which were clearly informed by his experience of London as developed in the eighteenth-century:

Of Paris as a town, a person might form some idea by conceiving it to have a loose and general resemblance to London, but with the following principal points of difference. It is not surrounded by vast and populous villages, radiating from it in every direction like the rich and beautiful suburbs of London...It is scarcely more than half the size of London. The Seine... is not half the width of the Thames... The streets are, in general, much narrower than our principal ones in London; and the best street in Paris, which is, I think the Rue de la Paix, could not sustain a moment's comparison with any one of the principal streets in the west end of London...Place Vendome is not equal to Bloomsbury Square...The houses being built of stone and stuccoed, large and high, give an air of grandeur to the rapid view of a street, which vanishes when one looks closely at the doors and windows, and perceives the frequent marks of poverty, dirtiness, and a crowded population.¹⁵⁵

Assessing continental town-planning through (usually unfavourable) comparison with London is a common trend across the diarists. Finch's interpretation of architecture is also shaped by his moral agenda; the air of Parisian grandeur is a sham, perhaps even more shameful than the poorer regions of Italy, because the living conditions of the populace do not reflect the ambition of the architecture. The three diarists were by no means alone in this, indeed the work of Sweet demonstrates that such views were widely held by most British visitors to the continent in the early-nineteenth-century.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ Bodleian Library, MS. ENG. Misc.e. 1375-1376, pp.118-120.

¹⁵⁶ Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, p. 46.

Of the three diarists it is Finch who gives the most detailed views on northern Italian town planning, the prevalence of maps in the illustrations which he pasted into his journals and his descriptions of his walking routes suggest that he was highly observant of the manner in which the Italian cities were laid out and experienced by the pedestrian in both practical and aesthetic terms. And while he describes the route from the Capitol to the Coliseum as ‘a museum of architecture’,¹⁵⁷ the main concerns of his descriptions are on the post-Antique streets of Rome and the way in which Renaissance and later buildings contribute, or detract from, a sense of a grand and harmonious street scene.

Finch’s appreciation of the villa architecture of the Roman suburbs is also heavily tempered by his expectations of what similar sites would look like if English taste had informed them rather than purely Italian. Of the Villa Borghese he notes:

The grounds are four miles in circuit. The site is exceedingly well adapted for planting with effect; and excepting too much regularity in the avenues and too few breaks for admitting a view of the country, it is very well managed and has much the appearance of an English seat. If the French or the English were in possession of Rome, what a charming place of entertainment might be made! It is far superior to the Champs Elysees or to Kensington Gardens.
¹⁵⁸

Finch’s admiration for the sites which bear the most resemblance English taste can also be seen in his opinion on the Villa Albani, where, although the grounds are ‘laid out in the usual stiff taste of this country’,¹⁵⁹ the house itself is ‘well disposed...without any unmeaning adornment’.¹⁶⁰ (Plate 51). Such praise was perhaps to be expected for a building which, being built for the pro-Hanoverian Cardinal Albani and greatly admired by Winckelmann, perhaps more closely accorded with northern European ideas of architecture than with Italian taste.¹⁶¹ Indeed the Villa Albani was not so very different

¹⁵⁷ Bodleian Library, MS. Finch e.15, p.107.

¹⁵⁸ Bodleian Library, MS. Finch e.16, p.53.

¹⁵⁹ Bodleian Library, MS. Finch e.16, p.23.

¹⁶⁰ Bodleian Library, MS. Finch e.15, p.19.

¹⁶¹ ‘The Villa Albani was admired for its exceptional fusion of the ancient and the modern... Winckelmann praised the Villa Albani as “a most modern place. . . the most beautiful building of our

to early English classicism, somewhat resembling the design and proportions of Inigo Jones's Queen's Gallery at Somerset House in the 1630s. (Plate 52). Jones's Anglo-Italian façade (as illustrated in *Vitruvius Britannicus*) would continue to inspire the design of both rural and urban architecture in the nineteenth-century, informing buildings such as Robert Abraham's County Fire Office in Piccadilly (1819) and Charles Barry's work at Cliveden (1851).

Perhaps the most surprising example of Finch's opinion that northern European taste, indeed ownership, could improve the streetscape and monuments of Rome is his idea for converting the Pantheon into a temple of global secular power, with Britain in a prominent position, an idea that prefigures the Walhalla at Regensburg:

It is to be lamented that this edifice has been converted into a church, the glare, and frippery of whose altars ill corresponds with either the form or taste of the building. It ought to have been consecrated wholly to the repository of the statues and busts of great men of all countries, executed by different artists, and arranged with taste. Then it would have been a building, perhaps the most renowned in the whole world, either in ancient or modern times. To avoid any national jealousy, the number of each should be fixed by some determinate scale according to the extent of territory, the length of existence, the degree of illumination, and other pretensions of each nation. Thus the number with regard to England, France and Italy would be equal.¹⁶²

If even the Pantheon itself could be improved by being filled with statues of modern worthies are we to conclude that this sample of English travellers to Italy found almost nothing of merit in native Italian art and architecture? Obviously, Italy had an attraction which drew them in the first instance, some to stay for the rest of their lives in the case of Robert Finch, some for only a week or so, in the case of John Pye-Smith. Certainly, all the diarists showed a very real appreciation of Italian art and architecture, but what they admired was an edited selection; they were far from indiscriminate or eclectic in

time.” Kirk, T. *The Architecture of Modern Italy, Volume I The Challenge of Tradition, 1750-1900* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2005), p. 67.

¹⁶² Bodleian Library, MS. Finch e.16, p.104.

their approbation. For each of the diarists English taste was unquestionably the best, and their right to exercise that taste and to seek to understand nothing which they did not approve struck them as undisputed.

English Architects in Italy

Of course, one might reasonably expect the views of amateur observers to differ from those who had travelled abroad specifically to study architecture. English architects in Italy could be supposed to have been more receptive to the aesthetics of the Italian Renaissance, thereby offering a pure Italian root for the establishment of the English Italianate in the late 1820s and early 1830s. However, when contemporary sources are examined the basis of this hypothesis becomes much less strong. Architects, including Charles Barry, found the architecture of northern Italy difficult to categorise in relation to the models of classical purity which they had been taught to admire.

We have already seen that for architects, or would-be architects, travelling to the Mediterranean in the early-nineteenth-century the architecture of the Italian Renaissance was far from a primary element of study.¹⁶³ Indeed the Mediterranean letters of Charles Robert Cockerell, to take one prominent example, barely mention the architecture of the Italian Renaissance, being far more occupied with observation of ancient Greece and its diaspora.¹⁶⁴ However, Cockerell's writings do contain one prescient passage for the development of the English Italianate. Writing to his father from Venice in 1816, Cockerell noted:

Palladio is doubtless the greatest modern architect, I have found in his works many of the leading principles of ancient architecture, you will {however} smile when I say that still I am [...] persuaded that the Greek remains may [not] leave (sic) one a surer Road, & that still he is deficient in some of the most important of their rules. But I rejoice in having seen them & I confess that his & the modern architecture is

¹⁶³ Salmon, *Building on Ruins*, pp.53-112.

¹⁶⁴ Pearce & Ormrod, *Charles Robert Cockerell in the Mediterranean*, pp. 7-76.

generally more applicable to our purposes, & all that one can do is to apply the ancient principles as far as one can, without imagining it possible to follow exactly, for the little essay I have made in the Wellington Palace proves to me that the folly [of] & impossibility of {close} imitation.¹⁶⁵

Cockerell refers to his competition entry for a palace for the Duke of Wellington, which he worked on while in Florence. He rapidly discovered that it was almost impossible to comfortably marry ancient Greek architecture to even the most basic requirements of English domestic life, and his appreciation of the architecture of Palladio seems to have been in no small part coloured by that experience.¹⁶⁶ The use of the Italianate as a tertium quid between the Greek and the Gothic was a vital component in its success in England, as will be explored in Chapter 3. That Cockerell noticed this problem, and potentially the solution, as early as 1816 says something of his practical capabilities.

Geoffrey Tyack has also noted Cockerell's realisation that the Italian palazzi offered a solution to the fact that modern architecture in Britain needed some basis other than the application of antique models and ornament. When James Pennethorne was preparing to visit Rome in 1824 it was Cockerell who told him to devote 'more attention to the palaces and modern architecture of Italy than to the works of ancient art'. Tyack also notes that James Pennethorne appears to have heeded this: 'Only nine days after his arrival in Rome Pennethorne told Nash that ...the introduction of the Italian style of Palace into our street architecture would be quite new, and have a fine effect'.¹⁶⁷ Pennethorne's influence on urban street architecture will be examined in due course, but it is worth noting that the need for something 'modern' in British architecture was being proposed by a number of architects in the first decades of the nineteenth-century.

¹⁶⁵ Cockerell letter 34 [COC: Add/1/37(i)] C. to SC, quoted in Pearce & Ormrod, Theresa, *Charles Robert Cockerell in the Mediterranean*, p. 274-276.

¹⁶⁶ Pearce & Ormrod, *Charles Robert Cockerell in the Mediterranean*, p. 50.

¹⁶⁷ Tyack, G. *Sir James Pennethorne and the Making of Victorian London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) pp.11-12.

More recently Peter Jefferson Smith also noted a similar problem for architects of the post-Waterloo generation who were attending Soane's lectures or travelling to Greece. They were visiting the Mediterranean in order to study classical antiquity, but the increasing levels of commercial building stock needed in post-Waterloo England had very little call for the application of antique architecture.¹⁶⁸ However, if we turn to the diaries of Charles Barry during his time in Italy it is clear that he had little realisation that the architecture of the Italian Renaissance could offer a solution to the creation of a non-antique English urban architecture. We can then see that, while Barry and other British architects were studying Italian palazzi, they were not studying them with the expectation that they would form the basis for commissions back in Britain; for that they were still devoting their attention to the remains of Greece and ancient Rome.

If we examine the travel diaries which Barry composed, together with John Lewis Wolfe, his travelling companion through northern Italy from February 1820, we can see many of the criticisms of Finch, Lindsay and Pye-Smith reiterated, albeit in more architecturally precise terms. As with Finch and Pye-Smith, Barry's criticism of seventeenth-century Italian architecture verges on the moral. The Baroque interior of the Chiesa di San Lorenzo in Turin was 'wanton, capricious and disgusting...variegated marbles, twisted pediments and contorted profiles, wretched carving and gilding', creating a hideous 'Monster'.¹⁶⁹ (Plate 53). The Rococo Capella di San Suardio in the Duomo was simply 'perverted taste and folly...hideous'.¹⁷⁰ We can contrast Barry's extreme views on the Baroque with his comment on the Palazzo Rocca-Saporiti in Milan: 'unexceptionally beautiful and much the best that I have seen in Italy'.¹⁷¹ (Plate 54).

¹⁶⁸ Smith, P.J. (posthumously published by The Clapham Society) *The I'Ansons, A Dynasty of London Architects & Surveyors* (Bath: Brown Dog Books, 2019), p.117.

¹⁶⁹ RIBA Library SKB401/4: Travel notebook/diary covering Sir Charles Barry's journey from Rome to Florence, and his stay at Florence, Pisa, Bologna, and Ferrara in 1820.

¹⁷⁰ SKB401/4.

¹⁷¹ SKB401/4.

Giovanni Perego's Palazzo Rocca-Saporiti was constructed in 1800-12 in a sober neo-classical manner. Barry's admiration for the modern can be seen to vastly exceed his interest in the Baroque and the mannerist, in the same manner that Charlotte Lindsay preferred modern Brussels to 'ugly, old' Ferrara.

In some of Barry's early public works in England one can detect more of the Neoclassicism of the Palazzo Rocca-Saporiti than any attempt to emulate the Italian Renaissance palazzi. The similarity of approach between Perego's work and Barry's Royal Institution in Manchester or the Royal College of Surgeons in London are noticeable. Barry's earliest urban works certainly were not influenced by the more exotic buildings he saw in Italy, such as the Sicilian Baroque: 'too irregular and too merely Picturesque'.¹⁷² This distrust of the Picturesque is again reiterated in the context of the urban Palazzo Pitti in Florence which Barry admired as 'Rational, consistent and imposing',¹⁷³ the same qualities which were to lead Leo von Klenze to use it as a model for modern civic building in Munich where it formed the chief inspiration for the Königsbau (1825-1834).¹⁷⁴ For Barry and Wolfe it is generally true to say that the Italian buildings they most admired were those of Palladio, especially the Palazzo Thiene with its absence of 'frittered ornaments', albeit with suggested improvements to reduce the scale of the keystone, balustrade and stringcourses into line with English taste.¹⁷⁵ Palladio's Palazzo Barbaran da Porto was criticised for its use of two orders on one façade and for being 'bedaubed with unintelligible foliage'.¹⁷⁶ In Padua John Lewis Wolfe admired the upper storey of the Palazzo Monte di Pieta, 'remarkably neat and to be

¹⁷² Barry, *Sir Charles Barry*, p.44.

¹⁷³ SKB401/4.

¹⁷⁴ Watkin, D. 'The Transformation of Munich into a Royal Capital by Kings Maximilian I, Joseph, and Ludwig I of Bavaria', *The Court Historian* 11 (2006), pp.1-12.

¹⁷⁵ RIBA, SKB377/1: Travel journals and notebooks kept by John Lewis Wolfe on his Grand Tour travels in England, France, Italy and Greece, 1816 & 1819-1821.

¹⁷⁶ SKB401/4.

imitated'.¹⁷⁷ Indeed, the aedicular treatment of the Palazzo Monte di Pieta is precisely the form of decoration which had appealed to many eighteenth-century British Palladian architects, and would appeal again to Barry, not least in his Travellers Club designs. (Plate 55)

Wolfe was to have input into Barry's design for the Travellers Club, the street façade which, as we have seen, is often compared to the Palazzo Pandolfini in Florence.¹⁷⁸ (Plates 56 & 57). Wolfe's views on the Pandolfini are useful in explaining why the street façade of the Travellers Club does not bear a great deal of resemblance to the architecture of Barry's supposed model. Wolfe found the Palazzo Pandolfini: 'Architectural but certainly not pretty. The lower storey projects beyond the upper one I should think at least 18 inches which has a disagreeable appearance'.¹⁷⁹ Indeed, the finished form of the Travellers Club reflects not Wolfe's admiration of the Palazzo Pandolfini, but his criticism of it:

Villa Pandolfini - Handsome architectural proportions of stories better than usual - Considering the two stories of equal consequence. In this case however the upper dressings are made of too much importance for the lower Space between pediments of upper range and crowning entabl[ature]: less than space between windows: bad Crowning entabl[ature] would not be too heavy were the great projection of lower story done away with which breaks up the height into two General mass not handsome about 1' square long.¹⁸⁰

The street elevation of the Travellers Club was not only akin to conventional English Palladian forms in the sense that the regular, balanced, composition of the Travellers Club does not at all reflect the more dynamic façade of Raphael's Palazzo Pandolfini. But more than this, Barry's initial design for the street front of the Travellers club was

¹⁷⁷ SKB401/4.

¹⁷⁸ Brand, *Italy and the English Romantics*, p.156.

¹⁷⁹ SKB/377/1.

¹⁸⁰ SKB377/1.

conventionally Palladian, with a centrally placed doorway and pilasters.¹⁸¹ In altering it to an astylar composition, probably at the suggestion of Wolfe, Barry did not start afresh but modified the design by removing the pilasters from the façade. This, together with his unwilling but necessary decision to move the door to the western bay rather than in the centre of the façade, suggests that the ‘Italian-palazzo’ impression arose not entirely from innovative design. Rather its appearance emerged following a series of compromises based on practical, as much as aesthetic grounds.

The parallels between practicality and the use of astylar modes would become a dominating theme of English civic and commercial building in the early-to-mid nineteenth-century. Indeed, when the Travellers Club was written about by W.H. Leeds in the 1830s what he was chiefly advocating was not its accuracy in relation to Italian models, but the manner in which it demonstrated that astylar architecture was a literate and practical response to the context of modern urban architecture.¹⁸² This approach can be contrasted with the uses of Italian architecture in early-nineteenth-century Germany, a country which had not been shaped by English Palladianism. When Leo von Klenze produced an ‘Italian’ design for the Glyptothek in Munich in 1815, and then the designs for the Königsbau between 1825-1835, we see that he replicated Italian palazzo architecture in a very ‘uncorrected’, that is to say largely accurate, manner.¹⁸³

The consistency of Barry’s essentially Palladian taste can also be seen in his opinion of the late-Baroque Villa Pisani at Stra, which he saw as ‘disjointed and inharmonious’,

¹⁸¹ Blissett, Sir Charles Barry, p.203 (see reference to Barry’s earliest Travellers Club drawing in the George Penrose Kennedy Album, now in the Library of Congress, PR 13 CN 2014:203, drawing no. 318).

¹⁸² Leeds, *The Travellers Club*, pp. 24-28.

¹⁸³ Glyptothek München 1830-1980, exhib. cat., Munich Glyptothek (Munich, 1980), pp. 237-8; State Collection of Graphic Art, Munich: 1005077 Competition design for the Munich Glyptothek in Italian style (1815)

a ‘bizarre effect’ and full of ‘hideous deformities’.¹⁸⁴ As with Robert Finch’s criticisms of the Roman Baroque, Barry’s taste was largely repulsed by the work of Italian Baroque architects except where he could perceive some equivalency with seventeenth-century English classicism. As we have seen, English travellers visiting Italy in the early-nineteenth-century did not see a distinction between ‘Renaissance’ and ‘Baroque’ but between orderly and disorderly architecture. The elements of architecture which were generally most admired were those which corresponded most closely to English Palladianism. Consequently, for both Wolfe and Barry, the Palazzo Monte di Pietà was capable of being understood because it was compact, had legible details which had counterparts in the work of seventeenth and early-eighteenth-century English architecture and to some degree represented the proportions and rhythms on which early English Palladianism had been based.¹⁸⁵ The proportions of the Villa Pisani, begun in 1735 by Francesco Maria Preti, had no obvious counterpart in English architecture, and Barry consequently saw it as both alien and barbarous. (Plate 58)

When considering the supposed Italian sources for Barry’s urban Italianate it is also important to consider his reactions to the Palazzo Farnese. After all, this is the building which is said to have informed his design of the Athenaeum in Manchester (erected 1837-1838) and Reform Club in London (erected 1837-1841).¹⁸⁶ Clearly there are similarities between the Farnese and the Reform Club and Manchester Athenaeum, but there are also very significant differences, and it is certainly true that no building of the British Italianate sought to replicate the scale and proportions of the Farnese. Barry measured the Farnese and produced studies of its elevations. But of it he wrote, ‘It has an imposing

¹⁸⁴ Blissett, Sir Charles Barry, quoting from SKB401/5, p.106, 5.

¹⁸⁵ It is similar in conception to Inigo Jones’s then-extant terraces at Covent Garden, with which both Wolfe and Barry would have been familiar.

¹⁸⁶ Curl & Wilson, *The Oxford Dictionary of Architecture*, pp.384-385.

effect from its vastness, and the unbroken lines of the entablature and stringing courses...The door, and window above it, interferes too much with the symmetry of the design...spoilt by the centre which does not unite well and harmonise with the rest – a most unaccountable wickedness'.¹⁸⁷ The Farnese had been adapted to British taste before, and it is notable that the proportions and rhythms which Barry gave to the Reform Club and Manchester Atheneum produce an effect more similar to the Palladianism of Castletown House, County Kildare (Alessandro Galilei, 1722-1729) than to the proportions and ornament of the Farnese. (Plates 59-62)

This British aesthetic bias means that when reading the exhaustive criticism to which Barry and Wolfe subjected virtually every Palladian edifice in the Veneto, the overriding impression is that they earnestly wished Palladio had the good fortune to have James Gibbs or William Kent as a consultant architect. Blissett's work on Barry in the 1980s touched on this vital point, although he did not develop it further. It is, however worth quoting in full:

Barry's belief as a student in the pre-eminence of the column applied in a single order and his distaste for the walled-up colonnade which resulted from using engaged columns, derived from his limited background of architectural theory. He had been raised on Stuart and Revett, Chambers' *Civil Architecture* and the works of Soane, Smirke and Wilkins, which ushered in the Greek Revival. This rose to its apogee as Barry was completing his articles. Whether or not he attended Soane's lectures, first begun in 1809 and repeated in the years of Charles' apprenticeship is not known. Also unknown is whether or not Barry was as influenced as Soane by such consequential rationalist views of architecture as those expressed by M.A. Laugier in his *Essai sur L'architecture* (1753). Certainly, during his student years of travel, Barry reacted against Baroque extravagance. As has been already indicated Barry's attitude to the piling of order upon order, rich decoration and broken entablatures was modified in later life partially through his admiration of Gibbs and especially Inigo Jones and Wren.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁷ RIBA, SKB401/3: Travel notebook/diary covering Barry's stay at Paestum and Rome.

¹⁸⁸ Blissett, 'Sir Charles Barry', p. 115.

A discussion of the growing influence of Gibbs, Jones, and Wren follows in more detail, but it is worth noting that even before he was to return to England and study the work of seventeenth-century English architects Barry's architectural taste had already been shaped by the forms most familiar to him. The evidence of Finch, Lindsay and Pye-Smith shows that, in this, he was far from alone.

Therefore a common theme amongst the British travellers to Italy that I have studied is their unwillingness to accept as commendable any form of architecture that did not accord with their taste for Antique models, or classicism as practiced in England. This is borne out in the comments of Wolfe and Barry who, far from seizing on the Italian Renaissance as a re-invigorating force for English practice, simply adapted some of the details of Italian buildings to fit with pre-existing English classical taste. This did involve a shift away from the Greek Revival (for reasons I shall discuss later) but it did not herald the replication of Italian architecture into the English street scene. Rather, the influence of Italy on the first generation of English architects to visit the continent in the 1800s was nuanced.

What the palazzi of the Italian cities offered was a way of understanding street architecture without the need for replicated temple forms, with porticoes, giant orders and free-standing sites. Quoting Wolfe's manuscript notes for the Barry biography of 1867, David Blissett argued that Barry:

...considered the grand Florentine style was able to proffer ideas, "but could never be done into English". In particular, the Palazzo Strozzi on the Via Tornabuoni and the Palazzo Riccardi on the Via Cavour strengthened Barry's opinion regarding the application of a great cornice to an astylar façade which had first been brought to his attention by Rome's Farnese. From hereon this crowned astylar form gradually rose in Barry's esteem as his exemplar for a more plastic street façade which provided a stylistic alternative to the now staid Italianate of Palladianism and the confining Greek Revival...Barry and

Wolfe came to reluctantly realise that the Florentine style could only suggest and not be transformed for architecture in Britain.¹⁸⁹

This argument reflects the opinions given by Wolfe and Barry on their travels, as well as those of the other diarists which we have examined. And it is an opinion borne out in the work of Barry and other architects practicing the Italianate from the early 1830s onwards. The English architectural relationship with the Renaissance palazzi might be summed up in the ambiguous and inconclusive words of John Lewis Wolfe on the Palazzo Doria-Tursi (1568-1579) on Strada Nuova, Genoa: 'How is much to be admired in this, though much to blame; there is something imposing in this architecture'.¹⁹⁰ (Plate 63). What can be concluded is that contemporaries referred to their own creations as 'Anglo-Italian' for a very good reason. And if we are to properly understand the emergence of this seemingly novel urban architecture from the 1830s onwards, we must continue to look beyond Italy for its sources. If the English Italianate was not simply a Picturesque or academic copy of actual Italian architecture, what was it based on, and from where else did it arise?

Sources for the Italianate at Home

Having demonstrated that English reactions to the architecture of Italy were complex and far from universally favourable, it has also been seen that comparisons were made which began to show English seventeenth-century architecture reappraised in a more favourable manner. An examination of the work of Sir John Soane, Charles Robert Cockerell and Sir Charles Barry, three architects who helped establish the Italianate in England, reveals a desire to build on what they perceived as a national tradition. The actual and supposed architecture of Inigo Jones was upheld as the legitimising prototype

¹⁸⁹ Blissett, 'Sir Charles Barry', pp.95-96.

¹⁹⁰ RIBA, SKB374/3.

for this experimentation and was later augmented by an appreciation of the work of Gibbs and Chambers, in particular the more astylar elements of their work.

The reality was that the Italianate emerged only partly from an interest in the architecture of the Italian Renaissance. The earliest nineteenth-century Italianate formulas were worked out by Soane, Cockerell and Barry, and each architect looked to an English tradition as much as to original Florentine and Roman examples. In particular they turned to Inigo Jones, promoting a renewed public interest in his work while rooting the genesis of the nineteenth-century Italianate firmly in the established traditions of seventeenth and early-eighteenth-century English architecture. Far from importing a ‘new’ form of architecture from Italy the work of these three architects demonstrates that the 1830s marked a readiness to return to the origins of English classicism.

When Daniel Asher Alexander, Surveyor to the London Dock Company, undertook repairs and alterations to the Queen’s House in Greenwich and to Coleshill House, Berkshire in 1807 and 1814 respectively, public praise was conferred on ‘the finely conservative’ spirit of his work. (Plate 64). The favourable critic was Sir John Soane, speaking from the Chair of the Royal Academy.¹⁹¹ The Queen’s House was started in 1616 by Inigo Jones (1573–1652) for Queen Anne of Denmark, but finished in 1638 for Queen Henrietta Maria. Wings were added later when it became a school for naval family’s children in the late eighteenth-century, and Alexander added flanking blocks and colonnades for the Royal Naval Asylum, at the same time repairing Jones’s existing fabric.¹⁹² His work at Coleshill, at that time believed to be entirely the work of Inigo Jones, consisted of ‘repairs’ (in this case the word appears to have signified maintenance

¹⁹¹ Quoted by Annette Peach, ‘Alexander, Daniel Asher (1768–1846)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online ed) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

¹⁹² Colvin, H. *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840* (Fourth Edition) (New Haven & London, Yale, 2008), pp.66–67.

repairs, rather than significant remodelling). (Plate 65). That Soane should have praised conservatism in the handling of Jonesian architecture was by no means typical of the period when the Greek Revival was in full flow. However, by the 1820s a reappraisal of the works of Jones and his disciples was underway.

Despite the lack of a complete published collection of the work of Jones, the seeds of Jonesian classicism were regenerating in the years after 1815. In the 1820s John Goldicutt published an illustrated pamphlet entitled *Heriots' Hospital Edinburgh, The design of the celebrated architect, Inigo Jones*.¹⁹³ This work brought what were then supposed to be Jonesian interiors to the public attention. The first plate was a medallion portrait of Jones. (Plate 66). Goldicutt had composed this from a mixture of sources and what it shows is a profile portrait of Inigo Jones taken from a cameo in possession of the Hospital, framed by a section of the carved foliage over the chimneypiece in the Council room, surrounded by foliate decoration 'after Jones'.

A similar, if even more laudatory, tribute can be seen in the work of twenty-six-year-old John Turner. In 1832 he completed a measured drawing of the York Water Gate showing its plan, sections and elevations. He ornamented the drawing with a Baroque cartouche framing a bust of Inigo Jones being crowned with laurels by two cherubs. (Plate 67). The result of Jonesian re-evaluation of the 1820s and 1830s meant that by the end of the 1840s Inigo Jones was becoming firmly established in the British art-historical canon. In 1849 the Art-Union of London offered new members silver or bronze medals carved by Charles Frederick Carter.¹⁹⁴ It carried a profile of Inigo Jones on one side and the main

¹⁹³ Goldicutt, J. *Heriots' Hospital Edinburgh. The design of the celebrated architect, Inigo Jones* (London: John Weale, 1826).

¹⁹⁴ The Art Union of London was established in 1836: 'to aid in extending the Love of the Arts of Design within the United Kingdom, and to give Encouragement to Artists, beyond that afforded by the patronage of individuals.' - Cunningham, P. *Hand-Book of London* (London: John Murray, 1849), p. 32.

elevation of the Banqueting house on the other. Other medals in the series included Sir Francis Chantrey, William Hogarth, Sir John Vanbrugh and John Flaxman.

The continuing prevalence of the Jonesian re-evaluation can be seen in three examples, from 1804, 1838, and 1843. In 1804 William Daniel Legg had designed the Shambles, Stamford, Lincolnshire with a portico very similar to that of St. Paul's Covent Garden. (Plate 68). As Legg had originally come from the City of London it is highly likely that something evoking Covent Garden was indeed his chosen model for the market. Legg was also clearly inclined to working contextually, as witnessed by his Bottle Lodge at Burghley, which was designed in 1799-1801 and is neo-Jacobean, a style not often associated with that period. (Plate 69)

The trend for using Jonesian forms for commercial buildings was continued into the 1830s and 1840s with Owen Browne Carter's Winchester Corn Exchange of 1836 which has a Tuscan portico that must certainly owe something to the inspiration of St. Paul's Covent Garden. (Plate 70). J.M. Clark's Commercial Hall and Customs House at Ipswich was begun in 1843. This building is not astylar but it does combine Jonesian motifs with a more directly Italian influence in a way that would become typical of astylar classicism over the next twenty or thirty years. (Plate 71). The Tuscan portico of Clark's building appears to have been inspired directly by the portico to Jones's St. Paul's Covent Garden and the whole building condenses various Jonesian motifs. Henry-Russell Hitchcock noted that the window surrounds are Palladian in the manner of the seventeenth-century rather than the eighteenth-century ¹⁹⁵, and this confirms that Clark was consciously referencing early Palladian forms rather than falling back on a reliable recent tradition.

¹⁹⁵ Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture*, p. 328.

Consequently, Jonesian hagiography would develop steadily into the mid-nineteenth-century reaching its apotheosis in Sir William Tite's 'Composition of the Works of Inigo Jones' of 1854 which followed in the tradition of Cockerell's 'A Tribute to Sir Christopher Wren' of 1838. (Plate 72). Unlike Cockerell, Tite included buildings which he must have known post-dated Jones's life by many decades. It is the spirit of Jonesian architecture which Tite is seeking to encapsulate rather than his personal opus. The Tite drawing is highly revealing of mid- nineteenth-century attitudes to Jones, and, significantly, contains Welsh and Scottish buildings alongside English. What had originated as a biographical interest in Jones was being expanded into a Jonesian 'School' of British architecture which was seen as continuing to thrive and develop even after the death of its instigator, and to which mid-nineteenth-century architects could hope to become legitimate heirs.

By the 1850s the interest in Jones was being expanded to include the architecture of Wren, Gibbs and even later English architects of the eighteenth-century. The mid-nineteenth-century reappraisal of architects such as Sir William Chambers will be explored in more detail in Chapter 3, but it is worth noting that in the 1850s the architectural press began to position the recent history of urban Italianate architecture within a perceived legacy of astylar early-eighteenth-century forms. Barry's son and biographer Alfred Barry would later state that his father's earliest experience of architecture, during his apprenticeship, had involved making studies from the *Treatise on Civil Architecture*, and it is certainly true that the emphasis which Chambers placed on modular and aedicular classical ornament is quite evident in the Italianate work of Barry.¹⁹⁶ Indeed, as Blisset has demonstrated, aside from the architects of the Italian Renaissance, it was Gibbs (as well as Jones, Wren, Perrault, Soufflot, Vanvitelli and

¹⁹⁶ Barry, *Sir Charles Barry*, p.6.

Chambers) who ‘became numbered amongst those architects that M. Digby Wyatt would recall in 1860 were amongst those admired by Barry’.¹⁹⁷ And out of all of the architects, the Italian Renaissance included, it was Jones and Wren alone for whom ‘his admiration was unbounded’.¹⁹⁸ The inclusion of Jacques-Germain Soufflot is interesting in itself, as he had designed a number of astylar civic and commercial buildings in France which closely prefigured the aesthetics of the nineteenth-century English Italianate, including the Lyon Exchange in 1748 and the Grand Theatre at Lyon in 1754.¹⁹⁹ (Plates 73-75)

Hitchcock has noted that some of the interest in the early-eighteenth-century which emerged in the 1840s and 1850s was part of the trend towards a baroque revival in the late-nineteenth-century.²⁰⁰ (Plate 76). But it can also be seen as a culmination of an interest in the history of astylar English classicism which had grown throughout the first half of the nineteenth-century, and which saw the sources of the Italianate lying in the history of classical architecture within England, as much as within Italy. By the mid-nineteenth-century the architecture of Jones was valued not only for its own sake, but actively emulated in entirely new buildings. Soane was an originator of this mode, not only in theory but also in practice, through one building which, despite its 28-year lifespan, would form a significant example of the nineteenth-century Italianate in England. (Plate 77 & 78)

The history of Sir John Soane’s astylar State Paper Office (designed 1829–30, executed 1831–32) has been thoroughly dealt with in recent years by the Archivist of the

¹⁹⁷ Blisset, ‘Sir Charles Barry’, p. 102 and footnote 155. See also RIBA *Transactions* 1859-60, p. 132.

¹⁹⁸ RIBA *Transactions* 1859-60, p. 132.

¹⁹⁹ Burned in 1826.

²⁰⁰ Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture*, p. 331.

Sir John Soane Museum, Susan Palmer.²⁰¹ In her paper on the New State Paper Office Palmer rightly notes an Italian influence in the building:

The seventy-six-year-old architect took his inspiration from Vignola's Villa Farnese at Caprarola and came up with a completely astylar building.²⁰²

Dorothy Stroud also observed that the design appears to be based on the Villa Farnese:

The Source of his inspiration stemmed from Vignola's Villa Farnese at Caprarola by which he had been greatly impressed when he had visited it as a student some fifty years before, and of which a number of engravings were in his library.²⁰³

It is certainly true that elements of the New State Paper Office referred to features of Vignola's Villa Farnese.²⁰⁴ (Plate 79). The entrance door was clearly derived from Vignola's work, and the elevations to St. James's Park have a similar rhythm to the Villa Farnese. But the overall design, form, and scale is far removed from the Villa Farnese and reads more obviously as an evolution of the more modest astylar English tradition of the seventeenth-century.

What is important in understanding the full implications of the emergence of the Italianate at this time is the fact that Soane, who had been previously working on the restoration of the Banqueting House, explicitly stated that the design was not simply taken from the Italian Renaissance architecture of Vignola and Palladio but also 'from the architecture of ... Inigo Jones, Sir C Wren, etc.'²⁰⁵ (Plate 80). Jones's Banqueting House was clearly very much on Soane's mind when undertaking the designs for the New State Paper Office. Soane had been restoring the building between 1829 and 1833, largely by re-facing the stonework, opening blocked windows and undertaking major repairs to

²⁰¹ Palmer, S., 'Sir John Soane and the Design of the New State Paper Office, 1829-1834', *Archivaria* 60 (September 2006), pp. 39-70: <https://archivaria.ca/index.php/archivaria/article/view/12514>.

²⁰² Palmer, 'New State Paper Office', pp. 44-45.

²⁰³ Stroud, D. *Sir John Soane, Architect*, (2nd ed.) (London: de la Mere, 1996), p. 236.

²⁰⁴ Sir John Soane Museum, London, 82/1/50: 'This door &c is in its proportions like Vignola's book' (r).

²⁰⁵ Sir John Soane Museum, London, annotation to drawing 'Contrasted Designs: design No 1' for the New State Paper Office, 82/1/1 (r).

the roof.²⁰⁶ Elements of Jones's Banqueting House played a direct role in Soane's composition, most obviously in the prominence given to the rusticated basement and in the details of the some of the window architraves.²⁰⁷

It must also be remembered that it was the Banqueting House and not his Grand Tour (1778-1780) which represented one of Soane's first encounters with the influences of the Italian Renaissance. In 1772 the Banqueting House was undergoing repair and by gaining access to the scaffolding Soane completed a measured drawing of Jones's principal elevation, a drawing which won him the Royal Academy Silver medal and which he would later have copied for use in his Royal Academy lectures.²⁰⁸ Hence, for Soane, the classicism of Inigo Jones was as much a shaping force in his early experiences with architecture as the palazzi of Italy. Indeed, when he later sought examples of astylar architecture with which to instruct his pupils in how they may, 'without the aid of sculpture, columns and costly materials, please the eye, and even satisfy the minds of those who possess elegant fancy, classical taste, and sound judgement', it was the buildings illustrated in *Vitruvius Britannicus* which he turned to, not the works of Palladio or Vignola:

The following examples will be sufficient to establish this important truth: the front of General Wade's house, by Lord Burlington, and the lawn front of Wilton house, and Lindsey House in Lincoln's Inn Fields, the admired work of Inigo Jones.²⁰⁹

Soane considered the buildings of the seventeenth and early-eighteenth-century to provide an ideal model for achieving successful astylar classicism:

In these buildings by Lord Burlington and Inigo Jones there are no prominent features, no richness of materials, yet the effect is more than satisfactory,

²⁰⁶ Mordaunt Crook, J. and Port, M.H. *The History of the King's Works*, Volume VI, 1782–1851 (London: HMSO, 1973), pp.547–548.

²⁰⁷ Crook & Port, *The History of the King's Works*, p. 569.

²⁰⁹ Soane, J. *Royal Academy Lecture VI*, reproduced in Watkin, D. *Sir John Soane, Enlightenment Thought and the Royal Academy Lectures*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 574.

whereas on the other hand, if columns are disproportioned...the whole is uninteresting.²¹⁰

The qualities which Soane admired in Lindsey House, at that time believed to be the work of Jones, would become some of the common characteristics of the Italianate in the 1840s and beyond:

The latter mansion, with its plastered front, and its common red tiled roof, forms a certain harmony and fitness in its parts, commands attention and excites pleasurable sensations in the mind of the spectator... In this work of our great architect, the roof, in quantity, is just what it should be; even the chimney shafts contribute to the beauty of the building...It must be observed that in many modern buildings the roofs and chimney shafts are not considered of so much importance in the effect of a composition as they formerly were...²¹¹

Stucco, tiled roofs and compositional chimney shafts were all elements which would become conspicuous elements of the Italianate lexicon. They also form elements in Soane's own design for the New State Paper Office. Further similarities between the State Paper Office and the work of Inigo Jones can be seen through a comparison of the Queen's Chapel, St. James's Palace, and Soane's design where the cornice, prominent chimneys, plain plastered string course, window treatment and quoins all seem to arise from a similar aesthetic approach to designing a modest but important building. (Plate 81)

It appears that Soane was not basing his design on any one earlier building, but was aiming for a synthesis of astylar forms. For example, Soane made one drawing which further referenced the Italian Renaissance beyond Vignola, although it was not incorporated into any subsequent design. This showed a heavily bracketed cornice with busts sketched in each recess and the following note: 'Query Busts in Cornice If Shields-Trophies/&c are admissible in the Metope of the Doric order why not have busts

²¹⁰ Soane, J. *Royal Academy Lecture VI* reproduced in Watkin, *Royal Academy Lectures*, p.574.

²¹¹ Soane, J. *Royal Academy Lecture VI* reproduced in Watkin, *Royal Academy Lectures*, p.574.

of illustrious persons whose labours are supposed to be deposited with the Walls of this Edifice 6 May'.²¹²

This proposal seems to echo the use of the same device in Siena where the busts of Popes are set into the clerestory cornice to the nave of the Duomo and those of Roman emperors appear in the cornice of the Palazzo Spannocchi. (Plate 82). Soane's use of the Banqueting House to illustrate the inadequacies of the Office of Works' amended scheme is important, as it represented a wider development amongst architects of the 1830s. As the Greek Revival began to fall from favour (for reasons which are explored in later chapters) some architects re-examined the classicism of the English seventeenth-century, in much the same way that others were looking to the architecture of the Tudor and Elizabethan eras to provide a basis for a national tradition.²¹³

Charles Robert Cockerell is one notable example of this, being interested in both the monumental architecture of Wren and Vanbrugh and the modest astylar buildings of the seventeenth-century. Cockerell's place in the story of the British Italianate is an interesting one, because his work shows many of the Italianate tendencies of the early-nineteenth-century but a general reluctance to approach an astylar solution. Setting aside the Greco-Roman of his major public commissions, Cockerell designed a number of bank buildings and commercial offices.²¹⁴ This was a field of design which would become primarily associated with the Italianate by the mid-nineteenth-century, as shall be seen in due course. However, Cockerell's approach was rarely astylar, and the eclectic

²¹² Sir John Soane Museum, London, 82/1/45 (r) [Note: the drawing is dated at the bottom 3rd May 1830, so this comment was presumably added three days later].

²¹³ Nash, J. *Mansions of England in the Olden Time* (London: T. McLean, 1839-1849).

²¹⁴ Chiefly: 1831 – Westminster, Life and British Fire Office, London; 1835- the Bank of England, Plymouth; 1837 – London and Westminster Bank, City of London; 1838 – London & Westminster Bank, Lothbury, London; 1841 – Sun Fire Office, London; 1844-47 the Bank of England, Bristol; 1845 the Bank of England, Manchester; 1845-48 the Bank of England Liverpool; 1848 – Bank Chambers, Cook Street, Liverpool; 1855 – Liverpool and London Insurance Office, Liverpool.

mannerism of most of his street architecture prefigures the revived Baroque of the late-nineteenth-century more than it accords with the astylar classicism of the 1830s and 1840s. Nonetheless, Cockerell is a useful means of understanding some of the influences which shaped an Italianate tendency in Britain, because he demonstrates the manner in which the field of commercial architecture became open to a range of ornamental and compositional references which were not directly derived from Italy.

This sensibility can best be seen in his comprehensive *Ichnographica Publica*, a collection of sketches which Cockerell compiled for private use from about 1825 onwards. These contained many drawings of the City churches and of Wren's major secular buildings such as would later be seen in Cockerell's *Tribute to Sir Christopher Wren* of 1842.²¹⁵ (Plate 83). However, they also contained more modest examples of seventeenth-century secular buildings, the essence of which would later be expressed in some of Cockerell's commercial architecture. His elevation of the Deanery of St. Paul's Cathedral shows its prominent cornice and the way in which the entrance door forms the chief architectural note of the astylar façade. (Plate 84). These were all features which would become part of the nineteenth-century Italianate, albeit in stone and stucco rather than brick and timber. Similar elements are emphasised in his drawing of Merchant Taylors' School and many of his drawings of seventeenth-century churches relate to their cornices, balustrades and ball or urn finials, features which he would experiment with on his preliminary designs for buildings such as the Carlton Club and the Royal Exchange. Likewise, many of the sketches of entrance archways, doorways and window treatments are typical of the aedicule treatment of doorways and windows chosen for later commercial palazzo commissions.

²¹⁵ Also of interest is his *Ichnographica Domestica*, largely concerning private houses, with reference to work he believed to be by Jones, such as Amesbury Abbey, Wiltshire (see Harris, J. 'Cockerell's *Ichnographica Domestica*', *Architectural History*, (1971), pp. 5–29 and plates 113–137).

In looking at Cockerell's sketch of 'Thomas Tegg's House' (73 Cheapside, originally built for Sir William Turner, Lord Mayor of London in 1668) it is hard not to see the parallels between the astylar richness of a seventeenth-century citizen's town house and the similar devices employed in the embellishment of nineteenth-century commercial and club buildings. (Plate 85). As with Soane and the Banqueting House, Cockerell developed his knowledge of the Italianate not only from original Italian models but from the seventeenth-century classical architecture of London. In this sense his *Ichnographica Publica* is essentially a Grand Tour sketchbook, with the country visited being the London of Wren and his contemporaries rather than the Italy of Palladio and Vignola. The direct influence of these buildings can be seen in his Sun Fire Assurance Offices, Threadneedle Street, designed in the early 1840s which resembles the work of Hawksmoor as much as anything Cockerell saw in Italy. (Plates 86 & 87). Indeed, Cockerell considered the works of both Wren and Inigo Jones to be superior in 'taste' (by which he meant relevance between ornament, proportion and construction) than anything he had seen in Italy.²¹⁶

However, it should also be noted that in recording seventeenth-century architecture Cockerell emphasised the details he admired and ignored those he did not, as can be seen in comparing his drawings with the Deanery itself. (Plates 88 & 89). The idiosyncrasy of the brickwork is smoothed out of Cockerell's drawing, and the visible roof omitted. In so doing, he essentially turns a mannerist composition into a more Palladian form. It is also worth noting that as with Soane, Cockerell was conversant with seventeenth-century English fabric in a working capacity having acted as Surveyor to St. Paul's Cathedral.

²¹⁶ Cockerell's diary for 29th March 1826 quoted in Watkin, D. *The Life and Work of C.R. Cockerell* (London: A. Zwemmer Ltd, 1974), p.62.

Barry too became familiar with seventeenth-century English classicism through working with original fabric. This can be seen most explicitly in his extensive work at Cliveden in 1851 which he remodelled in a manner partly based on the William Winde design of 1666 and more directly on the 1662 river elevation of the Great Gallery of Somerset House as illustrated in *Vitruvius Britannicus*.²¹⁷ (Plates 52 & 90). But Barry's initial immersion in Jonesian classicism was largely thanks to William John Bankes, for whom he remodelled Roger Pratt's Kingston Lacy (then attributed to Jones) between c.1835–46. (Plate 91).²¹⁸ Originally built in 1663–1665, the house was a well-documented example of Restoration architecture. Pevsner disapprovingly notes that:

What Barry did, no doubt on orders, was at one and the same time to restore the house's original character (replacing the balustrade and cupola) and to take it away again by a typically Victorian and Barryesque heightening of that character.²¹⁹

But Barry's work at Kingston Lacy was much more than simply an exercise in 'heightening of character'. Directed by the considerable connoisseurship of Bankes²²⁰ what Barry effectively achieved was a comprehensive reworking of the Jonesian manner to create a dramatic setting for Bankes's collection of Italian art, 're-instating' the Jonesian character which had been removed in the eighteenth-century. (Plates 92 & 93)

One of the most sustained pieces of Jonesian classicism inside the house is the uppermost flight of the staircase, possibly intended, in John Cornforth's words, 'to look like a survivor from the original house'.²²¹ (Plate 94). That Barry's emulation of seventeenth-century devices was not entirely due to the influence of Bankes can be seen

²¹⁷ Campbell, C. *Vitruvius Britannicus*, plate 16 to Volume I, (London, 1715).

²¹⁸ Barry and Bankes had first met in Egypt, at Sinai, when Barry was on his 1817-1818 tour. See *RIBA Transactions* (1859-60), p. 120.

²¹⁹ Pevsner, N. and Newman, J. *Buildings of England; Dorset*. (London, Beccles & Colchester: Penguin, 1972), p. 245.

²²⁰ Bankes was an amateur architect and Egyptologist as well as a collector of Spanish and Venetian art. His regard for Jonesian classicism was part of his wider antiquarian interests. See Bankes, V. *A Dorset heritage: the story of Kingston Lacy* Richards Press, London, 1953.

²²¹ Cornforth, J. 'Kingston Lacy Revisited-IV', *Country Life* (June 12, 1986), p.1676.

by the fact that he had already used Jonesian prototypes for his staircase in the Traveller's club a few years earlier. David Watkin noted that this 'recalls the work of Inigo Jones and his seventeenth-century followers, Pratt, May and Webb. The richly carved woodwork in Wren's city churches is recalled by the broad swirling curves of carved acanthus leaves in the great triangular panel which fills the side of the lower flight of the staircase'.²²² In fact, the entire Travellers Club staircase composition seems heavily influenced by the work of Jones at Ashburnham House, Westminster. (Plates 95 & 96)

It is also significant that Barry was undertaking this review of seventeenth-century interiors at the same time as designing the interiors of the Reform Club. Barry's diary for 1839 contains a drawing of an unidentified ceiling which he dates as '1695' and although there is no precise copy within the Reform Club schemes, the link between Barry's ceiling designs and late seventeenth-century English ceilings is quite evident visually. (Plates 97 & 98). The staircase at Kingston Lacy further exclaimed its Jonesian credentials with the addition of a bronze statue of Jones's patron Charles I, flanked by statues of William Bankes's seventeenth-century ancestors, the arch-Royalists Sir John and Lady Bankes.

For Bankes, as with Sir Jeffry Wyattville at Windsor Castle, there was no contradiction in remodelling original work while at the same time referencing the spirit of the original work being altered. In this sense architects of the 1820s and 1830s undertook alteration as something akin to a selective dialogue with the past. Several features at Kingston Lacy point to this sensibility. The windows to the West elevation were altered under the direction of William Bankes and replicate Pratt's original glazing pattern which had been lost in the eighteenth-century. The cupola was reinstated, having been removed in the 1730s. The interiors were remodelled significantly but the sources for their remodelling

²²² Watkin, D. 'The Travellers' Club and the Grand Tour, Correcting Raphael', *The British Art Journal*, Volume I, No. I, (Autumn 1999), pg. 60.

were original designs by Jones and Webb. John Cornforth notes that Bankes not only studied the architecture of Jones and Webb but also directed Barry to study it:

... copying details from them or getting confirmation for his own ideas from them. Thus the South Terrace and the ceiling of the dressing room at the north-east corner were both taken from the Queen's House at Greenwich; the idea of the low entrance hall was confirmed by what he saw at Amesbury Abbey, Wiltshire, and the detail of the loggia on the east front was related to York Stairs in London. He went to Wilton House, Wiltshire, as well as Tregothnan, Cornwall, the core of which was contemporary with Kingston Lacy, and he made a special journey to Lees Court in Kent, where he found the design of the drawing-room ceiling. He only knew Coleshill from prints, but he sent Barry to look at it.²²³

One of the decorative elements of the house refers to the Pratt original in a literal sense. This is a Lorandini stove in one of the corridors. Constructed of Carrara marble, it contains a Marochetti bronze medallion supposedly based on the work of Jean Goujon at the Hotel Carnavalet, Paris. This medallion depicts two putti supporting the Bankes coat of arms. The sinister putto holds a depiction of Kingston Hall in its original state and the dexter putto holds a copy of Pratt's plan for the principal floor.²²⁴ (Plate 99). This anachronistic fusion embodies the major sources for the Italianate of the nineteenth-century: modern technology, replicated sixteenth-century European decoration and what was believed to be the architecture of Inigo Jones.

The Bankes-Barry collaboration formed an important part of Barry's architectural education. Like Cockerell he had returned from Italy and found his attention directed to the study of classicism as seen by seventeenth-century English architects. This immersion in the work of Jones, Webb et al was to inform his treatment of classical buildings as much as his study of the buildings on Florence and Rome. Barry's son was later to note the strength of the Jonesian influence on his father's classicism showing how the architect

²²³ Cornforth, J. 'Kingston Lacy Revisited-IV', p.1674.

²²⁴ National Trust Collections, Kingston Lacy, Dorset, 1257595.2:
<http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/1257595.2>.

frequently turned to Jones for legitimisation of the use of certain classical forms. The new wing to Trentham, designed in 1834 was derived from both Italian and Jonesian sources; ‘A Palazzino in itself, with an engaged order, not altogether unlike his favourite Banqueting-house at Whitehall’.²²⁵ (Plate 100)

Indeed, according to Alfred Barry’s account, it was the work of Inigo Jones more than original Italian models which gave Barry the assurance to revive architectural forms and ornaments which had been seen as illiterate by the English architects of his boyhood:

Two of Bramante’s palaces at Rome, the Cancelleria and the Palazzo dei Re d’Inghilterra, at first pleased him much by their general character of solidity and breadth... But his great objection was to the use of two orders, even when they were in low relief, and when the unity of the height was preserved by the importance of the upper cornice. The best examples of North Italy could not reconcile him to this “piling of house upon house.” In later days the beauties of the Banqueting-house at Whitehall so prevailed with him, that he frequently used order upon order in his own designs... But at Rome this expedient would have shocked him as barbarous.²²⁶

Thus, it was Inigo Jones’s Banqueting House which reconciled Barry to one of the most conspicuous devices in Renaissance architecture; its legitimacy was granted by the work of Jones, not by observing ‘the best examples of North Italy’.

The work of Jones appears to have achieved a similar effect in changing Barry’s attitude to rustication: rusticated quoins and columns would later feature prominently in his work at Bridgewater House, the porch of which uses very similar columns to the York Water Gate. (Plates 101 & 102). Alfred Barry (or possibly his collaborator, John Lewis Wolfe) wrote:

To rustic work he had at first a great aversion. In substruction it might be tolerated, but elsewhere its employment seemed to him indefensible, and a rusticated column monstrous. His admiration for Sanmicheli’s works, especially that at Lido, first shook his determination; at home his delight in

²²⁵ Barry, *Sir Charles Barry*, p. 97.

²²⁶ Barry, *Sir Charles Barry*, p. 50.

the work of Inigo Jones carried on the process of conversion; and he himself afterwards used what at this time [in Italy] he would have proscribed.²²⁷

In remodelling the Board of Trade in Whitehall, opposite Jones's Banqueting House, Barry once again found legitimate precedent in Jones for the use of a device to which he was not instinctively drawn:

The question next arose, whether the entablature should be broken or not. Barry's objection to engaged columns has already been mentioned. Here, however, such an arrangement was forced upon him, and the question was, how the impropriety could be best alleviated. He had begun to think of breaking entablatures (which in days of classical purism would have shocked him), partly from the example of Inigo Jones's Banqueting-house, partly from his Gothic studies, and the tendency to vertical lines which they fostered.²²⁸

(Plate 103)

Even when considering his competition entry for the new Palace of Westminster, which had specified an Elizabethan or Gothic design, Barry had the work of Inigo Jones in mind:

But, if he could have had a site to his mind, and had been left free to choose his style, there is little doubt that he would have preferred Italian. The example most frequent in his thoughts was Inigo Jones' grand design for the Palace at Whitehall; his own general ideas were manifested in the great design for the New Public Offices, which was the last important work of his life. He actually prepared some sketches and studies for an Italian design, in defiance of the instructions to the competitors.²²⁹

(Plates 104 & 105)

By the 1830s it was not just practising architects but also architectural critics who began to examine the life and work of Inigo Jones as a means of understanding, and often legitimising, the place of Roman and Italian classicism within the national cultural and architectural canon. This renewed interest in Jones's biographical details ran parallel to

²²⁷ Barry, *Sir Charles Barry*, p. 53.

²²⁸ Barry, *Sir Charles Barry*, p.112.

²²⁹ Barry, *Sir Charles Barry*, p. 238.

the antiquarian interest in English cultural figures of the 'Olden Time',²³⁰ his contemporaries Jonson and Shakespeare being two such examples.²³¹

The later interest in Jones as a designer of masques and a figure connected to English literature grew from the reassessment of his architectural work in the 1830s by antiquarians and critics. In 1831 the poet and biographer Allan Cunningham published the 'Architects' volume of his series on the *Lives of Eminent British Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*. Palladian architects feature considerably, the full list of British architects comprising William of Wykeham, Inigo Jones, Sir Christopher Wren, Sir John Vanbrugh, James Gibbs, William Kent, the Earl of Burlington and Sir William Chambers. The chapter on Jones is interesting in its attempts to establish him as part of a national architectural narrative and a starting point for the Palladian classicism which would become the uniting theme in Cunningham's pageant of English taste.

What Cunningham attempts to achieve through his account of Jones is legitimisation of the use of Italianate architecture in England by claiming it as an organic and logical national style. Cunningham informs the reader that:

The stately Gothic architecture had fallen into discredit from the era of the Reformation; it was looked upon as a thing polluted by the superstitions of Rome — and was moreover too costly for a church which had been much impoverished as well as purified. The Tudor Architecture, (as it is usually called,) which had been gradually becoming predominant in England, has been regarded as the illegitimate offspring of the Grecian and Gothic, and it certainly has a little of either character; inferior in elegance to the one, and in magnificence to the other, but more than uniting the domestic accommodations of both.²³²

²³⁰ Mandler, P. 'Revisiting the Olden Time: Popular Tudorism in the Time of Victoria', *Tudorism: Historical Imagination and the Appropriation of the Sixteenth Century*, edited by: Tatiana C. String, Marcus Bull (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp.13-36.

²³¹ Cunningham, P. *Inigo Jones: A Life of the Architect, Remarks on some of his Sketches for Masques and Dramas by J.R. Planché Esq., and Five Court Masques; Edited from the Original MSS. of Ben Jonson, John Maston, etc. By J. Payne Collier, Esq., Accompanied by facsimiles of Drawings by Inigo Jones; and by a portrait from a painting by Vandyck* (London: Shakespeare Society), 1849.

²³² Cunningham, A. *Lives of Eminent British Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*. Volume IV. (London: J. Murray, 1831), p.80.

Cunningham avoids making Jones the sole advocate of classical taste in England, possibly because it is difficult to explain how an architect at the Stuart court can be seen as replacing Gothic architecture ‘polluted by the Superstitions of Rome’ with something more appropriate to post-Reformation England. Instead he understands Jones within what he sees as a continuing classical trend in English architectural history:

From the time of the decline of the Gothic, our acquaintance had commenced with the pure models of Greece and Rome; the diffusion of learning, consequent on the discovery of printing; the visits which many of our noblemen paid to Italy — and the encouragement extended to Italian architects by Henry the Eighth, — all conducted to render classic designs popular. But the Reformation only took place in part...our sturdy English prejudices made us cling to our old style, and the innovators were glad to compound by mingling Grecian with Gothic, and both with the grotesque designs of the Tudors.²³³

Where Jones was most useful in Cunningham’s conception of the architectural narrative of England is in providing a national and historical legitimacy for the synthetic classicism which was so popular towards the end of the Georgian era, and which was to develop into the Italian Renaissance models of the mid-nineteenth-century.

Further to this, Cunningham reports that finding no appetite for pure classicism upon his return to England:

Inigo compounded, and for some time persevered in, what the wits of the succeeding age nicknamed ‘King James’s Gothic’ ... He desired to exhibit something striking and new; and it must be acknowledged by all who will look at some of these structures, dismissing all preconceived notions of architecture from their minds, that they are splendid and massive, and present an image of stability, which too few of our public edifices possess.²³⁴

This desire for ‘splendidness’, ‘massiveness’ and ‘stability’ in public edifices which was emerging in the 1830s was seen in Cockerell’s synthesis of English seventeenth-century forms with Greco-Roman ornament. For architecture aiming at an astylar composition,

²³³ Cunningham, *Lives of Eminent British Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, p.83.

²³⁴ Cunningham, *Lives of Eminent British Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, p.87.

the Italianate become a favoured manner of achieving these effects, particularly in clubs, banks and in commercial architecture more generally.

The evocation of Inigo Jones provided an English tradition which could be returned to. As we shall see in the following chapter, this was partly, or perhaps largely, an attempt to resume an organic national classicism free from the strictures of the more exactingly archaeological forms of classicism which had been prevalent in the earlier part of the nineteenth-century. These had resulted in numerous practical challenges, most notably where the 'purest' examples had to be entirely top-lit to avoid the anachronism of windows in a Grecian temple. (Plate 106). At a time when the practical capabilities of the Greek revival were falling into serious doubt, critics such as Cunningham also began to point out that Grecianism was not part of Britain's classical tradition:

The genius of Inigo, however, loved less the simple majesty of the Grecian school than the picturesque splendours of Palladio: and it must be confessed, that for domestic purposes, at least, the varied combinations which the revival of architecture in Italy permitted, are far more suitable to us than the severer simplicity of Athens... These changes were in truth conceded in obedience to the calls of climate, of customs, of religion and of society, and were Pericles raised from the dead, he could not but acknowledge that windows are useful for light, and chimneys necessary for heat in Britain.²³⁵

Cunningham clearly considered that the architecture of Jones could provide a model, or at least a starting-point, for formulating a practical contemporary version of Palladianism, lamenting that:

There is no complete architectural collection of the designs of this eminent architect; but this is a reproach which it is in vain to reiterate. Such an undertaking would ruin a private individual; and a country which has a spirit for so many things, has thus yet shown little for the preservation of its architecture, either Grecian or Gothic.²³⁶

However, while there may have been no official catalogue of Jonesian architecture, Jonesian works were being promoted in a surprisingly populist manner. In 1834,

²³⁵ Cunningham, *Lives of Eminent British Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, p. 143.

²³⁶ Cunningham, *Lives of Eminent British Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, p.146.

and again in the early 1840s, illustrations to Scott's Waverley novels were published. Two of these showed Jones's proposals for the Whitehall Palace and the Banqueting House. (Plate 107). In *The Fortunes of Nigel*, of 1822, Scott mentions Jones thus:

James was busied in removing the ancient and ruinous buildings of De Burgh, Henry VIII., and Queen Elizabeth, to make way for the superb architecture on which Inigo Jones exerted all his genius. The king, ignorant of futurity, was now engaged in pressing on his work; and, for that purpose, still maintained his royal apartments at Whitehall, amidst the rubbish of old buildings.²³⁷

The development of amateur antiquarianism and the Regal taste for metropolitan improvements was parodied by Turner in a painting of 1825. (Plate 108). In it a group of figures survey London from Greenwich Hill, the cupolas of Wren's Royal Hospital and the top of Jones's Queen's House, forming a landmark. They are surrounded by the impedimenta of exploration, including a globe inscribed 'New World', archives relating to the history of the city, Wren's plan of St Paul's and a new plan for London. The figures in the foreground are comparing a London map of 1825 to one of 1526. If it were not for the fact that Turner's painting is two decades earlier, one would assume he was directly parodying a remarkably similar view of London from Finden's *Ports, Harbours, Watering-places and Picturesque Scenery of Great Britain* of 1842. (Plate 109)

As this antiquarian and literary interest in Jones coalesced around architectural study of seventeenth-century classicism, a classical alternative to Gothic as the instinctive 'national style' was beginning to form. This will be explored in the rest of the thesis, but it is worth noting that by 1853 the *Illustrated London News* was even equating this revived interest in English seventeenth and early-eighteenth-

²³⁷ Scott, W. *The Fortunes of Nigel*, (Edinburgh: Robert Cadell, 1847 edition), p. 57.

century architecture to a development encouraged by the repeal of the window-tax. In an 1853 article on a new set of Italianate offices over shops at 188-191 Strand, which had been recently completed to designs by H.R. Abraham, son of the better-known Robert Abraham, surveyor and architect to the Duke of Norfolk. (Plate 110). These buildings, had they survived, would now be seen as 'Italianate' but the *News* understood them rather differently:

This large structure appears as if designed to proclaim the abolition of the tax; the triple fenestration no longer imposes triple penalty, and Palladian forms of window, emancipated from thralldom, seem to rejoice as they gaily reflect the broad light from their ample surfaces. Architects may now again, without the infliction of an annual penalty on their employers, recall to their aid the graceful example of window openings, left them by Jones, Wren, Gibbs and Chambers, and produce facades which shall be something beyond the mere perforation of brick walls.²³⁸

It was not surprising that the *News* should see something of the early-eighteenth-century in modern Italianate architecture; only a decade earlier Joseph Gwilt had told architectural students that in order to design urban frontages they should study the London buildings shown in *Vitruvius Britannicus*.²³⁹

Here then is something of an historicist understanding of the Italianate, but it is an historicism based only on English Palladian architecture, not the direct emulation of the Italian sources. However, and this would prove crucial for the Italianate, it is a sense of the English architectural past as a spring-board for progress which is being upheld. The developmental, and even experimental, potential of the Italianate was to prove one of the strongest of its perceived qualities by English observers. But the root to which these new potentials were to be grafted was seen as an English one, not Italian. The fact that the root was itself a hybrid, did not seem to overly concern the proponents of a style for which purity of origin was never a defining characteristic. This is unsurprising when one

²³⁸ *Illustrated London News* (March 12 1853), p. 197.

²³⁹ Gwilt, J., *An Encyclopædia of Architecture: Historical, Theoretical, and Practical* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1842), p.758 & p. 813.

considers another of the reasons for the emergence of the Italianate; as a non-Gothic means of terminating the stylistic dead-end of the Greek Revival. Having looked at the Italianate as a response to Italy and the English seventeenth-century, it is to the Italianate as a 'tertium quid' that we now must turn.

Chapter 3

The Shaping of the Italianate through Architectural Criticism

That our late Greekomania should now be greatly chilled, is no wonder, for our Grecianism had fairly worn itself out. It was in a manner starved to death, owing to its not having received the slightest nourishment from any new ideas infused into it. Nothing more was made of it than just what it was at first. Instead of attempting to treat it with free artistic gusto, to mould it according to actual circumstances, and also to keep up consistently, through every part of a building, the style so dictated, we contented ourselves with little more than copying in the most humdrum manner the fronts of ancient temples for classical porticoes, with no other variations than Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian—tetrastyle, hexastyle, and octastyle.²⁴⁰

The increasing dissatisfaction with Grecian forms seen in the architectural press in the first half of the nineteenth-century is an important factor in explaining the corresponding development of Italianate architecture, and one which situates the Italianate as a practical response more than as a Picturesque or historicist tendency. Having seen how the Italianate emerged partly as a desire to re-appraise the perceived roots of English classicism, we must now consider why the roots of native classicism were being sought in the first place. Although emergent for several decades before, in its built form the majority of the Greek Revival in England occurred largely in the decades of 1810-1840.²⁴¹

In the 1820s it was common for major public and semi-public buildings to be executed in the Greek manner, best seen in the work of Robert Smirke, notably the British Museum (1823-1846), the General Post Office (1825-1829) and the Royal College of Physicians (1824-1827). But by 1840 the Greek Revival has been superseded by forms of classicism which were not clearly based on any single period of history. The change perhaps first occurred in commercial architecture; Nash's Regent Street (c.1813-1825) was a synthetic

²⁴⁰ 'Candidus's Notebook, Facciculus LXXV' *The Civil Engineer and Architects Journal* (November 1847), p.342.

²⁴¹ Crook, *The Greek Revival*, (1972)

conflation of Palladian, Roman and Grecian models and ornaments. In monumental architecture the shift can be observed when comparing Robert Smirke's entirely Grecian British Museum designs of 1825 with George Basevi's amalgamation of Roman and seventeenth-century forms at the Fitzwilliam Museum in 1836, or in the contrast between Charles Barry's Royal Manchester Institution of 1824 with his Manchester Atheneum of 1837. (Plates 111-114). The emergence of the Italianate in civic and commercial architecture arose from several new tendencies of the post-Waterloo period. In this and the following chapters we shall examine each of these in turn in order to demonstrate not only the reasons for the demise of the Greek Revival but manner in which the Italianate represented the attempted creation of a 'third way' in urban architecture.

One problem with understanding the Italianate as an attempt to evoke the architecture of urban Italy is that the means and methods of its dissemination within Britain point to a contrary tendency. As we saw in the previous chapter, the desire to move away from the Greek Revival resulted in the promotion of, not the architecture of Italy, but rather buildings which had already been constructed in Britain, particularly London, and the classical tradition of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. To understand the permeation of the Italianate in British architecture, it is also necessary to consider the works which were to prove seminal to its development.

The first of these was the republication of a mid-eighteenth-century book which was to prove a persistent influence in the story of early-to-mid nineteenth-century English architecture. The book was, originally, by the Scottish-Swedish architect Sir William Chambers (1723-1796). First published as *A Treatise on Civil Architecture* in 1759, it was republished as *A Treatise on the Decorative Part of Civil Architecture* by Joseph Gwilt in 1825 (and would be republished again in 1862). Gwilt was frank about the fact

that he was re-publishing Chambers as a means of promulgating Italianate architecture as a more practical alternative to Greek or Gothic, stating at the outset:

With the greatest submission to those who are better informed on this subject than myself, I cannot help acknowledging my bias towards what may perhaps be properly called the Italian school of Architecture.... My reasons for this preference arise from an opinion that it is more plastic, that is, more capable of being submitted to the wants and habits of this country.²⁴²

The list of British subscribers (see Appendix A) to the 1825 republication was extensive and contains the names of almost every architect and surveyor who would go on to use the Italianate in metropolitan commissions over the next 30 years, including Charles Barry, James Bunstone Bunning, the Cubitt family, Edward I'Anson and George Smith.²⁴³ Although the majority of the work is given to the classical orders, the latter part (Volume II) deals in the use of aedicules and ornaments which could be applied without the use of the orders; essentially the articulation of astylar buildings.

David Blisset has noted that Barry's architectural education (apart from his tour of Europe and Egypt) chiefly consisted of studying Chambers's *Treatise*.²⁴⁴ It is consequently perhaps not so surprising that when one looks at nineteenth-century Italianate buildings details familiar from Chambers emerge. In Barry's work this can be seen in the window aedicules at the Reform Club, which are very similar to those illustrated in Chambers (ionic, sitting over a balustrade and stringcourse), but are not the same as those on the Palazzo Farnese (Corinthian, sitting on an apron) from which they are often said to be derived. (Plates 115-117). Furthermore, we know that Barry derived details from Chambers from Alfred Barry's account of his father's notebooks and working practices:

²⁴² Gwilt, J. 'Preface', *A Treatise on the Decorative Part of Civil Architecture by Sir William Chambers* (London: Priestley and Weale, 1825), p. xxx.

²⁴³ Gwilt, *Treatise*, pp. ix-xii.

²⁴⁴ Blisset, 'Sir Charles Barry', p.33 & pp. 40-41.

Lists of prices, calculations of dimensions, methods of measuring and valuation, crowd his note-book, side by side with studies from Chambers' Architecture, and sketches of such details and ornaments as struck his own fancy.²⁴⁵

Here then is another manner in which the Italianate presents an ambiguity of sources, which raises the question of just how 'Italian' the Italianate actually was.

Although the works of Chambers were first republished in the 1820s, republications and the longevity of the text in British architectural education would ensure its influence throughout the nineteenth-century. The *Treatise* also serves as a nexus in which two strands of Italianate discourse began to merge, on the one hand a revisiting of the principles of non-Greek classicism, and on the other an attempt to promote the first nineteenth-century Italianate buildings as suitable models for the continued development of urban architecture. It is worth considering the influence of William Henry Leeds, not least because he was connected to the republication of Chambers in the 1860s, and appears to have effected the 'spread' of the Italianate not only through his involvement with the republication of the *Treatise*, but also through his own writings. He also situates the Italianate within the realm of the architectural press, perhaps the chief means by which it was disseminated to the architectural profession and building world from the late 1830s onwards.

Leeds was an English architectural critic and writer, who, from the 1830s onwards, espoused what he referred to as the 'Anglo-Italian style' as the form of architecture best suited to contemporary demands in urban architecture. Born in Norfolk in 1786 he appears to have become interested in architecture later in life, after a career as a literary critic specialising in Russian works.²⁴⁶ By the early 1830s he was writing on Gothic

²⁴⁵ Barry, *Sir Charles Barry* (London: John Murray, 1870) p. 6.

²⁴⁶ Cross, A. *A People Passing Rude, British Responses to Russian Culture* (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2012) pp.53-68.

architecture, but his interest in the Italianate appears to stem from the period when he was editing the *Civil Engineer's and Architect's Journal*, between 1839 and 1856. This publication was launched in 1837 and ran weekly until 1854. From 1839-1850 the title included the words 'Scientific and Railway Gazette'. This periodical published considerable numbers of measured drawings of recently constructed British (mostly English) buildings, which we would now consider to be the 'Italianate', although the favoured term of the *Journal* was 'the modern Italian style', and occasionally 'Grecianized Italian'. The *Journal's* dissemination of drawings of Italianate buildings may be considered to reflect what was actually being built more than influencing yet-to-be-built buildings, were it not for the fact that Leeds used the pages of the earliest editions of the *Journal* to actively promote the Italianate as the most appropriate modern style for urban commissions.²⁴⁷ With this in mind it is possible to understand the periodical's later articles on Italianate buildings as not simply reporting on a trend, but proudly displaying the fruits of its own gospel.

Most of the *Journal's* early articles on the Italianate either directly quote, or are heavily influenced by, Leeds's 1839 publication, *The Travellers Club House, An essay on the present state of architectural study and the revival of the Italian style*, in which he uses Charles Barry's Travellers Club of 1832 as the exemplar for a new form of urban architecture.²⁴⁸ Although Leeds has largely been overlooked, as an influential architectural critic of nineteenth-century architecture it has nonetheless been acknowledged that 'His work on The Travellers' Club did much to publicize the Italianate style of Barry, and he introduced words such as cornicione to the architectural

²⁴⁷ Review of Leeds's essay on the Travellers Club, *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal*, Volume II, July 1839, pp.262-263.

²⁴⁸ Leeds, *The Travellers' Club House, by Charles Barry, architect: illustrated by drawings made by Mr. Hewitt, and engraved by Mr. J.H. Le Keux. Accompanied by an essay on the present state of architectural study and the revival of the Italian style, by W.H. Leeds* (London: John Weale, 1839).

vocabulary'.²⁴⁹ For anyone hoping to understand the English Italianate as it related to street architecture he is an invaluable source, since he both wrote widely on the subject in the architectural press and actively promoted it as the most commendable form of modern architecture whenever possible.

It is unsurprising that Leeds was considered important enough by his contemporaries to have his obituary, written by the engineer and writer Henry Hyde Clarke, serialised as three articles in the *Building News* in 1867. The obituary was in many ways a summary of the Anglo-Italian, and what it had promised to Leeds's generation. Clarke began by stating that Leeds sought a way of building that was; 'not the copying of Italian, but its legitimate development in adaptation to the wants of the present time, without presenting purely national Italian details or allusions'.²⁵⁰ Clarke further states that Leeds was not opposed to Gothic or Grecian models on grounds of taste but on the grounds that they were not modern and had become 'incompatible' with 'modern uses'; 'the inanity of Ionic temples in post offices and banks'.²⁵¹ Those attempting to explain the popularity of the Anglo-Italian under the aegis of nineteenth-century historicism are again confounded in the summation of Leeds's career. The traditional view of the English Italianate is summarised by the Oxford English Dictionary entry for 'historicist': 'Architecture strongly influenced by the past, especially Revivalist architecture (Greek, Gothic, Early Christian, Romanesque, Italianate, Renaissance, the various Henri and Louis styles, Rundbogenstil, Elizabethan, Jacobethan, Tudor, and other Revivals)'.²⁵² Yet Clarke firmly asserts that Anglo-Italian was the choice of those who wanted architecture for

²⁴⁹ Curl & Wilson, *Oxford Dictionary of Architecture*, p. 433.

²⁵⁰ Clarke, H. 'William Henry Leeds, Architectural Critic', *The Building News* (October 11, 1867), p.697

²⁵¹ Clarke, 'William Henry Leeds', p.697.

²⁵² *Oxford English Dictionary*, (online ed), (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

‘modern days and modern purposes’ and who would not ‘countenance monkery in our streets and to reproduce the crudities and oddities of olden days’.²⁵³

Much of Leeds’s criticism can be understood in reading his closing remarks to the 1862 edition of William Chambers’ *A Treatise on the Decorative Part of Civil Architecture*. Leeds had edited and prefaced this new edition of the work. Writing of British architectural education in the 1880s, Robert Macleod noted that for the most part classical architecture was still taught using Chambers’s *Treatise* (in addition to Gwilt’s editions of *Vitruvius Britannicus*) which says something of its longevity as a source of architectural education throughout the nineteenth-century.²⁵⁴ The reasons for this longevity can be understood by examining the republication of the text in 1862. Leeds claimed that the reason a new edition was needed was due to the fact that the Greek and Gothic Revivals had failed to produce any form of useful modern architecture. Hence a return to the principles of mid-eighteenth-century classicism as espoused by Chambers was the likely way of resolving this dilemma. Within the first three sentences of his preface he has dismissed Gothic and Grecian for secular commissions and concludes that ‘hardly ever can our Anglo-Italian be discarded from practice in our secular architecture’.²⁵⁵ He sees Chambers as one of the chief inventors of ‘modern classic’ architecture.

In the conclusion to his new edition of the *Treatise*, Leeds returned to the thought that only the Italianate could free English architecture from the deadlock of the Grecian and

²⁵³ Clarke, ‘William Henry Leeds’, pp.697-698.

²⁵⁴ Macleod, R. *Style and Society, architectural ideology in Britain 1835-1914* (London: RIBA, 1971), p. 94. It is also worth remembering that the use of even older texts was common in nineteenth-century architectural education, even for the study of construction methods. At the Royal Academy in the 1840s and 1850s Cockerell’s students found the two core text books were by Vitruvius (the Sangallo 1520 edition of *De Architectura*) and Philibert de l’Orme (*Le Premier Tome de l’architecture de Philibert l’Orme*, 1567) and these were recommended on the basis of their contemporary relevance rather than as an art-historical study; Watkin, *C.R. Cockerell*, p.109 & p.112.

²⁵⁵ Chambers, W. *Treatise*, forward by W.H. Leeds, (London: Lockwood and Co., 1862), p. v.

Gothic and provide a third way by which a logical and developmental modern style might be forged:

That our Anglo-Italian does not at all represent or reflect our now happily by-gone phase of Mediaevalism may be very safely granted. With the Electric Telegraph, and a great deal besides, staring us in the face, and convicting us of departing further and further from Mediaevalism, we may be well excused for not simulating or attempting to revive it in architecture, when in all else the tide and current flow in the contrary direction.²⁵⁶

Furthermore, he argued that while the Gothic was nothing more than a decorative style applied to modern structures, the Italianate was in fact an integrated approach to both style and function; precisely the opposite view to that taken by Pugin.²⁵⁷

Leeds boldly stated that:

That, considered not only as a style, but as a system of building, what, for want of more exact designation, we term Italian is well adapted to our purposes and requirements, is sufficiently evident from the fact of its being conformed to universally when no regard is had to style, nor any attempt made at architectural design. There is no constitutional difference between it and what has been stigmatised and sneered at as our English Vernacular...and accordingly spares us many monstrosities.²⁵⁸

Leeds saw the Italianate as a modern style because it did not, in his view, originate from architectural theory or archaeology, but the necessities of English town planning. For Leeds it was distinct from historicist styles, especially the extremes of the Greek and Gothic Revivals, because it was capable of progression and adaptation. That is to say, because it was not based on one distinct historical period it was not bound by the same concerns for archaeological exactitude that had characterised the Greek and Gothic Revivals in their strictest manifestations. Crucial for the built success of the Italianate is Leeds's view that it is design without debate; precisely the quality which was to commend it to those responsible for erecting metropolitan street architecture, as is discussed later.

²⁵⁶ Chambers, *Treatise*, conclusion by W.H. Leeds (1862 ed) p. 321.

²⁵⁷ Pugin, A.W.N. 'Lecture One', *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (London: John Weale), 1841, p. 1.

²⁵⁸ Chambers, *Treatise*, conclusion by W.H. Leeds (1862 ed) p. 321.

However, these views were not just seen in Leeds's additions to Chambers. In 1844 the *Civil Engineer and Architects' Journal* stated that it had been deliberately publishing the elevations and plans of new London club-houses in order to give metropolitan and provincial architects with studies for street architecture:

On the one hand as affording many useful studies...of great value to our metropolitan and provincial brethren, in the erection of clubhouses, chambers of commerce, news rooms, literary institutions, &c We have accordingly given elevations of the Reform Club, (Vol. III, pp. 144, 336,) Oxford and Cambridge University, (Vol. I, p. 15,) Club Chambers Association, (Vol. II, p. 319,) with the present article, that of the Conservative Club. Plans of the same buildings will also be found in our volumes, Reform Club, (Vol. III, p. 109,) Oxford and Cambridge Club, (Vol. I, p. 59.) and Club Chambers, (Vol. II, p. 319.) A section of the Reform Club, and details of the windows, cornicione, &c., are given in our third volume, (pp. 336,409,) making altogether about fifteen plates and engravings, which we have appropriated to this subject.²⁵⁹

This then answers the question as to why the Italianate lent itself to widespread use for commercial architecture, both in London and the provinces. It was the form of modern secular architecture which was most widely illustrated in the press, and the *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* was actively and deliberately publishing (increasingly detailed) measured drawings in order that the details of the Italianate metropolitan buildings could be used for street architecture more widely. (Plates 118- 123)

The fact that the Italianate lent itself perfectly to modular emulation (details such as window aedicules, quoins and cornices could be 'lifted', scaled and applied to almost any standard mass of street architecture without breaking any classical 'rule') meant that an architect or surveyor needed no reference to any genuine Italian model in order to ornament a building in the latest manner, as approved by the architectural press. Indeed, many of the measured drawings in the *Journal* are for window aedicules and cornices as well as the whole façade, precisely in the manner that Chambers had

²⁵⁹ 'The Conservative Club', *The Civil Engineer & Architect's Journal*, Volume 7 (27 January 1844), p.43.

illustrated his treatment for the details of buildings regardless of whether or not an order had been applied. The *Journal's* publication of details of the Reform Club (in 1840) helps explain how Sir Charles Lanyon, working in Ireland, was able to replicate and re-use specific details of the Barry manner so accurately in his branches for the Northern Bank and Belfast Bank without apparently visiting London,²⁶⁰ or how even a small bank in Wirksworth had assimilated the general essence of the metropolitan Italianate by 1841. (Plate 124)

The history of the Greek Revival in Britain has been examined in its own right, notably by J. Mordaunt Crook.²⁶¹ However, as a means of understanding its role in facilitating the emergence of the Italianate the following may be said. The Greek Revival had largely arisen from archaeological excavations, funded and promoted by the Society of Dilettanti from the late 1750s onwards.²⁶² This was motivated by academic concerns very different from the practical pressures that had begun to influence the nascent commercial architectural profession and their metropolitan client base in the first decades of the nineteenth-century. In the 1830s, the decade that saw the formation of the Institute of British Architects,²⁶³ the Greek Revival became increasingly criticised in the new architectural press. As early as 1831 the *Library of the Fine Arts* commented that the Grecian par excellence Smirke 'seems to have got all his architecture 'by heart', or rather by rote'.²⁶⁴ The Greek Revival was attacked as being both overly academic and generally impractical for quotidian use. In addition to this it was quickly observed that the sudden demand for a variety of new building types,

²⁶⁰ Larmour, P. 'Sir Charles Lanyon', *GPA Irish Arts Review Yearbook* (1989–90), pp. 200–06

²⁶¹ Crook, J.M. *The Greek Revival; Neo-Classical Attitudes in British Architecture, 1760-1870* (London: J. Murray, 1972).

²⁶² Breman, P. *The Society of Dilettanti, neo-classical Taste and Greek Revival Architecture* (London: Weinreb and Breman, 1968).

²⁶³ Port, M.H. 'Founders of the Royal Institute of British Architects 1834-1835' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online ed.) (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009).

²⁶⁴ Quoted by Crook, *The Greek Revival*, p.137.

especially offices, railway stations and banks, made archaeologically-based classicism unviable for practical application without the risk of it looking ludicrous.²⁶⁵ As Crook has noted, young architects of the 1830s, such as Cockerell, began to see Roman architecture as providing more practical and adaptable forms for the classical repertoire than the more academic interpretations of Greek.²⁶⁶ In addition to this architects and surveyors were being asked to design entire streets of different building types, such as New Cannon Street (completed in 1854), and New Oxford Street (begun in the 1840s), a subject which will be investigated in detail later in this thesis.

However, while the popularity of Italian forms after 1830s certainly did relate to the increased array of new building types, it is wrong to ascribe this development to a sudden interest in historical revival. The Italianate emerged in a period when the taxonomy of stylistic development by strict historical criteria was not common. Greek, Roman and Gothic were each seen as a ‘style’, but the Italianate evaded categorisation, not so much because it was eclectic but precisely because it was seen as somehow existing outside of the stylistic boundaries of Greek, Roman and Gothic. Unlike the Greek or Gothic revivals, the Italianate did not rely on the repetition of archaeological forms from one obvious time or place, it was always a compound, synthetic, form of classicism. In addition to this, the Greek and Gothic revivals were largely replicating the form and ornament of the sacred buildings of their respective sources, which was increasingly at odds with the need for civic and commercial street architecture. While it was, and still is, relatively easy to point to ‘incorrect’ examples of Greek and Gothic, it

²⁶⁵ ‘Candidus’s Note-Book’, *Civil Engineer and Architects Journal*, (January 1840), p.3: notes that the Grecian manner of applying superfluous columns but not ornamenting windows runs contrary to the need for modern buildings to have plenty of windows. See also: ‘Candidus’s Note-Book,’ *Civil Engineer and Architects Journal*, (October 1843), p. 331 which asserts that the Italian *palazzo* is the manner which reflects modern commerce and that the Anglo-Grecian is a ‘skeleton’ of the ‘faded originals’ which should be relegated to the British Museum.

²⁶⁶ Crook, *The Greek Revival*, p.133.

is harder to claim that any Italianate building was ‘inaccurate’ in its application of ornament to form. (Plates 125 & 126)

This explains why two of the most striking characteristics of the Italianate for the early- nineteenth-century observer were its novelty and its adaptability. To some extent this potential for variety and lack of clear historic antecedents explains why contemporary critics did not see it as inappropriate for entirely modern building types, in contrast to the clearly archaeological Greek Revival. The advantage of the Italianate was that it was seen as a progressive and modern way of building, and that it existed outside of contemporary concepts of historical time, which in the 1830s were still largely defined by the chasm between the ‘ancient’ and ‘modern’ world.²⁶⁷

Combined with the desire for an architecture not based on ancient models was a very clear desire for the built environment to reflect the improving ideals of the early- nineteenth-century. In this context it is worth noting the frequency with which the words ‘Italian’ and ‘modern’ are used in aggregation in the popular press of the day; ‘a style of very different class, called modern Italian...extensively adopted for domestic use, during the last twenty years,’ being representative of a very common form of description from the 1830s-1860s.²⁶⁸ It is also highly significant that the terms ‘Anglo-Italian’ and ‘modern Italian’ emerge with the new architectural press of the 1830s and 1840s, as this meant such terms immediately formed part of the popular discourse relating to the common building types of that period; banks, club-houses and commercial street architecture. This also meant that the Italianate was quickly associated with urban improvement.

²⁶⁷ Bordeleau, A. *Charles Robert Cockerell, Architect in Time: Reflections around Anachronistic Drawings* (London: Routledge), 2014.

²⁶⁸ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Volume 167 (April 1840), p.410.

Although outside the locus of this thesis, it is worth noting that similar connotations appear to have been seen in the residential application of the style, with J.C. Loudon commenting that ‘One great recommendation of the Italian manner in our eyes is, that, from the cheap nature of its finishing and decorations, it is suited to a people in moderate circumstances-to a democracy...it is suited to a prosperous and improving people’.²⁶⁹ Because the Italianate emerged as a way of dealing with buildings which were not based on ancient monuments it was largely understood not as an architectural style (in the sense that Gothic and Grecian were) but as a typology. And this also explains why it was defined not by historicity, or in terms of its accuracy to any one previous period, but by the recentness of its use and the type of buildings it was used for. Hence the common contemporary phrases ‘the modern Italian’ and ‘the club-house style of architecture’.²⁷⁰ The Greek Revival never attained a clear typological descriptor in this manner. In fact, by the mid-nineteenth quite the opposite had happened, with James Fergusson noting that while the Italianate allowed architects ‘to adapt Classical details so as to make them subservient to modern purposes’ the Greek Revival had done the reverse, resulting in such apparent anachronisms as Grecian churches, railway stations and county halls.²⁷¹

All of these concerns can be seen as physically manifested in the work of architects who adopted the Italianate for urban commissions in Britain. This shift away from Grecian towards the Italianate is most obvious in the work of the generation of architects who were trained in the former school but moved to the latter when they

²⁶⁹ Loudon, J.C. *An Encyclopedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture* (Donhead St Mary: Donhead Publishing Ltd. 2000), p.963. Originally published by Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans London, 1842.

²⁷⁰ ‘New School of Art’, *The Sydney News* (18 August, 1855): ‘We would describe it as of *the club-house style of architecture*, and it reminds us strongly in its front elevation of some of the handsome club houses of Pall Mall.’

²⁷¹ Fergusson, J. *History of the Modern Styles of Architecture* (London: J. Murray, 1862), p.298.

came into their practice. We have already seen how this generation encompassed Cockerell and Barry as two of its most prominent practitioners, and how their work was shaped by a reconsideration of alternatives to Greek classicism, including the classicism of seventeenth-century England. In Barry's work the shift away from Greek can perhaps be seen as beginning in his Buile Hill House, Salford of circa 1825. Buile Hill uses a fluted Doric order, not as an order which is integrated into the building itself but as a practical, single-storey porch to a façade otherwise devoid of all reference to Grecian architecture. The sole ornament relates to the extremely plain window aedicules, the prominence of the chimneys, and the use of string-banding across the façade which emphasises that this is a multi-storied dwelling, not a Grecian temple. (Plate 127)

The continuation of this tendency was demonstrated in the commercial premises which Barry built for the Crown Estate at 16-17 Pall Mall in 1833. This building abstracts the Italianate to such an extent that it is easy to believe that it was built one-hundred years later. Here the structure and proportions of the building's interior are expressed on the façade, the chief ornament being confined to the horizontal elements of the cornice and balcony, not only reflecting the various stories of the building but drawing attention to the fact that the first three stories are all the same height rather than following the conventions of the implied antique order. By the standards of the 1830s the building is so negative as to be essentially a skeleton, and while the cornice is derived from Italian examples it is an almost totally abstracted version of these, creating a building that is fundamentally ahistorical. (Plate 128)

The early work of Barry, in its intention and contemporary reception, appears more similar to astylar constructions such as Labrouste's Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève or Schinkel's Bauakademie than to the later revivalist 'Renaissance' work of, for example,

Sidney Smirke's work at the Carlton Club in the 1850s. For critics of the period these early Italianate buildings were not remarkable for their success in emulating actual Italian models, but for being modern, functional and indeed 'astylar' when compared to the Greek and Gothic traditions.

This can be seen in a critique by Henry Fulton from 1844:

Italian astylar seems likely to gain the ascendant in this country, and, perhaps, all things considered, it is well that it should do so. In the mind of every man of taste the Greek style is inseparably connected with a state of purity which rejects all adulteration, and (whether fortunately or not for the development of our own powers) our climate and customs require so many changes from the original, that in the adaptation of the style, it too often loses all its value, and becomes flat, stale, and unprofitable....²⁷²

The article goes on to state that Greek ornament seldom has any place on a modern building, even regretting the use of Corinthian aedicules on the Travellers Club, which, nonetheless is seen as better than the University Club with its portico full of 'incongruities and irregulars, a victim of the tendency for both bill stickers and portico stickers, all engaged in the laudable occupation of disfiguring our public and private edifices'.²⁷³ What Fulton seems to desire is both a rejection of classical ornament as applied decoration, and that a building should nonetheless follow the proportions recommended by Palladio. And while those designing in within the Italianate were by no means prepared to sacrifice ornament for the sake of plainness, the days of the 'incongruous' classical portico (at least in relation to street architecture) were very much numbered.

Fulton's article shows an affinity with the thinking of Leeds, with both acknowledging that the ornamental expression of a building ought not to disguise the function of its parts, especially in relation to the ornament and disposition of windows. For Leeds, truly progressive architecture required a synthesis of plan and elevation, with the process of

²⁷² Fulton, H. 'Observations on Architects and Architecture', *The Civil Engineer and Architects' Journal*, Volume VII (April 1844), p.139.

²⁷³ Fulton, 'Observations on Architects and Architecture', pp139-140.

designing informing both the elevation and plan in unison. His additions to the 1862 edition of Chambers's *Civil Architecture* state:

No doubt it is not always an easy matter to reconcile the requirements of external design with those of internal plan; but then, the greater such difficulty, the greater the merit of overcoming it. By stimulating invention, difficulties sometimes lead to happy ideas that might not else have presented themselves. At any rate, if concinnity of external design is made to give way to the exigencies of internal plan, we have some right to expect that the latter will be more than ordinarily satisfactory; which is, however, by no means the case.²⁷⁴

Given his concern that architecture should stimulate invention, it is hardly surprising that Leeds, like others, saw the Greek Revival, with its doctrine of copying correct detail, as the antithesis of rational design. The belief that the Italianate fostered invention was not unique to Leeds. In 1862, the same year that Leeds republished Chambers, James Fergusson argued that the Italianate was not so much a style, but in fact was the only way to escape stylistic repetition:

The Classical styles still retain a strong hold on town-halls and municipal buildings. Palaces are generally in this style, and club-houses have hitherto successfully resisted the encroachments of the enemy; and but very recently all the domestic and business buildings of our cities were in the non-Gothic styles...there is a *tertium quid*, a style which, for want of a better name, is sometimes called the Italian, but should be called the common-sense style. This, never having attained the completeness which debars all further progress, as was the case in the purely Classical or in the perfected Gothic styles, not only admits of, but insists on, progress.²⁷⁵

In this argument Fergusson was reiterating the theory initiated by Leeds in the 1830s. By seeking to highlight the long roots of Italianate architecture in England, not least by choosing Chamber's work of 1759 as the vehicle for publishing his own essays on the Italianate, Leeds attempted to show nineteenth-century Italianate architecture as a natural and progressive continuation of English classicism. Fergusson too picks up on this 'common-sense' quality, together with his

²⁷⁴ Chambers, *Treatise*, conclusion by W.H. Leeds (1862 ed) p.326.

²⁷⁵ Fergusson, *History of the Modern Styles of Architecture*, pp. 329-30.

implication that the revival of the Gothic does not return English architecture to its origins, but disrupts a natural progression which has been defined by classicism.

It is especially interesting that Ferguson saw the Italianate as a *tertium quid*, outside the historical revivals of the nineteenth-century, since the subject of his work was the categorisation of architectural styles. If we take the nineteenth-century view of historicism as seen in the Gothic and Greek revivals, then we see a form of architecture based on an attempt to recreate an imagined ideal from a distinct period of history.²⁷⁶ As we have seen, the Italianate was not understood in those terms by its contemporaries and more closely followed an ideal of classical rationalism, the ‘common-sense style’ of James Fergusson, or even as a representation of modernity. The ‘common-sense’ nature of the Italianate is clearly seen in a commentary by James Knowles Junior, who, in 1855, published a design for an office block on the corner of Fleet Street and Chancery Lane, accompanied by a discussion on commercial street architecture.²⁷⁷ (Plate 129)

Knowles Junior (1831-1908) was an architect largely practicing in a florid form of Italianate, largely in the field of commercial urban architecture.²⁷⁸ He was the son of James Knowles (1806-1884) whose chief engagement with the Greek Revival had been limited to a ‘monstrous’ attempt to fit the proportions of Grecian temples to the requirements of a modern house at Silverton Park, Devon, in 1838.²⁷⁹ (Plate 130). Knowles notes that:

In the design of this building, the architect has consulted but little that antiquaries’ Bible, the book of ‘Styles’. He has endeavoured to produce a building fit for its purpose and substantially beautiful, at the same time a business pile, and not a

²⁷⁶ Pugin, *Apology*, 1843; Wilkins, W. *The Antiquities of Magna Grecia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1807).

²⁷⁷ Knowles, J. Junior. ‘London Street Architecture’, *The Builder* (18 August, 1855), p. 389-390.

²⁷⁸ Metcalf, P. *James Knowles Victorian Editor and Architect* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), 1980.

²⁷⁹ Coleridge, B. *The Story of a Devonshire House* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1905), p.69; Pevsner, N and Cherry, B. *The Buildings of England: South Devon*, (London and New Haven: Yale, 1991) p.744.

palace. It is a good step to-wards that goal which the commercial architecture of London may reach.²⁸⁰

The key points of Knowles Junior's argument are that 'the revival of all architecture dead since the 16th century in our country' is a suitable model for 'a commercial people, common-sense trading race', unlike the Gothic revival which is promoted by 'those who have no work to do [but] embroider medieval patterns, and multiply Gothic churches over the land'. In contrast, the Italianate, in the form of commercial street architecture, shall be 'the stone daguerreotype of the nineteenth-century'.²⁸¹ Here the scholarly, antiquarian Gothic is seen as representing a needless decorative expense and waste of effort for those who 'play at church', when the mundane but practical Italianate is not only more relevant to the modern age (indeed the daguerreotype age) but speaks of reform and socio-economic progress, of 'baths, and wash-houses, and model dwellings, ragged schools and reformatory asylums...the genius of the shop-keeping people'.²⁸²

Knowles' article reads as the response of a new generation to the opinions of Gwilt thirty years before, who argued in his introduction to Chambers' *Civil Architecture*, 'that for secular architecture no more appropriate style presents itself than modern classic, that is classic as we find it enlarged by the great masters at the period of the so-called Revival' (by which he means the mid-eighteenth-century).²⁸³ Gwilt had considered Grecian architecture to be aesthetically pure and elegant but entirely incapable of adaptation to modern needs, to 'English ceremonies and English habits,' noting that 'our better acquaintance with Grecian architecture has not generally improved the style of our public edifices'.²⁸⁴ Crook, in *The Greek Revival*, quotes the architect George Wightwick, writing in 1854, as stating that the Greek Revival was essentially over by 1827, and more or less

²⁸⁰ Knowles, 'London Street Architecture', p.389.

²⁸¹ Knowles, 'London Street Architecture', p.389.

²⁸² Knowles, 'London Street Architecture', p.389.

²⁸³ Chambers, *Treatise*, footnotes by Gwilt (1825 ed) p. 136.

²⁸⁴ Chambers, *Treatise*, footnotes by Gwilt (1825 ed) p.139.

extinguished in civic architecture by Charles Barry's Traveller's Club House of 1829.²⁸⁵

It is certainly true that in England the Greek Revival was vanishingly rare in commercial architecture after the 1830s, but Roman and Greco-Roman did remain a form of expression for major civic buildings, such as Birmingham Town Hall (1834).²⁸⁶

It is also worth considering that some of the appeal of the Italianate in the first half of the nineteenth-century lay in its familiarity to a group of commentators and architects for whom classical architecture had always been the status quo. Most architects working in the first half of the nineteenth-century had been primarily trained on the basis of Roman and Grecian study.²⁸⁷ The attempt to apply archaeologically correct Grecian models onto modern building types had taken this to an extreme. One way of escaping this deadlock was expressed through the Tudor and Elizabethan revivals of the 1830s and 1840s,²⁸⁸ but this option did not appeal readily to those commissioning metropolitan buildings.

It is ironic that the most ambitious public building project of the age took the form of revived Tudor architecture, but of course the Palace of Westminster was not a typical civic building project being a royal palace as well as a parliament, parliamentary residence and court. Indeed, some commentators were anxious to argue that the new Palace of Westminster should not be used as a justification for further non-classical public buildings. George Vivian, writing during his role as a Commissioner on the rebuilding of

²⁸⁵ Crook, *Greek Revival*, p.107.

²⁸⁶ Salmon, *Building on Ruins*, pp. 138- 229.

²⁸⁷ Crook, J.M. 'The Pre-Victorian Architect: Professionalism & Patronage', *Architectural History* Vol. 12 (1969), pp. 62-78; Watkin, D. (ed), *Sir John Soane: The Royal Academy Lectures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

²⁸⁸ Girouard, M. *The Victorian Country House* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979) pp. 48-52

Parliament in 1837,²⁸⁹ was eager to promote the Italianate as the national style, above the claims of Greek and Gothic:

The masters of Rome altered rather than corrupted the forms of architecture in their bridges, baths, and arched domes, the obvious models of reviving Italy; which Michael Angelo, Palladio, and others, were destined to apply with such admirable effect to the civil and domestic purposes of modern life.²⁹⁰

Perhaps lest he should be accused of promoting a non-native form of architecture in the face of the Tudor Revival, Vivian went on to state:

Naturalized in England by the genius of Jones and Wren, developed by their followers,—and refined by none more than by Lord Burlington,—it deserves, we think, to be well examined before we discard it, either for the fantastic incongruities of the Tudors, or the superior purity of a Grecian style which prevailed when arches and domes were not invented, and temples, not dwellings, were in question....While the works of Jones and Wren remain in England we need not refer even to Italy for examples.²⁹¹

The idea that ‘we need not refer even to Italy for examples,’ and that the Italianate arose more from an interest in English classicism than anything in Italy, has been explored in the previous chapter. However, it is however worth noting that, for architects and critics of the 1830s and 1840s, it was the Greek Revival that was the aberration in the progression of classical architecture, not the Italianate, which was essentially seen as a revival of an English tradition dating back to Inigo Jones.

Leeds, who was acutely aware of the potential dichotomy in advocating the Italianate as a suitable style for England, also reconciles this by portraying the Italianate as part of the development of English architecture. For Leeds the Italianate can be explained as being neither a revival nor an entirely new invention:

²⁸⁹ Rorabaugh, W.J. *Politics and the Architectural Competition for the Houses of Parliament, 1834–1837*, *Victorian Studies* Vol. 17, No. 2 (Dec., 1973), pp. 155–175, pp. 164–167.

²⁹⁰ Vivian, G. ‘Hamilton &c on Architecture’, *London Quarterly Review*, Volume 58 (February & April 1837), pp. 77–78.

²⁹¹ Vivian, ‘Hamilton &c’, pp. 77–78.

Those who allow themselves to be influenced by mere names object to it, that it is avowedly of foreign origin; and that objection might be allowed to have some weight, were it now for the very first time proposed to adopt the style which the practice of two centuries has not only familiarised us with, but has rendered ineradicable. Great as aesthetic differences may be; it is the one that has been established as the universal European style. The very fact of its being decidedly anti-Mediaeval in character ought to recommend it to us all the more, since all our social sympathies, and feelings, and tastes, are enlisted on the side of Modernism, in opposition to Mediaevalism.²⁹²

While the Italianate was promoted by Leeds as representing practical ‘Modernism’ in the face of regressive Gothic, it is worth remembering that he was by no means the first to think this. Even before the Leeds edition of 1862, Chambers’ *Treatise* had been used by Gwilt in 1825 to set out the case for returning to Italian forms; ‘I cannot help acknowledging my bias towards what may perhaps be properly called the Italian school of Architecture... My reasons for this preference arise from an opinion that it is more plastic, that is, more capable of being submitted to the wants and habits of this country’.²⁹³ Similarly, in 1828 Gilbert Laing Meason had noted that the forms of Italian architecture, ‘Have been a hundred-fold of more utility to modern nations than all the remains of Greek architecture... For domestic application, the Italian is decidedly more useful, and within the reach of our customs and habits’.²⁹⁴

Leeds had already contended that the Grecian style was unable to provide a solution to this problem when he advocated the Travellers Club as the most adaptable model for modern street architecture:

When merely copied, the Grecian style affords precedent for scarcely anything beyond a portico or colonnade. Not only does it afford very few examples of windows, but it almost resents the application of those few, except under peculiar circumstances, and never to the extent to which apertures are demanded by the nature of our buildings, which not only require them continuously, but in different stories (sic).²⁹⁵

²⁹² Chambers, *Civil Architecture*, W.H. Leeds preface (1862 ed) pp.vii.

²⁹³ Chambers, *Treatise on Civil Architecture*, 1825, preface by Joseph Gwilt (1825 ed), pp. xxx-xxx.

²⁹⁴ Meason, *Landscape Architecture*, p.68.

²⁹⁵ Leeds, *Travellers Club*, p.16.

The clearest example of the use of Italianate forms to articulate the new demands of commercial building can be seen in James Fergusson's illustration of commercial façade decoration of 1855, in which the brick form of the simplest warehouse can be ornamented incrementally (using Italianate motifs) to create 'a fancy warehouse, a bank, a club-house or a public building', the structure and proportion of the actual building remaining identical throughout.²⁹⁶ (Plate 131). It is no coincidence that while critics such as Fulton and Leeds were arguing that Greek ornament was unable to sit comfortably on modern commercial building, architects were demonstrating the Italianate was admirably suited to that purpose across a range of commercial hierarchies. (Plate 132)

The Greek Revival was thus increasingly seen as unsuitable for commercial street architecture, at precisely the period in which a greater number of more modest public and semi-public buildings were required. Several critics of the Greek Revival give its hindrance of progress as the main reason for discarding it as a viable model for civic architecture. For James Elmes, father of Harvey Lonsdale Elmes, Greek Architecture had 'paralysed our powers of design and composition altogether, so that the only alternative left was to escape from it by plunging headlong into the Gothic and Italian styles'.²⁹⁷ J. B. Papworth had a protectively professional distrust of Grecianism as he considered it was too easy to copy from Antique sources, creating a risk that 'any man might set up as an architect'.²⁹⁸ Therefore, to no little extent, these criticisms were fuelled by a concern that, if Grecian architecture was accepted as the summation of classical perfection, the role of the architect as designer would be made redundant; the accepted perfection of

²⁹⁶ Fergusson, J. *Illustrated Handbook of Architecture* (London: John Murray, 1855), p. xxvii.

²⁹⁷ Quoted in Crook, *Greek Revival*, p.129.

²⁹⁸ Crook, *Greek Revival*, p.129.

Antique examples would put an end to any necessity for further innovation. But by the mid-nineteenth-century there was also a deeper concern than this; that the perfection of the finished product should not be the only point of design.

As we have already seen, Leeds was concerned that aesthetic perfection should not be the goal of architecture, but that the process of designing should be a stimulus for architectural innovation and progression. Leeds distrusted the Greek Revival, and for that matter Gothic, not because they were aesthetically displeasing, but because in his opinion they did not require the architect or designer to think for themselves, or to originate. This was precisely the same argument that caused the Irish architect William Bardwell to advocate the Italianate as preferable to both Gothic and Grecian for Anglican churches. Bardwell's ostensible reason for his 1837 polemic, *Temples Ancient and Modern*, was that Gothic architecture was only suitable for building in stone, not brick. However, even at the outset he implies that his real contention is that reviving Gothic forms 'compel the modern architect to copy'.²⁹⁹ Bardwell stated: 'let us ...practice the Italian style, in which buildings may be constructed of almost any materials,' noting that this would have the added advantage of creating architects who will, 'certainly require knowledge of the principles of design...and it will put to a stop going to Stuart's Athens for a portico, a practice, in reference to which the late Sir John Soane observed to me some years since 'my footman is as good an architect as I am''.³⁰⁰ Needless to say, this argument did not result in an outbreak of Italianate churches in Britain. However incongruous Gothic was held to be in commercial architecture, few disputed its appropriateness for Christian ecclesiastical purposes.

²⁹⁹ Bardwell, W. *Temples Ancient and Modern*, (London: published by author, 1837), p. xvii.

³⁰⁰ Bardwell, *Temples Ancient and Modern*, pp. ix-x.

It was in any case the Grecian more than the Gothic which critics such as Leeds considered to have prevented architectural innovation, partly because Gothic was not a serious competitor in the field of commercial street architecture until well into the nineteenth-century. Like Fergusson, Leeds was interested in the manner in which the Italianate could fuel the design process:

Though it might be laudable enough to begin by copying its ancient exemplars with scrupulous exactness, it was no doubt an error to persist in that course, instead of endeavouring to mould the style to our own purposes, and skilfully engraft upon it whatever else our occasions call for beyond what it actually provides. This, it is unnecessary to observe, has scarcely been attempted; for in that that respect our latest efforts exhibit hardly any advance on our earliest ones. Hence it need excite little wonder if now, after the first novelty is worn away, we begin to be weary of seeing the same ideas and forms constantly repeated, almost to the exclusion of aught amounting to design.³⁰¹

From this it becomes clearer that the appeal of the Italianate for Leeds, was not as a categorical style, but as a way of addressing issues of composition, planning, ornament and form, without reverting to historicism or archeologically exactitude. The idea that architecture might not evolve, that the same forms would be ‘constantly repeated’, explains his distrust of Gothic and Grecian as means of providing a basis for progressive design. Leeds is typical of the mid- nineteenth-century in his concern for meaning in ornament, which he considers to arise from the ornamentation of functional structure rather than the application of one style: ‘what gave not richness alone, but variety, meaning, and expression to the individual building’.³⁰²

The Italianate came into its period of development in the 1830s, and remained so popular throughout the nineteenth-century, because it precisely fitted a new way of understanding architecture, in fact it *arose* from the new approach. Leeds offers a vital insight into the development of the urban Italianate in opposition to Grecian forms for a

³⁰¹ Leeds, *Travellers Club*, p.14.

³⁰² Leeds, *Travellers Club*, p.14.

number of reasons. Firstly, he articulated and crystallised the wider debates seen in the architectural press in his essays in the Travellers Club and the re-edition of *Civil Architecture*. But more importantly, he actively promoted the Italianate as the only sensible and progressive manner for articulating civic and commercial architecture at a time when it was being commissioned in abundance. The detailed measured drawings of the Travellers Club which he promulgated certainly meant that both Barry and the club became associated with the Italianate to the extent that the phrase ‘club-house style of architecture’ became synonymous with the Italianate.

The ubiquity of Italian forms in urban architecture from the 1830s onwards reflected the fact that the Italianate was seen as a practical means of constructing a considerable extent of the early Victorian city. The rejection of the Greek Revival saw the Italianate emerge as a form of everyday urban architecture which, although referred to by a variety of terms, was defined as the outcome of still active historical processes, whereas Greek architecture referred to a fixed end-point. Hence, if we seek the origins of the Italianate in historicism or archaeology, we will no more readily find them than we could find its precise models in the streets of the Italian cities. In order to understand where the Italianate emerged from, we have looked at how it emerged in opposition to the Greek Revival as a practical means of building at a time when new types of buildings were needed. But if we are to understand why it was seen as practical, and explain its success, we must also consider the client-base and building types which not only dictated the use of Italianate forms, but forged it into one of the most flexible and popular expressions of nineteenth-century urban fabric.

The Railways and Stylistic Debate

If any building type was seen as requiring a ‘tertium quid’ in the 1830s it was the railway station and its associated offices. For the first time the public, in the widest sense, were not only being permitted to enter an industrial building without invitation, but were being competitively encouraged to do so.³⁰³ While some early railway stations (notably Euston in 1837) took their form from the Greek Revival, the Italianate became the preferred means of architectural expression for this building type for much of the early-nineteenth-century. Indeed, the Italianate was so entwined with this new building type that by 1844 the *Illustrated London News* considered the Italianate to be utterly integral with English railways, describing Lewis Cubitt’s Bricklayers Arms station as being in ‘the Italian style, more properly called ‘the English railroad style’’.³⁰⁴

The use of Italianate for the first generation of English railway buildings can be explained in several ways, and each of them relate to the ‘tertium quid’ qualities identified by Fergusson. The fact that the Italianate was a style as yet devoid of overt association lent it readily to new building types, especially those in which the previously separate spheres of polite and industrial architecture had to be, literally, tied together. Since urban railway buildings rarely consisted of the platform, shed, and station alone, but incorporated the company offices, lettable offices and, later, hotels, they also required a form of architecture adaptable to all uses; few could afford to be solely monumental at the expense of income-generating floor space and free daylight. Since the first railways were largely constructed as private speculation rather than a public infrastructure project, many of the earlier metropolitan stations had to fit into very tight existing streetscapes.

³⁰³ Schivelbusch, W. *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), pp. 171-177.

³⁰⁴ *Illustrated London News*, 55 (4 May, 1844), p. 284.

Few urban station sites, even when a terminus, had the space for a Euston propylaeum, or even a conventional portico.

Christian Barman noted the use of the Italianate in relation to the early railways as being due to its utility and flexibility and that Fergusson's definition of the Italianate as 'the common sense style' was shared by designers and commissioners of urban railway buildings, concluding that 'the people who built the railways were not philosophical students of art, but they knew common sense when they saw it'.³⁰⁵ Barman also notes the typological appeal of the Italianate for railway companies because, like many of the metropolitan clubs, the high street banks and the insurance offices, those responsible for commissioning the company buildings 'saw the railways as an institution founded by a new leadership class...in their palaces...they sought to project a vivid sense of this leadership in civic enterprise', a typological or associational set of aesthetics in what Barman calls the 'hieratic projection'.³⁰⁶

Another advantage of the Italianate was the way in which it could be related to the rural or urban environment (although the remit of this thesis means that it is its urban manifestations which will be explored here). This meant that passengers could expect a consistency of language throughout a company's line, without the need to erect clearly metropolitan buildings in the provinces, or picturesque 'villas' in the heart of London. This urban-rural quality was explored in other forms of contemporary railway architecture; notably the use of the Tudor and 'Jacobean' styles.³⁰⁷ However, the use of Tudor decoration was already associated with collegiate and charitable architecture by

³⁰⁵ Barman, C. *An Introduction to Railway Architecture* (London: Art and Technics, 1950), p. 22.

³⁰⁶ Barman, *Railway Architecture*, p.77.

³⁰⁷ Biddle, G, *Victorian Stations* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1973), pp. 38-42.

the 1830s.³⁰⁸ By 1841 Tudor-Gothic railway buildings such as the original part of Bristol Temple Meads Station were criticised for not looking like a railway building:

That key stone of absurdity- the monastic edifice at the Bristol terminus of the line. Viewed in the abstract, as a Gothic building, it possesses much beauty; but when considered in reference to the purpose for which it was designed, it seems an elaborated absurdity...[an antiquarian] might instantly be possessed with the idea that railways were no modern invention; that they had been known in the time of our Edwards and Henrys...Ridiculous as such a supposition may appear, it is questionable whether it is more absurd than the notion of forming a railway station after the model of a monastery.³⁰⁹

In contrast to the perceived incongruity of Tudor and Gothic railway architecture, contemporary observers appear to have accepted the Italianate railway building quite readily. In the south eastern districts this was probably helped by the fact that Italianate railway buildings were almost universally constructed from stock brick, sometimes faced in stucco. When combined with sash windows, flat rooflines and a general lack of elaborate ornament, the Italianate railway building fitted into existing street scenes, both polite and industrial, with very little incongruity.

Gordon Biddle's survey of Victorian railway stations also concludes that the Italianate was cheaper to build than the Gothic of the 1840s, and had a natural appeal for those commissioning railway architecture because it evoked both engineering and commerce, unlike the picturesque, martial and religious connotations of Gothic.³¹⁰ Another reason why few Gothic railway buildings were constructed in the initial phase of passenger transport may, rather ironically, be due to the influence of Pugin. While advocating the use of Gothic and Tudor-Gothic forms for railway projects, he was invariably scathing of all recent work already executed in that style. He described Brunel's Tudor Gothic

³⁰⁸ Gloag, J. *Mr Loudon's England* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Oriel Press, 1970), pp.93-99.

³⁰⁹ 'Railway Architecture,' *The Inventors' Advocate, and Journal of Industry; A Weekly British and Foreign Miscellany of Science, Inventions, Manufactures, & Arts*, No.118. (Saturday 30 October, 1841), p.1.

³¹⁰ Biddle, *Victorian Stations*, pp.19-23 and p.31.

stations as ‘mere caricatures of pointed design, —mock castellated work, huge tracery, shields without bearings, ugly mouldings, no-meaning projections, and all sorts of unaccountable breaks, to make up a design at once costly, and offensive, and full of pretension’. ³¹¹ Naturally, he was equally dismissive of the appropriateness of Greek architecture for railway buildings, and in this he was in accordance with the general shift away from Greek which we have already seen in this chapter. However, compared to Pugin’s detailed criticisms of modern Gothic and Grecian, those building in an Italianate idiom escaped his criticism.

Of the appropriateness of the Italianate for railway architecture Pugin says nothing, and the closest he ever comes to an opinion on the Italianate is to call the new Royal Exchange ‘heavy, dull, and uninteresting’. ³¹² Indeed, even this tepid criticism is directed at Tite’s Graeco-Roman exterior as opposed to I’Anson’s Italianate courtyard. Of course, it can be safely assumed that Pugin did not deem Italianate detailing as being any more appropriate to railway construction than Brunel’s monastic Bristol or Hardwick’s Grecianised Euston, but his lack of uttered criticism is significant. Because the early-nineteenth-century Italianate never claimed any archaeological accuracy, Pugin could only dismiss it as unexciting. Given that many early stations were built not by architects, but by engineers and surveyors, to be criticised as merely unimaginative by even the most vocal of the era’s architectural critics, must have made the Italianate all the more attractive to those uninterested in aesthetic debate.

The acceptance of the Italianate as an appropriate means of publicly expressing the new railway infrastructure can be readily seen in an article describing the opening of the South Eastern Railway in 1844:

³¹¹ Pugin, *An Apology*, p.10.

³¹² Pugin, *An Apology*, p. 18.

The terminus at London Bridge (used jointly by the Brighton, Croydon and Dover companies) is in the Italian palazzo style, modified in its details and proportions to suit locality and office uses. This style is the prevailing one in the Company's buildings; the choice having been determined by the convenience of its general arrangements, its cheapness, and the suitability of its picturesque decorations, to the bustling character of a railway site. Its front forms a handsome range of buildings...The boldness with which the principal façade challenges the public attention is, on the whole, pretty fairly borne out, on an examination of its details.³¹³

The article goes on to describe Lewis Cubitt's Bricklayers Arms station as exhibiting, 'a degree of simple elegance, convenience of proportion, and solidity of structure, which exactly meet the purposes to which it is to be specially devoted; those of a 'first class' and 'goods' station,' concluding with Dover station at the end of the line; 'Of the works at Dover, which are only in course of erection, we shall here call attention only to Mr. Lewis Cubitt's terminus, which, if not so extensive as some other structures of its class, is one of both imposing and appropriate character—a beautiful adaptation of the Italian style'.³¹⁴

What this article demonstrates is not only that the Italianate was deemed appropriate for railway architecture, but that it was deemed appropriate for *any type* of railway architecture. London Bridge was a metropolitan station incorporating offices, Bricklayers Arms was primarily a goods yard in a working-class area and Dover was primarily a ferry terminal incorporating a large Italianate hotel by Samuel Beazley. While the forms and functions of the buildings were very different, their use of the Italianate was very similar. It was therefore not surprising that the Italianate was deemed appropriate for each building; the railway company had made it appropriate by its ubiquity. (Plates 133 & 134)

This perceived appropriateness of the Italianate for urban railway offices can be partly explained by the way in which the early railway stations, particularly in London, sat

³¹³ *The Illustrated London News*, (3 February 1844), p.75.

³¹⁴ *The Illustrated London News*, (3 February 1844), p.76.

chronologically and physically between two other tendencies in early-nineteenth-century architecture. On the one hand they tended to terminate in areas already characterised by warehousing, and on the other they promoted the construction of markets and offices, which up until 1860s, were almost universally Italianate. London Bridge Station provides an example of this propensity. When London Bridge Station was begun in the mid-1830s, the immediate neighbourhood was predominately characterised by stock brick wharfs and buildings associated with the leather trade. The leather market and tannery buildings had been constructed by 1833 and form an interesting development in the commercial and industrial street architecture of that period. While not deriving directly from Italian models, the manner in which they combine London brick and stucco with flattened Greek Revival aedicular ornament creates a proto-Italianate form that anticipates the general forms of the Italianate that was to characterise the c.1840-1860 period.

The 1833 Leather Market on Weston Street, and the 1830s warehouses running from Leathermarket Street into Bermondsey Street, use the same materials and forms which would be also be seen in the Italianate. (Plate 135). The buildings are structurally relieved (or reinforced) by plain pilaster but these are pilasters without an archeologically accurate order. Gateways are expressed in heavily rusticated form, and the dentile cornices are of a scale and depth that is far closer to the Italian Renaissance than the Greek Revival. This robust ornament, together with exposed London brick, also characterised the buildings of the neighbouring London Bridge Station as constructed in c.1844, which in turn led to the creation of neighbouring Italianate commercial office blocks, such as Hibernia Chambers of 1850, by William Cubitt. (Plates 136 &137). The Italianate railway station both reflected the language of its urban environment and thereafter shaped it, in a way that the buildings of the Greek and Gothic Revivals could never have achieved.

It appears that this tendency towards the quotidian meant the use of the Italianate in railway design was rarely criticised. Rather it was the use of more obviously ornate or academic styles which struck contemporary observers as incongruous to the purposes of modern infrastructure. This is especially noticeable in an 1841 assessment of Euston Station:

The buildings at the London terminus of the other railways leading from the metropolis, are generally unpretending, simple structures, adapted to the purposes of traffic, for which they were intended—business and not ornament being manifest in their design...In order to effect this, we protest against all extraneous and frivolous ornament, out of character with railways; of which utility is the grand object. The style of railway architecture should be that which exhibits strength rather than elegance.³¹⁵

Indeed, much of the Italianate railway architecture of the 1840s and 1850s is far more closely related to the legacy of wharf and warehouse buildings than to any attempt to emulate the richer ornament and materials seen in the work of Barry and Cockerell. It is worth remembering that Telford and Hardwicks' St Katherine's Docks were begun in the same year as Barry's Travellers Club, and represent what might be considered as an engineer's Italianate that proved just as pervasive as the Pall Mall buildings which initially caught the attention of architectural critics.³¹⁶ It is ironic that all of the criticisms that were levelled at Hardwick's Euston Station would have been satisfied by his warehouse designs, and perhaps this partly explains why the stock brick Italianate as seen at Pool of London had proven to be a more popular model for railway architecture than Grecian classicism by the 1840s. (Plates 138 & 139)

³¹⁵ 'Railway Architecture,' *The Inventors' Advocate, and Journal of Industry* (London: John Eames, 1841) pp.1-2.

³¹⁶ Italianate pieces of townscape were also proposed by the Deptford and Pier Improvement Committee between 1835-1839, designed not by an architect but the surveyor Horton Ledger who was also working for the Greenwich Railway, to which the pier aimed to connect steam packets as well as providing a hotel and residential and commercial buildings. As laid out in the 1839 Deptford Pier and Improvement Company Act, the company's purpose was to "build a new town, consisting of wide streets, adapted for healthful residence or commercial occupation."

Echoing the criticisms of Leeds and Fergusson, the popular press appears to have disseminated the concept of the Italianate as a flexible and appropriately ‘modern’ style in opposition to the use of secular Greek and Gothic, not simply for railway architecture, but for all forms of modern construction. This can be seen in the following appraisal of English architecture from 1840, where the practical qualities of the urban Italianate are extolled explicitly in relation to its application to new building types (middle class clubs and joint-stock banks):

A style, of a very different class, called modern Italian, Romanesque, or Tuscan, has met with many admirers, and been extensively adopted, for domestic use, during the last twenty years. It may be either simple in its outline and details, or admit of considerable and even extreme enrichment; and it is well suited for many important purposes, in no ordinary degree. Several judicious and commodious structures of the kind have been erected, varying greatly in form, as occasion may have required, but all evidently bespeaking a common origin. It may either be square and compact in figure; or, consistently with the utmost convenience, and without any violation of rule, it may be planned with the greatest possible irregularity...and future additions may be made, without the slightest injury to this desirable and attractive quality... Of the buildings that are square and compact, as best suited for street architecture, perhaps the most elegant specimens are, the Travellers' Club House in Pall Mall, the two fronts of which were designed from the Pandulfi (*sic*) Palace at Florence; the Reform Club House, recently erected in the same street; the Club Chambers, about the same time, in the first division from thence of Regent Street; and the London and Westminster Bank, near the Bank of England.³¹⁷

The conflation of ‘modern Italian, Romanesque, or Tuscan’ is in itself revealing as to the rather vague notions of what ‘Italian’ meant in this period (although it is important to note that in 1840s ‘Romanesque’ appears to have been largely used as the English-language equivalent of the Germanic ‘Rundbogenstil’).³¹⁸ Also of note is the belief that *both* elevations of the Travellers Club were based on the Palazzo Pandolfini; clearly most observers had never seen the original, and we have already seen that the Pandolfini is not an adequate explanation of even the street façade of the Travellers. Indeed, the

³¹⁷ Elstob, W. (writing as ‘Saxon’) ‘The Architecture of the Nineteenth Century’, *Gentleman's Magazine* (April 1840), pp. 409-411.

³¹⁸ Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, pp. 245-246.

Gentleman's Magazine rather seems to confirm its own contention; that the English Italianate derived from various sources, very few directly attributable to any one period or 'rule' of Italian architecture.

All of this meant that by the 1840s 'Italian' could be used to describe a variety of forms and ornaments, outside of the distinct poles of Grecian and Gothic as well as being applicable to the suburban picturesque and the formal urban. Of course, what this also meant was that architects and builders were free to erect buildings outside of the Grecian and Gothic idiom with increasingly little chance of being accused of subverting 'chaste' or 'pure' ideals as defined by a more aesthetically erudite audience. The phrases 'pure' and 'chaste' were frequently used to describe the architecture of the Greek Revival; they were not used to describe the architecture of the Italianate. This flexibility, the lack of a clear model, was one of the Italianate's key strengths when it came to new building types. Not only was it readily adaptable to most modern building forms, it had no predetermined link to any particular use of materials. Unlike their Gothic and Greek counterparts, Italianate buildings could be constructed in stone, any type of brick, or coated in stucco without offending any preconceived sense of historical or geographical precision.³¹⁹

The popularity of the urban Italianate cannot solely be ascribed to its potential for frugality, but in almost every instance it could possess cost-effectiveness due to its scalable and adaptable qualities. Greek Revival buildings executed in stucco were one of the chief instances of its criticism in the 1820s, and Pugin was working vociferously to make stucco and London stock brick unacceptable for Gothic buildings. The quality of typological, or non-monumental, adaptability had always eluded the Greek Revival, and were to elude the secular Gothic school until it developed its own useful civic and

³¹⁹ Gordon Biddle, *Great Railway Stations of Britain* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1986), p.58

domestic models under Butterfield and his contemporaries. It is interesting to note that even when Gothic revival architecture was eventually adapted for street architecture in the 1860s, the adaptation commonly involved an amalgamation with typically Venetian-Italianate forms such as aedicular fenestration, articulated uniform stories and bold cornices, as can be seen in the ‘Ruskinian’ Gothic commercial buildings of G Somers Clark.³²⁰ (Plate 140)

Despite the adaptation of Gothic forms for commercial street architecture, by the end of the nineteenth-century even architects who were once practitioners of urban Gothic were stating that it had proven unsuitable for commercial buildings, that it has proven ‘quite unsuited to the present day...Since 1880, however, we have been gradually awakening to this fact...especially in places like the City, we found it would not answer’.³²¹ And indeed, the Italianate retained its influence on commercial street architecture into the twentieth-century, as can be seen particularly in bank and office buildings of the 1900-1914 period throughout Britain.

We have seen that by the 1830s the Italianate began to characterise new buildings in London, and eventually new urban commissions throughout England. We have also seen how, while ostensibly derived from continental historical models, proponents of this new form of architectural expression were anxious to draw attention to its partially English roots and its relevance in the modern urban realm. Various connotations were attached to it over the decades, but initially it was promoted as an alternative to the perceived deadening influence of the Greek Revival, and, and shall be seen, its apparent suitability for a period of urban improvement and specialisation of function.

³²⁰ Muthesius, *The High Victorian Movement*, pp. 21-25 and 118-196.

³²¹ Leathaby, W.R., *Philip Webb and his Work*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935), p. 76 (quoting Norman Shaw in 1902).

By the 1840s the Italianate had generally supplanted the Greek Revival for civic and commercial buildings. This was due partly to the perceived limitations of Grecian classicism, particularly with respect to modern urban architecture, and partly to the efforts of Gwilt, Leeds and the architectural press to promote the Italianate as a suitable alternative. But it was an alternative which was based on a range of influences, some practical, some due to notions of the continuity of an existing British tradition. Writing in 1837, Gwilt reviewed the past decade and concluded:

As much alive to , and susceptible of , the perfection of Grecian architecture to the extent it was carried , as any of its most ardent admirers , I , many years ago [in the preface to Chambers's *Civil Architecture*, 1825], ventured , and dangerous ground it was then to tread , upon an expression of my sentiments in this respect , and I have had the satisfaction of seeing , in all the buildings of any importance that have since been erected (I do not harbour the vanity of supposing it was the effect of ‘ my thunder ‘) , a gradual return to the principles of that school which , from the time of Inigo Jones to Lord Burlington , gave to the English rank among the nations of Europe , and entitled them to that homage which they have received at the hands of foreigners .³²²

Having considered the chief sources for the Italianate, its positioning within architectural criticism of the period, and the manner in which it was promulgated, we must turn to an exploration of its execution.

³²² Gwilt, J. *Elements of Architectural Criticism for the use of Students, Amateurs, and Reviewers* (London: John Williams Library of Fine Arts, 1837), p. 25.

Chapter 4

Italianate Typologies

We have felt that these edifices have strong claims on our readers, on the one hand as affording many useful studies, and on the other, as illustrating the practice of some of the most eminent men, and the progress of what we may call social architecture, an acquaintance with which in its highest forms, is of great value to our metropolitan and provincial brethren, in the erection of clubhouses, chambers of commerce, news rooms, literary institutions, &c.³²³

In the previous chapters we have seen how the response to the Italy and the classical legacy within Britain formed a hybridised astylar classicism later termed ‘Italianate’.

We have also seen how the Italianate was welcomed as a means of enabling articulation and construction of modern urban building types without recourse to the language of either Gothic or Greek. Having taken the example of railway buildings as one of the most obvious new urban building types of the early-nineteenth-century, we must now turn to how the Italianate became associated with a variety of others, and how it was increasingly defined in relation to the functions it clothed as opposed to its art historical connotations. This chapter examines why the new mercantile interest was reflected in its own, chiefly Italianate, architecture and the ways in which ‘being’ metropolitan becomes concomitant on a new upper middle-class aesthetic.

In Chapter 2 we briefly considered the similarity of British responses to the urban architecture to the Biedermeier taste of contemporary middle Europe. If we understand the Biedermeier as being essentially ‘middle-class...robustly comfortable, decently proportioned’³²⁴ and ‘a reaction against ornate 18th century styles’³²⁵ then the urban Italianate begins to show clear signs of analogy. In architecture early-nineteenth-

³²³ *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* (27 January, 1844), p.43.

³²⁴ Curl & Wilson, *Oxford Dictionary of Architecture*, p. 85.

³²⁵ Lewis, P. and Darley, G. *Dictionary of Ornament* (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1986), p.56.

century sources demonstrate this aesthetic by increasingly describing the appearance of buildings in terms of being generally appropriate to their status and use as opposed to being academically correct. This what Stefan Muthesius refers to when he states ‘the status formula was the palazzo type’, as a means of expressing new commercial buildings which required a form of architecture ‘more specially suited for office and warehouse purposes’.³²⁶ The Italianate allowed for a form of architecture that was not defined by one clearly perceived period of history, and thus was well suited to expressing newly developed building topologies which lacked either ancient or more recent historical precedent. By examining what these typologies were, and the way in which they both used and responded to the Italianate, we can understand how the Italianate enabled a form of ornamented architectural expression to exist outside of the constraints of Greek and Gothic, and form a new metropolitan identity.

Having examined the relationship between architectural criticism, the Greek Revival and new urban building types in Chapter 3, we can examine its role in urban development between around 1830 and 1860. In this period the urban Italianate in Britain became associated with a variety of major building types, in particular club-houses, residential terraces, banks and offices. In examining Italianate typologies, we can understand how the Italianate lent itself to the expression of function initially within nineteenth-century London, and how it both unified and distinguished buildings according to type and status. In so doing we can challenge the previously held assumption that the preference of the urban Italianate was somehow attached to connotations of Florentine banking or the Italian city-state by demonstrating that it was in fact the perceived modernity and lack of geographical or political association which

³²⁶ Muthesius, *The High Victorian Movement*, p. 188.

freed the Italianate from the debates regarding appropriateness which surrounded other means of architectural expression. Having examined the pragmatic nature of the Italianate we can now turn to its representational and mimetic values. This chapter will also explore the manner in which the Italianate became increasingly associated with Barry's London club-houses through the efforts of the architectural press, and how this consolidated a sense of not only its typology but also its modernity and metropolitan identity.

The architectural and function-specific development of London is a field which has been the subject of stimulating research. Christine Stevenson in *The City and the King*, explores how the monarchy and landowners reshaped London after the Restoration.³²⁷ Much work has also been done on the development of eighteenth and nineteenth-century London in terms of private aristocratic and church estate projects, including Donald J. Olsen's *Town Planning in London*.³²⁸ Much work has also been done on the growth of the early-nineteenth-century suburb in recent years. Elizabeth McKellar's *Landscapes of London* explores the growth of the London suburb from 1660-1840 and creates an understanding of the development of London as the relationship between the city and its suburbs.³²⁹

There have been place-specific studies of the same subject, one recent example of which is Mireille Galinou's *Cottages and Villas: The Birth of the Garden Suburb*, which chiefly deals with the development of the Eyre Estate in St. John's Wood in the

³²⁷ Stevenson, C. *The City and the King, Architecture and Politics in Restoration London* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013).

³²⁸ Olsen, D.J. *Town Planning in London, The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1964).

³²⁹ McKellar, E. *Landscapes of London: The City, the Country and the Suburbs 1660-1840* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013).

early-nineteenth-century.³³⁰ Yet after 1815, and increasingly after c.1830, the development of inner London became focused on the creation of commercial and civic architecture, which can be seen in the publication of volumes such as John Tallis *London Street Views*³³¹ and Victor Delassaux and John Elliot's *Street Architecture*.³³² The suburbanisation of London, and later the northern and midland cities such as Manchester and Birmingham, allowed the character of the centre of the city to change.³³³

In London part of this change was the removal of the residential functions from areas such as the City of London and the inner West End, which allowed for mercantile and political interests to re-shape the urban fabric into something which was 'other' than the domestic landscape which had characterised London's eighteenth-century period of city centre re-development.³³⁴ Studying this nineteenth-century redevelopment through the lens of the Italianate reveals the fact that although London possesses two city centres, Westminster and the City, the image of the Italianate was used for re-development in both, creating a more unified vision of urban redevelopment than might otherwise have been expected from the commercial sector.

While McKellar and Galinou have examined the early-nineteenth-century London suburb, there have been few studies of nineteenth-century central London in more recent years, and studies where the urban Italianate has been mentioned have tended to

³³⁰ Galinou, M. *Cottages and Villas: The Birth of the Garden Suburb* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010).

³³¹ Tallis, J. *London Street Views* (London: John Tallis, 1838-1840, further supplement in 1847).

³³² Delassaux, V. and Elliot, J. *Street Architecture: A Series of Shop Fronts and Façades Characteristic of and Adapted to Different Branches of Commerce* (London: John Weale, 1855).

³³³ Bairoch, P. and Goertz, G. 'Factors of Urbanisation in the Nineteenth Century Developed Countries: A Descriptive and Econometric Analysis', *Urban Studies* 23 (1986), pp. 285-305.

³³⁴ Lees, L. 'Metropolitan Types', *The Victorian City: Images and Realities*, Dyos, H.J. and Wolff, M. (eds) (London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), pp. 413-427.

focus on the cities of northern England and their wider urban culture.³³⁵ The urban Italianate has therefore generally been misunderstood, even in more recent studies touching on the urban architecture of nineteenth-century Britain. In *Building Jerusalem*, Tristram Hunt equates the use of Italianate architecture in Manchester with a desire to create an impression of ‘a new Medici’.³³⁶

Hunt begins this interpretation by seeing the 1857 Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition as indicative of a new desire for the world of manufacturing to connect itself to the commercial dynasties of Renaissance Italy. Such an analysis fails to explain urban Italianate architecture for three main reasons. Firstly, it fails to explain the development of the Italianate in London street architecture as early as the 1820s. The 1857 exhibition (which was in any case not an exhibition of specifically Italian or Renaissance art) took place long after the Italianate had been deployed in urban architecture across Britain, including Manchester. And secondly, even if the cotton merchants of Manchester had been familiar with the socio-political history of Renaissance Italy, there remains an inherent illogicality in supposing that they wished to emulate the Medici. The fact that the Medici replaced a republic governed by an elected local government (including a chamber of commerce) with hereditary aristocratic rule,³³⁷ sits more than awkwardly with Hunt’s contention that the citizens of Manchester saw a link between the art and architecture of the Medici and their own, largely pro-reform, political aspirations.³³⁸

³³⁵ Gunn, S. *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000)

³³⁶ Hunt, *Building Jerusalem*, pp. 130-419.

³³⁷ Strathern, P. *Medici: Godfathers of the Renaissance* (New York City: Vintage Publishing), 2007, p.321.

³³⁸ Briggs, A. ‘The Background of the Parliamentary Reform Movement in Three English Cities, 1830-2’, *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 10: 3 (1952), p. 315.

While there was certainly a growing appreciation of the art of the Italian Renaissance amongst the mercantile classes in Britain in and around 1857, this popular concept of the Renaissance post-dated the introduction of Italianate architecture to the British commercial street. The Italianate had already assumed a metropolitan identity in London, and was a typology of the public expression of private commerce or associational behaviour, with little evidence of an attempt to evoke any particular epoch of Italian history. The erroneous tendency to explain all stylistic variation in nineteenth-century commercial architecture as historicist or representational of a political aesthetic has also been noted by Simon Gunn, who states of palazzo warehouses (among other buildings types):

The appropriation of older architectural styles did not denote nostalgia for the past or a retreat from the modern. On the contrary [they] were understood as fundamentally modern in their design, in their use of materials and the incorporation of the latest technical facilities. Nor did the ‘battle of the styles’ in the provincial industrial context carry with it specific party-political overtones. Rather than a conflict between particular architectural styles- classical, Gothic or Renaissance- the central opposition in the industrial city was between larger representational categories.³³⁹

The Italianate fits into these ‘larger representational categories’ because it was primarily used for street architecture, and particularly for club-houses, offices and banks. Hunt’s argument, that the Italianate was used in Manchester and elsewhere in the north of England because it evoked the Medici and independence, is negated by the research of Gunn, who perceives it as forming just one typological element in the development of a public and commercial sphere in the modern industrial city.

Hunt correctly asserts that by the late 1850s there was a more concrete awareness of the architecture of fourteenth to sixteenth-century Italy as a distinctly ‘Renaissance’ period in the history of Italian architecture, combined with a Ruskinian sense of

³³⁹ Gunn, *Public Culture*, pp. 41-42.

‘Venetian Gothic’.³⁴⁰ But this came later than the development of the urban Italianate in its c.1830-1850 phase, and in some senses it can be seen as an attempt to retro-fit a sense of art-historical justification onto a form of architecture which had in fact originally emerged as a means of avoiding archaeological exactitude. Writing of the Reform Club Hunt notes:

With its statuesque front, high-vaulted (complete with perimeter balcony) interior and tessellated court floor, milled over by gossiping civil servants, journalists and politicians, the club still retains a mercantile, Florentine feel. And it was exactly the type of design the Manchester money-men were after. Barry employed the same Renaissance formula.³⁴¹

However, there is no contemporary evidence to show that the Reform Club was deliberately intended to evoke a ‘mercantile’ feel. Indeed, such an interpretation seems likely to arise because the palazzo formula was also adapted to banks and commercial premises. This was not because of a nineteenth-century association between the Italian Renaissance and British commerce, but because Barry’s Italianate offered associations with metropolitan sophistication and a new ‘style’ of street architecture which was adaptable to new urban typologies from the insurance building to the cotton warehouse.

When Venetian Gothic was put forward as an alternative form of Italianate by Ruskin in the 1850s he became horrified by its application to commercial street architecture, whereas those who had been engaged in producing the astylar Italianate of the 1830s-1850s do not appear to have seen anything inappropriate in its application to the gin palace or the bank.³⁴² While recent historians may perceive a link between the nineteenth-century urban Italianate and a desire to emulate the culture of the Medici, this is not supported by contemporary sources in the first half of the century; the time, in fact, when the British urban Italianate was being advanced.

³⁴⁰ Hunt, *Building Jerusalem*, pp. 151-154.

³⁴¹ Hunt, *Building Jerusalem*, p.157.

³⁴² Ruskin, J., Letter to the *Pall Mall Gazette* (March 21, 1872).

The Italianate did not remain confined to the architecture of club-houses, and, as well as railway stations and warehouses, it was generally popular for three main typologies of street architecture; the club-house, the bank, and the insurance office. Hunt is by no means the first historian to have considered the use of the Italianate in commercial architecture as intending to evoke some connection with the banks and merchants of Renaissance Italy. Booker expressed a similar analysis to Hunt in his sweeping summary of the subject in 1984:

Goodhart-Rendel considered that Banking houses were Italian because bankers had seen and admired the palaces Barry had built either as residences or as club-houses for their more important depositors. This view can be broadened into the proposition that the Palazzo style was middle-class and therefore representative of the market which bankers were trying to attract...if the basic Victorian division is accepted between Gothic (Tory) and Italianate (Whig) idealism, it can be argued that the latter style was uppermost in bankers' minds...As banking gained something of its present form and practice from Florentine and other Italian bankers of the 15th century, so it was appropriate that Victorian bankers should borrow the style of their palazzi. In the West Riding a parallel link between Yorkshire and Florentine wool trades has suggested a reason for the Italianate style of warehouses.³⁴³

Yet this explanation fails to answer the question of why the Italianate appeared in both Whig and Tory club architecture as well as in apolitical buildings such as railway stations, and why the Renaissance Florentine wool trade should appear more relevant to Yorkshire merchants than the, far more obvious, English medieval wool trade.

As with Hunt's analysis, the view that early-nineteenth-century clients saw that the Italianate had some relationship to a perceived equivalency to fifteenth-century Florentine banking appears to be entirely unsupported by any contemporary commentary on the subject, at least until the 1850s when the Italianate was already well-established in Britain and when the perceived link was to modern, not

³⁴³ Booker, J.M.L. 'The architecture of banking: a study of the design of British banks from the 18th century to modern times'. PhD thesis (University of York, 1984), pp. 60-61.

Renaissance, Italy.³⁴⁴ Hitchcock considered that ‘the precedents of Florence and Venice sanctioned the idea that a merchant’s principal place of business, not his private residence, should offer the chief public expression of his accumulating wealth and public prestige’³⁴⁵ and that ‘the relevance of the palazzo connotation for urban clubhouses may have been rather more remote and arbitrary than it was for commercial edifices...Barry’s type of Italian design early came to be accepted as expressive of urban wealth and power’.³⁴⁶ Nicholas Taylor noted that the Italianate was the prevalent language of commercial architecture in the mid-nineteenth-century and surmised that this was because ‘The Renaissance symbolized efficiency, clarity, economy, civic administration, and secular probity’.³⁴⁷ But the only reference Taylor makes to contemporary sources is the fact that Lord Palmerston considered that the Italianate represented practicality and *modernity*. This seems to contradict Taylor’s conclusion that the Italianate was seeking to evoke the perceived socio-economic qualities of the Italian Renaissance.³⁴⁸

Hitchcock and Taylor therefore also present highly problematic interpretations of the Italianate as a typology because even W.H. Leeds, so anxious to provide a critical context for the Italianate, made no attempt to justify it in terms of the socio-economic function of the palazzo in Renaissance Italy. The perceived link between the Medici and the nineteenth-century banker retrospectively imbues the Italianate with a self-conscious sense of historical typology which it simply did not possess, at least until a

³⁴⁴ Knowles, J. Junior. ‘London Street Architecture’, *The Builder* (18 August, 1855), p. 389: ‘We are a commercial people, a common-sense trading race, a nation of shopkeepers. .. a brotherhood with...the commercial communities of Florence, Genoa, Sienna.’

³⁴⁵ Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture*, p.398.

³⁴⁶ Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture*, p.174-175.

³⁴⁷ Taylor, N. ‘The Awful Sublimity of the Victorian City’, *The Victorian City, Images and Reality*, p.432.

³⁴⁸ Notwithstanding the fact that it is difficult to see how the Italian Renaissance could be classified as an age of ‘secular probity’, especially by the standards of nineteenth-century Britain.

more concrete notion of the Italian Renaissance began to emerge in the late-nineteenth-century. Contemporary critics did see relevance in using the Italianate for both clubs and banks, but the relevance they perceived was not based on the socio-economic history of Renaissance Italy, but rather the commonality of a new urban typology. In order to understand why the Italianate became associated with certain urban forms and typologies it becomes necessary to examine mid-nineteenth-century sources dealing with this subject.

It should be noted that not all early-to-mid nineteenth-century critics welcomed the use of an Italianate club-house typology for use in commercial street architecture. But apart from Ruskin, who advocated the use of Italian Gothic, few proposed a suitable alternative.³⁴⁹ The architect and critic Edward Lacy Garbett reviewed the situation in 1850.³⁵⁰ He noted that the use of 'Florentine' architecture for metropolitan street architecture was pragmatic, suitable, and that it lent itself to uses in a variety of building types. Garbett was in favour of using the Italianate for street architecture, which he defines variously as 'the Florentine,' 'the common-sense school' and 'the astylar'. Part of the confusion of terms which arises in Garbett's understanding of the Italianate is due to the manner in which early-nineteenth-century British critics approached the Italianate, which we have seen throughout this thesis so far.

Garbett describes the Italianate as certainly having a link to the architecture of Florence, but it is not solely defined by its Florentine origins, but also by its practical application to street architecture and its astylar character, i.e. in opposition to other forms of classicism such as the Greek Revival. Garbett also represents the manner in

³⁴⁹ Ruskin, J. *The Stones of Venice*, Volume II (London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1853), pp. 232-233.

³⁵⁰ Garbett, E.L. *Rudimentary Treatise on the Principles of Design in Architecture as Deducible from Nature and Exemplified in the Works of the Greek and Gothic Architects* (London: Virtue Brothers and Co, 1850).

which the name of Barry had become synonymous with club-house architecture, ergo the Italianate, by the middle of the nineteenth-century. While Chapter 1 has shown that Barry was not the first architect to adapt the astylar façade to the British street scene, it was clear his early champions, not least W.H. Leeds, had succeeded in giving the Italianate an originating architect.

Garbett's interpretation of the Italianate follows the same argument that Leeds had used in its promotion, and Garbett also states his belief that the Italianate is probably the only logical style for the expression of modern secular architecture. However, Garbett was concerned that the typological associations of the Italianate would harm its proper use, in fact that architects would cease to invent variations on Italianate forms and would instead simply replicate Barry's club-houses regardless of the function of the building:

A few years ago, the very elegant and purely common-sense treatment formerly applied to domestic and palatial buildings by the Florentine school of architects, was revived and introduced into this country by Mr. Barry, who employed it first in the Travellers' and Reform Club Houses. The hint was followed, as it deserved to be, in a variety of buildings to which it was well suited — perhaps better suited than any other manner. However, we are told in a criticism of one of these, that 'it has in its general aspect quite as much, or even more, of the club-house than the ordinary villa character;' and of another (an assurance office), that it 'might pass for a club-house'.³⁵¹

The two London projects to which Garbett refers are 12 Kensington Palace Gardens by Thomas Grissell and his partner Sir Samuel Morton Peto (1845-1846)³⁵² and the Imperial Assurance Office, Broad Street by John Gibson (1847-1848). (Plates 141 & 142)

³⁵¹ Garbett, *Rudimentary Treatise*, pp.22-23.

³⁵² *The Companion to the British Almanac for 1846*, which published an illustration as well as a brief description of the finished house, 'understood' that the architect had been Robert Richardson Banks. Banks was a pupil of Charles Barry and was at this time the architect in charge of Barry's office.

Number 12 Kensington Palace Gardens was a built-to-let detached house and the Imperial Assurance Office the headquarters of an insurance brokers.³⁵³ Certainly, neither had a functional relationship to the club-house, yet in each case Garbett sees no reason why their typology should preclude the use of the same ‘elegant and purely common -sense treatment’ as the Reform and Travellers Clubs. Yet he was concerned that the strong public association between the architecture of Barry’s clubs and their functions might prejudice the adoption of this this ‘common-sense treatment’ for a variety of building types to which it was otherwise well-suited:

What we have to observe here is the singular force of association, by which the use of this manner in two London club-houses suffices to stamp it forthwith as a sort of *club-house style*, - if not absolutely unfit for other purposes, at least peculiarly appropriate to this. If such a principle of criticism be once allowed to creep in, nothing more is required to complete the utter ruin of this once noble but now deeply degraded art.³⁵⁴

For Garbett the typological nature of the Italianate presents an almost ethical dilemma. He sees it as suitable for a variety of buildings, indeed welcomes its use in urban architecture. But because Garbett sees the Italianate as being so strongly associated with the architecture of London club-houses, he goes on to voice concern that it may lead to an inability for Italianate buildings which are not a club-houses to articulate their distinctive functions and purposes. Ultimately, he concludes that it is beyond the powers of architecture ‘to distinguish a club-house from a mansion’ because architecture is expressive but not phonetic, and that ‘if you want to distinguish the destinations of these buildings, the best way is by writing up their names’.³⁵⁵

This aesthetic blurring of functional distinction was not only happening in London, as can be seen in an account of the late 1850s when it was noted that ‘In Liverpool there

³⁵³ Black, I. S. ‘National Provincial Bank Building in North-East England in the Later Nineteenth Century.’ *Durham Archaeological Journal* 17, (2003), pp. 63–82.

³⁵⁴ Garbett, *Rudimentary Treatise*, pp.22-23.

³⁵⁵ Garbett, *Rudimentary Treatise*, p.27.

appears to be a passion for building blocks of offices under one roof, with club - house aspect...The Liverpool and London Assurance Company have erected large business premises adjoining the Exchange - buildings, by Mr. Cockerell, R. A., in the Italian Renaissance style ‘. ³⁵⁶ Here we can see that although a clearer sense of the ‘Italian Renaissance’, at least as a term, had entered the popular consciousness by 1859, it was still used in conjunction with a typological analysis, with one type of buildings (offices) looking like another type (club-houses).

Garbett’s dilemma regarding the typology of the Italianate does not appear to have greatly concerned those involved in its commission and execution. Time and again the fact that a new bank or insurance building looks like a London club-house is celebrated in contemporary observations. Thomas Atkinson (1799-1861), an architect principally working in Manchester, constructed a number of Italianate public and commercial buildings in the 1840s and 1850s, including the Manchester and Liverpool District Bank in Spring Gardens of 1836. (Plate 143). Atkinson’s obituary published in the *Builder* on 31 August 1861, stated:

The building of the District Bank was as important an event in the architectural history of Manchester as that of the Travellers’ Club was in London since it showed the local public that effect was not dependent on mere ‘orders’, that there was something more than these in the matter of architecture.³⁵⁷

What this obituary makes clear is that Atkinson’s contribution to the architecture of Manchester in the 1830s was not perceived as conveying the appearance of Renaissance Florence, but of introducing the modern architecture of London (and specifically that of London’s newest club-houses). In doing this it was considered that he had demonstrated that commercial and associational architecture could develop its own typological

³⁵⁶ Measom, G. *The Official Illustrated Guide to the North-western Railway* (London: W.H. Smith and Son, 1859), p.513.

³⁵⁷ *The Builder* (31 August, 1861), p. 590.

language rather than depend on the adaptation of Greek architecture to commercial purposes. The contribution which Atkinson is perceived to have made was not historicist but typological.

A further way in which contemporary responses to the urban Italianate can be understood is by looking at the extent to which its use was informed by British Italianate buildings, as opposed to being based on a direct understanding of the Italian originals. Writing in 1954 Hitchcock commented on the fact that most commercial architects who wished to design an Italianate building in the early-to-mid nineteenth-century had little recourse to examples of genuine Italian palazzi:

Outside the Gothic and Jacobean fields, the handsomest new architectural books were likely to have been foreign ones, such as those of Percier and Fontaine and of Grandjean de Montigny and Famin, not to speak of Letarouilly a bit later. These were certainly the best sources for Italian Renaissance precedent but they would have seemed much too expensive to ordinary builders...A monograph like W.H. Leeds' on a prominent London club monument by a recognised professional leader, his Travellers' Club House of 1839, was less costly and more generally accessible. It seems to have proved particularly useful for providing 'crib' material for detailing house fronts. The repeated ranges of edicular windows on terrace houses built in various parts of London in the 40's and even later make evident that this was an important source of current ideas.³⁵⁸

This is an important point and one which has been largely overlooked. Understanding this point also enables us to reposition our understanding of the Travellers Club, which, although not the first Italianate building of the nineteenth-century, certainly became one of the most widely referenced in the architectural literature of the period. The French works on renaissance architecture mentioned by Hitchcock appear to have had little impact on the development of the English Italianate, certainly before 1840. None of the

³⁵⁸ Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture*, p.423.

pre-1840 works were reviewed in the British architectural press, and few editions appear to have reached Britain in the first half of the nineteenth-century.³⁵⁹

Writing of English perceptions of the Italian Renaissance in the later nineteenth-century, Katherine Wheeler noted that even by the 1870-80s copies of works on Italian classical architecture, even more recent French editions, were rare in Britain.³⁶⁰

Letaurouilly's *Edifices de Rome Modern* (published in three volumes from 1840-1857) did have English subscribers, including Edward Walters in Manchester [Appendix B]. However, in comparison to the subscribers to works such as the nineteenth-century republications of Chambers's *Treatise* [Appendix A] the level of British subscription to Letaurouilly was extremely limited. Frank Salmon has examined the field of architectural publications on Italian architecture in *Building on Ruins*. He notes the purchase of works by Letaurouilly, Durand, von Klenze and others during the construction of St George's Hall in Liverpool.³⁶¹ But this was a major Greco-Roman public building, of a very different typology to the high street bank and insurance offices which were the chief vehicles of the Italianate in urban Britain. Did the commercial world of Italianate street architecture seek its sources from measured drawings of Italian palazzi, or did its references lie elsewhere?

As we have seen, although British architects travelled to Italy in the early-nineteenth-century it is notable that none of them published works on the Italian palazzi. Cresy and Taylor's work on the palaces of Genoa never came to commercial

³⁵⁹ Relatively accessible copies of continental works on the urban Italian renaissance appear to have been far from prevalent in nineteenth-century Britain. The RIBA copy of Montigny's *Architecture Toscane* was acquired in the twentieth century and remains uncut, the only nineteenth-century copies of Letaurouilly's *Edifices de Rome* were acquired in the mid-twentieth-century and the only work by Percier and Fontaine to be acquired in the early-nineteenth-century appears to have been *Residences de Souverains* (published 1833, presented to the Institute of British Architects in 1836) which is a work illustrating the royal palaces of Europe rather than Italian urban architecture. All the British subscribers to Letaurouilly's work were private rather than institutional, in contrast to the French subscription list.

³⁶⁰ Wheeler, K. *Victorian Perceptions of Renaissance Architecture* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).

³⁶¹ Salmon, *Building on Ruins*, p. 222.

fruition, apparently due to a lack of subscribers.³⁶² David Mocatta travelled to Italy in 1829-1830³⁶³ and created a series of highly finished drawings and watercolours, chiefly of the urban work of Palladio and Sanmicheli.³⁶⁴ Yet not only were they never published, when it came to designing his own urban buildings, such as Brighton Railway Terminus, he appears to have largely reverted to the corporate Italianate of his clients.³⁶⁵ (Plate 144)

Given the lack of native publications, it would therefore seem reasonable to expect the advocates of the Italianate in Britain to welcome the publication of a work such as *Edifices de Rome Moderne*. After all, here was a set of drawings of the details and facades of a series of Italian palazzi which might inform the development of the Italianate for those who had not travelled to Italy. In fact, the British response to these works seems to have been absolutely the opposite. W.H. Leeds, who had subscribed to the *Edifices de Rome Moderne*, gave it a cursory mention in the *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* in 1849 under his non de plume 'Candidus'. Leeds, who we have seen as the chief champion of the Travellers Club as a model for street architecture, complained that Letarouilly's work would cause 'mischief'.³⁶⁶ He complained that some of the Italian palazzi illustrated by Letarouilly, such as the apparently innocuous Palazzo Lancellotti in the Piazza Navona, were 'the reverse of elegance...of dumpy proportions' and should not 'have been put forward as though if it were such as to recommend itself to especial notice at the present day'.³⁶⁷ Leeds was eager to advocate

³⁶² Burfield, *Edward Cresy*, (2003), p. 40-41

³⁶³ Brodie, A. *Directory of British Architects 1834-1914, L-Z* (London & New York: Continuum, 2001), p. 194

³⁶⁴ RIBA Library: PB265/15(1), PB265/18(1), PB265/18(2), PB265/17, PB265/14.

³⁶⁵ Cole, D. 'Mocatta's stations for the Brighton Railway' *Journal of Transport History* 5 (3) (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958), 149-157.

³⁶⁶ Leeds, W.H. 'Candidus's Notebook', *The Civil Engineer and Architects Journal*, Volume XII (May 1849), p.146.

³⁶⁷ Leeds, 'Candidus's Notebook', p.146.

Barry's work as superior to Italian palazzi,³⁶⁸ but he was not prepared to advocate the direct study of Italian palazzi as a means of designing modern street architecture.³⁶⁹ Once again we see the complex nature of the Italianate in Britain, whereby the British reiteration of the forms and proportions is promoted over the emulation of the original Italian sources.

As we have seen, for Leeds the entire point of the Italianate was for it to be appropriate and adaptable to the British street scene and its 'common-sense' expression of modernity, not for it to be academically accurate or replicate the perceived aesthetic faults of actual Italian architecture. This is critical to understanding the reception of the Italianate in early-nineteenth-century Britain. It was not seen as a revivalist style at all; indeed there appears to have been little demand for academic publications detailing Italian architecture. For most of those building the banks, offices and speculative housing which represented the core of the urban Italianate in London, the works of continental authors appear unlikely to have provided much direct influence. Nor was this seen as problematic by architectural critics of the day.

Writing in 1854, when Letarouilly's work was well into its course of publication, an anonymous critic in the *Quarterly Review* was still upholding the Travellers Club as the best example of the urban Italianate stating that the style was 'admirably adapted to street architecture' as well as being capable of 'great variety' in its application.³⁷⁰ Not only this, the *Review* considered the work of Barry to be superior to that of the Italian palazzi, noting that he has 'imparted to it delicacies and refinements which are not to be

³⁶⁸ In stating that the Travellers Club was not based directly on the Pandolfini W.H. Leeds went so far as to say 'There is a sveltezza in the English Palazzo which the Italian one does not possess' Leeds, *Travellers Club* p.29.

³⁶⁹ It is also entirely possible that Leeds's view was also shaped by a reluctance to accept the French as the arbiters of which models should be used.

³⁷⁰ *Quarterly Review*, 'The Present State of Architecture' (October 1854), p. 189.

found in his models' while noting that the proliferation of British imitators of Barry had nonetheless failed to capture his 'essential qualities'.³⁷¹

Fundamentally, while the leading critics and architects of Britain would have been familiar with continental works on Italian renaissance architecture, for most practitioners of 'street architecture' it was more pragmatic concerns and constraints which shaped the course and aesthetic of the urban Italianate in London and beyond. The urban Italianate of the first half of the nineteenth-century was both self-referential and mimetic, a form of commercial shorthand. The manifestation of the Italianate in British street architecture developed a distinctively native appearance outside of a continuous re-examination of the Italian originals. An excellent example of this tendency can be seen in a review of the City Club House on Old Broad Street, London³⁷² which appeared in the *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal*. On analysing the 'correctness' of the Italianate architecture of the building the article immediately compares it to the Pall Mall clubs: 'Similar, however, as it is in its style and general design to one or two at the other end of the town, it is as far remote from them in taste as is east from west'.³⁷³ Given that the Travellers Club and the City Club have an equivalent function the comparison is not that surprising. However, as the article develops it becomes clear that the paragon of 'correct' Italian architecture which the City Club is being compared against is not anything that actually existed in Italy, but the Travellers Club:

...even those who affect to admire and extol the Italian style appear hardly to understand what it is capable of, or to comprehend by it more than its most commonplace and uninteresting elements, without regard to those richer and more delicate qualities, of which the façades of the Travellers' Clubhouse afford two such beautiful examples, and upon the least of whose details more study probably

³⁷¹ *Quarterly Review* (October 1854), p. 189.

³⁷² Designed by Philip Hardwick and built c.1833-1834.

³⁷³ *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal*, Volume I (October 1839), p. 401.

was bestowed than was upon the whole design for the Clubhouse in Broad-street, unless it be that instinctive taste supplied the place of studious consideration.³⁷⁴

With the architectural press both extolling and illustrating the Travellers Club as a model for modern urban architecture, and comparing other new astylar buildings against it, it is little wonder that urban Italianate buildings of the 1840s began to look increasingly like one another.³⁷⁵

The architectural press actively encouraged this mimetic approach in the field of street architecture. The *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* stated that in urban architecture the main merit of the Italianate was that it was 'almost all-sufficient for any occasion'.³⁷⁶ When faced with the relatively new concept of a high street bank or an office block, and in the context of an architectural press which seemingly advocated Barry's club-houses as an ideal model for emulation, the similarities between those club-houses and many of the commercial buildings of the 1840s becomes almost inevitable. Even in buildings which were essentially copies of other modern English Italianate buildings, such as A. and G. Williams's Brunswick Buildings for J.C. Ewart in Liverpool, displayed 'a refinement of taste not always to be found in the [Italian] examples from which the style is derived'.³⁷⁷ (Plate 145). In addition to this, the emulation of club-house architecture for buildings of a different typology was actively encouraged. Brunswick buildings were designed as commercial offices, but the critique in the *Almanac* states:

...it is a structure which, were placed in Pall Mall, would be taken for an aristocratic Club-house, and in external appearance it puts to shame many

³⁷⁴ *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal*, Volume I (October 1837), p.402.

³⁷⁵ Writing on the architectural development of Paris in the nineteenth-century, Francois Loyer has said that bourgeois individualism did not exist in urban commercial architecture, but rather utter conformity and stereotype by role, type and purpose. Loyer calls this 'a monumental anonymity,' a phrase which also describes the British urban Italianate very well. Loyer, F. *Paris Nineteenth Century Architecture and Urbanism*, (Charles Lynn Clark translation) (New York: Abbeville Press, 1988), p. 149.

³⁷⁶ *The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal*, Volume I (October 1837), p. 402.

³⁷⁷ *The British Almanac*, 1843, p.254.

metropolitan structures of that class, although it is intended only for sets of offices, let out to different occupier.³⁷⁸

Elsewhere in the same volume the *Almanac* had expressed the hope that proposals for new offices on Fetter Lane in London would be ‘in that species of Italian Palazzo style which Mr Barry has fortunately brought into vogue in this country, simple in design but rich in character’³⁷⁹ as well as noting that the new London Bridge railway terminus will have ‘a façade building in the palazzo style’.³⁸⁰ The Italianate, as seen in the club-house architecture of London, was therefore generally promulgated as a suitable source for a variety of metropolitan building typologies across the country, especially in the sphere of new commercial buildings. (Plate 146)

This is a crucial element in understanding why the Italianate lent itself to a typological interpretation, and why this was recognised at the time of its development. The contemporary references to ‘the modern Italian style,’ ‘the club-house style,’ ‘the English railroad style,’ and ‘Anglo-Italian’ all allude to the fact that the urban Italianate was familiar not from its original Italian sources, but from its use for new urban building types and from reproductions of these buildings in the popular and architectural press. Therefore the pervasive influence of the Travellers Club on street architecture was not that it was the first nineteenth-century British building to apply the astylar devices of an Italian palazzo to a metropolitan street, but that it was the first to be widely recognised as a new form of architecture and illustrated as such in the architectural press.

The rejection of the Greek Revival as a tenable means of articulating urban architecture, the growth of banks, railways and commercial offices, and the need to get

³⁷⁸ *The British Almanac*, 1843, p.254.

³⁷⁹ *The British Almanac*, 1843, p.231.

³⁸⁰ *The British Almanac*, 1843, p.248.

street architecture erected as quickly as possible while still providing a degree of ornament, all combined to make the Italianate the chief idiom of secular metropolitan architecture in the 1840s and 1850s. Indeed, the Travellers Club became so immediately associated with the club-house idiom that during the Reform Club competition a decade later, Sydney Smirke's design was criticised for being too architecturally pretentious, i.e. for *not* being an astylar palazzo:

The exterior elevation of Mr. Sidney Smirke's design is very different from all the others, partaking of the character of a highly ornamented Corinthian temple, and, though magnificent and imposing, appears not altogether most appropriate for a club-house. ..It appears to us that the exterior is little in harmony with the surrounding buildings, and that it is not applicable to a club-house, which seems to require internal convenience rather than profuse external decoration... But is on the exterior that Mr. Smirke has bestowed all his intention in this design, and for the sake of his portico he has sacrificed a considerable portion of space... We fully admit the beauty of the design, while we dispute its appropriateness.³⁸¹

Here we can see that by the end of the 1830s the Italianate had become so associated with the club-house in general, that any deviation from the Italianate within the club-house typology was publicly questioned by the architectural press.

In 1844 the Gresham Club on King William Street was completed to the designs of Henry Flower.³⁸² (Plate 147). Little is known of Flower, and he appears to have mainly worked in developing the plain brick terraces of 1820s Islington as well as selling building leases³⁸³ and publishing a work on gas meters.³⁸⁴ In this respect he is not untypical of the kind of architect-surveyor engaged in producing commercial 'street' architecture in the 1840s, especially in London. The club was founded for 'merchants,

³⁸¹ 'Designs for the Reform Club', *The Civil Engineer and Architects Journal*, Volume 1 (October 1837), p. 68.

³⁸² London Metropolitan Archives, CLC/008, Gresham Club Records 1844-1991.

³⁸³ *Victoria County History - Middlesex* (London: Victoria County History, 1985), p.19.

³⁸⁴ *The Builder*, 19 August 1843, Advertisement for freehold ground on cover page; Flower, H. *Gas Meters-their unfairness demonstrated* (London: G. Mann, 1842).

bankers, and City gentlemen of recognised position'.³⁸⁵ The 1844 building (demolished in the twentieth-century) is a useful study because the architectural press attempted to make sense of the building in typological terms, as well as clearly struggling to understand the supposedly Italian roots of the design. In May 1844, while the building was roofless but being completed with William Cubitt as contractor, the *Builder* noted:

The idea for the elevation of the east end of this building was suggested by the recollection of the pontifical palace at Florence, although possibly, on comparing the two, little less than the 'artistical feeling' would be recognized. The same innocent piracy may be seen on comparing the centre of the front elevation with a sketch, taken from the bridge of St. Marc at Venice, of a palazza in that city.³⁸⁶

It appears that the reference to a 'pontifical palace' in Florence must be an error, and it seems most likely that what was being referred to in the *Builder* was the Quirinale in Rome. This may be part of the tendency to label anything 'palazzo' in nature as 'Florentine'. The term 'Roman' was almost exclusively reserved for ancient Roman classicism in the early-nineteenth-century, and the use of the 'Florentine' to describe the Italianate can be seen as an attempt to name something which was not antique, even if it was far from exclusively Florentine.

The error in the *Builder* also makes sense not only because the Quirinale has the closest resemblance to the Gresham Club (albeit it still very loosely) but also because the most obvious printed reference to the Quirinale as the 'pontifical palace' is in the eighteenth-century engraving by Giuseppe Vasi. (Plate 148). This was published in the *Magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna*, a mid-eighteenth-century book which was familiar to English visitors to Italy into the nineteenth-century and which was no doubt easier to come by in London than the rarer, more modern, works by French architects

³⁸⁵ Wheatley, H.B. *London Past and Present: Its History, Associations, and Traditions* (London: J. Murray, London, 1891), p.154.

³⁸⁶ *The Builder*, Volume II (9 March, 1844), p.114.

mentioned previously.³⁸⁷ It seems likely that it was this, or a similar, engraving which formed Flower's knowledge of Italian palazzo architecture. It is hard to know which elevation is meant by the 'centre of the front elevation' given that the Gresham Club had two 'front' elevations, but if it is the short elevation then the reference to the 'palazza' in Venice seems most likely to be the north elevation of the Palazzo Camerlenghi, which is not visible from the Rialto (or indeed any other bridge) but which is illustrated in Samuel Prout's view not *from* but *of* the Rialto in his *Sketches in France, Switzerland, and Italy*, which was published in London in 1839.³⁸⁸ (Plate 149). If the entrance bay is what is being referred to then there does not seem to have been any palazzo near the Rialto which was likely to have provided the model, but the canal-facing door of the Palazzo Grassi has some similarity to the first-floor aedicule of Flower's building. What is clear, is that there is no one Italian model for Flower's work, as evidenced by the contemporary confusion in trying to explain them.

However, there were other sources in London which Flower could have used and which seem more aesthetically similar to the Gresham Club than any supposed Italian sources. The south front of Dyer's Hall, only a few hundred yards from the Gresham Club and erected in 1839, has a very clear similarity in its handling of a three-bay elevation, indeed it must have been the chief source for this element of Flower's design. (Plate 150). In addition to this, the handling of the aedicular longer elevation is not greatly different from the design of three-storey terraced houses of the time, and such designs had been common in the west end for nearly a decade, for example in Number 12 St James's Square by Thomas Cubitt in 1836.³⁸⁹ (Plate 151). The *London Illustrated*

³⁸⁷ Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, p.103.

³⁸⁸ Prout, S. *Sketches in France, Switzerland, and Italy* (London: Hodgson & Gaves, 1839).

³⁸⁹ *Survey of London: Volumes 29 and 30, St James Westminster*, Part 1 (London: London County Council, 1960), pp.134-136.

News also printed an article on the Gresham Club, noting the ‘palatial character of its details’ and stating that Henry Flower ‘acknowledges to have sketched the elevation from portions of two palaces in Venice’. However, this article does not dwell on any supposed Italian example, but notes that the design of club-houses is becoming a prevalent form of street architecture, particularly in the west end:

It has been well observed that Pall-mall, with its magnificent club: houses, has assumed a patrician air; and the present structure will materially aid St. James's-street in attaining similar distinction. True it is that the latter district has, for some scores of years, contained several *sedes beatas* of club-homme; but, until a comparatively recent period, the club-houses of St. James's were plain, unostentatious mansions, with little architectural embellishment in contrast with the palatial edifices reared for club-accommodation in the present day.³⁹⁰

The *News* also states that such buildings are in ‘the handsome Italianized style, now so popular in this country, and deservedly so; for it combines elegance and high convenience with remarkably good effect’.³⁹¹ Hence the Gresham Club demonstrates that by the 1840s the urban Italianate was only loosely or nominally based on any Italian examples (if indeed at all) and that what was most striking to general observers was the growth of the typology of the metropolitan club-house.

It is precisely this tendency which can be seen in an 1844 article in the *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* which deals with the construction of the Conservative Club in St James's Street, London to designs by Sydney Smirke and George Basevi along with a measured drawing of the elevation. Although ostensibly detailing the construction of the Conservative Club, the piece details the typology, or ‘new class,’ of the club-house, as well as giving perhaps the clearest contemporary evidence for why the Italianate club-house became popular for club-houses. The article begins by noting the growth of club architecture in London:

³⁹⁰ *Illustrated London News* (17 February 1844), p. 108.

³⁹¹ *Illustrated London News* (17 February 1844), p. 108.

Club architecture is a new class, which has sprung up of late years, and which forms an important feature of the Pall Mall district. It may be divided into two classes, the classic school, to which the earlier specimens belong, and the Italian school, in which Mr. Barry led the way by the erection of the Travellers' Club. Year after year has gone on adding to the magnificence of these structures, and we hope not without a beneficial influence on the taste of the architects concerned.³⁹²

Although this account outlines the construction of the nineteenth-century clubs in the vicinity of Pall Mall, the main praise is given to the Barry designs for the Travellers and Reform clubs in 'adopting the Italian style' in contrast to the classical (Grecian) ornament of the Athenaeum where Burton's frieze was seen as 'appropriate' but 'not original, yet being a copy of that from the Parthenon'.³⁹³ The Conservative Club was not astylar, but the *Journal* appears to have found some merit in the fact that it was not 'hackneyed'. What this seems to mean is that it did not replicate a Greek or Roman temple front. Indeed, it essentially combined the aedicules, porches and rustication of the Italianate with the engaged column as used by Wren and Jones. (Plate 152)

However, the article is especially useful for understanding how the club-house typology was seen as applicable to civic and commercial street architecture more generally. It helps us see why the club-house was translated into the office and the bank because it understands the Italianate 'as what we may call social architecture... clubhouses, chambers of commerce, news rooms, literary institutions, &c'.³⁹⁴ This perceived connection between the associational world of the club and the world of commerce and adult education is one clear reason why the Italianate is found in the design of a range of building types which were new to the nineteenth-century. The link between metropolitan associational behaviour in the London club and the world of the literary institute, or indeed the office, appears to have been a more logical link for the

³⁹² *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* (27 January, 1844), p.43.

³⁹³ *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* (27 January, 1844), p.43.

³⁹⁴ *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* (27 January, 1844), p.43.

mid-nineteenth-century commentator than any supposed relationship between early renaissance Florentine banking and the world of modern commerce. Writing of nineteenth-century Protestant missionary societies in London, Nicholas Taylor noted that they ‘consistently preferred secular-looking palazzi, similar to the business houses from which they hoped to solicit funds’.³⁹⁵ Example of this tendency were E.L. Bracebridge’s Christian Missionary Society in Salisbury Square, London and Edward I’Anson’s design for the British and Foreign Bible Society on Queen Victoria Street, London. (Plate 153). The associational value of the Italianate in these particular instances does not appear to be a desire to evoke a direct association with the culture of Florence or Genoa (in any case a Roman Catholic society) but a visual-typological association with the financial probity of modern London. It was the modern metropolitan typology of the Italianate which was being advocated, its modernity and its articulation of an urban ‘social architecture,’ and it is this which partly explains its prevalence in the commercial architecture of the mid-nineteenth-century.

By the middle of the nineteenth-century the Italianate had become the most dominant manner of articulating commercial street architecture, in particular offices and banks.³⁹⁶ However, contemporary observers of these buildings still seem to have strongly identified the Italianate with the modern club-house typology, more so in fact than with the architecture of Italy. We can see this again if we return to contemporary receptions of the Imperial Assurance Office, Old Broad Street. The Imperial was not only the subject of both a measured engraving and review in the *Civil Engineer and Architect’s Journal* (Plate 142) but the same review, this time with an artistic illustration, also appeared in the *Illustrated London News*, meaning that the reception of

³⁹⁵ Taylor, N. *Monuments of Commerce* (London: RIBA, 1968), p.59.

³⁹⁶ Booker, J. *Temples of Mammon: The Architecture of Banking* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990)

the ideas expressed was far wider than the architectural profession.³⁹⁷ (Plate 154). The *Journal* notes that the growth of the insurance business has resulted in the need for new offices which, although commercial buildings, had the scale and location hitherto associated with civic buildings:

The progress of insurance companies, the great interest which is felt by all classes in making a provision for the future, the establishment of new offices, and the extension of business, have caused a demand for large public buildings, of architectural pretensions, and capable of giving the required accommodation. Thus, the City, in addition to the halls of its corporations, its banks, and its dock buildings, has now many ornaments to boast of in the noble offices erected for transacting the business of the assurance companies.³⁹⁸

In seeing the office as a ‘public building’ we can learn something of the manner in which the Italianate was seen as appropriate for both the club-house and the insurance building. Neither the club-house nor the insurance office were funded by the tax payer or open to the general public, but the concept of a ‘public building’ as understood in 1848 appears to be a building which has a prominent street frontage and which serves some form of associational purpose. The public in question was conceived of as the middle-class, i.e., those who might gain admittance through investment. In the case of the club-house this was membership of the club, in the case of the insurance office, or indeed the bank, it was subscription or investment in the company. In an era in which the commercial sector provided for welfare through insurance it perhaps not surprising that contemporary observers saw these buildings as having a public benefit, indeed the insurance offices of London are described thus:

The Sun, the Alliance, the Amicable, the Globe, and the Atlas, are but a few among the buildings which will readily suggest themselves as coming within the class we have mentioned, each the centre of operations of some great institution, in which property to a large amount is insured, or on which thousands of wives and of children depend for provision when widowhood or orphan age may be their lot.³⁹⁹

³⁹⁷ *Illustrated London News* (17 March 1849), p.173.

³⁹⁸ *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* (June 1848), p.193.

³⁹⁹ *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* (June 1848), p.193.

In addition to seeing the insurance office as constituting a form of public architecture, the *Journal* also considered that the Italianate was the most appropriate form for such buildings, not because of any link to Renaissance Italy, but because the club-house was seen as the most distinguished form of new street architecture:

What the club is to the street architecture of the west-end, the assurance office is to the city; and the edifices devoted to the more useful purposes of life, it is pleasing to see, are not inferior to those which are only the appendages of luxury. Indeed, the range of assurance offices in London, constitutes in its architectural, as well as in its moral aspect, a characteristic of which England may be proud.⁴⁰⁰

What then was this architectural and moral aspect of the Italianate? Unlike the Gothic, the connotation was not one of Christianity. Rather, the Italianate came to hold associative and typological value because for contemporaries it was:

A feature in the physiognomy of London which suggests honourable associations in connection with the private and domestic habits of the professional and middle classes, and testifies to their earnest and provident care for those to whose comfort their lives have been devoted'.⁴⁰¹

Simon Gunn has written of the manner in which the Victorian city saw the dividing line between the public and the private world of the middle class shift, and the way in which new institutions, particularly the club and the exchange, represented a private world 'at the heart of an expanding public sphere'.⁴⁰² The Italianate lent itself to representing this world because its most recognisable typology, the club-house, was a representation of a semi-private world in the urban realm, in much the same way that the exchange and bank would come to symbolise part of the same tendency.

For the press of the 1840s the typological connection between the new club-house architecture of the nineteenth-century and commercial buildings was linked by the fact that the new clubs were primarily dedicated to the professional upper-middle classes

⁴⁰⁰ *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* (June 1848), p.193.

⁴⁰¹ *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* (June 1848), p.193.

⁴⁰² Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class*, p. 84.

and that these functions equated with professionalism, membership, property, and prudence. In addition to the *Journal* and the *Illustrated London News*, the *British Almanac* also made its own conclusion on the similarity between the Imperial and the club-houses of the west end:

It cannot, indeed, be said of it that it is marked by any novel ideas, but it is in good taste, consistently finished up, and carefully executed in Portland stone. It is an astylar composition of Palazzo character, consisting of a ground floor and two upper floors, with enriched string courses, a deep cornicione, and an eaves roof, covered with Italian tiles laid in ridges. In its general physiognomy, therefore it might pass for a club-house....it might rank with some of the best of those in Pall Mall, to which street it would certainly be an ornament; not that we wish it to be removed from where it now stands, and where it contributes greatly to that focus of architecture in the City...⁴⁰³

The *Almanac* article not only saw the similarity with club-house architecture, and the ‘good taste’ of such a model, but went on to write largely approvingly of the manner in which the Imperial is able to sit successfully between adjacent buildings of a totally different scale (the Hall of Commerce and the Mentor Insurance Office) without causing an incoherent street-scene. (Plate 155). Therefore, the Italianate language of the Imperial was seen as resembling a club-house, as being in good taste, and as a style of architecture which allowed for piecemeal but coherent development of the commercial street scene on a plot-by-plot basis. This ability to operate within urban constraints is important in explaining the Italianate and forms the subject of further investigation in Chapters 5 and 6.

While this study is chiefly concerned by the metropolitan Italianate it should also be noted that outside of London the use of the typological application of the Italianate can be seen as following the same trend, with the exception of the cotton warehouses which had no direct equivalent in the metropolis. We have seen how the Manchester and Liverpool District Bank head office in Spring Gardens, Manchester, designed by

⁴⁰³ *The British Almanac* (1849), pp.236-238.

Thomas Atkinson was constructed in 1834 in a palazzo manner. Atkinson's pupil, John Edward Gregan (1812-1855), would go on to design Heywood's Bank and accompanying servants' quarters and residence in Manchester in 1849 in an Italianate style for the main bank and somewhat Gibbsian treatment of the doorway to the house (Plate 156). Although some of the surface treatment of the building, not least the ground floor windows of the bank, is taken from Serlian and Palladian sources, the first floor aedicules and the cornice are similar to Barry's Reform Club, or indeed Atkinson's District Bank. In Burnley, the Mechanics' Institute, designed by James Green in 1854-1855, uses the same Palladian windows as Heywood's bank for the ground floor, with an upper storey which clearly takes some inspiration from Barry's Reform Club. (Plate 157)

The work of Edward Walters in Manchester is of a different character to the generally astylar works of Gregan and Green. His Free Trade Hall of 1853-1856 had something of the character of Sansovino's work in Venice, albeit with a rather Labroustian handling of proportion and ornament. In many ways Walters' work is an exception to the generally less 'academic' approach which characterised the majority of Italianate urban buildings and his deeply recessed massings and use of engaged columns is similar to the Greco-Roman synthesis of Cockerell.⁴⁰⁴ (Plate 158). This is partly explained by the fact that, unlike many architects working in the commercial sphere in the 1840s and 1850s Walters had visited Italy, including Genoa, and he was a subscriber to Paul-Marie Letarouilly's *Edifices de Rome Moderne* in 1840.⁴⁰⁵ In addition to this, Free Trade Hall was not only a public assembly hall but also a political

⁴⁰⁴ Walters also prefigures something of the approach taken by Garnier at the Palais Garnier in Paris

⁴⁰⁵ Letarouilly published Volume I in 1840 and Volume 2 in 1850; Volume 3 was published in 1857, two years after his death. Volume 1 was reprinted in 1851 with improved engravings. 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.

monument, intended to memorialise Peterloo and the repeal of the Corn Laws.⁴⁰⁶

Therefore, unlike the general run of Italianate commercial architecture, it was *architecture parlante* rather than architecture as typology, with literal depictions of trade ornamenting the building in the form of sculpture by John Thomas.⁴⁰⁷ In its scale and ornament the Free Trade Hall should perhaps be seen as something far closer to the monumental classicism of nineteenth-century France than the commercial works which predominantly represent the Italianate architecture of Manchester. The Free Trade Hall in many ways reflects the shift away from an Italianate commercial vernacular towards a richer form of classicism for public buildings at mid-century, which is explored further in the next chapter.

The vast majority of Italianate offices, banks and other commercial premises had more similarity to one another than to any identifiable Italian ‘original’. Outside of London, the works of Gregan and Green shows the manner in which Italianate forms were being synthesised from other modern buildings, based primarily on typological similarities rather than any direct attempt to reference the architecture of Italy. They also show how the Italianate had become body of astylar ornament which could be used interchangeably across a range of semi-public urban typologies such as club-houses, banks, offices and institutional buildings. A visual example of this can be seen in Ernst and Co’s *Illustrated Plan of Manchester and Salford* of 1857.⁴⁰⁸ (Plate 159). The map contains illustrations of the public and commercial buildings of the district which can be immediately be stylistically and topologically classified into ‘Churches’ (Gothic and Greco-Roman classical), ‘Public Buildings’ (mainly Greco-Roman with some

⁴⁰⁶ Wyke, T. *A Hall for All Seasons: A History of the Free Trade Hall* (Manchester: Charles Hallé Foundation, 1996).

⁴⁰⁷ Archer, H.G. (Ed), *Art and Architecture in Victorian Manchester* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), p.12.

⁴⁰⁸ *Ernst & Co’s Illustrated Plan of Manchester and Salford* (printed and published by Ernst & Co, Manchester, 1857).

Italianate) and ‘Warehouses’ and ‘Banks’ (the two latter being entirely Italianate). The Italianate therefore became a form of instant urban identity for commercial building, with the visual distinction between warehouse and bank being more of a question of scale than a question of style. Nor should it be assumed that the prevalence of the Italianate outside of London was confined to the north of England. Myriad examples of the Italianate expressing an associational purpose exist across the whole of England, not least the Mechanics’ Institute in Devonport of 1849 by George Wightwick, who created one of the most consistent groups of Italianate architecture in Britain in the 1840s.⁴⁰⁹ Despite working in a range of styles, Wightwick almost exclusively used the Italianate for his urban secular buildings.⁴¹⁰ (Plate 160)

The Italianate lent itself to a range of new urban building typologies for a variety of reasons, but the emulation of a perceived Italian golden age of commerce was not one of them. Contemporary observers saw its relevance as being the manner in which it visually connected a variety of new urban building typologies into a comprehensible articulation of urban commerce and modernity. Perhaps it was ‘Amicus’⁴¹¹ reviewing Hopper’s then-new Atlas Insurance Office on Cheapside in *Loudon’s Architectural Magazine* in 1837 who was one of the earliest observers to identify the reason the Italianate was at that time gaining ground as a the most popular form of commercial architecture:

I should not have said thus much respecting the building, had I not been assured that the style of architecture called Italian is now very much the fashion. This style and the Elizabethan manner seem to take precedence of all others...the only

⁴⁰⁹ In the 1840s virtually all of Wightwick’s urban secular buildings were in an astylar palazzo manner, including the Plymouth Mechanics’ Institute, Devonport Post Office, the Plymouth Female Orphan Asylum, Devon and Cornwall Bank, the Naval Bank, and numerous terraces of shops and houses. His work meant that Plymouth and Devonport must have once have had the most consistently designed groupings of Italianate buildings in the UK and Wightwick’s practice would doubtless be worthy of further study.

⁴¹⁰ Reid, R. ‘Wightwick, George’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online ed) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁴¹¹ The name behind the pseudonym remains unknown.

reason I can assign for the preference now given to them is, that they are less restrained by fixed rules than the more perfect styles and manners...unshackled by rules founded on uses different from those which it is intended, and adapted to the wants of our climate, and the customs of our country. In this manner, a design might be produced in the character of the sixteenth century, which might yet be perfectly adapted to the wants and habits of our present age.⁴¹²

For ‘Amicus’, and for many of the other observers studied in this chapter, the Italianate was seen as both prevalent and linked to the growth of new building types. Its appropriateness was not necessarily based on any relationship between the genuine architecture of Renaissance Italy and those new building types, but rather on the perceived *lack* of precise historical connotation, its ‘unshackling’ of previous architectural convention.

The Italianate was an amorphous aesthetic, defined by the comparison of modern buildings against one another, rather than by the standards of any one temporal, geographical or archaeological ideal. It was perceived as capable of infinite adaptation, as speaking of progress and modernity, and of giving public dignity to private commerce. It was a manner of architectural expression which did not have to be justified on an historicist argument because it did not claim to be anything other than the expression and creation of the nineteenth-century urban environment. In order to understand the urban Italianate, we must first understand that those who built and inhabited it saw it not so much as adopted, but begotten.

⁴¹² Loudon's *Architectural Magazine*, Volume 4, (1837), pp.476-477.

Chapter 5

The Italianate Street in London

In street architecture, this Italian style, well managed, often shows to more advantage than other manners, intrinsically more meritorious.⁴¹³

We have considered how the Italianate provided a *tertium quid* for urban architecture, a means of building outside of the Greek and Gothic Revivals, and observed how it lent itself to new commercial demands on architecture, particularly in the treatment of commercial typologies. These typologies sat within a much larger urban framework, and to understand the manner in which the Italianate was formulated within this framework we must turn to its roles in the creation of street architecture. Throughout the first half of the nineteenth-century the Italianate can be seen as coinciding with (and facilitating) a period of street improvement schemes; the creation of new retail and business districts, and a variety of new building types. Italianate façade treatment both responded to and help create new streets, and demonstrated itself to be adaptable to the demands placed on street architecture in early to mid-nineteenth-century London. The Italianate was not limited to street architecture in London, but its period of gestation was as a metropolitan response which rapidly established itself at a national level. In order to understand this, this chapter considered the manner in which commercial development was reconsidered in this period, together with an analysis of how architectural and commercial expectations of ‘metropolitan improvement’ weighed in favour of an Italianate language in street architecture. Understanding the developments in street architecture of this period is critical to understanding the role of the urban Italianate as forming a commercial vernacular.

⁴¹³ Owen, R.D. *Hints on Public Architecture* (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1849). P.54.

While Chapter 4 showed that the club- house typology was indeed part of the mimetic character of the Italianate, it is important to realise the Italianate did not operate solely within a typological context. The Italianate also developed as a contextual response to existing building stock.⁴¹⁴ We must therefore consider the ability of Italianate architecture to fit within the existing urban fabric as this was perceived as one of its chief merits by its contemporaries. Furthermore, studies of ‘seminal’ Italianate buildings make the mistaken assumption that the Italianate was a form of ‘paradigm’ architecture which was designed by architects for aristocratic and institutional clients and subsequently adopted by surveyors and developers for commercial sites, when in fact the two tendencies existed simultaneously.⁴¹⁵

The previous chapter demonstrated that the Italianate was part of a much more complex discourse than this. But a further level of understanding can be achieved by examining the role of the Italianate in street architecture, it becomes clear that, as with the railway buildings examined previously, the Italianate was shaped by the demands of commercial architecture and existing building stock. Therefore, a narrative which sees a hierarchical line of architectural descent from the Pall Mall clubhouse to the high street bank is not only misleading, it is anachronistic. These buildings were being constructed at the same time and against often similar constraints. This chapter sets the context for the Italianate in the London streetscape. In Chapter 3 we considered how the Italianate was welcomed as a means of building outside of Greek and Gothic constraints. This chapter will demonstrate the manner in which the Italianate arose as a response to new commercial demands, offered a balance of aesthetic and practical qualities, was

⁴¹⁴ And continued to do so into the middle of the century. When a new hotel was proposed for Bath in 1865: ‘Gothic design was forbidden, because it would not harmonize with other architectural features of the city...All the designs are, therefore, in the Italian and Classic styles’, *The Builder* (14 January, 1865), p.27.

⁴¹⁵ Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture*, pp.38-39.

regulated into acceptability, and became the almost inevitable idiom of the London commercial street for much of the mid-nineteenth-century. In that sense we shall consider the use of the Italianate as landscape rather than landmark.

One manner in which the Italianate can be understood as landscape rather than landmark is in an urban planning context. A clear indication of the different approaches to greenfield metropolitan extension as compared to brownfield metropolitan improvement can be seen in the manner in which the earliest greenfield developments of the 1830s, such as Belgrave Square and Regent's Park, relied on the palatial block model for their site plans and elevations. (Plates 161 & 162). In contrast to this, the brownfield architecture of Regent Street, apart from the colonnaded terraces, split many of the frontages into smaller, architecturally distinct plots in a manner which prefigured the Italianate developments of the later nineteenth-century and allowed for investment by smaller-scale developers. (Plate 163). Examining a series of metropolitan improvement projects in London helps to contextualise the Italianate as a means of creating a practical form of commercial street architecture.

The metropolitan street architecture of the eighteenth-century was chiefly the terraced house model, adapted in use, but not form, for commercial purposes. As shall be seen, the nineteenth-century movement towards the purpose-built commercial street sought a form of architecture which was distinctive from the former domestic model.⁴¹⁶ Yet while the plain terrace became seen as inappropriate for purpose-built commercial streets, the Greek and Greco-Roman presented their own challenges. In this chapter we shall see how a period of metropolitan improvement consolidated the Italianate as a

⁴¹⁶ Olsen, D.J. *The Growth of Victorian London* (London: Batsford, 1976), pp. 49-51; Summerson, J. 'The Victorian Rebuilding of the City of London, 1840-1870', *The Unromantic Castle* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1990), pp. 193-216.

leading form of commercial architecture, and how it offered a tertium quid between the plain brick terrace and the monumental Greco-Roman.

Three case studies have been chosen for their ability to elucidate different aspects of both street architecture and the role of the Italianate. In chronological order of construction, these are King William Street in the City of London, New Oxford Street in the City of Westminster, and Southwark Street in the Borough of Southwark.

Southwark Street is dealt with in Chapter 6 as it forms part of the last stage of development of the nineteenth-century Italianate and is best understood in the context of wider developments in metropolitan architecture the 1850s and 1860s. King William Street has been chosen as it represents the beginnings of Italianate street architecture in the 1830s-40s, that is to say, a commercial street architecture which primarily takes astylar classicism as its chief architectural expression. In examining the development of this street, the manner in which the Italianate supplanted the more archaeological forms of Greek and Roman classicism as the preferred means of commercial development can be seen and understood. King William Street effectively served as the testing laboratory for the architectural criticism and theory explored in Chapter 3.

The creation of New Oxford Street in the 1840s-50s demonstrates the ability of the Italianate to offer a new expression for retail architecture, and positions the development of the Italianate shopping street as not simply a continuation of the Regent Street development of the 1820s, but as one of the first extensive attempts to achieve a form of retail architecture whose expression was not dependant on the use of classical orders, pediments, and colonnades. In addition to this, the New Oxford Street scheme seems to have prompted the concurrent re-facing of eighteenth-century properties in the neighbouring area, and the manner in which the Italianate lent itself to this form of metropolitan 'improvement' can be simultaneously examined. The manner in which the

Italianate matched the constraints of the Building Act, and fulfilled contemporary expectations of warehouse architecture is examined. Choosing these case studies enables us to understand the manner in which the Italianate lent itself to the demands and constraints of commercial street architecture, and adapted itself to a variety of commercial purposes, locations and planning processes.

Before turning to the role the Italianate was to play in the formulation of street architecture, it is necessary to consider what the nineteenth-century understood street architecture to be. The term ‘street architecture’ appears to have been increasingly used after the turn of the nineteenth-century. Julia Scalzo, in her thesis, ‘Street Architecture, Nineteenth-Century Urban Buildings and the British Architectural Profession,’ dates the first published use of the term to 1828, stating that it was first used in the second volume of Britton and Pugin’s *The Public Buildings of London* with reference to John Nash’s buildings in Regent’s Park and Regent Street, and the Adam brothers’ Fitzroy Square, Portland Square and The Adelphi.⁴¹⁷ Linda R. Krause, in *Commercial sites: the early Victorian development of Cannon Street*, does not give a date for what she considers to be the first published use of the term ‘street architecture,’ but she too considers it to have first entered the architectural lexicon around the 1830s.⁴¹⁸ Both Scalzo and Krause are correct in their assertion that the term ‘street architecture’ was becoming more common by the 1830s, but are wrong in suggesting that it was a term coined by the architectural press to refer to then-contemporary urban architecture. In fact, what appears to be the earliest published use of the term ‘street architecture,’ as relating to the English urban environment, dates from very beginning of the nineteenth-

⁴¹⁷ Scalzo, J. “” Street Architecture”, Nineteenth-Century Urban Buildings and the British Architectural Profession’, Doctoral Thesis (Department of History of Art University of Toronto, 2000), p.1.

⁴¹⁸ Krause, L.R., ‘Commercial sites: the early Victorian development of Cannon Street,’ *Victorian urban settings: essays on the nineteenth-century city and its contexts* (New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 28-30.

century and refers not just to contemporary architecture but also to English architecture from the early-eighteenth-century onwards.

In 1800 a somewhat curious book was published, entitled *Anecdotes of the Arts in England: Or, Comparative Remarks on Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting, Chiefly Illustrated by Specimens at Oxford*.⁴¹⁹ Its author, the Reverend James Dallaway, was Secretary to the Earl Marshall, a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and a writer generally dealing with antiquarian and travel-related subjects.⁴²⁰ *Anecdotes* is a somewhat discursive attempt to give a general overview of the state of the fine and applied arts in England by means of examining collections and buildings then present in Oxford.

Although ostensibly a work of art criticism, it is essentially a discursive survey of buildings and works of art which the author has encountered in Oxford and elsewhere in Europe. However, it is notable for what appears to be not just the first use of the term ‘street architecture,’ but also the first attempt to define it. In addition to this, Dallaway represents a dissenting voice in the face of the neo-classical trends then seen in England’s streets, and he is a significant reminder that the suitability of neo-classicism as a form of urban expression was not without question even in the first year of the nineteenth-century. Dallaway uses the term ‘street architecture’ four times in *Anecdotes*, each time revealing an additional aspect of a concept which he was coining in an attempt to describe and interpret the extant urban realm.

⁴¹⁹ Dallaway, James, *Anecdotes of the Arts in England: Or, Comparative Remarks on Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting, Chiefly Illustrated by Specimens at Oxford* (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1800).

⁴²⁰ Two further examples of his more art-historical works being *Observations on English Architecture, Military, Ecclesiastical, and Civil, compared with similar buildings on the Continent* (London, 1806; revised edition, London, 1834) and *Statuary and Sculpture among the Ancients, with some account of Specimens preserved in England* (London, 1816).

In the first instance, Dallaway understands Henry Keene's Fisher Building at Balliol (1769), specifically its frontage to Magdalen Street East and Broad Street, as forming what he calls 'street architecture':

For about twenty years, Keen [Henry Keene, 1726-1776] was the architect principally employed [in Oxford]. He gave the design, and superintended the new building at Balliol College [Fisher Building], which is a handsome piece of street architecture. The proportions are just, and the ornaments disposed with taste.⁴²¹

(Plate 164)

Dallaway does not go into great analysis of Keene's design, but it is notable that the street frontage of Fisher Building displays several features which would later be associated with Italianate street architecture. The astylar facade, quoins, bracketed cornice, window pediments, bold string course, and the flat arched tripartite windows with implied balustraded balconies were all elements which would reappear in English buildings from the late 1820s onwards.⁴²² In contrast to this, Dallaway also identifies what he considers to be unsuccessful 'street architecture'. In examining relatively recent works in London, he notes:

The Adelphi in the Strand may be classed with our public works. Many faults have been detected by critics, as that the petty ornaments have been multiplied to exuberance, and that no style has been adhered to in particular. Considered as street architecture, the whole wants solidity, and the application of the plaster to imitate stone has certainly failed.⁴²³

In addition to this, he gives consideration to what he believes to be the work of Henry Holland:⁴²⁴

The colonnade in Pall Mall [fronting Carlton House] the effect is puerile; for, with all its pretensions, it is merely a row of pillars, which are unnecessary to any purpose, as they support nothing. The houses designed by him [Henry Holland]

⁴²¹ Dallaway, *Anecdotes of the Arts in England*, pp.115-116.

⁴²² To give but two examples, the street frontage of Charles Barry's Travellers Club, London (1828-1832) and George Alexander's Bath Savings Bank (1841).

⁴²³ Dallaway, J. *Anecdotes of the Arts in England*, p. 152.

⁴²⁴ It is not clear to which houses he is referring as Holland left no record of building any houses fronting Green Park. However, several of the properties on St James's Place had elevations to the Park comprising bows and verandas which Dallaway may have equated with Holland.

which front the Green Park have ornaments of too florid a style for street architecture.⁴²⁵

While there is naturally a degree of subjectivity in Dallaway's remarks, it is remarkable that, even as early as 1800, the 'solid' Palladianism of Keene was being mooted as more appropriate to the urban realm than the more recent neo-classical trend favoured by Adam and Holland. It was precisely this aesthetic preference which was to inform the development of the Italianate in the post-Napoleonic era, when a desire for integrated ornament, high relief and massiveness finally extinguished the more attenuated, incised and applied forms of neoclassicism.⁴²⁶

Perhaps the clearest expression of Dallaway's aesthetic preferences for street architecture comes in his final deployment of the term, in which he sets up his ideal form of urban design as it relates to the extant fabric of English cities:

In most of the provincial towns in England some public building attracts our notice, and the whole architecture of the city of Bath is singularly beautiful. Wood... the original architect of most of those structures which embellish that city in so high a degree. To his designs and to those of his scholars, may be attributed the parades, the circus, the crescent, and the new assembly-room. We have there dedicated to the public, edifices of as splendid an appearance as that of the Italian palaces, in which their cities abound.⁴²⁷

Of particular note is the reference to the assembly room, designed by John Wood the younger in 1769. This urban block had clear parallels to the palazzo form as used in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as Dallaway notes, and is similar to the interpretation of those forms by nineteenth-century British architects. The proportions, bay-rhythms and prominence afforded to the first-floor windows, cornice line and chimneys, are a common language shared by Wood's Alfred Street frontage and Barry's Reform Club and Manchester Athenaeum, the latter generally being considered prominent examples of Italianate street architecture as practiced in nineteenth-century

⁴²⁵ Dallaway, *Anecdotes of the Arts in England*, p.155.

⁴²⁶ Summerson, J. 'London, the artifact', *The Victorian City, Images and Reality*, p.315.

⁴²⁷ Dallaway, *Anecdotes of the Arts in England*, pp. 156-157.

Britain. The links between seventeenth and eighteenth-century English classicism and the early-nineteenth-century Italianate have been explored in Chapter 2, but Dallaway provides evidence of the manner in which the appropriateness of palazzo forms for street architecture was recognised as early as 1800. The increasing influence of Palladian forms can be seen later in the nineteenth-century, for example in the similarity of some of Charles Barry's work to that of John Wood the Younger in the treatment of the city block site as an astylar composition with articulated cornice, aedicules and massing. (Plates 165-167)

While Dallaway's personal influence on the direction of English architecture was probably negligible, what his criticisms clearly indicate is that the work of late eighteenth-century architects such as Adam and Holland were not universally seen as an appropriate choice for English street architecture. More significantly, Dallaway demonstrates that his understanding of street architecture was as coloured by, largely positive, experiences of eighteenth-century English Palladian architecture. Before examining the role the Italianate played in the shaping central London from the 1830s onwards, it is first worth considering what constituted the street architecture of London at the turn of the nineteenth-century. In 1827 James Elmes published *Metropolitan Improvements*. Elmes was an architect and architectural critic who had previously published lectures on architecture and a work on Christopher Wren.⁴²⁸ In his 'Introductory Chapter' Elmes states that:

Although it is intended that our work shall comprehend a succinct, but COMPLETE HISTORY of the BRITISH METROPOLIS, yet with a view of gratifying that interest which is universally excited, we shall begin with the Regent's Park, and proceed onwards through the most splendid and magnificent architectural undertakings now in progress.⁴²⁹

⁴²⁸ Elmes, James, *Lectures on Architecture, comprising the History of the Art* (London: C.&J, Ollier, 1821) and *Memoirs of the Life and Works of Sir Christopher Wren* (London: Priestley and Weale, 1823).

⁴²⁹ Elmes, *Metropolitan Improvements*, p. 7.

In reality virtually all of Shepherd's illustrations are of buildings erected in the nineteenth-century, and, while Elmes does give commentary on the historical development of London, it is clear that the real intention is to provide a catalogue of architectural works largely completed under the regency and reign of George IV, to whom the book is dedicated.

To that end the work begins with a survey of the then-recent development of Regent's Park before dealing with a variety of buildings ranging from asylums and churches to theatres, bridges and institutions. What is most notable about the work is that apart from the development of Regent's Park, Regent Street and Belgrave Square, the work almost exclusively deals with the erection of individual buildings. Some of these, such as Soane's remodelling of the Bank of England, or Benjamin Dean Wyatt's Theatre Royal at Drury Lane, occupied large blocks within the streetscape, but it is clear that in 1827 virtually all new 'streetscape' was confined to the creation of Regent Street and Belgrave Square. However, even as Elmes's work was being printed the government and Corporation of London were commencing a project for a very new form of street, of a type which was to be far more characteristic of 'London in the Nineteenth-Century' than the examples then available to Elmes.

King William Street

This new street was what was to become known as King William Street, connecting Lombard Street and the Royal Exchange to the new London Bridge, and eventually extending northwards across London Wall and into Moorgate (this section retained the name Moorgate). Unlike Regent Street and the buildings in Elmes's survey, this new street was not the result of Royal, Church or institutional patronage but the result of municipal government. The construction of King William Street would straddle the

reigns of George IV and William IV, and see the Grecian and Roman classicism of the first two decades of the nineteenth-century supplanted by a new metropolitan style, broadly classical in its conception, but fundamentally bourgeois in its ethos. King William Street represents the first indication that the Grecian and Palladian expressions of Regent Street were not to inform the development of street architecture in the remainder of the nineteenth-century, and show the beginnings of an Italianising trend in street architecture which was to grow within, and then beyond, London.

King William Street, in its initial phase, has received almost no attention from architectural historians. Perhaps, because of the manner in which early-nineteenth-century architecture has been regnally divided into ‘late Georgian’ and ‘early Victorian,’ a street constructed between these two reigns has failed to meet the parameters of most histories of London’s architecture and town planning. Its absence from studies of early-nineteenth-century London may also be due to the nature of its commission, for it sits outside the more prevalent narratives of royal and private estates and contracts issued by institutional bodies. Donald J. Olsen makes no reference whatsoever to King William Street in either *The Growth of Victorian London* or *Town Planning in London, The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. John Summerson’s essay, ‘The Victorian Rebuilding of the City of London, 1840-1870,’ sets its period of study too late to deal with the main phase of construction on King William Street.⁴³⁰

Peter Jefferson Smith’s posthumous publication on the I’Anson family makes reference to the construction of the street, but only in the briefest manner.⁴³¹ One of the few twentieth-century publications to mention King William Street, Geoffrey Tyack’s *Sir James Pennethorne and the Making of Victorian London*, mentions the street in the

⁴³⁰ Summerson, J. *The Unromantic Castle*, pp. 193-216.

⁴³¹ Smith, *The I’Ansons*, p.67.

context of City Corporation improvements, but a detailed analysis of the architecture of the street is outside the remit of the work.⁴³² The relevant volume of the Pevsner *Guide to the Buildings of England* barely deals with the history of the original street, since almost of all the original buildings had been replaced by the 1920s.⁴³³ Even the most pertinent thesis on the subject of early-nineteenth-century London streets, Julia Scalzo's research on street architecture, contains no reference to King William Street or any of the London Bridge approaches.⁴³⁴ Dana Arnold examined the manner in which the 1820s rebuilding of London Bridge could be seen as an expression of civic and national identity, and how the site of the bridge was part of a trend towards metropolitan improvement across the City, Southwark and Westminster. However, Arnold chiefly focuses on the significance of the Bridge itself, rather than the details of the Approaches to the Bridge, which continued long after the new Bridge had been opened in 1831.⁴³⁵

In addition to the fact that virtually all of the early-nineteenth-century buildings had been replaced before the 1920s, the original design of King William Street has also been overlooked because Sir Robert Smirke, the architect principally associated with it, has not generally been studied as an architect of commercial street architecture. Because of this his architecture has generally been addressed in the context of the Greek Revival.⁴³⁶ Since most of the buildings on King William Street were not overtly Grecian, they have not generally fitted into the frameworks in which Smirke has been considered. King William Street, in its original form, has consequently become

⁴³² Tyack, *Pennethorne*, p. 44.

⁴³³ Pevsner, N. and Bradley, *The Buildings of England, London 1: The City of London* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 96.

⁴³⁴ Scalzo, *Street Architecture*.

⁴³⁵ Arnold, D. 'London Bridge and its symbolic identity in the Regency Metropolis: the dialectic of civic and national pride', *Art History*, 22 (4) (2009), pp. 545-566.

⁴³⁶ Crook, J.M. *The Career of Sir Robert Smirke R.A.*, Doctoral thesis (University of Oxford, 1962); Crook, J.M. *The British Museum A Case-study in Architectural Politics* (London: Pelican Books, 1972); Crook, *The Greek Revival* pp. 52-53.

something of a lost and forgotten street. Yet understanding its conception, development and reception is fundamental to understanding the manner in which the Italianate initially permeated and then dominated the London street scene from the 1830s onwards.

The creation of King William Street was made immediately necessary by the creation of John Rennie's replacement London Bridge in the early 1820s, the work being supervised by his son, John Rennie the younger, later Sir John Rennie. The new bridge was 100 feet further west of the existing bridge, to allow the existing one to serve its purpose until the new one was complete.⁴³⁷ The consequence of this was that the new London Bridge no longer aligned with the roads on either side of the river. In order to resolve this, it was obvious that on the City side a new street would have to be cut through existing blocks, so that those crossing the bridge could pass towards Moorgate and traverse the western part of the City on a south-north axis.

The permission for this work (and the associated coal duties which were to pay for it) was enacted through Parliament by the *London Bridge Act* of 1827 and the *London Bridge Approaches Act* of 1829.⁴³⁸ While the permission for a new street through the City came from Parliament, the duty of constructing it fell to the Corporation of London. While the Corporation of London was not averse to the construction of King William Street (and a series of later associated improvements including the creation of Moorgate Street, the widening of Lower Thames Street and the creations of Farringdon Street), it was concerned that the Corporation should not have to pay for the expense of the proposed London Bridge Approaches which had been occasioned by the rebuilding

⁴³⁷ Rennie, J. *Autobiography of Sir John Rennie, F.R.S.* (London: E & F. N. Spon, 1875) pp. 183-194.

⁴³⁸ London Bridge Act 1827, *Statutes Public General*, 7&8 Geo IV Cap xxx & London Bridge Approaches Act 1829, *Statutes Public General*, Geo IV Cap cxxxvi.

of London Bridge, which it apparently saw as a piece of national infrastructure. In an open letter to the government the Corporation stated:

The law does not require any corporate body to expend their funds in the improvement of any city or place over which they have jurisdiction, and Parliament has never imposed, in any Act, such an obligation...In the progress of the Work a strong opinion generally prevailed, that the Approaches as originally designed, would be wholly unworthy of such a magnificent Structure; and would not afford adequate accommodation to the public. ...there is no principle, legal or parliamentary, which can throw the onus of making these Approaches, even upon the usual principle of assessment of the Inhabitants of the local district. A plan upon a more extensive scale was therefore prepared and submitted to the Lords of His Majesties Treasury, who, after enlarging the scale, approved of the Plan; and it is upon that account that the present application for Parliamentary aid has become necessary.⁴³⁹

From the outset the City recognised that it was providing London with a commercial core, but was not prepared to meet the full cost of providing access. This attitude is significant because it demonstrates the tension between local government and their role in enabling the completion of what were intended to be trans-metropolitan improvements. In addition to this, the creation of King William Street led to a considerable division of opinion among those occupying premises in both of the areas to be cleared (primarily the blocks between Fishmongers' Hall and the Mansion House). On the one hand there were commercial interests calling for additional improvements beyond King William Street, chiefly calling for the rebuilding of Lower Thames Street, as evidenced by a petition submitted to parliament in 1828.⁴⁴⁰ In contrast to this The Committee Appointed to Oppose the Project of a New Street Through the Parish (*London Bridge Approaches Bill*) did as its name suggests, through representing the interests of those who were concerned that their property would be

⁴³⁹ London Metropolitan Archives, COL/CC/LBC/05/009, London Bridge Committee Misc Papers 9, c. 1828-1834.

⁴⁴⁰ London Metropolitan Archives, COL/WD, *Petition to the House of Commons of undersigned Merchants and Traders of the City of London, and inhabitants of the Wards of Queenhithe, Vintry, Castle-Baynard, Dowgate, Bridge, Candlewick, and Billingsgate, and other Wards adjacent, in the City of London*, (1828).

deleteriously affected by the proposed route and width of the new street.⁴⁴¹ Eventually the cost of King William Street and other associated improvements such as Farringdon Street and the streets ‘in the Neighbourhood of the Royal Exchange,’ would be largely met by the proceeds of coal (and latterly wine) duties.⁴⁴²

Cohesive nineteenth-century schemes for rebuilding entire blocks and streets in the City had existed prior to the London Bridge Approaches debate, but had only been very partially executed.⁴⁴³ In the early 1820s the City Corporation had mooted proposals to create a new street, called Greshambury Street.⁴⁴⁴ J.B. Papworth had drawn up plans and elevations for the new street in 1825.⁴⁴⁵ Papworth proposed Greco-Roman blocks, mostly with aedicule windows and pilasters, not entirely divorced from contemporary developments on Regent Street. Some of Papworth’s designs, particularly that for a 35-bay terrace, show the influence of the proportions and massing of William Chambers’s Somerset House elevations, at that time still one of the largest and newest public buildings in country, despite being begun half-a-century before the Greshambury Street proposals. In addition to the influence of eighteenth-century Palladianism by way of Chambers, Papworth’s facades contain the antecedents of the nineteenth-century Italianate commercial street frontage. This can be seen in their use of ground floor channelled rustication, aedicule windows (often with console brackets) and heavy

⁴⁴¹ London Metropolitan Archives, COL/CC/LBC/05/009, London Bridge Committee Misc Papers 9 c. 1828-1834, Petition to the House of Commons of undersigned Merchants and Traders of the City of London and London Metropolitan Archives, P69/BAT3/B/011/MS04002, Minute Book of the Committee Appointed to Oppose a New Street Through the Parish (London Bridge Approaches Act).

⁴⁴² London Metropolitan Archives, COL/CC/LBA/02/001 MISC MSS/69/12, Report on London Bridge Approaches Loan for Raising Monies, Read in Common Council 11th May 1842.

⁴⁴³ RIBA67502, Papworth, J.B, Design for the architectural layout of St Bride’s Avenue, Fleet Street, City of London: preliminary perspective sketch of the proposed scheme, (1824-1825).

⁴⁴⁴ Britton, J. *The Original Picture of London, Enlarged and Improved: Being a Correct Guide for the Stranger, as Well as for the Inhabitant, to the Metropolis of the British Empire* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1826), p. 18-19.

⁴⁴⁵ It is unclear if these were speculatively submitted to the Corporation or drawn up at their request, as no records of the project survive in the National or Metropolitan Archives, only the drawings survive in the RIBA archives.

projecting cornices which, for the most part, are visually unsupported by pilasters or columns. (Plates 168-172)

Although the Greshambury Street proposals were never built, they give an indication of one strand of commercial street architecture in the City of London. They differ from developments of the 1830s onwards in the manner in which they are composed as ‘palace’ facades of considerable length and of being conceived as a single element of streetscape by one architect. The construction of King William Street was far more indicative of the way in which the nineteenth-century City would develop, and if we are to understand the reasons for the development and prevalence of the Italianate commercial street, we must turn to an examination of how the various buildings lining the street emerged. Aesthetically King William Street bridged the gap between the unified city-block compositions of Papworth’s Greshambury Street proposals of 1825 and the developer-led ‘plot-by-plot’ proposals for Farringdon Road of c.1840 onwards. As proposals for the London Bridge Approaches began to gain momentum, the question of appointing a project-managing architect was a natural concern. Virtually all of the major improvements carried out in the City from 1768 up until 1815 had been designed by George Dance the Younger, Clerk of Works to the City of London.⁴⁴⁶ It would therefore seem likely that the Corporation would entrust the scheme to the Clerk of Works, who would produce a plan of the street alignment and a design for the buildings fronting it, as Dance the Younger had done at developments such as America Square, Crescent and Circus and Finsbury Circus.⁴⁴⁷ The Clerk of Works to the City of London

⁴⁴⁶ Hugo-Brunt, M. ‘George Dance, the Younger, as Town Planner (1768–1814)’, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 14, No. 4, Town Planning Issue (December 1955), pp. 13–22.

⁴⁴⁷ Bowdler, R. ‘Dance, George, the younger’ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online edition) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

from 1816-1843 was William Mountague (he would be succeeded by James Bunstone Bunning after a locum period filled by John Young, District Surveyor).

Mountague (1773-1843) had been employed in the office of Clerk of the City Works before succeeding George Dance as Clerk of Works in 1816. He had overseen the formation of Finsbury Circus and had designed a number of public buildings, including the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas at the Guildhall (1823), the City Library (1828), and Farringdon Market (1828-29).⁴⁴⁸ Despite his experience of designing buildings his chief involvement in the construction of King William Street, and its northern continuation on Moorgate Street, was in undertaking the valuations for the land purchases necessary to enable the creation of the street.⁴⁴⁹ Yet rather than produce a design for the street through its own offices, the City eventually appointed Sir Robert Smirke to act as the principal architect. The precise reasons for this are not recorded, but Smirke's involvement with the London Bridge Approaches pre-dated the creation of King William Street. In the competition specification for the new London Bridge, the City Committee for the London Bridge Estates had required that any design should allow for 'formation of the necessary Approaches as is consistent with the character of so important an entrance to the city of London. The designs are to exhibit...a plan of the streets and avenues at each end of the bridge, and the proposed approaches'.⁴⁵⁰

The City Committee for the London Bridge Estates was chaired by William Mountague. As Dana Arnold has noted, the Government did not want to become

⁴⁴⁸ Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, p. 711.

⁴⁴⁹ Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, p. 711.

⁴⁵⁰ Competition specification for London Bridge quoted in Gwilt, J. *The Conduct of the Corporation of the City of London Considered in Respect of the Designs Submitted to it, for Rebuilding London Bridge, in a Letter to George Holme Sumner, Esq, M.P., by An Architect* (London: Priestley, 1823), p.21.

involved in the aesthetic details of the competition.⁴⁵¹ Instead the City employed the three Office of Works architects (John Nash, Robert Smirke, and John Soane) on a private basis, and the competition proceeded in the usual nineteenth-century manner, with none of the three top entries (Charles Fowler, John Boorer, and Charles Busby) securing a contract for the work, and John Rennie's very simple design for the bridge itself being selected.⁴⁵² The initial designs for the Approaches to London Bridge focused primarily on the immediate vicinity of the bridge, and did not concern themselves with the long extent of commercial street frontages which would eventually be required. Several of these were presented to Parliament in 1829. With hindsight it is quite evident that most of these designs could not have provided what the City required from its commercial streets. Designs such as those by C.R. Cockerell and Henry Roberts (who was employed in the office of Robert Smirke), presented monumental palatial blocks at the bridge Approaches in a Greco-Roman and distinctly curious Grecian-Baroque fusion, respectively.⁴⁵³ (Plates 173-175). While certainly forming a dramatic entrance to the City from the river, their scale, and presumable cost, was far removed from the more quotidian offices, public houses and shops which were actually to occupy these sites.

While these monumental designs might have been appropriate for a complex of government offices, it was clear that the City did not anticipate their new commercial frontages becoming a sort of Via Sacra, or even another Regent's Street. It must surely have been the failure of any architect to volunteer a suitably modest scheme which led

⁴⁵¹ Arnold, D. *Rural Urbanism; London landscapes in the early-nineteenth century* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 2005), p. 107.

⁴⁵² Arnold, *Rural Urbanism*, pp.107-108.

⁴⁵³ Yale Centre for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, B1975.2.632, Cockerell, C.R. *Design for the Approaches to London Bridge*; Yale Centre for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, B1975.2.634H. Roberts, *Design for the Approaches to London Bridge*. Illustrated and referenced in Arnold. *Rural Urbanism*, p. 109.

the City to ask Smirke to undertake the project, in conjunction with its own Clerk of Works staff. The probable reasons for Smirke's appointment will be examined in due course, but it is first worth noting that his involvement was not universally welcomed. Rennie's son, Sir John Rennie (who was related to Cockerell by marriage) apparently regretted this decision in a memoir written in 1867, later published as his autobiography:

As to the architecture of the Approaches to London Bridge, I referred the subject to my brother-in-law, Cockerell, a very accomplished and competent authority, and I exhibited his designs to the Committee as well as some of my own. They, however, considered them to be too ornamental and costly, although they were as plain and simple as these important Approaches rendered necessary. The Committee, having rejected them, referred the subject to the late Sir Robert Smirke, then one of the Crown architects, and he designed the present buildings on both sides of the bridge, as far as King William Street on the north, and the old townhall of Southwark on the south; and certainly, with all due respect to my late friend Sir Robert Smirke, a more unworthy set of buildings was never designed...the buildings are so low and badly built.⁴⁵⁴

Although possibly prompted more by familial loyalty than by objective critique, Rennie's criticism is valuable for the manner in which it demonstrates how the commercial street facilitated the development of the Italianate. The City was not averse to monumental architecture *per se*; it had after all commissioned the Mansion House and the Bank of England and would go on to commission a new Royal Exchange. But it was manifestly untenable for every street to be monumental in a period when street widening and realignment was becoming the dominant pressure on urban improvement.

Evidence of precisely this concern can be seen when Gresham College put forward plans for a new building for the City Corporation's approval and found that the chief concern was that the drawing should 'be referred to Sir Robert Smirke the Committee objecting to the projection of columns in front of the proposed Building in Basinghall

⁴⁵⁴ Rennie, J. *Autobiography of Sir John Rennie, F.R.S., Past President of the Institute of Civil Engineers, Comprising the history of his professional life, together with reminiscences dating from the commencement of the century to the present time* (London: E. & F.N. Spon, 1875), p.198.

Street encroaching upon the foot pavement'.⁴⁵⁵ The Basinghall façade was accordingly built as an Italianate palazzo, somewhat at variance to the Greco-Roman Corinthian façade to, wider, Gresham Street. (Plate 176) This same concern demonstrates why the cornice and aedicule (two defining aspects of the Italianate façade) became important in street architecture. Until the acceptance of polychromatic brick and incised decoration in the 1860s, architectural ornament was generally understood as applied projections, and these were proving problematic in, usually commercial, streets where plots were being rebuilt within the existing building lines. Indeed, by 1844 the *Metropolitan Building Act* had effectively prohibited the use of porticoes and colonnades unless they ate into the site, thereby putting paid to Greek and Roman architecture for essentially all commercial street architecture. It did allow for cornices to project, and for this the Italianate was admirably suited to comply with the Act, as shall be seen later in this chapter.⁴⁵⁶

The same concerns arose in Westminster in the early 1840s when the Board of Trade found it could not extend its partially completed offices to the original Greco-Roman Soane design without the hexa-style Corinthian portico of the northern pavilion encroaching over the public pavement.⁴⁵⁷ The result was Barry's Italianate re-fronting of the block, raising the Soane columns clear of the pavement and substituting a characteristically Italianate rusticated ground floor and lightwell, which had the additional benefit of lighting the end basements of the re-worked facades, the whole effect drawing some inspiration from Inigo Jones's neighbouring Banqueting House.⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵⁵ London Metropolitan Archives, COL/CC/LBA/01 1 Committee Minutes, London Bridge Approaches 1841-1845, Grand Committee 13th September 1841, p.16.

⁴⁵⁶ The Metropolitan Buildings Act. 7th & 8th. Vict. Cap. 84. Pp.140-142.

⁴⁵⁷ *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal*, Volume IX (September 1846), p.261.

⁴⁵⁸ Barry, *Sir Charles Barry*, pp. 111-112.

Developing a site on a private estate such as Belgravia or Regent's Park enabled the layout of roads to take place in conjunction with the erection of buildings and included several feet of 'dead' space in front of the building line in the form of the area lightwell. Similarly, sites such as the National Gallery or the British Museum fronted wide public space, required large entrances and were not as concerned with the commercial return value of the building per square foot. But there was far less scope for porticoes, screens and columns in schemes where the pavement belonged to municipal or vestry authorities, or where the entire purpose of the scheme was to widen the road. The use of the portico and substantial columns meant that anyone building to the public pavement risked obstructing the pavement, and consequently likely objection to their proposals (as seen in the case of Gresham College), or cutting into their site *in antis*, thereby reducing the commercial floorspace for the sake of surface ornament.

In addition to this was the risk that columns and porticos would reduce natural daylight at a time when artificial light was far from inexpensive. One of the chief attractions of the Italianate for commercial developers and city planners must have been the manner in which it enabled a building to display rich ornament while allowing windows to be of any size. As will be seen in the final chapter of this thesis, the 1844 Metropolitan Buildings Act and the 1855 formation of the Metropolitan Board of Works consolidated the process of making astylar architecture the favoured form of commercial development in London. In this regard the practical reasons for the Italianate becoming popular in street architecture from the 1830s onwards may not be so dissimilar to the reasons for the gradual acceptance of an evolved form of Gothic and 'Venetian' architecture in commercial streets from the 1860s onwards.⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁹ Muthesis, *The High Victorian Movement*, pp.188-189.

Crucially for the development of the Italianate, Smirke's King William Street designs demonstrate that Grecian and Greco-Roman architecture was an impractical, or even impossible, means of articulating entire streets consisting of varying plot sizes. In this context the Italianate continued to be seen as useful and efficient means of escape from the 'archaeological' aesthetics of early-nineteenth-century urban architecture which had become predicated on monumentality through ornament, especially projecting ground-level ornaments such as the column and portico. That this applied structural ornament inevitably added to the material cost and speed of construction is also worth remembering. And it is worth noting that, within the same period, the Greek Revival was increasingly being rejected on the grounds of cost in the field of urban ecclesiastical architecture.⁴⁶⁰

The irony is that Smirke, perhaps the most pre-eminent exponent of the Greek Revival in the 1820s, was among the first to realise that conventional academic classicism could not meet the requirements of commercial street architecture. If the commercial street could no longer be a plain brick terrace (such as those designed by George Dance and William Mountague in the City and Southwark) it was also clear that it was not a suitable environment for a linear Acropolis. It was not just the fact that in the reconfiguration of existing streets it was not possible to sacrifice the pavement to the provision of porticoes and colonnades. If the entire street was to be rebuilt in single palatial blocks it turned an already nightmarish task of plot-by-plot land acquisition, and compensation for freeholds and long-leaseholds, into a mammoth compulsory-purchase project. This would have resulted in the risk of situations in which the refusal

⁴⁶⁰ Port, M.H., *Six hundred new churches: a study of the church building commission, 1818-1856, and its church building activities* (London: SPCK, 1961).

of one freeholder could jeopardise, delay, or even hold to ransom, the completion and architectural unity of a whole block.

Yet Smirke was not an entirely surprising choice for the King William Street project. Firstly, for a City Corporation concerned about the potential cost of the new approaches, Smirke provided a reassuring track record. His General Post Office of 1825-29 had been constructed within his estimates and he had built a reputation for undertaking public works within budget due to his use of precise and itemised tendering:

Smirke's ability to keep within estimates was largely due to his using the bill of quantities, by 1830 widely accepted as a sound basis for pricing. He was apparently the first architect to use this system and also, perhaps owing to his training under Thomas Bush, the first to introduce quantity surveying as a distinct aspect of the building process.⁴⁶¹

But it was not simply Smirke's budgetary abilities or connection to the London Bridge competition which made him a suitable candidate for the design of the London Bridge Approaches. Smirke is now generally remembered for his more monumental Grecian and Greco-Roman projects, such as the British Museum, Covent Garden Theatre and the rebuilt Customs House.⁴⁶² However, he had proven himself capable of designing a form of street architecture which prefigured his designs for King William Street and its Moorgate extension.

In 1817 he had designed the Duchy of Lancaster offices and a range of adjoining office buildings on the northern approach to Waterloo Bridge, opposite Somerset House.⁴⁶³ The work was undertaken as part of a scheme to improve the Savoy precinct adjoining the new Waterloo Bridge and was in many ways a miniature version of what

⁴⁶¹ Riddell, R. 'Smirke, Sir Robert', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online edition) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

⁴⁶² Curl & Wilson, *The Oxford Dictionary of Architecture*, pp. 711-712.

⁴⁶³ Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary*, p. 933.

the City Corporation was trying to achieve as part of the London Bridge Approaches competition. The Lancaster Place buildings (constructed 1820-1823) have been studied for their pioneering use of reinforced concrete, but, much like Smirke's King William Street buildings, have been otherwise overlooked due to their apparently unremarkable appearance and subsequent demolition in the 1920s.⁴⁶⁴ These were astylar compositions, and their absence of giant orders enabled them to sit entirely happily within a street and river scape composed of pre-existing structures such as Somerset House and John Rennie's bridge. (Plates 177-179). Smirke's Lancaster Place office buildings may also have informed one of the earliest nineteenth-century bank buildings, Charles Parker in his design for Hoare's Bank in the 1820s. Elements of Parker's design are so similar to Smirke's Lancaster Place development that is probably the reason Sir Albert Richardson later misattributed Hoare's Bank to Smirke.⁴⁶⁵ (Plate 180)

It was precisely this astylar formula which Smirke was to develop when it came to the London Bridge Approaches, and which was to prove instrumental in the development of Italianate street architecture. Indeed, Mordaunt Crook could have been speaking of King William Street when he stated that Smirke's 'reputation as the most successful architect of the Regency period was due to his proven ability as business man and builder rather than to his popularity as a stylist'.⁴⁶⁶ Smirke did not secure the London Bridge Approaches commission on the basis of his abilities as a Greek Revivalist or because he would be capable of completing a series of detached monumental city blocks. Rather, his ability to comply with budgetary requirements, married with his ability to produce dignified but modest commercial street architecture,

⁴⁶⁴ Crook, J.M. 'Sir Robert Smirke, A Pioneer of Concrete Construction', Transactions of the Newcomen Society 38 (read at the Science Museum, London, 3 November 1965) pp. 5-20.

⁴⁶⁵ Richardson, *Monumental Classic Architecture*, p.59.

⁴⁶⁶ Crook, 'Sir Robert Smirke, A Pioneer of Concrete Construction', p. 5.

must have spoken the most loudly to the City Corporation. The result was that Smirke's involvement in the London Bridge Approaches schemes prepared the way for the development of the Italianate in commercial architecture. By working out an aesthetic formula which enabled the incremental development of whole streets, allowed for variety in scale, materials and degree of ornament between plots and presented a street façade which was sober and neutral, Smirke helped articulate the needs and desires of commercial premises and urban planners into the longer nineteenth-century.

Smirke's involvement in the London Bridge Approaches scheme should also be seen in the manner in which he was prepared to contract the work of execution to various surveyors and architects of a lesser status, and to use road layout proposals by other architects which had already been deemed acceptable to the Corporation. Smirke certainly had involvement in the approval of the plans for the extension of King William Street into Moorgate, as is evidenced by the plans he signed off for the 'London Bridge Approaches Plan of the proposed New Street from Moorgate to the Mansion House and London Bridge'.⁴⁶⁷ However, the ground plans for the approach from Southwark and the nascent King William Street pre-dated Smirke's involvement.

The evidence suggests that the laying out of the proposed ground plan for the London Bridge Approaches as they related to King William Street and the Tooley Street junction is more properly attributable to George Allen than to Smirke. Allen was a pupil of James Elmes who inherited the practice of Varnham in Tooley Street, Southwark as well as becoming the District Surveyor for Rotherhithe and Hatcham.⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶⁷National Archives, MR 1/238/14 'London Bridge Approaches Plan of the proposed New Street from Moorgate to the Mansion House and London Bridge.' Scale: 14 inches to 500 feet. Signed by Robert Smirke, Stratford Place, 14 February 1834. Annotated: 'The Premises coloured red are those of which it will be necessary to purchase a part or the whole.' Endorsed in black pencil: 'London Bridge Approaches' ; in red pencil: '146' and in ink: [illegible]/34'

⁴⁶⁸ 'Obituary, George Allen, Esq.' *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol XXVIII (August, 1847), p.214.

Given the proximity of his place of business to the London Bridge Approaches it is perhaps unsurprising that he took a keen interest in their development. As the *Builder* put it:

In 1827 and 1828 he gave his attention to the contemplated improvements in the Approaches consequent on the building of new London Bridge. He memorialised the city authorities, and had models, drawings and engraved views made...Mr Allen had the satisfaction of seeing these and many other of his suggestions adopted; but in reply to his memorial to the city authorities in 1830, to take his claims into consideration, he was informed that there was no fund available for this purpose. These proceedings, however, brought him into notice in the borough, and for some years past he has been extensively employed in valuations, building of warehouses, and other works, arising from the improvements and alterations made in that neighbourhood.⁴⁶⁹

Allen's proposals for the street-plan certainly form a close resemblance to the London Bridge Approaches as constructed, and it seems entirely likely that the above account in the *Builder* is accurate. Allen published a 'petition' drawing attention to the fact that it was he who had provided the most feasible street-plan to the City Corporation. While Allen acknowledged that plans for the Approaches had been put forward by George Gwilt the younger and George and John Rennie the younger which were 'almost identical,' he considered that after seeing his own plans the Rennies had essentially plagiarised his proposals to incorporate a lesser degree of proposed demolition.⁴⁷⁰ However, the route of the proposed Approaches was never a matter of considerable debate given that the chief aim and constraint was to have access to a bridge which had already been constructed. It was the treatment of the buildings lining that route which was the most distinctive feature of the street. Smirke's ability to work within the existing plans, rather than insist on a new survey, clearly shows the pragmatic and frugal manner in which the Approaches project was managed.

⁴⁶⁹ *The Builder*, Volume V (3 July 1847), pp. 311-312.

⁴⁷⁰ Allen, G. *Plans and Designs for the Future Approaches to the New London Bridge, With a Memorial Submitted to the Court of Common Council* (London: J. Robins, 1828), pp.4-14.

Smirke's proposals for the plans and elevations of the King William Street and Moorgate buildings do not appear to have survived, and the vast majority of his London Bridge Approaches buildings have been demolished, the most striking exception being 63-73 Moorgate.⁴⁷¹ (Plate 181). Contemporary depictions of Smirke's buildings include a view of Moorgate Street painted in 1837, Tallis's Street Views, several engravings from the mid-nineteenth-century and a view by Thomas Shotter Boys. (Plates 182-185). In addition to this, there are several late-nineteenth-century photographs showing Smirke's buildings before the comprehensive scheme of early twentieth-century replacement had begun. (Plates 186 & 187). The buildings depicted do not appear at first glance to be especially arresting. In most cases they are little different from the buildings that would later be constructed in the 1850s in commercial streets in Bayswater, Brighton or Pimlico. However, they represented a significant departure for Smirke and the course of London Street architecture more generally. The general characteristics of the elevational treatment are comparatively simple: where the building is an office, as opposed to a shop, the ground floor is treated as an arcuated or trabeated 'arcade', most of the buildings exhibit a bold cornice, aedicule windows, and are generally astylar. Generally speaking, the London Bridge Approaches on King William Street and the Moorgate extension display a similar choice of ornament, of a generally Italianate nature.

While the character of King William Street and Moorgate is fairly consistent, closer examination reveals that this is was far from a grand new boulevard. Many of the new frontages had to abut earlier buildings which the City Corporation were not prepared to purchase. Most of them follow historic plot divisions rather than presenting a long,

⁴⁷¹ *Conservation Areas: Appendix A 'Finsbury Circus Conservation Area Character Summary,'* (City of London, 2012), p.4.

uniform façade. Many of the facades were in fact concealing a completely different City behind their urbane veneers; a City of medieval street patterns and seventeenth- and eighteenth-century cottages, courts and terraces. (Plates 188 & 189). The competition entries for the London Bridge Approaches had focused on huge palatial blocks in the Greco-Roman style and all of these would have involved massive demolition of not only property but networks of back streets. It would also have committed all the plots in one block to building to the same design and in the same materials. The City Corporation was anxious to limit the demolition of property as much as was feasible. In many cases the Corporation was only willing to purchase the parts of the property necessary for street widening, leaving the freeholder to rebuild. This painstakingly incremental approach to street creation can be seen during the creation of Gresham Street, when the Mercers' Company, the landlords of Nos 3-6 Lad Lane, were requested to sell only the frontages of the buildings, 'upon the Company setting back their said houses nos 3 4 5 and 6...to widen the said Lad Lane' and similarly a warehouse at Number 7 Cateaton Street where the City bought only the frontage of the building (to a depth of about ten feet) from the landlords (Christ's Hospital) in order to widen the street.⁴⁷² Following a plan with as little demolition as possible appears to have been the defining principle of City street architecture in the 1830s and 1840s.

It is worth noting that the creation of Farringdon Road⁴⁷³ from the 1840s-1860s presented equally complicated debates regarding responsibility.⁴⁷⁴ J.B. Papworth had drawn up detailed plans for a 'central street' through Farringdon as early as 1827, but the street was not completed until around 1868. The Farringdon Road development and

⁴⁷² London Metropolitan Archives, COL/CC/LBA/02/001 MISC MSS/69/12, Minutes Papers rough and draft, Court of Common Council, London Bridge Approaches Committee, 1841-1843.

⁴⁷³ Also called 'Farringdon Street North' until about 1868.

⁴⁷⁴ *Survey of London: Volume 46, South and East Clerkenwell*, ed. Temple, P. (London, 2008), pp. 358-384; <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol46>.

its many setbacks has been covered in the *Survey of London* as cited above. What the *Survey* does not touch on in detail is the fractious nature of commercial street development. Some sense of this can be seen in a letter from one W. Walker (a property developer) to the London Bridge Approaches Committee in which Walker complained that he could not risk erecting the agreed commercial premises until certain that the Corporation actually intended to finish the northern extension of the street to the agreed time-scale.⁴⁷⁵ This incremental, plot-by-plot development predicated against the imposition of a block-wide façade. The resultant appearance of Farringdon Road as a series of plots of different scales was the physical result of this, and a situation to which the Italianate readily lent itself. (Plate 190)

The Farringdon Road scheme shows that, much like the London Bridge approaches, the Corporation of London was depending on individual freeholders, or lease-hold developers, to build or rebuild their premises in line with the proposed street. Inevitably this led to tensions when contract deadlines for completed premises came up before the street was finished. Few developers can have been willing to complete commercial premises which were then stranded in inaccessible quagmires until the road was finished, possibly years later. Walker's letter alludes to the fact that the proposed plans and elevations of premises fronting Farringdon Road were to be approved by the Corporation's chosen surveyors or architects, in this instance James Bunstone Bunning, Clerk of the City's Works⁴⁷⁶ from 1843 until his death in 1863. The extent to which Bunning scrutinised drawings for the premises on Farringdon Road is not known, and few of the new buildings were built until after his death. However, the appearance of many of the earlier buildings on Farringdon Road (such as 113-117 Farringdon Road)

⁴⁷⁵ London Metropolitan Archives, COL/CC/LBA/02/001 MISC, MSS/69/12, undated letter from W. Walker to Richard Lambert Jones, Esq.

⁴⁷⁶ Title of post changed to Architect to the City of London, 1847.

were generally robust and astylar in character, which was broadly reflective of Bunning's own commercial buildings.⁴⁷⁷ (Plates 191- 193)

In the work of both Bunning and Smirke we can see how Italianate detail lent itself admirably to the constraints of commercial street creation. As we have already seen, one benefit was the manner in which it allowed for richly ornamented facades without encroaching on the pavement or compromising the interior space of the building. In addition to this, it focused on the ornamentation of the elements of individual buildings (doorcases, window aedicules, cornices) thereby enabling frontages of different heights and widths to form a seemingly coherent streetscape. Buildings on Moorgate, which were essentially on a palatial scale, could be treated with the same architectural language as those on King William Street where the conventional one, two or three bay plot widths were observed. The Italianate's lack of an archaeological model enabled buildings to be as plain or elaborate as the individual developer chose, without compromising the overall language of the street or breaching any clearly accepted Italianate model.

Smirke's use of the Italianate for King William Street and Moorgate appears to have evolved in response to these constraints. His earliest surviving building from the Approaches scheme is the Bridge House Hotel at 4 Borough High Street, built to his designs by George Allen in 1834.⁴⁷⁸ The Bridge House is typical of the monumental approach of the Greek Revival. Its giant Ionic order, raised attic return and its lavish use of stone facings shares the same Grecian language of Henry Robert's Fishmongers' Hall on the other side of the bridge. (Plates 194 & 195). While Bridge House served as

⁴⁷⁷ For example, his Coal Exchange on Lower Thames Street, the Metropolitan Cattle Market and Billingsgate Market.

⁴⁷⁸ National Heritage List for England, Bridge House, 4 Borough High Street, Listing NGR: TQ3274580336 <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1378341>.

London's first railway hotel and Fishmongers' Hall housed a livery company, the majority of the sites on the London Bridge Approaches were modest shops and commercial offices. The commercial value of these premises was not particularly predicated on lavish architectural expression. (Plate 196)

The London Bridge Approaches project was both characterised and enabled by the acceptance of the Italianate as an expedient means of meeting the complex requirements and constraints of commercial street architecture. What had begun as a competition characterised by monumental Greco-Roman proposals symmetrically framing an avenue evolved into a pragmatic plot-by-plot rebuilding of a commercial high street by numerous contractors and architects under the supervision of a lead architect. That the lead architect who oversaw the development of these Italianate, distinctly commercial, streets should have been responsible for some of the most academically correct and monumental Greek Revival structures in Britain only serves to demonstrate the manner in which the street architecture of a rapidly 'improving' city presented its own set of requirements and constraints. Ultimately these constraints would outweigh, or sit apart from, decades of academic and aesthetic discourse surrounding Greek, and latterly Gothic, architecture.

One of the last buildings to be constructed under the London Bridge Approaches project was Hibernia Chambers, Number 2 London Bridge. This building is useful for demonstrating the effect of the shift from academic, chiefly Grecian, architecture towards the Italianate. The building was erected in 1850 to the designs of William Cubitt (1791–1863) following the destruction of Hibernia Wharf by fire.⁴⁷⁹ Cubitt was a building contractor rather than an architect, and had overseen the construction of

⁴⁷⁹ *London Illustrated News* (April 10, 1847), p. 231.

Fishmongers' Hall on the opposite bank of the river.⁴⁸⁰ The site of Hibernia Chambers is virtually identical to Fishmongers' Hall, with a raised river frontage supported on an arcade, a street entrance at riverbank level and a street entrance at bridge level. The two buildings are relatively similar in their orientation and treatment of their respective sites, but their purpose and architectural expression are very different. (Plates 197-200)

Whereas Fishmongers' Hall was the headquarters of the Worshipful Company of Fishmongers, fulfilling a semi-civic function, Hibernia Chambers was part of a warehouse complex with storage at riverfront level and commercial chambers above. Shortly after completion the site was described as 'range of warehouses known Hibernia Wharf, terminating a handsome new building called Hibernia Chambers, conspicuously seen by passengers over London bridge'.⁴⁸¹ The building was, and remains, a conspicuous element in the London Bridge approaches, but it is far removed from designs for the new approaches which were presented to the Corporation in 1829. (Plates 201 & 202). The exposed brickwork, vigorous cement dressings and almost mannerist approach to proportions is far removed from the archaeological precision of the Greco-Roman tradition. The site and form of Hibernia Chambers is similar to that of Fishmongers' Hall, but it is Fishmongers' Hall stripped of both 'architecture' and architect.

The building which was closest in relationship to Hibernia Chambers was the neighbouring warehouse at Fenning's Wharf, which had been built in 1835 by George Allen, again in sharp contrast to the 1829 competition proposals for a monumental Greco-Roman approach on either side of the Bridge. (Plate 203). Fishmongers' Hall and the Bridge House Hotel were essentially the nearest the London Bridge Approaches got

⁴⁸⁰ Hobhouse, H, 'Cubitt, William', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (online ed.) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁴⁸¹ *Illustrated London News* (Saturday 28 June 1851), p.14.

to the sort of Greco-Roman splendour which Cockerell's competition entries had suggested. The Adelaide Hotel (architect unknown) which stood opposite Fishmonger's Hall on the north bank, was a curious synthesis of a giant Corinthian order with pedimented bays to the street frontage and a scrolled cornice which combines to give the whole building a rather Baroque character, somewhere between the Greco-Roman and the Italianate. (Plate 204)

The London Bridge Approaches marked the beginnings of the extended rebuilding of the City of London and Southwark, which was to occur throughout the nineteenth-century. What they show is that the demands of providing warehousing on the riverfront, the need to provide comparatively modest commercial premises, keeping building costs within the funds allocated from the coal tax and the incremental nature of the widening of the streets, all combined to make a *grand projet* neither viable nor desirable. The London Bridge Approaches thereby enabled the Italianate to develop as a means of constructing commercial and civic street architecture at a time when whole streets were being created. The use of Italianate detailing gave a consistency to the street but could be easily adapted to the desired level of ornament on individual buildings. The scale of adjacent buildings could differ substantially without any solecism, because the Italianate was chiefly based on a form of architecture which was developed from Italian 'plot-by-plot' street architecture, and with an individualistic approach to detail and proportion. Whereas a building such as Fishmonger's Hall was expressed as a free-standing Grecian temple, most of the London Bridge Approaches buildings could only present a narrow façade to the street. The Italianate enabled the ornamentation of even the most basic parts of a building, without requiring much outlay of expense or effort.

It was precisely these qualities which caused an observer of the 1840s to note that the Italianate as means of urban building:

...has proved itself correctly applicable, and from its constant adoption has become appropriate to such situations, to the exclusion of other styles. Its horizontal lines and storied orders, pedimented windows and balustraded attics accommodate themselves with peculiar facility to the disposition and purposes of town houses, whether connected in rows or standing separate from each other...London has been completely Italianised in its general architecture.⁴⁸²

The ability of the Italianate to allow for a coherent juxtaposition of facades which were unrelated in scale continued to be seen as one of its chief benefits as a means of giving architectural expression to street architecture.

A decade after the completion of the London Bridge Approaches, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* discussed the rise of 'Italian street architecture'. The entry was written by William Hosking, who held what was arguably the first university post in town-planning, the Chair at King's College in the 'Art of Construction', soon renamed 'Principles and Practice of Architecture'.⁴⁸³ In addition to this post, he was appointed to oversee the application of new building standards embodied in the Metropolitan Building Act.⁴⁸⁴ Hosking noted that the Italianate expressed 'unpretending decoration', i.e. it did not rely on the ornamental use of Greco-Roman columns and porticos, or the visual concealment of the roof from street level. But as well as the merits of individual buildings, there was an acknowledgement that the Italianate lent itself to the composition of streets which were built incrementally:

These sister buildings [The Reform Club and Travellers Club], standing side by side, deal hardly with one another, because of the great difference between them in height and magnitude; but each being made complete in elevation by the exhibition of the roof as part of the composition, not only bears the presence of the other without suffering from it, but, together, they show by contrast the beauty

⁴⁸² 'English Domestic Architecture', *The Builder*, Vol I (14 October 1843), p.431.

⁴⁸³ *The Builder* (16 November 1861), p. 784 [obituary by William Tite].

⁴⁸⁴ Hosking, W. *A Guide to the Proper Regulation of Buildings in Towns as a means of promoting and securing the Health, Comfort and Safety of the Inhabitants* (London: J. Murray, 1848).

of propriety in the exhibition of a fitly covering roof...The effect of the Travellers' Club upon recent productions throughout the country has been great and beneficial, for the style of design which it presents is now often applied with good taste and proper feeling.⁴⁸⁵

Therefore, even in its most academic vein, the Italianate was recognised as much for its ability to allow for the coherence of whole streets as much as for the aesthetic merits of individual buildings. In fact the Italianate had effectively become something akin to an aesthetic 'standard unit' in the field of urban planning.

New Oxford Street

There are parallels between the London Bridge Approaches and the development of the commercial street in Westminster. New Oxford Street, which would take traffic from Oxford Street into the City via Holborn, was intended partly as a traffic measure and partly as an exercise in slum clearance in the area around St Giles's church. The project began in 1843 and continued through most of that decade. An excellent analysis of the logistics of the project has been given by Tyack's work on Sir James Pennethorne, the architect chiefly responsible for the project.⁴⁸⁶ The New Oxford Street project is significant in the development of the urban Italianate because it was one of the first examples of the Italianate being used for what was primarily a retail development. As we have already seen, Nash's Regent Street project, which was of course primarily retail, had deployed a stylistic synthesis of Greco-Roman architecture for the more prominent buildings (such as All Souls Church) with a plainer style which incorporated arched window openings, console brackets and cornices in a proto-Italianate manner. In a similar manner, Nash's plans for the West Strand development⁴⁸⁷ used plain astylar runs of frontages, but 'bookended' them between

⁴⁸⁵ 'Architecture', *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 8th edition, Volume III (Edinburgh, 1853), p.506.

⁴⁸⁶ Tyack, *Pennethorne*, pp.49-66.

⁴⁸⁷ Overseen by James Pennethorne, built by William Herbert, 1830-1835.

Graeco-Roman temple forms, which certainly lent drama to the composition, but which must have added construction cost to the scheme without any obvious commercial benefit. (Plates 205 & 206). Indeed, the cost of the West Strand improvements totalled £1million.⁴⁸⁸ This equates to the same sum as the entire New Oxford Street project, which was far larger in area.⁴⁸⁹

What makes New Oxford Street particularly interesting is the manner in which it reflected commercial taste of the day, and in so doing produced a predominantly Italianate architecture. For the most part Pennethorne did not design the elevations of the buildings, but approved the designs submitted by the developers of individual plots. The developers were not required to submit ‘symmetrical Architectural Elevations for any particular number of houses’ and were even encouraged to choose the Elizabethan manner should they so wish.⁴⁹⁰ In the end very few ‘Elizabethan’ buildings were constructed. A red brick corner block on Bloomsbury Street and Broad Street designed by Pennethorne himself was the most notable exception. (Plate 207)

Ultimately, despite the stylistically relaxed brief, the majority of the New Oxford Street project was carried out in a similar Italianate idiom to Smirke’s Moorgate and King William Street buildings. However, the New Oxford Street buildings displayed an even greater quantity of applied mouldings which took full advantage of the Italianate’s capacity for richness as well as its capacity for a mannerist approach to proportion. (Plates 208 & 209). The ability of the Italianate to supply rich decoration without recourse to masonry appears to have been another contributing factor to its popularity in mid-nineteenth-century commercial development. Whereas a previous generation had,

⁴⁸⁸ Tyack, *Pennethorne*, p.49-66.

⁴⁸⁹ Rickman, T.M. ‘Metropolitan Improvements’, *RIBA Transactions* (1858–9), pp. 71–4.

⁴⁹⁰ PRO, Cres 2/670; Quoted in Tyack, Geoffrey, *Sir James Pennethorne and the Making of Victorian London*, Cambridge, 1992, p.55.

for the most part, admired the chastity and purity of Greek and Neo-classical architecture, taste from the 1830s onwards had shifted in the opposite direction. Tyack notes that by the time of its completion the architecture of New Oxford Street was considered ‘incomparably superior to that of Regent Street, which is [seen as] excessively flimsy and jejune’.⁴⁹¹

That the opulent Italianate of New Oxford Street reflected commercial taste is indisputable. It had been erected by commercial landlords, with each plot designed by separate developers, and Pennethorne’s attempts to create something more historicist in spirit had been almost entirely disregarded in a flood of console brackets and cementitious balustrades.⁴⁹² Goodhart-Rendell characterised the architectural and applied taste of the 1830s as the shift from chastity to chubbiness, and the buildings of New Oxford Street certainly reflected street architecture’s move from the ‘flimsy’ to the fecund.⁴⁹³ As Goodhart-Rendell notes, ‘Possibly this chubbiness was not necessarily infantile, but was the desired antipode of the aristocratic, the academic, the esoteric. It may thus be explained as a cherished characteristic in a style that was deliberately, proudly, middle-class’.⁴⁹⁴

If the surviving 1840s architecture of New Oxford Street appears somewhat indigestible now, it was also the case at the time. In 1843 the *Builder* published an opinion piece entitled ‘A Walk up New Oxford Street’.⁴⁹⁵ Ostensibly an analysis of the new street, the piece is fundamentally the attempt of the architectural press to grasp the meaning of Italianate street architecture as a departure from the orthodoxies of the Greek revival. For this reason the article is crucial not only to understanding the public

⁴⁹¹ *Companion to the Almanac* (1850), p.227 quoted in Tyack, *Pennethorne*, p. 58.

⁴⁹² Tyack, *Pennethorne*, p.62.

⁴⁹³ Goodhart-Rendel, *English Architecture since the Regency*, pp.69-70 (1987 edition).

⁴⁹⁴ Goodhart-Rendel, H.S., *English Architecture since the Regency*, pp.69-70 (1987 edition).

⁴⁹⁵ ‘A Walk up New Oxford Street’ *The Builder*, Volume 4 (5 September 1846), pp. 422-423.

reaction to New Oxford Street, but as a rare contemporary analysis of the Italianate itself. As well as analysing the buildings on New Oxford Street, the piece suggests that traditional architectural education predicated on monumental Antique and Medieval sources had left architects unequipped for the demands of new building types, and that ‘Italian examples’ were filling this gap. The article notes that that new commercial street architecture marks an opportunity to return to the architecture of ‘Hawksmoor, Burlington and Chambers’ and that street architecture has a responsibility to inform public taste as opposed to representing it. The author of the piece is not recorded but, in common with most of the unsigned opinion pieces, it is likely to have been written by the editor of the *Builder*, George Godwin.

In reviewing New Oxford Street, the author considers that street architecture is the prevalent form of contemporary urban construction, but that Wren and Nash are the only British architects to have had any opportunity of developing it. The plain brick terraces of Bloomsbury, Southwark and Mayfair did not constitute metropolitan improvement in the eyes of commentators of the 1840s. What the *Builder* meant by street architecture was the application of ornament to astylar facades:

principles...that had slept since the days of Hawksmoor, and Burlington, and Chambers, those of which reminiscences are still found in many a door way or staircase in old parts of the city, or the neighbourhood of the squares. Windows and cornices received their appropriate decoration, proportion was more regarded, and ornament employed with a less sparing hand.⁴⁹⁶

However, in addition to the early Palladian legacy the author notes that the architecture of the Italian palazzi, from which much Palladian ornament had been derived, was a relatively recent, but welcome, area of interest for contemporary architects:

Many years elapsed subsequent to the opening of Regent-street, when the formation of several new lines gave an opportunity for practice, such as does not often occur. Architecture had wholly altered its character in the interval, and it

⁴⁹⁶ ‘A Walk up New Oxford Street’, p. 422.

must be conceded had greatly advanced. There was less misconception as to the value and use of Grecian architecture, and useful lessons had been drawn from the study of Italian examples. The Travellers, the Junior University, and the Reform Club Houses had been completed, forming an epoch in modern practice, to which we believe we are right in attributing very important results. The necessity of studying and understanding something more than the orders had, even before that late date, not been completely felt; works illustrative of the architecture of Rome, Florence, or Genoa, were in the library of the architect less frequently than Stuart's Athens; and the proportions of stories and cornices, and the disposition of windows received comparatively little attention.⁴⁹⁷

In addition to this, the author also considers that, were it not for the plurality of styles, 'this general effect would be partly gained without particular attention being directed to it, and there would be a character of architecture similar to that in some streets in Italian cities, and, which is beginning to appear in Pall Mall'.⁴⁹⁸

Thus we can see that by the early 1840s, the concept of street architecture was understood as being shaped by many of the factors which had shaped the development of the Italianate. The failure of the Greek revival to adapt to commercial architecture, the influence of early-eighteenth-century British architecture, the new typology of the club-house, the interest in northern Italian palazzi and the sense that, allowed to develop instinctively, most urban architecture would be Italianate.

The author of the New Oxford Street critique considers the Italianate of Pennethorne's project to be superior to the architecture of Regent Street, the implication being that the predominantly astylar Italianate character of New Oxford Street is better suited to the composition of a commercial street than the 'assemblage of designs' of much of Nash's porticoed and colonnaded Regent's Street.⁴⁹⁹ At the same time, the author also regrets the growing use of pre-cast cement mouldings, noting that the often clumsy detailing of New Oxford Street displays a lack of architectural control over

⁴⁹⁷ 'A Walk up New Oxford Street,' p. 422.

⁴⁹⁸ 'A Walk up New Oxford Street,' p. 422.

⁴⁹⁹ 'A Walk up New Oxford Street,' p. 422.

detail. However, the availability of pre-cast ‘Italian’ mouldings both reflected and enabled the popularity of the Italianate in commercial developments. Italianate street architecture was essentially a plain brick façade with a cement cornice, quoins, and window or door dressings.

Unlike Greek or Roman mouldings there was no accepted standard for ‘correct’ Italianate detailing. And in contrast to Gothic or Grecian architecture, it was difficult to argue that the use of cement dressings was ‘incorrect’ for Italianate facades since many of the Italian palazzi made use of stucco.⁵⁰⁰ Consequently, the use of pre-cast mouldings meant that almost any building could be made to look ‘architectural’ without necessarily needing an architect, or the use of expensive dressed stone. This inevitably made the Italianate popular with commercial developers, and also led to its popularity in countries without a large skilled workforce.⁵⁰¹ Architectural critics of the 1840s were explicit in their approval of the Italianate to provide an ‘architectural’ (i.e. ornamented) façade without recourse to the use of unfamiliar or expensive materials.

A good example of this is Henry Clutton’s Alfred Life Office on Lothbury, City of London. It was constructed as a purpose-built commercial office. Like the Gresham Club, it shared a similarity of proportion and composition, and materials with Charles Dyer’s slightly earlier Dyer’s Hall façade to College Street, City of London.⁵⁰² (Plates 210 & 211). Commenting on the Alfred Life Offices at the time of their completion the *Builder* noted how the architecture of the building lent itself to the use of common materials. However, as the article is a rare contemporary articulation of why the

⁵⁰⁰ Furthermore, Inigo Jones had used plaster to imitate stone dressings at the Queen’s Chapel at St James’s Palace as early as the 1620s.

⁵⁰¹ East, J. W. ‘Australian Romanesque, A History of Romanesque-Inspired Architecture in Australia’, Doctoral thesis (Brisbane: The University of Queensland, 2016), pp. 20-21.

⁵⁰² Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, p. 337.

Italianate is so well suited for commercial street architecture, it is worth detailed analysis.

Firstly, there is the usual injunction against the direct ‘copying’ of ancient models, thereby ruling out the Greek revival as a continuing source of ornament. The clubhouses of Barry are seen as an acceptable alternative to the copying of ancient architecture, because although they draw on Italian architecture, they display the potential for the source material to be ‘improved’ upon rather than accurately copied:

The Alfred Life Office, of the front elevation of which we this week present our readers with an engraving, is an example of how much may be effected at a moderate expense, and with common materials, by a man of taste relying upon his own resources, rather than miserably imitating the inventions of his predecessors. Adaptations of the ancient edifices are seldom successful; many of the best specimens that have been produced in the present day, approaching very nearly to the servility of copyism. The Travellers' Club House is the best example with which we are acquainted. The Reform is an improvement upon the design which it is said formed Mr. Barry's model. But in both these instances great wealth was at the architect's command wherewith to produce corresponding magnificence, and taste rather than economy was the governing principle.⁵⁰³

However, the *Builder* also recognised that, in order to be practical, the cost of construction must be kept to a reasonable level for commercial premises, and herein lay the chief merit of the Italianate. By allowing a building of any scale receive a commensurate degree of ornament, the Italianate was eminently ‘scalable’. This was a vital quality because, as we have seen with the London Bridge Approaches project, commercial streets were often rebuilt or realigned on their original plot widths, meaning that the frontage widths and heights of premises were not subject to overall control. This point was not lost on the architectural press:

In those buildings which are appropriated to the purposes of commerce...external effect is generally sacrificed to the arrangement of an interior crammed with diminutive rooms...In too many instances, a few overgrown columns on a stilted basement, and with two or three tiers of windows between them, are the only evidences that an architect has been employed. Costliness is the criterion of merit,

⁵⁰³ *The Builder*, Volume I (4 November 1843), p. 470.

stone rather than style is matter of commendation, and people judge of the importance of a building rather from its materials than its design.⁵⁰⁴

In arguing for this, the *Builder* does not only dismiss the practicality of Greco-Roman architecture for commercial premises but goes on to actively promote the astylar classicism of the Alfred Life Office as an alternative:

The materials are of the most common description, while the design is more than usually meritorious. Considering that the architect had a frontage of no more than twenty-eight feet, that considerable light was required to each story, ... very little expense could be spared for decoration; his production will be found to possess a consistency and marked character no less pleasing than uncommon. Indeed, careful study has been bestowed upon every part of this exterior, and as a whole it is a credit to the architect, and an ornament to the city.⁵⁰⁵

Of even more interest is the *Builder's* opinion that the novelty of the commercial office as a typology requires a novel form of architecture, 'that demand for originality which the nature of the building creates'. And, fundamentally, there is the chief advantage as seen from the client's perspective:

The whole of the front, ... is executed in the metallic cement left unpainted, and certainly producing a very satisfactory effect. Messrs. Lee were the builders, and Mr. Harrison, of Finsbury street, the plasterer under whose immediate superintendence the front was stuccoed.⁵⁰⁶

The final paragraph is significant because it suggests that the use of stucco for decoration meant that the actual ornamentation of the building could be overseen by the suppliers and contractors without the need for a retained architect. By removing the sourcing of stone and the sculpting of masonry details, the chief materials of the building became much cheaper; brick and mould-formed cement.

With the architectural press advocating the use of the Italianate for commercial premises, and accepting the use of cement ornament as a positive benefit of the style, it

⁵⁰⁴ *The Builder*, Volume I (4 November, 1843), p. 470.

⁵⁰⁵ *The Builder*, Volume I (1843), p. 470.

⁵⁰⁶ *The Builder*, Volume I (1843), p. 470.

is little wonder that the Italianate became associated with the architecture of commercial premises in the 1840s and 1850s. The general acceptance of the Italianate in street architecture meant that it became possible to erect a building which was considered dignified and appropriate, indeed even ‘an ornament to the City,’ using materials which any building yard could supply, and which any contractor could oversee.

The other advantage of both the Italianate and the cement dressings which so often characterised it, was that it was possible to ‘re-clad’ an existing building to give it an Italianate character without any structural work being required. This made the Italianate a contextual and adaptive form of expression in a period when commercial premises were generally expanding and rebuilding. The New Oxford Street project coincided with (and probably influenced) precisely this phenomenon at the neighbouring Bedford Estate. The Bedford Estate in Bloomsbury was developed by the Russell family throughout the eighteenth-century, initially by James Burton and latterly by Thomas Cubitt.⁵⁰⁷

The Burton and Cubitt developments were generally plain, with simple neoclassical dressings restricted to prominent corner blocks. (Plate 212). The estate had made limited use of stucco at an early date; 67-70 Montague Street were Nash’s first work, built in 1777-1778, and at the same time he remodelled the adjoining 17 Bloomsbury Square in a pilastered Corinthian manner similar to Inigo Jones’s Queen’s Gallery at Somerset House.⁵⁰⁸ (Plates 213 & 214). Beyond this, the majority of the Bedford Estate remained plain brick with limited ornamentation. By the time of the New Oxford Street

⁵⁰⁷ ‘The Bedford Estate’, *Survey of London: Volume 36, Covent Garden*, ed. F H W Sheppard (London, 1970), p. 19. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol36/p19>.

⁵⁰⁸ The porch and fourth floor were added in the 1860s. National Heritage List for England <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1244453>.

project the most notable new addition to the estate was Robert Smirke's British Museum. The Select Committee on Metropolis Improvements had been presented with proposals from several architects who envisaged clearing the buildings to the south of the British Museum to create a vista through into New Oxford Street.⁵⁰⁹ (Plate 215)

However, none of these designs were adopted, and at the time of the New Oxford Street project the area between the new street and the Museum was occupied by a range of houses dating from the seventeenth-century to the 1830s. Following the completion of New Oxford Street, the Bedford Estate began to transform the seventeenth and eighteenth-century houses to resemble the modern commercial architecture of the new street. Surviving examples of this can be seen at 18-21 Little Russell Street, 42-47 Museum Street, 8-12 Great Russell Street, 43-48 Great Russell Street, and 74-77 Great Russell Street. (Plates 216-220). The majority of these re-frontings appear to have been undertaken to the designs of William Finch Hill (fl. 1850s-1870s) and E.L. Paraire (1826–1882) in the 1850s.⁵¹⁰ Paraire and Hill specialised in designing music halls and public houses (including the Museum Tavern on Great Russell Street).⁵¹¹ Their music hall designs reflected an interest in seventeenth and early-eighteenth-century British classicism, and their Italianate frontages on the Bedford Estate display a certain similarity to seventeenth-century English mannerism in the use of quoin pilasters and broken entablatures.⁵¹²

⁵⁰⁹ National Archives, WORK 6/152/1; *Second Report from Select Committee on Metropolis Improvements; With the Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, Index, and Plans Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed, 2 August 1838.*

⁵¹⁰ Felstead, F. and Pinfield, L. *Directory of British Architects 1834-1900* (London: RIBA, 1993), p.445, p. 689

⁵¹¹ Pevsner, N. and Cherry, B. *The Buildings of England; London 4, North* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), p.322.

⁵¹² Earl, J. and Sell, M. *Guide to British Theatres 1750-1950* (London: Bloomsbury, 2000), pp. 273.

The *Builder* had commended the use of the Italianate for New Oxford Street, and the re-fronting of earlier houses in the same style met with similar approval from the

Building News:

In reference to the cement facings of our street buildings, it may be urged that ultra-Purists in architecture may object to this mode of external embellishment; we may, however, remark that when the structures to which we advert are completed, they will present a much better appearance, architecturally, than the dull, tame, expressionless old brick fronts, which in many of our streets appear like walls perforated with holes for their window and door openings, the former being destitute of architraves or other dressings round them...the whole is being done in the most appropriate manner, with moulded architraves around the windows, and terminated by a bold cornice, having its corona supported by Ionic blocks.⁵¹³

These re-frontings tie into one of the paradoxes of the Italianate. On the one hand, the re-frontings can be seen as a straightforward application of the most up-to-date style to a much older building, to bring it into line with contemporary commercial developments on neighbouring streets. But on the other hand, the older buildings themselves dictated the use of the Italianate for re-fronting. For practical and structural reasons, the brick constructions of eighteenth-century terraced properties throughout London could only be re-clad in stucco detailing until the Bedford Estate experimented with re-facings in faience in the 1890s. (Plate 221). Terracotta had been experimented with as a facing material in Germany in the early-nineteenth-century.⁵¹⁴ However, it did not find popularity in Britain until much later in the nineteenth-century.⁵¹⁵ The somewhat Romanesque 65 Cornhill, London, c.1870, is an early commercial frontage with terracotta ornament, manufactured by William Cubitt but even this was built in the latter part of the nineteenth-century.⁵¹⁶ (Plate 222). This meant that until the end of the nineteenth-century only stucco was shallow and light enough to allow for refacing

⁵¹³ *Building News*, Volume IV (September 1858), p.912.

⁵¹⁴ Notably on Schinkel's Berlin Bauakademie of 1832-1836.

⁵¹⁵ Stratton, M. *Terracotta Revival: Building Innovation and the Image of the Industrial City in Britain and North America* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1993).

⁵¹⁶ Smith, P.J. *The I'Ansons*, p.176.

without causing issues of structural stability or encroachment on the pavement. In addition to this, it had the key advantage of keying easily to brickwork. But there were also aesthetic considerations which made the Italianate the most suitable, or the least bizarre, means of re-fronting earlier terraced buildings.

Another reason why the Italianate was used for the re-fronting of street buildings is that the proportions of eighteenth-century terraces usually precluded any manner of additional ornament other than aedicular. To attempt recladding in a Greco-Roman idiom would have required the loading of pilasters, pediments or porticoes onto buildings whose structural capacity and footprint was non-negotiable. Clearly the proportions and nature of the existing eighteenth-century building stock could not be rationally adopted to the Gothic style. And although the Tudor revival had shown itself adaptable to terraced housing in places such as Lonsdale Square in Islington, it was only used for purpose-built buildings which could be constructed with bay windows, almost uniform floor heights, gables and porches, rather than applied to existing city-centre frontages. (Plate 223). Since the Italianate followed the same astylar principles and classical proportions of the eighteenth-century terrace, its details were exceptionally suitable to ornamenting a plain brick frontage. Examples of this can still be seen in London and elsewhere in the United Kingdom. Dalby Terrace in Islington was built in 1803 by Mr. Dalby, a manufacturer.⁵¹⁷ By the 1850s the terrace had been given aedicule dressings and cornices which added ornament, but did not alter the proportions of the underlying early-nineteenth-century structure. (Plates 224- 226). This domestic re-fronting was similar to what had occurred on the Bedford Estate, and David

⁵¹⁷ Islington Local History Centre, *Vestry Minute Book, bk. 1777-1811*, f. 153; Nelson, *Islington* (1829), p. 217.

Blisset has also recognised the tendency for Barry to re-front eighteenth-century country houses in the Italianate manner.⁵¹⁸

In the field of commercial street architecture there is also evidence of the Italianate being used to re-front substantial eighteenth-century public buildings beyond the metropolis. The Belfast Exchange and Assembly Rooms are one notable example of this. In 1845 the Sir Charles Lanyon kept the entire structure of the 1769 Palladian building, but created the impression of a new Italianate palazzo purely through the use of applied pre-cast cement details.⁵¹⁹ The re-facing was done to convert the building to a bank, showing that in 1840s Belfast, as in London, the Italianate was becoming synonymous with the commercial high street. (Plates 227 & 228). In Bristol the asylum at Brislington, finished in a relatively plain classical manner in 1806, was re-fronted in 1851 in a form of Italianate which clearly derived its inspiration from the early-eighteenth-century thereby altering the external character of the building from something essentially amounting to a country house to something more institutional and urban.⁵²⁰ (Plates 229-231)

These surviving examples demonstrate that, because Italianate details were generally confined to the window surrounds, quoins, cornice and doorcase, ornaments could be applied to an existing building with no structural intervention or increase in the footprint of the building. On the Bedford Estate, one curious effect of the plainer re-frontings was to give the terraces the appearance of early-eighteenth-century constructions. Clearly the intention was to make the buildings look more modern. But

⁵¹⁸ Blisset, D. 'Veneerer-in-chief to the nobility: Sir Charles Barry's country Houses, *The Victorian Great House*, Ed. Malcolm Airs (Oxford: Windrush Design and Print, 2000), pp. 51-69.

⁵¹⁹ Heatley, F. and Boyd, G. 'The Old Assembly Rooms.' *Belfast: Paintings and Stories from the City*. (Donaghadee: Cottage Publications 1998, pp. 33-34).

⁵²⁰ Rutherford, S. 'The Landscapes of Public Lunatic Asylums in England, 1808-1914', thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of Ph.D (De Monfort University, Leicester, 2003), p. 128.

the fact that the new dressings articulate, rather than mask, the eighteenth-century origins of the underlying construction only serves to illustrate the aesthetic continuities between early-eighteenth-century English Palladianism and the Italianate of the 1840s and 1850s.

The New Oxford Street project, and the Italianate re-facings on the neighbouring parts of the Bedford Estate, display two different aspects of the ways in which the Italianate lent itself to street architecture. In both instances the application of the Italianate was associated with ‘improvement’. In the case of New Oxford Street this improvement took the form of slum clearance, traffic circulation and the creation of a new commercial, largely retail, street. In the case of the Bedford Estate the improvement was to hide what the *Civil Engineer and Architect’s Journal* referred to as ‘buildings which would have exhibited no other front than a naked wall, pierced with openings for the windows’.⁵²¹

By the 1850s the concept of metropolitan street architecture as a distinct form of modern building was noted not only by professionals but also in the popular press. In 1856 the *Illustrated London News* reviewed the newly-erected premises of Messrs. Berens, Blumberg and Co,⁵²² on the newly-created Cannon Street extension in the City of London. The architect was William Hosking, whose views on the Italianate we have already examined in relation to his work for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. (Plate 132)

Noting that while the improvement of London’s west end had been going on for many years, the *News* commented that a more recent tendency in street architecture was the erection of mercantile edifices ‘which deserve the name ‘palaces of industry’.’⁵²³

⁵²¹ *The Civil Engineer and Architect’s Journal* (October 1837), p. 9.

⁵²² Otto Alexander Berens was a linen draper whose firm Berens, Blumberg & Co imported and dealt in fancy goods such as lace and silk.

⁵²³ ‘London Street Architecture, Cannon-Street West’ *Illustrated London News* (5 July 1856) pp.17-18.

The building was astylar, with a deep cornice, window aedicules and a rusticated basement and ground floor, in fact all the characteristics which this thesis has understood as forming the urban Italianate.

Yet in the description of the building given in the *News*, a complex understanding of the urban Italianate emerges. The stylistic analysis begins by saying that ‘the external elevations of the building are of no defined style’ which speaks of the manner in which the Italianate inhabited its own set of references outside of art historical definitions. The *News* clearly recognised something of an Italian nature in the building, but is confounded by what that reference was, stating it ‘may be considered as a fair sample of the features of the more conspicuous commercial and domestic edifices of Venice. Under a crowning cornice studied from that of Vignola's Villa Giulia, near Rome’.⁵²⁴ It is difficult to see what Venetian influence there is in the elevations, and the cornice bears only a passing resemblance to that of the Villa Giulia. Hosking had visited Italy in the 1820s, but his interests at that time appear to have been in the Ancient architecture.⁵²⁵ The *News* could be more precise about a more direct influence on the design of the building; the requirements of the Corporation of London:

The sliced corners, or, to speak more technically, the excised quoins...are formed in compliance with the requirements of the City Improvement Committee. An endeavour on the part of the architect, Professor Hosking, to obtain permission to corbel out to the square, at some sufficient height above the pavement, was not successful. This we think was much to be regretted. When a mercantile house gives an architect of large views carte blanche for the construction of a colossal and imposing edifice, such as to raise the environs of St. Paul's to an architect, no longer so unworthy to stand beside the masterpiece of Wren as the dingy and shabby demolished predecessors of the present building, we think that authority should have shown more alacrity to second such bravura of intention.⁵²⁶

⁵²⁴ ‘London Street Architecture, Cannon-Street West’ p. 18.

⁵²⁵ Hosking, W. *A Selection of Architectural and Other Ornaments, Greek, Roman and Italian drawn from the originals in various museums and buildings in Italy* (London: John Jenkins, 1827).

⁵²⁶ ‘London Street Architecture, Cannon-Street West’ p. 18.

Here, then, are some of the characteristics of the urban Italianate which have recurred throughout this thesis. An imprecise sense of which Italian buildings were being referenced, creating a building of ‘no defined style’, yet of a quality equal to the classicism of Wren. Yet also a very precise sense of how this new form of architecture was appropriate for a commercial street, and was partly designed around a set of planning requirements. In fact, the need to comply with the Corporation’s insistence on chamfered corners can have come as little surprise to Hosking, who, as we have seen, was the Official Referee of Metropolitan Buildings, tasked with enforcing the standards of the Metropolitan Buildings Act.

The role of municipal government, and the Metropolitan Board of Works will be examined in Chapter 6, but before turning to these it is worth further examining Hosking’s views in relation to street architecture. In the 1849 edition of his *Guide to the Proper Regulation of Building in Towns*, written in his position as Referee of Metropolitan Buildings, he noted:

Open porticoes before private buildings ought to be strictly confined to the space not given up to the public, and the circumstances are very few indeed which can justify the projection of a portico from even a public building over the footway of a street...Shallow, or comparatively shallow, horizontal projections, as cornices and balcony floors, need not perhaps be limited to the general line of the fronts, but they ought not under any circumstances to overhang the public way. All matters assuming the guise of architectural decoration upon or about the wall or walls of a building, ought to be considered as parts of the wall upon or about which they are placed or applied.⁵²⁷

We have seen how Greek and Greco-Roman architecture had not been adopted for commercial street architecture, and how the Italianate had provided a means of creating an acceptable form of street architecture in which some sense of classical context had

⁵²⁷ Hosking, W. *A guide to the proper regulation of Building in Towns* (London: John Murray and Co, 1849) pp. 256- 263.

been married with the practicalities of street improvements. But in his aversion to porticoes and acceptance of astylar ornament was Hosking, in his role of implementing the Metropolitan Buildings Act, effectively legislating for the Italianate? To answer this question, we must turn to the 1850s and the formation of the Metropolitan Board of Works.

Chapter 6

From Commercial to Imperial: Italianate architecture at mid-century

An Architect, requires the assistance of a good practical
DRAUGHTSMAN; one who understands Italian Architecture
(Renaissance) preferred —Apply to L. L. Sir. Smith. Stationer, Duke-
street, Adelphi, between Four and Six o'clock, on Monday, July 24.⁵²⁸

It is difficult to state a date of conclusion for the urban Italianate in Britain because it survived into the twentieth century in a form that was not radically different from its early- nineteenth-century appearance. (Plate 232). What can be said is that by the mid-nineteenth-century the Italianate as understood in this thesis had reached a point where it ceased to develop. This means that in much urban architecture, particularly in residential and commercial speculative development, it is difficult to immediately distinguish an Italianate building of the 1850s from one of the 1880s. (Plates 233 & 234). In concluding his *Early Victorian Architecture in Britain* Hitchcock's assessment of British architecture of the 1850s was that none of the trends of the previous twenty years actually ceased, what changed was a willingness to embrace non-English forms of Gothic, particularly Italian and German, a shift which enabled a more successful adaptation of Gothic forms to contemporary secular architecture.⁵²⁹ The 1850s seem to mark this change in the urban hegemony of the Italianate, and 1850 is also the year at which Muthesius chooses to begin his account of polychromatic 'muscular' Gothic and Lombardic, a form of façade expression which decidedly lent itself to street architecture in London and elsewhere.⁵³⁰ (Plate 235)

⁵²⁸ Advertisement page of *The Builder* (22 July 1865), p. 531.

⁵²⁹ Hitchcock, *Early Victorian Architecture in Britain*, pp. 572-573.

⁵³⁰ Muthesius, *The High Victorian Movement*, p. xv.

We have seen how the Italianate had provided a way of articulating new urban typologies, and had lent itself to a period when the majority of new urban buildings which were needed were not those serving the functions of the state but of middle-class associational life and commerce. Yet by the middle of the nineteenth-century the state became a key client for architecture, as metropolitan architecture entered what has been described as its ‘Imperial’ phase.⁵³¹ In order to understand the urban Italianate at mid-century it will be necessary to consider the manner in which it lent itself to certain state projects, and not to others. Ultimately, the qualities which made the Italianate a more practical form for street architecture than monumental Greek in the 1830s and 1840s would, by the 1850s, become its undoing.

Because the Italianate was so prevalent as a solution to street architecture, when the metropolis began to require a sequence of buildings which were decidedly not street architecture, it was seen as being too commercial and commonplace an idiom for major public buildings. This chapter explores the manner in which the Italianate continued to be seen as an acceptable, indeed preferable, form of architectural expression under the improvement schemes of the Metropolitan Board of Works. But we shall also examine how this success undermined perceptions of its appropriateness for major public buildings, as evidenced by the debates in the Government Offices competition (1856-1861) and the reviews of the new east wing of Buckingham Palace (1847-1850).

Metropolitan Board of Works

Before considering the role of the Italianate in individual buildings of the 1850s and 1860s, we must first consider its role in metropolitan government and town planning, a

⁵³¹ Port, M.H., *Imperial London; Civil Government Building in London 1851-1915* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995).

role to which it lent itself so effectively that it was to become almost the de facto architectural expression of the Metropolitan Board of Works. We have seen how the London Bridge Approaches project shows the early development of the Italianate for commercial street architecture, and New Oxford Street shows its development for retail use and its acceptance by the architectural press. However, the Italianate had another role to play in civic and commercial metropolitan architecture, and the construction of Southwark Street represents an implementation of the Italianate as the architectural expression of metropolitan improvement under the auspices of local government.

The Metropolitan Board of works was established at the end of 1855 under An Act for the better Local Management of the Metropolis.⁵³² The chief aim of the Board was to ensure comprehensive oversight of street widening and improvement, in order to ensure that local works were connected to the needs of the entire metropolis, and to ensure that city-wide standards of building control were adhered to. The Board also subsumed the responsibilities of the Metropolitan Buildings Office and Metropolitan Commission of Sewers, established in 1845 and 1848 respectively. The political history of the Board has been the subject of study, especially in terms of its role in local government.⁵³³ However, from an architectural point of view, one of the most obvious products of the Board was the proliferation of Italianate commercial architecture which accompanied the projects which occurred under its auspices, and which shall be considered in due course.

The powers and responsibilities of the Metropolitan Board of Works may be broadly summarised as follows. They had the power to make, widen and improve roads, limited powers of compulsory purchase of frontages (after application to Parliament), and the

⁵³² The Metropolis Management Act 1855, 18 & 19 Vict. c. 120.

⁵³³ Edwards, P.J. *History of London Street Improvements, 1855-1897* (London: London County Council, 1898).

responsibility to ensure the adequate width of new streets.⁵³⁴ Additional duties involved the commissioning and control of sewers, naming of streets and controlling the agreed frontage lines after construction.⁵³⁵ The Board had no statutory authority over the design of new frontages. However, the Metropolis Management Act included the Metropolitan Building Act which sought to update the 1844 Metropolitan Buildings Act and provide detailed guidelines for the regulation of individual buildings under the control of the Metropolitan Board of Works.⁵³⁶

The scope of the Metropolitan Building Act gives a fascinating insight into the area of architecture which Parliament considered necessary to regulate because its jurisdiction is almost entirely limited to commercial street architecture. Virtually all public buildings are excluded, along with all prisons and wharfs, hospitals, Crown property, the premises of the Corporation of London, the Bank of England, the East India Company, markets and railway buildings and any building under thirty feet in height which was at least eight feet from a public thoroughfare. It can be seen that the *Metropolitan Building Act* almost exclusively applied to commercial premises with a street frontage and terraced housing; precisely the building typology which was to most consistently embrace the Italianate as a means of architectural expression.⁵³⁷

The question must therefore be asked: was there anything in the terms of the Act which, albeit unconsciously, ensured that the Italianate became the architectural

⁵³⁴ Edwards, *History of London Street Improvements*, pp.10-21.

⁵³⁵ Woolrych, E.H. *The Metropolis Local Management Acts: With Introduction, Notes, and an Appendix, Containing Statutes Incorporated with the Metropolis Local Management Act, 1855, Or Relating to the Functions of the Boards and Vestries Thereby Constituted* (London, 1863), pp. 92-104.

⁵³⁶ Glenn, R.C. *The Metropolitan Building Acts, 1855 to 1882: with appendices: containing the building clauses of the Metropolis Local Management Acts and of the City of London Sewer Acts, also bye-laws, regulations, circulars, and other official documents of the Metropolitan Board of Works* (London, 1883), pp. 1-7.

⁵³⁷ Glenn, *The Metropolitan Building Acts*, pp. 8-12.

expression of regulatory compliance? Although not concerning itself with the aesthetic appearance of buildings, the Act made provision for the regulation of the design of facades, particularly where they fronted the building line on a public highway:

Every coping, cornice, fascia, window dressing, portico, balcony, verandah, balustrade, and architectural projection or decoration whatsoever, and also the eaves or cornices to any overhanging roof, except the cornices and dressings to the window fronts of shops, and except the eaves and cornices to detached and semi-detached dwelling houses distant at least fifteen feet from any other building, and from the ground of any adjoining owner, shall, unless the Metropolitan Board otherwise permit, be of brick, tile, stone, artificial stone, slate, cement, or other fire-proof material.

Except in so far as is permitted by this section in the case of shop fronts, and with the exception of water pipes and their appurtenances, copings, cornices, fascias, window dressings, and other like architectural decorations, no projection from any building shall extend beyond the general line of fronts in any street, except with the permission of the Metropolitan Board of Works hereinafter mentioned.⁵³⁸

While not expressly seeking to promote any one style of architecture, the Act had essentially made a prescription in favour of the Italianate. As we have already seen, the Italianate lent itself to the use of cement dressings, a lack of projection at ground floor level, and the restriction of decorative treatments to the ‘copings, cornices, fascias, window dressings, and other like architectural decorations’. Crucially, the Italianate did not make use of engaged or free-standing columns, which satisfied the Act in terms of ensuring no building frontage projected ‘beyond the general line of the fronts in any street’.

Therefore, although the Act did not make an aesthetic judgment, it codified a set of controls which regulated in favour of the Italianate in terms of street architecture. The Act’s advocacy for an essentially planar frontage, with cement ornament restricted to the cornices and aedicules of a building made the Italianate an obvious means of complying with the terms of the Act while still allowing for a decorated façade. In

⁵³⁸ Glenn, *The Metropolitan Building Acts*, pp.25-26.

addition to the consistency of façade design promoted by the Act, further consistency was ensured by stipulations for the office of the District Surveyor, reporting to the architects of the Metropolitan Board of Works.⁵³⁹ With the Act establishing the materials, areas of ornament and general façade projection of street architecture, the office of District Surveyor overseeing all new buildings and alterations, and the Metropolitan Board of Works ensuring consistency across the metropolis, the mid-nineteenth-century appearance of commercial streets in London began to assume a more uniform, more Italianate, character. (Plates 236 & 237)

The manner in which the 1844 and 1855 versions of the Act unintentionally encouraged the proliferation of Italianate buildings was noted by advocates of the Gothic revival. Alfred Bartholomew, editor of the *Builder*, protested the manner in which the Act prohibited the use of overhanging eaves and opus incertum walling (such as Pugin had advocated), making the application of Puginian Gothic principles to street architecture considerably more difficult.⁵⁴⁰ This was hardly surprising; the Act aimed at regulating building to a set of agreed standards and to that end it was the absolute antithesis of Puginian principles of vernacular materials and picturesque outlines. Revived Gothic would eventually develop a mid-nineteenth-century style which allowed it to become both compliant with the Act and more practical for commercial street architecture, but this usually involved the incorporation of either Venetian or Lombardic elements within an often classical silhouette, and owed more to the contemporary English Italianate than to the original intentions of Pugin. (Plates 238-240)

⁵³⁹ Glenn, *The Metropolitan Building Acts*, pp.30-46.

⁵⁴⁰ *The Builder*, Volume II (22 June 1844), pp. 319-322.

A sense of how Gothic responded to the regulation of street architecture in London and other urban areas can be gained from Muthesius's examination of mid-nineteenth-century street architecture in which he demonstrates that from the 1850s onwards a form of commercial Gothic was produced which has similarity of proportion 'to its Georgian neighbours' in which flat polychromatic brickwork was used to express the sense of Gothic while enabling the actual structure to remain 'a simple Georgian façade' which could 'emphasise the block-like coherence of the whole [street]'.⁵⁴¹ In many ways the street architecture of the 1860s could be seen as divided not so much by the Gothic and the classical, as the tensions between the vigorous polychromatic and the urbane monochromatic.

While the Building Act had extremely practical implications for the Italianate street in London, the membership of the Metropolitan Board of Works can also be seen as forming something of an Italianate club. Members of the board were not elected by the general public, but were chosen by the City of London Corporation and by the Vestries and District Boards of the Metropolis from among their members.⁵⁴² Unsurprisingly, the emphasis of the membership was on local government officials with a heavy bias towards Aldermen of the City.⁵⁴³ The first Chairman of the Board, from 1855-1870, was Sir John Thwaites, a reforming Liberal, Baptist and businessman who was concerned with social welfare. He appointed Joseph Bazalgette as the Board's Chief Engineer.⁵⁴⁴ The pre-eminent role of these two men on the Board ensured that its chief

⁵⁴¹ Muthesius, *The High Victorian Movement* p. 189.

⁵⁴² 'Metropolitan Board of Works' *Morning Post*, (30 May 1857), p. 7.

⁵⁴³ Clifton, G.C. 'Appendix 1: List of Members of the Metropolitan Board of Works,' *Professionalism, Patronage and Public Service in Victorian London* (London: The Athlone Press, 1992), pp. 168–175.

⁵⁴⁴ Lancaster, B. 'Thwaites, Sir John' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online edition) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

concern remained improvement in the sanitary sense, with the rebuilding of premises on new or improved streets falling to individual freeholders or speculative developers.

The Board also included architects and surveyors.⁵⁴⁵ Among members of the 1850s were Alderman William Cubitt (engineering contractor), and Sir William Tite, architect. Both men spent their careers engaged in largely Greco-Roman or Italianate projects, in Cubitt's case Cubitt Town, Covent Garden covered market, Number 2 London Bridge, Fishmonger's Hall and Euston Station, and in the case of Tite, the Royal Exchange and a myriad of Italianate stations for the London and Southampton Railway and the Eastern Counties, London and Blackwall, Gravesend and South Western Railways. (Plates 241 & 242). Tite had designed Tudor stations for several suburban and provincial locations, and the Gothic cemetery of Norwood. He followed in the early-nineteenth-century tradition of restricting Gothic to rural or ecclesiastical locations and using classical architecture for commercial and metropolitan buildings. Cubitt, although retired from professional work by 1851, came from a building dynasty for whom the Italianate was virtually a brand. It is also worth noting that Cubitt was born in 1791 and Tite in 1798; by the time of their involvement in the Metropolitan Board of Works they were both of advanced middle age. With the most prominent figures of the board representing the architectural taste of an older generation it is little wonder that when the Board came to commission its own building it chose a design of a conservative, Italianate, character.

By the late 1850s the Board had decided to move from the Guildhall to Spring Gardens, Westminster. The Board's Chief Architect was Frederick Marrable, and he

⁵⁴⁵ Summerson, J. 'The London Building World of the 1860s', *The Unromantic Castle*, pp. 188-190

was charged with designing the new headquarters.⁵⁴⁶ The result was a building which exemplified both the proclivities of the Board and the various strands of the English Italianate. The Spring Gardens headquarters were a piece of street architecture, being an office building fronting several pavements and sitting in central Westminster. The general form of the building clearly owes something to Sir James Pennethorne's offices for the Duchy of Cornwall, built on the other side of St James's Park in 1854.⁵⁴⁷ (Plates 243 & 244). However, while Pennethorne's offices were an exercise in the astylar tradition of neighbouring Belgravia, Marrable combined an astylar entrance bay with wings which were essentially a reworking of Inigo Jones's Banqueting House. The building thereby combines, in a very literal manner, the two main sources of the mid-nineteenth-century Italianate. On the one hand, it evokes a sense of the Italian palazzo tradition, without any reference to a tangible Italian model. Yet it also takes the Jonesian tradition and uses it as a piece of contemporary street architecture.

Although he retired from the Board in 1860, Marrable would go on to design the Garrick Club (as part of the Board's Garrick Street improvements) in the early 1860s. For this he chose a style which initially appears to be based on an Italian palazzo. (Plate 245). However, the majority of the elevation (at ground and first floor) appears to owe more to the early-eighteenth-century English tradition of Gibbs and Hawksmoor than to any model from Italy, notably in the exaggerated keystones and the smooth-faced channelled rustication. As with Barry's Travellers Club, the staircase appears to be based on seventeenth and early-eighteenth-century English designs, as indeed is most of the interior. (Plates 246 & 247)

⁵⁴⁶ *Survey of London*, vol. xx, pp. 66–7.

⁵⁴⁷ Tyack, *Pennethorne*, p.231-232.

Marrable was the Board's Chief Architect at the time the Southwark Street improvements commenced in 1857, and after his resignation in 1860 he was replaced by George Vulliamy.⁵⁴⁸ Vulliamy's experience included travels in Italy, time in the office of Sir Charles Barry, and London projects including assistance on the construction of the Italianate Dorchester House, and the design of the Swiss Protestant Church on Endell Street (which is notable for its mid-nineteenth-century use of the early-eighteenth-century Palladian idiom). This tendency towards predominantly classical architects meant that in the 1850s and 1860s the Board could retain a stylistically neutral public position, while simultaneously representing a group of professionals whose own work was predicated in favour of a broadly Italianate approach. (Plate 248)

Southwark Street

Southwark Street (begun in 1857) was one of the Board's first projects, and offers a valuable case-study as to why the formation of a centralised planning body should lead to the Italianate becoming the prevailing expression of mid-nineteenth-century street architecture in London. In Southwark Street we see the manner in which the Italianate adopted to the demands of warehouse and office provision in a new street which was chiefly concerned with industrial commerce and commodities exchange. Here the role of the Metropolitan Board of Works can be seen, both in creation of the street itself, and in its implementation of the Building Act of 1844. (Plate 249). The Southwark Street project followed on from a recommendation of the Select Committee on Metropolis Improvements of 1840 when they advised the Government that:

⁵⁴⁸ Tyack, Geoffrey, 'Frederick Marrable', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online edition) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

...a very essential benefit would be afforded to the Public by the completion of a line of communication between Westminster and Southwark Bridge...which...would make a continuous line of broad and open street from Westminster Bridge to London Bridge, and provide a ready means of communication between the terminus of the Brighton and Kent Railroads, situated at London Bridge, and the whole of the West End of the Metropolis.⁵⁴⁹

Pennethorne had produced a plan for the creation of street broadly on the line of what would become Southwark Street in the 1840s, but as his plan involved slum clearance (or rather the expense of slum clearance) the Metropolitan Board of Works produced a new plan which created a new street from Blackfriars to London Bridge, involving less demolition.⁵⁵⁰ The character of Southwark Street was commercial, but it would be commercial architecture of a very different sort to the London Bridge Approaches and New Oxford Street. Due to Southwark's position on the route into London from Sussex and Kent, it developed into the centre of the hop trade. This, in combination with its position on the south bank of the Pool of London and its use as the headquarters of the London leather market, created an area characterised by hop and grain exchanges, agricultural commodities markets and warehousing and office premises linked to these activities.⁵⁵¹ While the areas to the east and south of Southwark had undergone extensive residential development from c.1770-1830, creating neighbourhoods centred on Trinity Church Square and St George's Circus, the character of the central part of Southwark was primarily one of manufacture, storage and goods exchange.⁵⁵²

⁵⁴⁹ National Archives, WORK 6/152/1 *First Report from Select Committee on Metropolis Improvements with the Minutes of Evidence Appendix and Plans* (Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 25 June 1840), p. vi.

⁵⁵⁰ Tyack, *Pennethorne*, pp. 69-72.

⁵⁵¹ *Survey of London: Volume 22, Bankside (The Parishes of St. Saviour and Christchurch Southwark)* (London: London County Council, 1950), p.90.

⁵⁵² Humphrey, S. 'The Hop Trade in Southwark,' *Brewery History* Number 123 (Summer 2006), pp.5-13

In April 1856, the St. Saviour's District Board petitioned the Metropolitan Board of Works requesting the formation of a street between the terminus of the South Eastern Railway at London Bridge and Blackfriars, to enable better communication between Southwark and the west of London. By 1857 the Covent Garden Approach and Southwark and Westminster Communication Act in 1857 had been passed, enabling around four-hundred properties to be demolished to clear the ground for this new line of communication. Sir Joseph Bazalgette oversaw the formation of both the street and the subway which was built to accommodate gas, drainage, and water pipes and telegraph cables.⁵⁵³ The buildings lining the new street were mostly built after 1864, when the roadway itself was completed, although some were constructed as sections progressed. The reshaping of the western part of Borough High Street and the curving nature of Southwark Street created unfolding vistas rather than broad prospects. In addition to this, most of the northern part of Borough High Street was rebuilt on medieval plots occupied by existing businesses, giving narrow frontages, whereas Southwark Street, which resulted from slum demolition, allowed for combining plots into much wider frontages. The crossings of former streets and of areas not purchased for demolition also gave rise to a number of island plots, particularly where Southwark Street intersects with Borough High Street.⁵⁵⁴ (Plate 250)

Much like the London Bridge Approaches, the new buildings varied between retention of historic plot widths and the creation of larger new and amalgamated plots. However, unlike the London Bridge Approaches and the New Oxford Street plans, the frontages of the Southwark Street improvements, particularly at their eastern junction, did not create a largely straight building line. In some ways the curving nature of

⁵⁵³ *Survey of London*, Volume 22, p.90.

⁵⁵⁴ Edwards, P.T., *History of London Street Improvements*, p. 29.

Southwark Street was not dissimilar to the line of Regent Street. But whereas Regent Street had been developed with the oversight of one master architect,⁵⁵⁵ the architecture of Southwark Street was to be entirely different, erected by individual commercial premises.

The details of how the buildings lining Southwark Street were constructed can be traced in contemporary accounts, including a detailed report published in the *Builder* in 1864, three weeks after the road had been fully opened to traffic.⁵⁵⁶ The *Builder* begins by regretting the fact that the street is not straight, and despite referring to the street plan as resembling Hogarth's 'Line of Beauty', the critic does not consider it desirable in a street, claiming, somewhat inexplicably, that the English are averse to curves. Notwithstanding the plan of the street itself, the *Builder* recognises the street as a major improvement in terms of opening a new line of communication on the east-west axis of the capital. At this stage, because sections of the street had opened incrementally, some premises had already been constructed, and the article notes:

...the vacant building-ground on each side consists of about 200 separate plots, seventeen of which have been already let. At the south-eastern corner of the Borough end of the street, several plots have been let to the Alliance Bank of London and Liverpool, who have just erected their offices; and plots have been let to hop-merchants and others, so that the vacant land at this end of the street is being rapidly covered. Several plots about the middle of the street, too, have been let, and the Board anticipate that as soon as the advantages of the thoroughfare have been felt, the vacant land which they have now to dispose of will be speedily taken.⁵⁵⁷

The Alliance Bank,⁵⁵⁸ one of the first of the new buildings to be constructed, occupied the northern part of the island plot in Borough High Street. It was constructed of stock brick with Italianate details in stone; the only element readily distinguishing it from the

⁵⁵⁵ Tyack, G. 'Nash, John' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online edition) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁵⁵⁶ *The Builder* (9 January 1864), p. 24.

⁵⁵⁷ *The Builder* (9 January 1864), p. 24.

⁵⁵⁸ Probably to designs by the bank's architect, Frederick Pinches, see: Booker's thesis, *The architecture of banking*, pp. 60-61 and p.169.

Italianate of the 1840s and 1850s was the inclusion of pedimented dormers with stone cheeks on the top floor, as opposed to the unbroken parapets of earlier Italianate buildings. The neighbouring plots were shortly filled with two main forms of Italianate architecture; the loosely Cinquecento or Palladian ornament of the Alliance Bank applied to trabeated windows, each single opening arranged as an even bay, and a more arcuated form of fenestration (often arranged in tripartite groups) in a manner which contemporaries usually also referred to as 'Italian', but which is also close in spirit to the German Rundbogenstil.⁵⁵⁹ (Plate 251)

The plots on the intersection of Borough High Street and Southwark Street were generally occupied by banks and offices, being of narrow frontages and closer to the existing retail areas in Southwark and to London Bridge Station. However, the newly created 'slum clearance' plots on Southwark Street tended to be occupied by warehouses and exchanges, having wider plot widths and no existing retail trade. Southwark Street accordingly had a fairly consistent building height of around four, uniform, storeys (often with attics) and was almost entirely constructed in brick with stone, moulded brick or stucco dressings.

The role of the Metropolitan Board of Works was not to approve the 'style,' of any new buildings, but to regulate the materials and building height. But to a considerable degree these regulatory requirements predicated in favour of classical forms which, when combined with the generally even storey heights and restrained articulation of commercial buildings, gave an Italianate character. Southwark Street is therefore representative of the Italianate as the commercial vernacular. By the 1860s the Italianate was the de facto expression of commercial development and had proven itself

⁵⁵⁹ 'Public Improvements,' *Companion to the Almanac*, (London, 1865), p.167.

capable of adapting to the demands of new street architecture and the requirements of the Building Act.

The impact of this can be seen most obviously in the buildings which attempted to incorporate non-classical ornaments, most notably Henry Jarvis's warehouse design on Southwark Bridge Road. (Plate 252). Here he eschewed the conventional façade treatments of console brackets, columned porches and Palladian hood mouldings, but the need to have storeys of equal height and the Board of Works requirement to keep all ornamental projections to a minimum, resulted in a Venetian Gothic composition in which the Venetian is more marked than the Gothic. Were it not for the pitched gabled dormers and the use of contrasting brick arches on the second floor (giving the, entirely false, impression that the windows were 'pointed') the building would become a standard Italianate design of the type seen elsewhere in the street.

Indeed, contemporary observers saw Jarvis's building not only as primarily Italian, but appear to have upheld it in preference to attempts to fit unconvincing Gothic ornament to commercial warehouse use:

In new Southwark-street, a conspicuous pile of warehouses has been erected on the south side, of yellow brick, with red and black bricks in the arches, &c., in a sort of Gothic style⁵⁶⁰...A warehouse, in Southwark Bridge-road, near Southwark-street, Lombardic in style, Mr. Jarvis, architect, deserves a note for the quiet good taste in which all the details are carried out.⁵⁶¹

There is a sense that it was better for commercial architecture to aim at the conventional and unremarkable than to attempt to achieve architectural distinction. If non-classical detail was to be used, then the Venetian palazzo provided an acceptable model, which

⁵⁶⁰ These must have been the polychromatic 'muscular gothic' hop warehouses of Wigan and Cosier, 15 Southwark Street, to designs by Robert P. Pope.

⁵⁶¹ 'Public Improvements', *Companion to the Almanac* (London, 1865), p.167.

although not meeting the definition of ‘Italianate’ under the terms of this thesis, was obviously entirely of an Italian palazzo character.

This view was also expressed by the *Building News* which, in its 1867 review of the new architecture of Southwark Street, expressed a clear preference for the use of the Italianate. In the opinion of the *Building News*, warehouses should ‘certainly not court attention’.⁵⁶² Crucially, the highest praise is reserved for the warehouses which are expressive of their utilitarian function:

...on the north side of the street, will be seen two substantial warehouses, with scarcely a particle of mere ornament. The lintels and sills are stone, as is also the lower storey; all the rest is yellow brick... The details of this building are worthy of all praise... Sufficient, but not excessive openings, are provided. Strength of construction is manifest, and, above all, there is no ornament. Anyone may see at a glance that it is a warehouse and nothing else; Messrs. Tillot and Chamberlain, architects.⁵⁶³

The building in question was what is now 56-58 Southwark Street, and which contains several Italianate characteristics, such as the bold cornice and arched upper windows. (Plate 253). The circulation cores break the building line as full-height arches with banded rustication in brick courses, terminating in giant keystones, which gives the entire composition something of a Vanbrughian atmosphere. While the construction of the building is decorated, it is not given any applied ornament and it is clearly a warehouse. For the *Building News*, what was worse than the use of Gothic ornament was the use of formal classicism, as can be seen in the criticism of warehouses using giant pilasters:

...close to the railway bridge, is a very peculiar structure. It purports to be a couple of warehouses, built so as to resemble a single one. This is the worst thing in the whole street. It has loops and a crane as a warehouse must have, but it will scarcely be credited that the fitness of things has been so violated that the crane positively interferes with the Corinthian cap of the pilasters. The crane or derrick

⁵⁶² ‘Saunterings in Southwark-street’, *Building News* (October 11, 1867), p.707.

⁵⁶³ ‘Saunterings in Southwark-street’p.708.

necessary for the purposes of commerce in juxtaposition with a Corinthian cap and ‘swags’ of fruit and flowers! ⁵⁶⁴

Clearly, for the *Building News*, the only form of warehouse architecture which was likely to prove acceptable was one in which an astylar façade allowed for the function of the building to be expressed and did not rely on the application of ornament for coherence, something which sat between Gothic and formal classicism. The Italianate was innately placed to fulfil this role, and it is little wonder that it was to form the overriding language of Southwark Street, albeit with varying degrees of ornament and bay rhythms.

The *Building News* continues its analysis of Southwark Street by commending the comparatively plain astylar elevations of Calvert’s Buildings (by Edward I’Anson) and commenting that an earlier building of his on the street is ‘an ordinary Italian design, neither particularly good nor specially bad, but entirely without originality’.⁵⁶⁵ This criticism is particularly interesting, because it exemplifies the tone of the whole piece; indifferent commercial architecture is preferable to that which aims at embellishment, and that even a lack of originality cannot lead to a charge of a building being ‘bad’.

The most scathing attack on the new architecture of Southwark Street was reserved for the Hop Exchange: ‘no amount of finishing can redeem it from the charge of absolute hideousness’.⁵⁶⁶ (Plate 254). The problem with this building appears to have been what was perceived as its incoherent handling of ornament, concentrating it around the doorway and ground floor and the manner in which it resembled the architecture of ‘Chicago, St. Louis, and New York’.⁵⁶⁷ But the Hop Exchange, in its scale, function and materials, was entirely different to the general street architecture of

⁵⁶⁴ ‘Saunterings in Southwark-street’ p.708.

⁵⁶⁵ ‘Saunterings in Southwark-street’ p.708.

⁵⁶⁶ ‘Saunterings in Southwark-street’ p.708.

⁵⁶⁷ ‘Saunterings in Southwark-street’ p.708.

the district, and it is perhaps unsurprising that it was ridiculed in the first phase of its existence.

Interestingly, given the preference for Italianate design, the *Building News* considered Ernest Bates's warehouse at what is now 49 Southwark Street to be 'a very elegant little work'. This apparent discrepancy became more logical when an article on the building appeared a few weeks later. While one of the more obvious elements of the building is its use of pointed arches on the second-floor windows, the *Building News* only refers to the points of the architecture which most resemble the classical language of Italianate design. No mention of any Gothic elements is made at all, rather the building is described in terms of 'capitals and bases of piers...half double columns ... tympanum. ...arches being of moulded brick...the cornice with a square tower...supported by framed brackets'.⁵⁶⁸ Had the building vanished without record, it would be impossible to tell from the *Building News* analysis that it incorporated Venetian Gothic elements. (Plate 255)

This is a significant point, because it suggests that when Venetian Gothic forms were adapted to commercial street architecture, it was not always their Gothic elements that were the most striking to contemporary observers, but rather the identifiably 'Italian' characteristics of the whole composition. Reading the *Building News* analysis of 49 Southwark Street gives the impression that for its contemporaries this was not seen as 'an excellent adaptation of High Victorian Gothic style for commercial use'⁵⁶⁹ but rather as a relatively conventional Italianate building which happened to have incorporated some pointed ornament.

⁵⁶⁸ *Building News* (22 November, 1867), p.810.

⁵⁶⁹ The National Heritage List for England, 49 Southwark Street: <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1385924>.

In summarising the architectural character of Southwark Street, the *Building News* identified the key qualities of commercial architecture as it perceived them. Firstly, it should not have ‘parti-coloured reticulated brickwork...luxurious carved caps in connection with the loops and cranes of commerce and the swinging bales of trade’. Rather, warehouses should be expressive of their function; ‘a warehouse which fulfils its purposes, so far from being an ugly building, is about as good a building as can be seen’.⁵⁷⁰ The buildings which were accepted as having achieved this were generally the plainest classical forms, virtually all of which were Italianate in character, of the sort that can be seen in Gustave *Doré*’s ‘Workers at a London Warehouse’ of 1872. (Plate 256)

Undertaken without a master architect, Southwark Street nevertheless avoided dissolving into stylistic confusion. The regulatory influence of the Metropolitan Board of Works, by means of the Building Act, ensured that heights of the buildings conformed to a consistent standard, and that all ornament was contained within a few inches of the façade. Beyond this, a large degree of self-regulation among architects and clients and the lack of any feasible alternative, ensured that virtually all of the new buildings conformed to a generally Italianate design. Thereby coherence was given, not only to buildings of varying width, but also to buildings of varying function. Yet within that coherence the Italianate had allowed for a bank to be immediately distinguishable from a warehouse. The criticisms of using Greek and Gothic in commercial architecture had largely centred on the manner in which ornament was either inappropriate for the function of the building or entirely obscured the building’s true function. The Italianate, precisely because it was an iterative, pragmatic style, proved itself eminently suitable to

⁵⁷⁰ ‘Saunterings in Southwark-street,’ *Building News*, October 11, 1867,p.708.

the creation of a commercial street which incorporated premises of varying scale and purpose.

The new offices and banks of Borough High Street, and the warehouses of Southwark Street, form an interesting conclusion to the story of the Italianate as a form of commercial street architecture. By the 1870s, with the construction of Norman Shaw's New Zealand Chambers in Leadenhall Street, the Queen Anne Revival would see the dominance of the Italianate commercial building challenged.⁵⁷¹ But from the 1830s until the 1870s, 'Gothic had failed to oust stucco Italianate in its lumpen, ever-onward march'.⁵⁷² While the 1870s would see the increased use of broadly Venetian forms in commercial architecture, the youngest generation of architects would produce a form of street architecture which allowed for a looser, or perhaps more self-conscious, interpretation of seventeenth and eighteenth-century ornament. Yet that they were able to do so owed much to fact that the Italianate had proven that classical ornament could be used in an astylar manner. As well as this, the Italianate had demonstrated that the architecture of seventeenth and early-eighteenth-century England must inform the continuing development of the street, and that archaeological forms of historicism had not proven themselves capable of adapting to the needs of modern commercial architecture.

Major Public Buildings

Having considered the Italianate in as a means of enabling the execution of new streets under the Metropolitan Board of Works, it is clear that, at mid-century, the Italianate continued to play a prominent role in the expression of commercial and semi-

⁵⁷¹ Girouard, M. *Sweetness and Light, The Queen Anne Movement 1860-1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984) p. 44. Originally published by Yale University Press, 1977.

⁵⁷² Saint, Andrew, *Richard Norman Shaw* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, Revised Edition, 2010), p.152.

public street architecture. However, by the 1850s there was another type of metropolitan building in which the connotations of architectural expression would be debated in the most public manner possible. The Government Offices competition and ensuing debate of 1856-1861 has long been upheld as an example of a 'battle of the styles' between 'imported' Italian and 'indigenous' Gothic Revival architecture.⁵⁷³ This is not strictly true, in the sense that Scott's original design for the Foreign Office element of the competition was the Renaissance style of Francois I mixed with late Brabantine Gothic, not English medieval Gothic. (Plates 257- 259). And the Foreign Office as built ⁵⁷⁴ was primarily based on French urban palaces such as the Louvre and New Louvre, not the astylar conventions of Italianate commercial architecture.⁵⁷⁵

Nonetheless, the Government Offices competition did ignite public debate on what style was best suited to the expression of a major public, and indeed proto-imperial, building. Without revisiting the already comprehensive research on the competition undertaken by Michael Port, the Government Offices competition is nonetheless useful as a means of understanding what the Italianate meant, or did not mean, in the eyes of contemporary observers of the 1850s and 1860s.

Perhaps because Palmerston ultimately 'won' the debate as to the appearance of the Foreign Office, much attention has been paid to the Palmerstonian arguments made against the use of Gothic, primarily that it was Roman Catholic, impractical, and chronologically regressive. However, not as much attention has been paid to the arguments made against the use of a classical idiom on the other side of the debate. The

⁵⁷³ Porter, B. *The Battle of the Styles. Society, Culture and the Design of a New Foreign Office, 1855-1861* (London: Bloomsbury, 2011); Port, *Imperial London*, 1995; Dixon and Muthesius. *Victorian Architecture*, pp. 158-164; Morris, 'Symbols of Empire', pp.8-13.

⁵⁷⁴ And most of the competition entries.

⁵⁷⁵ Scott visited not Italy but Paris when formulating his final design, in particular the New Louvre and Tuileries. Brownlee, D. 'That 'Regular Mongrel Affair': G. G. Scott's Design for the Government Offices.' *Architectural History*, vol. 28 (1985), pp. 159-197.

role of the Italianate in the Government Offices competition is also far more nuanced than initially appears to be the case. The ultimate architectural expression of the Foreign Office as executed is not so much a clear essay in any particular school of classicism, but a surprisingly successful attempt to create an elevational treatment for a pre-existing plan-form and mass which was intended for a differently expressed building. (Plates 260 & 261)

In addition to this, the chief influences on Scott's classical design, Coe and Hofland's 'winning' Foreign Office entry, and Henry Garlings's 'winning' War Office entry, were French rather than Italian. This reflected a general shift towards a more Francophone renaissance style which would come to characterise urban architecture in the 1860s. (Plates 262 & 263)

Paradoxically, the lack of Italian-palazzo competition entries for the Government Offices project actually shows one of the benefits of the Italianate; it was generally used as a pragmatic manner of achieving a 'modern' secular building with a minimum of stylistic debate. Because it was primarily used for commercial street architecture it was not put forward as being suitable for a major state project, and even Charles Barry's design,⁵⁷⁶ while drawing on the massing and plan-form of Inigo Jones's Whitehall proposals, in elevational terms proposed a lavish Franco-Italian structure which had very little relationship to his astylar Italianate of the 1830s and 1840s.

The design by Charles Barry's son, Edward Middleton Barry, was even more clearly derived from the New Louvre. (Plates 264 & 265). The Italianate of the 1840s and 1850s was so strongly associated with commercial street architecture and of being, in Leeds's words, 'a system of building...well adapted to our purposes and

⁵⁷⁶ Published after the competition.

requirements...conformed to universally when no regard is had to style, nor any attempt made at architectural design... our own English Vernacular'⁵⁷⁷ that it was clearly not considered as a fitting form of expression for the Government Offices project, even by its leading practitioner. The Italianate had lent itself to use for smaller-scale government offices, including the State Paper Office (1829-1834) and James Pennethorne's Ordnance Office (1850-1851), but these were buildings of a scale and location commensurate with the standards of conventional metropolitan street architecture. (Plates 266 & 267). However, in addition to these smaller-scale buildings, one Italianate proposal for the Government Offices had come forward.

In April 1855, Pennethorne's scheme for the War Office, Foreign Office, and Ministerial Reception Rooms was presented.⁵⁷⁸ (Plate 268). The 1855 proposal presented a generally astylar Italianate treatment, particularly for the Foreign Office block. By August-September 1855 the brief had been expanded to include a greater extent of building and Pennethorne revised his proposals into a more monumental block with columns, rather than the individual palazzi of the initial proposal. (Plate 269). Pennethorne's shift from astylar Italianate to a more Greco-Roman articulation makes complete sense in the context of how the Italianate was generally used in the 1840s and 1850s. The initial Government Offices proposal, for a series of adjacent blocks, sitting between existing buildings, was precisely the kind of context in which Italianate street architecture had been developed due to its ability to be granular, scalable and allow buildings of different function and mass to sit coherently beside one another.

⁵⁷⁷ Chambers, *Treatise on Civil Architecture*, conclusion by W.H. Leeds (1862 ed) p. 321.

⁵⁷⁸ Tyack, *Pennethorne*, pp. 242-257.

However, when presented with an ‘island’ site which allowed for something more monumental, architects of the 1840s and 1850s substituted the Italianate in favour of Graeco-Roman, something which can clearly be seen not only in the Pennethorne designs but also at Tite’s Royal Exchange (1844), Broderick’s Leeds Town Hall (1858) and Elme’s and Cockerell’s St George’s Hall in Liverpool (1841-1854). When Pennethorne then produced a design for a new War Office in 1856 he shifted back to a stylar Italianate.⁵⁷⁹ This was surely because the site to which he gave consideration was a typical piece of metropolitan street, sitting in Pall Mall between the Carlton Club and Cumberland House, both of which were of a totally different scale and on a location where the use of projecting orders would have caused issues with the building line.⁵⁸⁰ (Plate 270)

The reason the Italianate was more prevalent in the buildings of the municipal level of government than it was in the buildings of national government is probably chiefly due to the fact that most municipal buildings had to be treated as street architecture. This can particularly be seen in the police stations and county court houses of Charles Reeves, surveyor to the Metropolitan Police from 1842-1866.⁵⁸¹ (Plates 271-274). At the time of their construction these were referred to as being in ‘the Italian style’.⁵⁸² However, Reeves is not known to have studied Italian architecture and it is clear that his inspiration was largely derived from the architecture of the English early-eighteenth-century, or what has been called his ‘distinct flavour of Vanbrugh’.⁵⁸³ His work serves

⁵⁷⁹ Tyack, *Pennethorne*, p. 261.

⁵⁸⁰ Port, *Imperial London*, pp. 166-167.

⁵⁸¹ Barson, S. ‘The evolution of metropolitan police stations in the 19th century’, MSc dissertation (University of London, 1986), pp. 7–11.

⁵⁸² *The Builder*, Vol. 17 (26 February 1859), p. 157; (12 March 1859), p. 187.

⁵⁸³ *Survey of London: Volume 26, Lambeth: Southern Area* (London: London County Council, 1956) pp.125-131.

as another reminder that in many instances the urban Italianate was a British Palladian revival more than a direct evocation of Italy.

Reeves was not the only municipal architect to use this ‘brick Baroque’ idiom for street architecture, and the same tendency can be seen in many of the municipal baths of the period. Indeed, on writing of the new Salford Baths the *Manchester Courier* noted that: ‘The style of architecture is Italian, adapted to the wants of the 19th century, which is the most useful and beautiful style for street architecture that we possess, and are likely to have until Mr. Ruskin leaves off finding fault with our architects and their productions, and gives to the world a new order’.⁵⁸⁴ (Plates 275-277)

In the realms of national architecture, the Government Offices competition and the Foreign Office debate consequently saw a shift away from the astylar Italianate with which this thesis has been largely concerned. The Italianate had lent itself to the typology of the commercial street, but when a new typology and scale of building emerged both in the form of the palatial government buildings of a newly ‘imperial’ metropolis and the new ‘palatial’ railway hotels, the astylar Italianate was not developed as a meaningful solution.⁵⁸⁵ Although the astylar Italianate would continue to be used (especially for banks) for the rest of the nineteenth-century, the period of its development and ascendancy was essentially over by 1860, and it was no longer seen as the ‘modern style of architecture’ or a panacea for all types of new urban buildings. Both in London and the provinces the Italianate would be developed into a richer form

⁵⁸⁴ *Manchester Courier* (26 July 1856), p. 9.

⁵⁸⁵ Pevsner, N. *A History of Building Types* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), p.188. Pevsner notes that large New York hotels, which developed a few years before the major London hotels, were indeed astylar Italianate, but that by the 1850s English hotels had moved on to a French manner, initially beginning with the ‘Italianate with a French roof’ of Hardwick’s Great Western Royal Hotel at Paddington.

of classicism which owed something to the increased interest in French architectural development, the potential for monumental sculpture in the private and corporate sphere, and was also joined by interest in ‘Ruskinian’ forms of Gothic.⁵⁸⁶

As the corporate world increased in size and prosperity in the nineteenth-century, the acquisition of larger plot sizes also seem to have increased the appetite and potential for more monumental treatments of commercial developments. Essentially commercial buildings were moving out of the plot divisions of street architecture and into the plot sizes, or blocks, of civic architecture. It is within this context that we see the creation of buildings such as James Hamilton’s Ulster Bank, Belfast (1858-60), John Gibson’s National Provincial Bank of England (1865) and F.J. Ward’s Albert Buildings, Queen Victoria Street (1871). (Plates 278-280)

However, while the Government Offices competition marked the beginning of a new phase in the development of British classical architecture, the Italianate of the mid-century did produce one piece of state architecture which has usually been overlooked, or peremptorily derided. In 1847, ten years before the Government Offices competition, another political palace was erected, which, although serving as a residential building, shared some of the functions of the yet-to-be built Foreign Office. This was the addition to Buckingham Palace, designed by Edward Blore.⁵⁸⁷ This project not only created a piece of largely astylar Italianate metropolitan architecture, but created a critical debate as to the appropriate typology of the Italianate. The Buckingham Palace project is useful for understanding the urban Italianate at mid-century because of the,

⁵⁸⁶ Curl, James Stevens. *Victorian Architecture* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1990), p.137; Hitchcock, H-R. *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, 4th ed. (London: Penguin, 1977), pp.181-182.

⁵⁸⁷ Port, M. H. ‘Blore, Edward’ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online ed.) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

paradoxical, contemporary perception that the Italian ‘palazzo’ formula could no longer convey a sufficiently ‘palatial’ air.

The Blore work at Buckingham Palace, which was needed to accommodate the large family of Victoria and Albert, was completed in 1847-1850, following on from his completion of Nash’s scheme in 1831-1838. Whereas the Nash scheme had cost £496,169, the Blore east wing had a budget of £53,000, largely raised from the sale of the Royal Pavilion.⁵⁸⁸ Much as the bourgeoisie, Belgravian, Osborne House was to replace the eclectic exoticism of Royal Pavilion,⁵⁸⁹ so too did Blore’s east wing at Buckingham Palace screen most of the Greco-Roman Nash scheme, presenting a much blander, metropolitan and essentially unremarkable façade to the public view. The Blore wing was very much in the Biedermeier taste of the Saxe-Coburg-Gotha court, which was characterised by an emphasis on domesticity, professionalism and a distrust of the visibly extravagant.⁵⁹⁰ Blore’s Buckingham Palace façade was not based on any one identifiable model, although the end bays are not so very different from many of the German and Scandinavian palaces of the eighteenth-century. Whether this was deliberate is unknown, but the similarities are certainly striking and seem to suggest an attempt to add more ‘palatial’ bays to an otherwise quite conventional piece of Italianate street architecture. (Plates 281-285)

Whatever the intentional or unintentional similarities were with the more modest Nordic palaces, the architectural press of the day was mainly struck by how ‘ordinary’

⁵⁸⁸ TNA: PRO, Work 19 and Work 34 [Blore works to Buckingham Palace in the 1840s] Work 34/5-7 are produced in a single portfolio.

⁵⁸⁹ Steegman, *Consort of Taste*, p.118.

⁵⁹⁰ It is interesting to note that when Princess Alice and Ludwig IV of Hesse commissioned the Neues Palais at Darmstadt in the early 1860s the architect Conrad Kraus’s design appears to echo much of the proportions and ornament of Scott’s final design for the Foreign Office; *Builder* (2 January 1864), p. 13.

the new frontage of Buckingham Palace looked. The *Builder* was somewhat confused by the lack of regal splendour but approving of the relatively modest cost of the work:

It will be seen that the design does not pretend to grandeur or magnificence, scarcely to dignity; and although all will probably agree with us in thinking that these are the characteristics to be looked for in the palace of the sovereign, the architect was probably right in attempting, in the present instance, little more than an ordinary piece of street architecture in stone instead of stucco.⁵⁹¹

In a similar vein, the *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal*, usually supportive of the Italianate in a metropolitan context, noted that Blore's work looked little different from the terraces of Belgravia.⁵⁹²

Here then we begin to see how the metropolitan success of the Italianate in the first half of the nineteenth-century became one of the reasons for its limitations in the second half of the century. In other words, the Italianate had worked so well for a period of commercial street architecture that it was not now seen as appropriate for a metropolis beginning to consider the architectural expression of its major public buildings. Finding the new wing 'ordinary in quality and common place in regard to composition', the *Journal* went on to state that were the building actually a terrace of houses in Belgravia then it would indeed be palatial, 'whereas being for the principal public front of The Palace, it partakes by far too much of 'the dwelling-house' physiognomy, undoubtedly of a superior kind'.⁵⁹³ The residential terrace was one typology of the Italianate, but, predictably, the *Journal* then compared the Blore wing to the club-houses of Pall Mall. The *Journal* considered Blore's work to be 'greatly less dignified than some of our club-houses, the latter not having—at least, not showing externally—any chamber-floor, or one of lodging rooms, over the principal floor'.⁵⁹⁴

⁵⁹¹ *The Builder* (28 August 1847), p.405.

⁵⁹² *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal*, No. 120—Vol. X (September, 1847), p.265. As with Osborne, the work had been contracted to Thomas Cubitt.

⁵⁹³ *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* (September, 1847), p.265.

⁵⁹⁴ *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* (September, 1847), p.265.

Buckingham Palace represented a typological awkwardness for contemporary architectural critics. Because the uses to which the Italianate had been put in England had never been an actual palace, but rather the ‘palatial’ townhouse, club-house or bank, there was a tension in its use for a royal residence, albeit in a part of the residence primarily being used for domestic offices. The subtext of this criticism is that the Italianate was seen as perfectly appropriate for a ‘palatial’ club-house or an ‘ordinary piece of street architecture’, but that, by the late 1840s, it was so overwhelmingly associated with precisely that typology that it is manifestly not appropriate for a genuine palace.

But if the Italianate had been contaminated by commercial use, where then was the architect to seek inspiration for a new form of state architecture, what the *Journal* called ‘a worthy public ornament’? The *Journal* was quite clear on that matter; by returning not to the Italian sources of the Italianate, but to its English sources:

Most assuredly, he has stolen none from Inigo Jones's designs for White hall, nor—not to go out of our own country—has he caught any of that grandiosity which stamps Greenwich Hospital—a pile that, although not faultless in taste, has infinitely more the air of a royal palace than anything we now have.⁵⁹⁵

Here then are all of the strands of the Italianate united in one piece of criticism. The preference for the work of Jones over first-hand Italian models, the conflation of the Italianate with the urban vernacular and the club-house typology, and the increasing sense that the Italianate had become so identified with commercial street architecture that it was no longer suitable for expressing anything more ‘dignified’.

The Blore work to Buckingham Palace shows that between the years 1815-1847 the British urban Italianate came full-circle. The Italianate had served the needs of

⁵⁹⁵ *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* (September, 1847), p.265.

commercial street architecture not only adequately but prolifically. But from the 1850s onwards a new form of metropolitan identity, ergo a new form of architecture, was needed which was more than ‘ordinary street architecture’. The Italianate would continue to offer at least one response to the expression of urban commercial architecture until into the early twentieth-century, but by the mid-nineteenth-century it would no longer be the only response.⁵⁹⁶ When the debate on the Foreign Office raged in the 1860s Palmerston’s defence of the Italianate included a statement which summed up the attitude to the urban Italianate of his generation:

Gothic architecture is very fit for churches and other edifices, but I hold it to be very unfit for street architecture in a town where unquestionable a great number of our buildings are of a different character, and we want to combine external appearance with internal arrangement.... Mr. Scott did bring me an Italian style... I do not myself pretend to be a judge of the scientific merits of architecture, but it seems to me a very beautiful plan, and one which combines with sufficient beauty and ornament great moderation of expense.⁵⁹⁷

The Italianate had provided a means of urban expression which was adaptable, practical, efficient and visually comfortable; the very qualities which were most likely to appeal to the professional classes of the 1830s and 1840s. The Italianate, with its ostensibly vague origins and flexible aesthetics, had lent itself so successfully to the demands of commercial street architecture in Britain that, within a period of about twenty years, it had come to actively symbolise this typology rather than simply represent it. The promoters of the Gothic school argued for an ideal architecture, and even classically-minded architects began to seek a form of architecture more commensurate with the major public buildings which would dominate the second half of the century. But the Italianate expressed the everyday reality of urban Britain. W.H.

⁵⁹⁶ In 1907 the *Builder* noted that Horace Field and Simmons new Lloyd’s bank in Wealdstone ‘looks like a bank.’ It was in the late C17th English style. *The Builder* (June 15, 1907), p.715.

⁵⁹⁷ HC Deb (08 July 1861) vol 164 cc507-40.

Cowper MP, speaking on the design of the Foreign Office in 1861 expressed precisely this when he stated that ‘the association to be desired was that of the period in which we lived, and the Italian style was that which by its breadth, simplicity, and symmetry best represented modern sentiment and aims’.⁵⁹⁸

⁵⁹⁸ HC Deb 08 July 1861 vol 164 cc507-40.

Conclusion

This thesis began by addressing the commonly held narrative which has generally been used to explain the urban Italianate. This narrative may be followed chronologically thus: Architects, Charles Barry in particular, went to Italy in the early 1820s and studied the Italian palazzi. Upon their return to Britain, they derived a form of urban architecture based on these palazzi, demonstrating the romantic and historicist tendencies we have come to expect of the nineteenth-century. Seminal examples of the Italianate, in particular the Travellers Club and the Reform Club, were the chief models upon which subsequent Italianate architecture was based. The Italianate would become particularly associated with the cities of northern England, anxious to evoke their connections to the mercantile and cultural values of the Italian Renaissance. The Italianate was morally and aesthetically antithetical to the Gothic Revival which led to a ‘battle of the styles’ between the two styles at mid-century.

We have now seen that the Italianate was something other than this, by taking each of these assumptions in turn and examining them against nineteenth-century sources and testing them within the context of nineteenth-century debates about the meaning and purpose of architecture and urban form. It has been demonstrated that travel to Italy was only a small element in the formation of an urban Italianate in Britain, and that far from being seen as providing ideal models, the palazzi of Italy did not accord with early-nineteenth-century notions of correct architectural proportion and ornament. What Italy did provide was a sense of the potential for astylar architecture, of the monumental city block freed of the language of ancient classicism. But Italy also awakened British notions of indigenous classicism, and caused a positive re-evaluation of the seventeenth and early-eighteenth-century architecture of England.

And while it has been established that the Italianate emerged from a perceived English tradition, it was not usually from a desire to revive the architecture of the eighteenth-century but to take it as a logical point from which to continue architectural development. It has also been shown that while architectural theory and criticism played a crucial role in creating the Italianate, it was primarily an anti-intellectual movement, tied heavily to a world of surveyors, insurance, sanitation and commerce. It can be determined that the Italianate succeeded because it enabled debates about ‘style’ and ‘meaning’ to be disregarded at a time of considerable private and municipal development pressure. Fundamentally, the Italianate was valued for being ‘stylish’ more than it was for being a ‘style’.

The club-houses of Barry were of course influential, and were considerably publicised by an architectural press which increasingly saw the Greek Revival as an untenable form of urban expression for the nineteenth-century. But for much of the 1830s and 1840s Barry was following a tendency, not leading it. Much of the architectural form, indeed even the ornament, of the Travellers Club had already been used in London in the decade before its construction, and by the time of Reform Club competition the idea of astylar classicism was well-established in metropolitan architecture. The builders of the urban Italianate were rapidly responding to pressures of urban development and typological diversification in the fabric of the nineteenth-century city, not waiting for another Barry building to emulate.

This can be seen the cities of northern England, where the reason for the prevalence of the Italianate was not a romantic desire to emulate the culture of a complex series of Italian city-states (whose chief characteristics were in any case diametrically opposed to

the values of nineteenth-century northern politics, commerce and religion). The reason for the prevalence of the Italianate in cities outside of London was the fact that, like London, these cities were creating new urban typologies and forms and Italianate provided an acceptable modern architectural treatment for a new scale and type of building. The municipal was emulating the metropolitan, not the Medici.

To perceive an ideological tension between the Gothic and the Italianate is to ascribe an ideology to the Italianate which it simply did not possess. It did express nineteenth-century urban identity, but it did so through its typological application and practical advantages; it was not a language which aimed to inspire a social or moral reform, it was the language of the status quo. The Government Offices competition has been taken as the prime example of the Italianate being variously upheld and dismissed in comparison to the Gothic, when in fact it was essentially the sole example. Not only was the Government Offices competition too distinct a moment from which to draw significantly wider conclusions about nineteenth-century architectural dialogue, it was a competition which saw the Italianate, or rather a hybrid of the Italianate, being adapted for a use for which it had never previously been seriously considered. Palmerston was arguing not for any positive merits within the Italianate (beyond its practicality for office use) but against the more explicit political and religious connotations of the Gothic. In this sense the Italianate was fulfilling the role which it had hitherto fulfilled; ‘being conformed to universally when no regard is had to style, nor any attempt made at architectural design’.⁵⁹⁹

The urban Italianate in Britain was not based on romantic historicism, picturesque theory, a belief in Barry as an ultimate tastemaker, a desire to emulate an idealised

⁵⁹⁹ Chambers, *Treatise*, conclusion by W.H. Leeds (1862 ed), p. 321.

Italian Renaissance, or a 'battle of the styles'. The Italianate simply provided a modular, scalable means of architectural expression, was suited to gaining the approval of committees and complying with building acts, and developed a symbiotic relationship with the architectural press. Far from being one of an eclectic range of 'styles', the Italianate was in fact the architectural expression of the early-nineteenth-century urban vernacular. Even its leading proponent noted that; 'it has nothing of the poetic or the picturesque, yet, prosaic as it is, it possesses one negative merit, for if it does not affect the poetry, neither does it palm upon us the doggerel of architecture, and accordingly spare us many monstrosities'.⁶⁰⁰ Because of that its value in understanding the architecture of the nineteenth-century is not diminished, but substantially increased.

⁶⁰⁰ Chambers, *Treatise*, conclusion by W.H. Leeds (1862 ed), p. 321.

Forward to Appendices A and B

Appendix A and Appendix B list the subscribers to *A treatise on the decorative part of civil architecture by Sir William Chambers, K.P.S. F.R.S. F.S.A. F.S.S.S. ; with an examination of Grecian architecture by Joseph Gwilt, architect F.S.A.* (Priestly and Weale, London, 1825) and Paul Letarouilly's *Édifices de Rome modern* (Didot, Paris, 1840) respectively. Given that many Italianate buildings were constructed in Britain before 1840, the sources for the British Italianate must lie beyond Letarouilly, and the use of Chambers as a standard architectural text can account for the similarity of much early 'Italianate' ornament with the aedicule treatments depicted in Chambers. What can also be seen is that the subscription to Chambers was far in excess of that to Letarouilly. But, perhaps more importantly, the subscribers to Chambers contain not only architects but also corporation, district and dockyard surveyors, brewers, property developers, manufacturers and suppliers of building materials. This suggests that the re-edition of Chambers was more popular with the commercial building world which most readily adopted the Italianate as its favoured form of expression. The Letarouilly series was subscribed to by architects who practised in the Italianate, but it was of much more limited circulation and came when the urban Italianate was already underway in Britain. Therefore the question of how much the urban Italianate can be attributed to an interest in the architecture of Italy, and how much to a continuation, or revival, of eighteenth-century English classicism, can be seen in the subscription and circulation of texts used in architectural education.

Appendix A

List of subscribers to *A treatise on the decorative part of civil architecture* by Sir William Chambers, K.P.S. F.R.S. F.S.A. F.S.S.S. ; with an examination of Grecian architecture by Joseph Gwilt, architect F.S.A. (Priestly and Weale, London, 1825)

FOR PROOFS ON INDIA PAPER, QUARTO , OF WHICH ONLY TWENTY -FIVE COPIES WERE PRINTED . ⁶⁰¹

1. John Britton , Esq., F .S. A .
2. Frederick Perkins, Esq .
- 3 . Thomas Brandram , Esq. [The Cedars, Belmont Hill, Lewisham. Client]
- 4 . John Soane, Esq., R . A . F . R . & A . S . [Architect. The New State Paper Office, Whitehall]
- 5 . John Broadley, Esq ., F . R . & A .S .
- 6 . Charles Perkins Gwilt, Esq . [Son of Joseph Gwilt]
- 7 . Henry Perkins, Esq.
- 8 . John Nash, Esq. [Suffolk Street, Suffolk Place, numerous astylar developments for the Crown Estate]
9. Samuel Staples, Esq .
10. George Moneypenny, Esq. [Consultant engineer to Plymouth & Dartmoor Railway Company]
11. John Wheeler, Esq .

⁶⁰¹ Where subscribers were involved with notable Italianate commissions after 1825 (or in public offices where Italianate works were commonplace) I have included those commissions in parenthesis.

12. George Rennie , Esq., F. R .S. [Railway engineer, chiefly classical bridges and tunnel portals]
13. Francis Legatt Chantrey, Esq., R .A . F . R . & A . S . & c.
- 14 . James Carpenter, Esq.
- 15 . Messrs . Rivington and Cochrane.
- 16 . Messrs. Rodwell and Martin .
- 17 . Monsieur Renouard , Paris.
- 18 . Messrs . J . and A . Arch.
19. Monsieur Renouard , Paris .
20. Mr. Arnould .
21. Mr. Booker.
22. M . M . Zachary , Esq .
23. James Smith , Esq. [Architect: Stirling's Library, Glasgow and Royal Exchange Square, Glasgow]
24. Humphry Johnson, Esq.
25. Thomas Walker, Esq.

IMPERIAL OCTAVO.

Aberdeen the Right Hon . Earl of.

Abraham , Rob ., Esq. [Surveyor and architect: Houses on Oxford Street for Berners Estate, continuing a development by William Chambers]

Acton, Samuel, Esq . [President of the Surveyors' Club and Surveyor to the City of London Sewers]

Alfred , T .

Allen , George, Esq. [Possibly George Allen Underwood, Surveyor to the County of Somerset, Wells and Dorset]

Anderson , Alex. Esq., Edinburgh .

Ansted , Mr. H .

Apsley , Alexander, Esq .

Arch, Messrs. J. and A .

Armstrong, - - - , Esq .

Arnould, Mr.

Arundale, Mr.

Atheam , William , Esq., Peckham

Atkinson , Mr., Thomas [Architect principally working in Manchester, constructed a number of Italianate public and commercial buildings in the 1840s and 1850s, including the Manchester and Liverpool District Bank in Spring Gardens of 1836]

Atkinson , Peter, Esq., York [Surveyor to the Corporation]

Bailey, James, Esq.

Badger, Mr. Chas., Rob .

Bailey, James, Esq. [Likely James Bailey of Middleton and Bailey, Lambeth, where Charles Barry began his training]

Baker, H ., Esq .

Bance, Mons., Paris

Barfield , Mr. Barlow

Mr. H . C ., Newington Butts

Barry , Charles, Esq . [Travellers Club, Reform Club, Bridgewater House, proposals for Whitehall Government Offices, and other works mentioned in this thesis]

Basevi, Geo., Esq., F . S . A . [Primarily a Greco-Roman in his approach but Italianate detailing can be seen on his work at Smith's Charity Estate, London Belgrave Square, London and the former Conservative Club, London]

Bayley, Messrs.

Baynes and Son , Messrs.

Baynham , Hen ., Esq ., Plymouth

Beales, Mr. Robert, Manningtree, Essex [Builder and contractor]

Beaufort, Capt., R . N . F . R . S .

Beazley, Samuel, Esq. [Architect of several sub-classical theatres in London but also the Italianate Lord Warden Hotel in Dover]

Becket, Will., Esq ., Leeds.

Beilby, Knott, and Co., Messrs., Birmingham

Bennett ,Mr.

Bexley , the Right Hon . Lord .

Black , Mr. Adam , Edinburgh .

Blyth , Andrew , Esq .

Booker, Mr., 3 copies.

Boorer , Mr. John .

Booth , W . J., Esq .

Booth , Mr.

Bott, Mr. T .

Brocas, Barnard, F . A .S ., Wakefield Park, Reading .

Brookes, William M 'Intosh , Esq., Peterhouse College, Cambridge

Brown, Thomas, Esq., Edinburgh.

Browne, Messrs., Scagliola -Works. [Browne was a supplier of marble, scagliola and artificial stone mouldings who also worked as an architect. He took over the business of James George Bubb in 1820 and mainly supplied the London and Brighton building trade, including Cubitt].

Brumby, Mr. John

Bull, Rev. H ., M . A .

Bull, Simeon T ., Esq .

Bunning, James B ., Esq . [Architect to the City of London, many of his works show Italianate influences including New Cannon Street, the Coal Exchange, Billingsgate Market, Caledonian Cattle Market, the Orphan's School at Brixton]

Burn, J. Ilderton, Esq.

Burn , Mr. J . H .

Burn , William , Esq., Edinburgh . [Prolific architect, his main Italianate work was the New Club in Edinburgh of 1834]

Burton , James, Esq. [One of the most significant property developers in London, by the 1820s he had become involved in the Regent Street, Regent Park and St John's Wood developments, and also developed most of St Leonard's-on-Sea in a broadly Italianate manner]

Burton , Decimus, Esq. [Architect and son of James Burton. Notable urban Italianate/astylar classical works include Carlton Gardens, London]

Busby, C . A ., Esq., Brighton . [Architect and developer. Constructed most of early-nineteenth-century Brighton in a variety of classical and Italianate idioms]

Caldwell, Col.

Carpenter and Son , Messrs.

Carpenter, Wm ., Esq.

Carr, Mr. Thomas

Carter, Mr. Benjamin

Chambers, William Fred ., M .D .

Cheffins, Mr. G . A .

Cobb, Nath ., Esq., Colchester .

Cockerell, C . R ., Esq. [Not primarily an 'Italianate' architect but a leading proponent of astylar and synthetic classicism, influential in the world of insurance buildings and commercial street architecture]

Coles , John, Esq ., Stonehouse, near Plymouth .

Compton , Geo ., Esq .

Cottingham , L . N ., Esq.

Cotton , H . C . , Esq.

Cowlshaw , Mr.

Cox, Rev. C . H . , Christchurch , Oxford .

Cresy, Edward , Esq., F .S.A . [Architect and civil engineer. Worked on an unpublished volume of drawings of Italianate palazzi with G.L. Taylor. His own house at 6 Suffolk Street, London, is an unusually literal attempt to create the urban architecture of Palladio]

Cubitt, Mr. [Thomas Cubitt, developer of Belgravia, Pimlico, Bloomsbury, consultant architect for Osborne House]

Cuming, Mr. Samuel, Totness. [Borough surveyor and architect]

Davies, John, Esq.

Davy, Mr. H . , Southwold .

Delafosse, Rev . Charles, M . A . , Richmond.

Dobie , William , Esq.

Doyle, Mr. Martin .

Drew , Beriah, Esq. [South London property developer, built streets of Italianate villas such as Leigham Court Road, Drewstead Road and was a member of the Metropolitan Board of Works]

Duff, T . Esq., Belfast. [Ulster architect, his property developments in Belfast continued eighteenth-century classicism into the mid-nineteenth-century]

Dyer, Mr EDWARDS, F . , Esq.

Edwards, F . , Esq.

Elmes, James, Esq., M . R .I.A .

Essex , the Right Hon . Earl of.

Evans, Thomas, Esq.

Faulkner, Mr. Thomas.

Field, John, Esq .

Foley , Hodgetts, Esq., M .P .

Foster, Hen., Esq., Liverpool.

Fowler, Charles, Esq. [Primarily an architect of public works such as market buildings and the Italianate London Fever Hospital]

Freeman, Mr.

Garbett, E . W ., Esq., Reading [Architectural critic. His *Rudimentary Treatise on the Principles of Design in Architecture as Deducible from Nature and Exemplified in the Works of the Greek and Gothic Architects* (London: Virtue Brothers and Co, 1850) promoted astylar classicism as a viable form of expression for commercial street architecture]

Gardiner , John B ., Esq .

Garling, H ., Esq . [Probably the surveyor and architect who worked on the remodelling of Vanbrugh's Grimsthorpe Castle]

Gill, Christopher, Esq .

Godwin, George, Esq . [Probably the Kensington-based architect and surveyor responsible for developing South Kensington, and father of George Godwin Junior who went on to become editor of the *Builder*.]

Goldring, George, Esq. [Architect and surveyor to the London Docks]

Goodwin , Francis , Esq . [Architect and designer whose works included designs for Italianate villas]

Grapel , Mr., Liverpool.

Green , Mr. , F . G .

Gregory, Lieut. Royal Engineers.

Griffiths, John, Esq . G

Grosvenor, the Right Hon . Earl of.

Gwilt, George, Esq., F . S .A . [Prolific London architect, surveyor to Surrey, and editor of this edition of Chambers, and a leading proponent of Italianate urban architecture. His pupils included his sons George and Joseph who would develop their own form of Italianate]

Gwilt, John S ., Esq. [Architectural illustrator and son of George Gwilt. Now little-known in comparison to his father and brothers, but published *Encyclopaedia of Architecture* in 1867]

Gwyn, L ., Esq.

Hamilton, George, Esq., Dublin .

Hammett, Mr. E .

Hammett, Mr. James.

Harding and Co., Messrs.

Harding, Mr.

Hardwick , Thomas, Esq., F.S.A. [Architect, founding member of the Architect's Club.

His pupils included several architects who would go on to work in the Italianate manner including his son Philip Hardwick, Samuel Agnell and John Foulston]

Harrison , George, Esq.

Harrison , Henry, Esq.

Hering, Mr.

Hering, Mr. Fred .

Hodges and M'Auther, Dublin.

Hollingsworth , R. M., Esq.

Hollingsworth, Mr. R. M., Jun.

Hollis, Charles, Esq.

Hunt, James, Esq .

Hunt, Mr. W. Hurley, Charles, Esq.

Hutchinson , H., Esq.

l'Anson , E., Esq. , 2 Copies. [Architect of numerous Italianate buildings including British and Foreign Bible Society on Queen Victoria Street, London]

Inskipp, W., Esq.

Jackson, J., Esq. , R.A.

Jalland, Rob ., Esq. [Architect of municipal works in Nottingham including the Mechanic's Institute which had a combination of Greco-Roman and Italianate facades]

Jeffrey and Son, Messrs.

Jenkins, Wm. , Jun., Esq.

Johnson , Mr. Henry.

Jones, Michael, Esq ., F.S.A.

Jones, Mr. Martin .

Judge, Mr. George.

Jupp, William , Esq. [architect and surveyor to the Skinners', Merchant Taylors', Ironmongers', and Apothecaries' companies, and also to the parishes of Limehouse, Blackwall, and others in the East-end of London.]

Kay, Joseph, Esq. Greenwich Hospital.[Surveyor to the Foundling Hospital, architect to Greenwich Hospital, designed much of the commercial street architecture of central Greenwich]

Kendall, Hen . Ed. , Esq. [Architect, married into Cubitt family. Worked in a range of styles including a very early Baroque revival, but produced numerous Italianate buildings including several designs for symmetrical Italianate ‘villas’ which more closely resemble banks or small offices]

King, Mr. John . PACEY, J., Esq ., Boston .

King, Mr. Pusey.

Kinnard, William , Esq.

Knyvett, Rev. C. W., M.A.

Laing, David, Esq., F.S.A.

Laing, Messrs., Edinburgh .

Lamb, Mr. , E. B.

Landsdell, Mr. James, Hastings. [Builder and property developer who built much of early C19th Hastings, often in an astylar classical manner]

Lansdown, James, Esq. [Architect and surveyor involved with works around Regent's Park. Shortly before he died he designed offices for Phoenix Fire Insurance Co in Lombard Street.]

Lewer, W. H., Esq.

Lloyd, Leonard W., Esq. [Architect and property developer, designed most of the Italianate suburb of Twickenham Park and Italianate villas in Goldhawk Road, Shepherd's Bush]

Loat, Mr. William. [Builder and contractor, Clapham. His son Christopher Loat would build several Italianate terraces in Clapham and Brixton]

Lockie, John, Esq.

Longlands, Henry, Esq. [Probably the same Henry Longlands who was Superintendent of the London Docks and responsible for the creation of warehousing]

Maberly, Mr. W. [Later of Medland (Surveyor to Gloucester) and Maberly, Gloucester. Designed the Spread Eagle Hotel, Gloucester in an Italianate style in 1865]

Macleod, Capt. D., Bengal Engineers.

Macqueen , Mr.

Macqueen, Mr., Jun.

Maddox, George, Esq. [Either George Maddox assistant to John Soane, or George Vaughan Maddox who acted as an unofficial surveyor for Monmouth]

Martin , Mr.

Mathew, Bertie, Esq.

Mathews, C. , Jun. , Esq.

Meredith , Michael , Esq.

Mondey, Mr. Edward .

Moore, Mr. Charles.

Moore, George, Esq. , F.S.A.

Moore, Joseph , Esq. , Lincoln.

Montague, William , Esq. [Surveyor to the City of London]

Mules, William , Esq., Colchester.

Munday, Mr. George. [Builder and building supplier to the London Docks]

Murdoch , Thomas, Esq. , F.R. & A.S.

Murphy, J. A., Esq.

Narrien, John , Esq. , Military College, Blackwater.

Needham , the Hon. Capt.

Newman , J., Esq.

Nicholson , Peter, Esq.

Noble, Mr. James.

Norton , Mr., Bristol, 6 Copies.

Ogle, John, Esq.

Pacey, J., Esq ., Boston

Palmer, Mr. Henry.

Papworth, J. B., Esq. [Prolific international architect based in London. Not primarily an 'Italianate' architect he nonetheless explored the possibilities of a stylar classicism in commercial architecture, notably in his (unsolicited?) proposals for Greshambury Street etc]

Parsons, William , Esq. , Leicester . [Civil engineer and County Surveyor. Trained under Morton Peto. Designed virtually every public building (and several banks) in mid-nineteenth-century Leicester, those in an Italianate manner include his bank buildings]

Paton, David, Esq. , Edinburgh.

Perry, Ebenezer, Esq.

Petit, L. H., Esq

Phelps, Mr. W.

Pinch , John, Esq ., Bath [Probably Pinch the Younger, architect of several Italianate buildings in Bathwick and Bath as well as continuing the Palladian style of his father well into the nineteenth-century]

Potter, - Esq., Litchfield.

Poynder, Thomas, Esq.

Priestley, Mr. Richard.

Prosser, Humphrey, Esq., Croydon .

Pugin , Augustus, Esq .

Radclyffe, Messrs., Birmingham .

Raeburn , Mr. James, Edinburgh. [principal clerk to the Scottish Office of Works from 1827]

Rampling, Clarke, Esq. , Manchester.

Rebecca , B. , Esq.

Reid , Benj., Esq.

Reid, Mr., W. H.

Renouard, Mons., Paris, 2 Copies.

Rhodes, Henry, Esq.

Richardson , Mr. J.

Rivington and Cochrane, Messrs.

Roberts, Mr. H., Camberwell.

Robinson , P. F. , Esq. [Likely the architect P.D.F. Robinson who designed a number of villas 'in the modern Italian style'.]

Rodwell and Martin, Messrs.

Roe, Mr. W., Southampton.

Roffe, Mr., Richard .

Roper, D. R., Esq.

Rouse, Benj. , Esq.

Rowland, D., Esq. , Tunbridge Wells.

Rowlands, Mr., W., Haverfordwest.

Royal Engineers' Library, Chatham

Salvin, A. Esq. , F.S.A. [Italianate works were chiefly residential, such as the houses at Penoyre and Oxon Hoath]

Sanderson , James, Esq .

Savage, James, Esq.

Scott, George, Esq.

Shaw, John, Esq. , F.S.A. [Worked in a manner which showed the influence of the English seventeenth-century, including at the Royal Naval School, Deptford and Wellington College, Berkshire. Member of the Metropolitan Board of Works.]

Shaw, Mr. H. Sherwood and Co., Messrs., 6 Copies

Sikes, Rev. J., M.A., Chauntry House, Newark

Simpkin and Co. , Messrs., 9 Copies.

Smirke, Rob., Esq. , R.A. F.S.A. [Sir Robert Smirke. Worked on a number of projects for astylar street architecture, notably the London Bridge Approaches]

Smith, C. S., Esq. , Warwick . [Architect involved in Italianate residential and commerical projects in Leamington Spa]

Smith, George, Esq [Architect, District Surveyor of the southern division of the City of London in 1810, and was elected Surveyor to the Mercer's Company in 1814 building one of the first Italianate buildings in the City in the form of the Mercer's School, College Hill]

Smith, Mr

Smith, Mr George,

Smith, John, Esq., Aberdeen.

Stainton, H., Esq.

Stark , Mr. Wm. , Jun. , Edinburgh.

Starkey, Mr.

Stephens, John, Jun. , Esq.

Stevens, John, Esq.

Stokes, R., Esq.

Tappen, George, Esq. (Surveyor to Dulwich College, succeeded by Charles Barry]

Turner, Mr. A.

Taylor, G. L., Esq. , F.S.A. [Architect and surveyor to the Naval Department. Worked with Cresy on an unpublished work on renaissance palazzi. Designed Italianate buildings in west London, such as 140 Westbourne Terrace]

Thomas, Mr.

Totton, Rev. W. C. , M.A.

Tracy, C. H., Esq .

Travellers, The [Travellers Club]

Trendall , Mr. Edward W. [Author of *Original designs for cottages and villas, in the Grecian, Gothic, and Italian styles in architecture, in which the strict attention is paid to unite convenience and elegance with economy. Adapted to the environs of the metropolis and large towns*, 1831]

Tucker, Charles, Esq.

Upham, Mr., Bath .

Vine, James, Esq.

Vulliamy, Lewis, Esq. [Architect, chief Italianate commission was Dorchester House, London]

Walker, James, Esq.

Wallace, R., Esq.

Wallen , John , Esq. [Architect, also surveyor to the City of London. Pupil of Daniel Asher Alexander and trained Edward I'Anson. Built a number of Italianate warehouses in London and the Italianate St Mark's Hospital, City Road]

Wardlaw and Co., Messrs. , 4 Copies.

Ware, Samuel, Esq., F.S.A. [Architect of the Burlington Arcade]

Watts, Mr. Isaac, Plymouth. [Naval Architect]

Webb, Sir John, Woolwich .

Webster, J., Esq.

Weightman , Mr. J. [Architect to the Corporation of Liverpool. Worked in a variety of styles but chiefly classical. Began the Italianate/Baroque Municipal Offices which were completed by Edward Robert Robson]

Wells, Mr., Thomas Wilson

Wheatley, Mr., Edmund

White, John, Esq.

Wild, Charles, Esq.

Wilds and Busby, Messrs., 2 Copies.

Wilkins, W., Esq. , M.A. F.S.A.

Wilson , Sir Thomas Maryon , Bart.Charlton House, Kent. [Attempted to develop Hampstead Heath into a villa suburb]

Wilson, Alex ., Esq. , St. Petersburg [Engineer-General to the Russian Court.]

Willson , Esq. , Lincoln . [Architect and Mayor of Lincoln. Chiefly interested in ecclesiastical Gothic but built the Italianate Pelham Column and the Palladian Roman Catholic Church in Grantham]

Winter, James, Esq.

Wolfe, John Lewis, Esq. [Travel companion to Charles Barry in Italy, informed Barry's work at the Travellers Club]

Woodfall, George, Esq. , F.S.A.

Woolriche, S., Esq.

Wright, Mr

Wrightson, Mr. Robert, Birmingham .

Wyatville, Jeffry, Esq ., R.A. F.S.A. [Italianate designs chiefly confined to garden schemes]

Yallowley, Joseph, Esq. [Surveyor. Partner in the Whitbread Brewery which commissioned many Italianate public houses, although Yallowley's involvement is not known]

Yorke, Mr.

Young, Benjamin, Esq.

Young, James, Esq.

Appendix B

List of British subscribers to Paul Letarouilly's *Édifices de Rome modern* (Didot, Paris, 1840). This was published as a series with subscribers to the series appearing in the 1840 volume. The publication-dates of the three volumes are given on their title pages as 1840, 1850 and 1857. The folding plan (bound into Vol. I or Vol. III) carries the date of 1838. The volumes of plates were issued serially, the first in 20 parts from ca. 1825 to 1840, the second in twenty parts from 1840 to 1850, the third in 21 parts from 1851 to 1857. These three volumes of plates were accompanied by a volume of text (1840).⁶⁰²

Ackinson, York

[probably Peter Atkinson, architect/surveyor although he has largely retired by 1840 and died in 1842]

Angell (S.), London

[Samuel Angell, district surveyor, architect and archaeologist. Designed the rich Italianate interior to Clothworkers Hall from 1855, his exterior was a rather more confused amalgamation of Italianate detail on a bow-frontage]

Ashton (H.), London

[Henry Ashton, designed early Italianate flats on Victoria Street in the 1850s]

Banks (Edw.), Wolverhampton

⁶⁰² RIBA, *Early printed books*, 5 (2003), no. 3979, p.2681-3

[Edward Banks, architect and member of the public works committee, mainly produced Gothic churches but designed the carriage entrance to the railway station in 1849 in a somewhat mid-C18th English Palladian manner]

Bellamy (J), London

[This may be typo for Thomas Bellamy, architect who was awarded 5th prize in the 1857 Foreign Office competition for a rather Sansovino-like design, albeit with clear influences from Barry's reworking of the Treasury Building]

Booth (W.J.), Esq., London

[William John Booth, surveyor to the Lloyd Baker Estate and the Drapers Company including the estates at Draperstown and Moneymore Co. Londonderry. Generally favoured a somewhat Grecian/simplified Tuscan style]

Boyce (David), Edinburgh

[David Bryce, architect, one-time partner of William Burn. Prolific in Scots Baronial and Italianate, appears to have taken at least some of his Italianate details from Letarouilly. In 1835 he was elected an associate of the Royal Scottish Academy, and in the following year became an academician. He was also a fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects, of the Architectural Institute of Scotland, of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and officiated for several years as grand architect to the Grand Lodge of Masons in Scotland.]

Bunning (J.B.), London

[James Bunstone Bunning, surveyor/architect to the City of London. Best known for the Coal Exchange of 1846-49, although this is a dynamic combination of Italianate and

Roman detail it is difficult to ascribe any obvious connection to the examples shown in Letarouilly's 1840 publication]

Cokerel, London

[Charles Robert Cockerell, probably the most academically learned classical architects of the time]

Davys (Ch), London

[Possibly Charles Edward Davis, the architect and antiquarian, best known as the surveyor for the restoration of the Roman baths in Bath]

Donaldson, London

[Thomas Leverett Donaldson, architect, co-founder and President of the RIBA]

Downes (C), London

[Possibly Charles Downes, an architect who produced one of the 68 'favourably mentioned' designs for the Great Exhibition of 1851 as well as producing the published drawings for Paxton's scheme]

Fergusson (James), London

[James Fergusson, architect but primarily remembered as an architectural critic. Generally supportive of the use of the Italianate for commercial street architecture]

Hardwick (P), London

[Philip Hardwick, architect, chiefly remembered for Euston and Birmingham railway stations in a Greek style, designed some Italianate buildings but generally in a conventional 'stucco' manner, eg. City of London Club, 37 Belgrave Square, Paddington Railway Hotel]

Hayward (J), Exeter

[John Hayward, architect, worked virtually exclusively in the Gothic style]

Kiok (C.), Steaford

[Probably Charles Kirk senior or junior, architects, resident in Sleaford, Lincolnshire. Largely worked in the Tudor style. Lafford Terrace in Sleaford (1856) is one of their few vaguely Italianate buildings but appears to be mainly derived from contemporary house-building fashions]

Leeds (W.H.) Esquire, London

William Henry Leeds, architectural critic and journalist. Between 1839 and 1854 he edited the *Civil Engineer's and Architect's Journal*. In 1839 he published a monograph on the Travellers Club, advocating the use of Italianate for street architecture. His views on the value of Letarouilly's work for practical architectural application were somewhat mixed]

Lockyer (J.M.), London

[James Morant Lockyer, architect who spent time in Pompeii. Rebuilt Heal and Sons on Tottenham Court Road in 1854 in a manner which has got a clear relationship to the illustrations of Letarouilly]

Mesedith (Michel), London

[Presumably a 'Michael Meredith']

Munt (W.) Esq, London

[William Munt, architect. Now remembered for the Soldiers' Daughters' Home, Hampstead, (1856-58) in a Tudor style]

Nelson (C.C.), London

[C.C. Nelson, architect. Does not appear to have been widely known but he rebuilt St. David's church in Abergwilli in a rather basic Gothic form]

Pinnethorne (James), London

[James Pennethorne, architect and town planner renowned for his London works for the government from c. 1840-1871]

Railton (W.), London

[William Railton, architect, designed Nelson's Column, virtually all of his other work was Gothic/Tudor for the church commissioners]

Smitt de S.M.B., London

[Unknown]

Walters (E.) Esq, Manchester

[Edward Walters, architect, cousin of Edward I'Anson. Designed the Free Trade Hall (1856) and a number of warehouse buildings in a relatively 'academic' form of Italianate and appears to be one of the few commercial architects to make a serious attempt to derive details from French publications as well as the writings of Ruskin]

Weale (Georges Jelford), London

[Unknown, possibly connected to John Weale the architectural and engineering publisher or a connection of George Telford Weale, a land surveyor born in London in 1840 and died in Australia in the 1880s?]

Wood (Sancton) M.J.B.A., London

[Sancton Wood, cousin of Robert and Syndey Smirke. Travelled in Europe and

illustrated buildings in Spain and Portugal. Designed Italianate railway stations in England and Ireland, the Queens Assurance and Commercial Chambers in London (1852). Often combined detailed Italianate ornament (some of which may well have come from Letarouilly) with an almost Baroque approach to massing and proportion.]

Wright (W.), London

[May possibly William Wright, an architect who worked in Manchester, chiefly as a quantity surveyor, from 1851.]

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Sir John Soane Museum, London, 82/1/45 (r) [Note: the drawing is dated at the bottom 3rd May 1830, so this comment was presumably added three days later]

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