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The overlooked influence of John Soane on architecture from 1791 to 1980 critical appraisal

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1 Abstract:

The purpose and remit here is to investigate the afterlife of the architect John Soane (1753-1837) in terms of his architectural influence, my hypothesis positing that this had not been fully investigated and that the historical underestimation of Soane's influence is erroneous. This critical appraisal is an opportunity to present further manifestations of Soane's influence not covered in my submitted published work; in that the non-decorative manifestations of Soane's influence were previously beyond the research boundaries of my investigations.

Methodology and presentation: having utilised a 'historical research strategy' methodology as the most appropriate approach, anachronistic underestimation has been thoroughly revised through a coherent, thematic and closely interrelated body of work on one topic, Soane's influence. The evidence used to support my hypothesis is presented in the four publications submitted here.

Findings, context and justification: having presented the known spheres of Soane's influence, this appraisal argues that the highest and most reliable data yield is found in a survey of Soane's *decorative* influence, resulting in a justification for the submitted publications. Although there are differing readings of his influence, it is arguable that we are in fact dealing with a highly singular decorative lexicon synonymous with just one artist, Soane, which means proving decorative influence is more reliable than trying to prove Soane's influence in different spheres, where there is too little data to begin the iterative process because there are far fewer tropes traceable to a particular originator. The context to my investigations is that before Postmodernism there had been a negative consensus on the degree or nature of Soane's influence, thus resulting in a low yield of literature on the subject per se. Postmodernism engendered an interest in Soane's legacy, resulting in some scholarly investigation. A consequence of these partial endeavours was that there was now considerable chronological lacunae in-between these investigations, with no notion of overarching historical continuum. Such investigations having been confined only to certain eras: Soane's own (late Georgian); late Modernism and Postmodernism.

Originality and worth: this topic had never been investigated as a thematic and wholly chronological entity (1791-1980), despite some forty-four books on Soane's architecture and Soane himself but none on his influence, until my 2015 survey. My work has given Soane a recognisable afterlife and so his influence can now be viewed as an independent topic that is deserved of prolonged investigation for the first time ever.

2 List of publications:

- a. O. Bradbury, 'A neo-classical plunge at Ston Easton Park, Somerset', *The Follies Journal*, 2 (2002), 29-35.

- b. O. Bradbury, '13 Portland Street, Cheltenham: an example of the architecture of Masonic preferment', *Transactions of the Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 125 (2008), 331-39.
- c. O. Bradbury, 'Johnson, Soane and the beginning of the end of the International Style', *The Magazine of the Twentieth Century Society*, autumn 2009, pp. 14-15.
- d. O. Bradbury, *Sir John Soane's Influence on Architecture from 1791: a Continuing Legacy* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2015).

3 Research methodology and description of research programme:

This research programme is driven by a hypothesis positing that Soane's architectural influence in the form of stylistic, professionalism and other miscellaneous concerns, such as church planning, has been historically underestimated. Arguably, such a hypothesis can only be upheld through evidence-based research requiring data corresponding to pre-codified 'Soanean' recognition criteria, not supposition alone. In order to prove the supposition – in my case presented through four publications and additional evidence set out in the critical appraisal – this involved a conventional thesis paradigm comprising data gathering; data analysis and interpretation of findings; and then confirmation or disapproval of supposition. Or in the words of Linda Groat and David Wang and this will serve as an overarching synopsis for the adopted methodology: 'searching for evidence, collecting and organizing that evidence, evaluating it, and constructing a narrative from the evidence that is holistic and believable. Throughout the process, interpretation is the key.'¹ The methodological journey from initial hypothesis to published re-evaluation will now be explained in detail in sections 3-4:

3.1 Literature review:

The critical appraisal demonstrates awareness of where my work stands in relation to other comparable published work. However, it was established early on in the research process that the existing literature on my field of investigation was limited. I state limited within the body of literature on Soane for there are some forty-four books directly on Soane, but until 2015 none on his influence.

The following is a breakdown by theme and prevalence of the publications on John Soane (for the purposes of objectivity not including those by himself) including those about his built work (for example Francesco Nevola, *Soane's favourite subject: the story of Dulwich Picture Gallery* (London: Dulwich Picture Gallery, 2000)), but excluding his collecting mores (as in Susan Palmer, *At home with the Soanes: upstairs, downstairs in 19th century London* (London: Pimpernel, 2015)). For the sake of relevance, the breakdown includes only studies directly on Soane, as opposed to Soane meshed with other topics too. These themes can be grouped accordingly, with the number of publications in parentheses:

Interpretation (4)

Monographs on Soane's overall *oeuvre* (7)

Influence (9)

The Soane Museum (11)

¹ Linda Groat and David Wang, *Architectural Research Methods*, 2nd edn (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2013), p. 137. Wordpress ebook.

Books or papers on individual buildings (27)

Biographical (9)

Building typology (1)

Generic or miscellaneous aspects of Soane's existence (28)

For the sake of relevance here I am only concerned with literature on influence, thus the nine publications are:

- 1) *Sir John Soane: An English Architect, An American Legacy*, dir. by Murray Grigor (Checkerboard Films, 2005).
- 2) R. L. Alexander, 'The Union Bank, Baltimore; Architect: Long after Soane', *Society of Architectural Historians Journal*, 3, 22 (1963), 135-38.
- 3) Giles Waterfield, *Soane and after: the architecture of Dulwich Picture Gallery* (London: Dulwich Picture Gallery, 1987).
- 4) Christopher Woodward and Richard MacCormac, *Inspired by Soane* (London: Sir John Soane's Museum, 1999).
- 5) Michael Forsyth, 'Edward Davis: nineteenth-century Bath architect and pupil of Sir John Soane', *Bath History*, 7 (1998), 107-28.
- 6) Christopher Webster, 'The Influence of John Soane', in *Late Georgian Classicism*, ed. by R. White and C. Lightburn (London: The Georgian Group, 1987 [1988]), pp. 28-44.
- 7) Christopher Webster, 'Chantrell in Halifax: classicism and the Soane legacy', *The Georgian Group Journal*, 22 (2014), 167-82.
- 8) David Watkin, 'Soane and his Contemporaries', in *Architectural Monographs: John Soane*, no ed. (London: Academy Editions, 1983), 40-59.
- 9) Margaret Richardson, 'Soane's Legacy', in *John Soane Architect*, ed. by Margaret Richardson and MaryAnne Stevens (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1999), pp. 48-61.

Despite the above inventory, this is not an exhaustive investigation of the topic for the following reasons. Until my 2015 survey, the most substantial exploration of Soane's influence was David Watkin's 'Soane and his Contemporaries' essay and Christopher Webster's 'The Influence of John Soane' essay. Watkin discusses Soane's stylistic influence on his pupils and contemporaries (in the context of mutual architectural concerns pursued by Soane and his contemporaries) and Webster's essay is the only protracted attempt at addressing Soane's stylistic (through recurrent employment of certain motifs), planning, professional and ecclesiastical influence on nineteenth century architecture, and yet goes up to only *c.* 1840, thus inferring that historically his influence was felt to be over by this date.² Departing from where Webster leaves off, Margaret Richardson's essay, 'Soane's Legacy', covers the immediate post-1837 aftermath; certain twentieth century phases; and then Postmodernism. *Soane and after* and *Inspired by Soane* were limited to Soane's influence on late Modernism and particularly Postmodernism.³ In terms of a tentative precursor to my work in tracing Soane's legacy over the longer time span is Richardson's text. Finally, Gillian Darley touches on the topic in her postscript to *John Soane: An Accidental Romantic* (1999)⁴, as does Watkin, for a second time and very briefly, at the end of the introduction to *Sir John Soane: The Royal Academy Lectures* (2000).⁵

² Webster, 'The Influence', p. 43. Webster's essay is also somewhat north Midlands-biased and so my 2015 survey aimed to cover Britain more evenly.

³ The 1999 catalogue had only three pages on Soane's pre-1980s influence and 1987 exhibition was actually about Dulwich Picture Gallery, but with a section on 'Soane and Architects Today', running to no more than eleven pages.

⁴ (New Haven and London: Yale University Press), pp. 324-27.

⁵ Ed. by David Watkin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 22-23.

Nevertheless, these three essays and two brief discussions - published over the course of a mere sixteen years – are only unsupported episodes out of a longer story that required explanation and historical context by establishing a chronological framework. Collectively unaware of this temporal entity, Darley, Watkin, Webster and Richardson’s texts actually cover the entire chronological span of my 2015 survey – that is 1791-1980 – and so my publications expand on these pioneering studies as well as being an attempt to deduce any discernible patterns in terms of response to Soane’s stylistic and planning tropes over a 189 year period. Nevertheless, what emerges from Darley et al is a void in Soanean studies and it has been erroneously assumed that Soane had no influence from 1844 to 1924⁶, a void of 80 years, but this is not the case and instead a number of the most reformative, and indeed surprising, names (Beresford Pite, Edwin Lutyens, Philip Johnson) in late nineteenth century and twentieth century architecture were looking to Soane on occasion. To close this eighty year lacuna was one of the aims of my 2015 survey. Moreover, my survey also folds regional and international instances of Soane’s influence into the story; previous investigations had been either one or the other.

3.2 Research comparison with an equivalent study:

I now wish to compare my approach with a publication that I view as the mostly directly comparable to my own and therefore discuss this in some detail. Ronald Schmitt’s *Sullivan-esque: Urban Architecture and Ornamentation* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002) because of its monographic nature at book level, as opposed to article or paper, is the most apt comparison with my 2015 survey on Soane and repays careful study in terms of investigational or methodological approach. The following observations will compare my approach to Schmitt’s and elucidate the similarities and dissimilarities in how a book on monographic influence might be approached and structured.

As a study of architectural influence *Sullivan-esque* is above all concerned with the late nineteenth/early twentieth century American architect Louis Sullivan’s employment of ornament (as immediately established by the book’s title: ‘*Urban Architecture and Ornamentation*’) as Sullivan’s most influential signature. The primacy of ornament in Sullivan’s work is discussed in chapter 5, ‘Ornament’, with 57 pages on just this one aspect alone. My approach was the opposite in that I identified a syntax of composition as Soane’s signature and the means by which I would trace his influence on the work of others.

A major difference in approach is that my 2015 survey is chronologically structured (1791-2015) whereas Schmitt’s is thematic, as in chapters on: building types; former employees; ornament; influence on a particular place (in this case being Chicago). I cover such themes too but within a chronological structure; nevertheless, there are elements of chronology too in Schmitt, with, for example, 36 pages on early Sullivan. And then eight pages on later work by Sullivan (Schmitt, pp. 52-59). Schmitt keeps the chronological span chapters quite short, compared to this author with 200 pages for the first chapter, 1791-c. 1850; though this is then broken down into subsections. A chronological sweep is how my approach differs from other surveys of influence. This helps to prove Soane’s longevity of influence compared to the vast majority of historical architects, however successful in their respective epochs.

Another difference in approach between *Sullivan-esque* and my publication is that Schmitt does not explain *why* the book was written. There is no reasoning for why the book needed to be written, except for a fleeting ‘This second phase of the Sullivan-esque is important but has been understudied’ (Schmitt, p. 52). There is no sense of why architectural influence is significant,

⁶ This 1844-1924 void is evident in Richardson’s ‘Soane’s Legacy’.

though Schmitt's illustrations make the point that Sullivan was influential. With the exception of this omission, Schmitt's study might be a model for architectural influence literature. By comparison, my 30 page introduction (my book introduction being able to address the wider topic more so than my articles on specific situations) explains why the topic of Soane's influence needed investigation.

Like this author and Soane, Schmitt is concerned with both Sullivan's legacy (p. 60) and how a style was disseminated (p. 250) or transmitted (p. 260) or debased (p. 84). In terms of legacy, Schmitt's Epilogue views Sullivan-esque as an antidote to contemporary Modernism. I would be more cautious here for historical revivalism of the Sullivan-esque or Soanean sort holds little currency in 2018, compared to previous decades. Compared to Schmitt, how I explain transmission of style is speculative because there is no historical record and therefore I am having to make a sometimes subjective judgement as to whether a building was influenced by Soane. In a way, Schmitt is on firmer ground here for he can explain the process of influence through building and ornament manufacture and Schmitt will continuously trace a Sullivan-esque design back to a published design via literary citation (p. 176). This is one of the strengths of his approach: the dissemination of Sullivan's style via literature (p. 178), though on p. 140 Schmitt discusses the difficulties of transmission.

3.3 Methodological approaches:

As established by the literature review, a library-based investigation was not the research answer to my supposition; this instead called for a new empirical investigation that would go beyond the boundaries of the above cited investigations. Limited literature on my topic therefore established the necessity for an empirical-descriptive research process⁷, as opposed to relying on existing publications for re-evaluation.

Such methodology is representative of the following distinction: "There will be a difference between the presentation of findings in a dissertation based on empirical research and in a library-based dissertation. A library-based dissertation is very different from a dissertation based on empirical research in which a chapter presenting the results or findings is more readily identifiable."⁸ My work therefore falls into the latter category being a fieldwork-based survey, empirical rather than purely library-based, though at the same time entirely supported by library research and study. Comparing gathering empirical data by the iterative process ("The iterative process is the act of repeating analysis and/or actions with the purpose of increasing your understanding of the subject or challenge and improving your chances of mastery."⁹), as opposed to a 'library-based dissertation', the latter would not work because I was facing historical underestimation and so the literature to support my anti-negation argument did not sufficiently exist.

And yet how does one even measure influence? Is there even a theory for measuring architectural influence? For even in the 480-page-long book, Linda Groat and David Wang's *Architectural Research Methods* (2013), a guide heavily informed by the social sciences, there is nothing on researching architectural influence. If there is no pre-set theory (though there are similarities in

⁷ See Gina Wisker, *The Postgraduate Research Handbook* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2008), p. 71.

⁸ The University of Manchester, former webpage <http://www.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/studyskills/assessment_evaluation/dissertations/findings.html> [accessed 2016]

⁹ Walden University, 'What Is the Iterative Process?' (2017) <<https://www.waldenu.edu/doctoral/resource/the-iterative-process-in-a-doctoral-program-advice-for-degree-candidates-and-educators>> [accessed 3 December 2017]

my work with ‘grounded theory’; very briefly ‘grounded theory seeks to investigate a setting holistically and without preset opinions or notions. A defining characteristic of the grounded theory approach is its stated aim to identify an explanatory theory as it emerges from the analytical process.’¹⁰), then at least the appropriate methodology has to be selected and followed through. Such an approach would require two building blocks: the iterative process of building up the data with a pre-set notion (therefore reducing a direct comparison with grounded theory) that I am countering an historical underestimation (therefore ‘answering the question’); and then how the story that binds the data together is narrated; the ‘historical narrative’. Consequently my research approach could be codified as a ‘historical research strategy, which typically draws upon evidence derived from archival or artifactual sources, largely because the research question focuses on a setting or circumstance from the past. In addition, because historical research frequently entails analyses of artifacts or circumstances over time, a narrative form is often employed.’¹¹

This approach means that data pertaining to a long time span and many places has to be sourced and collated; then interpreted; then analysed and patterns deduced. Illustrating my empirical approach is my West Country fieldwork at Bath (Bradbury, 2015) and Plymouth (Bradbury, 2015). When on site I verify both what I had previously pictorially observed in publications and perhaps more importantly garner new non-published evidence through unexpected encounter.

Such strategy is evidence-based and empirical (from a survey of four fellow architectural historians, this would appear to be the usual approach in Britain), as opposed to theoretically-driven (such as F. Scott, *Architecture or Techno-utopia: Politics after Modernism* (2007)). In the 1960s, under the likes of Peter Eisenman, Colin Rowe (Eisenman’s teacher, writing from the 1940s onwards), Aldo Rossi et al, theory and architectural practice became more symbiotic and theory - especially in the USA - came into its own, thus resulting in a greater preoccupation with architectural research methodology (see Scott, 2007) than in the British teaching system and eventually giving rise to heavily theoretical guides such as Groat and Wang’s *Architectural Research Methods* (first edition, 2002) and it is no coincidence that this ‘bible of all things theoretical/methodological in architectural research’¹² is the product of American and not British academia.

Interestingly, and totally independently, a fellow PhD student in architectural history employed the same methodology as this author, as outlined by Groat and Wang:

‘Like much contemporary architectural-historical enquiry, the methodological-theoretical approach adopted is what Groat and Wang formerly [2002 edition] characterised as ‘Interpretive-Historical’. They defined this as ‘investigations into social-physical phenomena within complex contexts, with a view toward explaining those phenomena in narrative form and in a holistic fashion’. Today most historians of the built environment call this simply ‘historical research’, and indeed so do Groat and Wang in the revised edition of their work. But the former term is a useful reminder that ‘interpretation is active regardless of whether the task is evidence gathering, evaluation, or narration’, and that ‘the components of interpretive research are not contained in discrete “phases,” but go on in parallel much of the time’. Both terms, old and new, also usefully

¹⁰ Groat and Wang, pp. 234-35.

¹¹ Groat and Wang, p. 16. ‘Historical research strategy’ has been identified here as more appropriate than Groat and Wang’s definitions of ‘qualitative research design’; ‘correlational strategy’; ‘experimental strategy’; and ‘logical argumentation’ for reasons too lengthy to explain here.

¹² Jonathan Clarke to author, 16 November 2017.

separate the nature of this type of enquiry from other forms of architectural research, qualitative, correlational, experimental and so forth.¹³

That we arrived at the same method independently might infer some kind of commonality of *this* approach for British architectural historians and for me this method works appropriately in evaluating highly formal and material investigations, such as architecture and transmission of architectural style, as opposed to a heavily theoretical approach, which favours abstraction over anomaly and case study. This, my approach, could be said to reflect the return to formal and material evaluation in art historical discourse in recent years (such as *Postmodernism: Style and Subversion, 1970-1990*, ed. by G. Adamson and J. Pavitt (London: V&A Publishing, 2011)) when compared to the theoretical approach that was more concerned with the means to an end – the generative process - than actual end result itself, so characteristic of 1960s and 1970s discourse (see Scott, 2007). My work, like many architectural historians', could therefore be said to be concerned with the art historical end product. As such my modus operandi is essentially empirical, though given necessary analysis, shape and structure by ideas and both mine and others' arguments. Having identified above which methodology I have used, the following four subsections will describe the method employed.

Gathering of data:

3.4.1 Identifying the correct data:

When applied to nineteenth and twentieth century architecture, what were the aspects of Soane's work that were capable of being transmitted to later architects? Admittedly a very long span, a temporal remit of 1791-1980 was chosen for Soane's influence is not to be found before 1791 and a termination date of 1980 (critical appraisal end date) for I am treating his influence on Postmodernism (which reached a high-watermark post-1980) as a separate entity unto itself and beyond my research boundaries.

Before including individual Soanean examples in my published work, Soane's style, and therefore what might be influential in terms of signature elements, had to be codified in order for given compositions to match the criteria of the 'Soanean style'. Will this be a somewhat pedestrian list of architectural features - an acroterion here and some top-lighting there - or will it be more than the sum of its parts – as in an attitude or philosophy towards architecture? Webster has identified four pathways in which Soane has enjoyed influence: decoration; vaulting and top-lighting; church planning; and professionalism.¹⁴ To these can be added what might be termed 'Soanean composition', for this is the recognition factor when imitating Soane, externally and internally, and to a lesser extent, the handling of internal space and light. Having previously summarised Soane's influence on church planning and professionalism in my 2015 survey, the following other tropes can be reintroduced here for the purposes of this appraisal accordingly:

3.4.2 Decoration, vaulting and top-lighting:

Of decoration, Webster surmises that this 'is the most obvious aspect of Soane's influence and concerns the borrowing of details from his range of decorative motifs. The following features from Soane's buildings usefully sum up this range: first, incised lines either on the inside or the

¹³ Jonathan Clarke, 'First Year Report "Making land pay: the development of the speculative office in inter-war England"' (unpublished doctoral thesis proposal, University of Cambridge, 2016), p. 9.

¹⁴ Webster, 'The Influence', p. 31.

outside of a building, as seen at the Soane Museum; secondly, the Greek fret motif, for example on the exterior of [...] the Consols Office of the Bank [of England]; third, acroteria, usually containing an anthemion and often forming part of a parapet, as on the Lothbury façade of the Bank; fourth, the use of Greek scrolling as a centrally placed surmounting motif forming part of a larger decorative feature, as for example on the Bank exterior.¹⁵ Webster's checklist therefore provides recognition criteria. Often the most alluring aspect of Soane's stylistic influence and frequently imitated, Soanean vaulting and top-lighting are amongst the most identifiable tropes.

Here, briefly, I will attempt to further codify Soane's style or what we, historically and critically, have chosen to isolate as his style - for critics have elected to largely ignore his non-astylar work for their own Modernistic purposes during most of the twentieth century. In order to arrive at an authentic codification of Soane's 'style' let us turn to a description of 1824, which happens to be satirical. An article in *Knight's Quarterly Magazine* coined a sixth Classical order, the 'Boetian', in order to mock Soane and his style:

'Be theirs the beauties of my style
Myst'ries by none possess'd;-
The roofs unshame'd by slate or tile,
The brick with Portland dress's,
The *stepless* door, the *scored* wall,
Pillars sans base or capital,
And curious antiques;
The chimney-groups that fright the sweep,
And acrotteria fifty deep,
And all my mighty freaks.'¹⁶

If we are to put the full-Ordered Corinthian Classicism of Soane's magnificent designs for royal palaces and senate-houses to one side, how do we characterise the more familiar Soanean lexicon? Perversely, as we have just seen, it is through historical parody or satirical account that we can reach a description of Soane's lexicon, for what is most stylistically singular about Soane's *oeuvre* is that easily singled out by the Regency hack journalist: ungrammatical proportions; removal of the impost below an arch, so that it appears suspended in air; multiple use of 'altars, acroteria, and vases' (1824 text) along the parapet, such as at the Bank of England; frequent use of lanterns and coloured glazing; baseless and capital-less pilasters; and broad swathes of barely ornamented stock brick or Portland stone and where ornamented, if stone, then this might involve a negative, incised grooving of a linear pattern and if brick then reticent, shallow mouldings in the same material (such as a cornice) or picked out in Portland stone.

In terms of identification of Soane's influence, my selection criteria is concerned with what might be termed 'Soanean composition' and less so with individual elements favoured by Soane. Although not categorised in its own right, the notion of Soanean composition was understood by

¹⁵ Webster, 'The Influence', pp. 30-31.

¹⁶ Excerpt from [Anon.], 'On the sixth, or Boeotian order of architecture', *Knight's Quarterly Magazine*, January-April 1824, pp. 461-62.

Webster when observing: 'his work is not so much recognised by the motifs used as by the way in which they are combined into an overall composition.'

3.4.3 Collating and narrating the data:

The gathering of evidence and then handling of it can be broken down into three main stages (the necessary iterative process being stages 1-3):

- 1) Personal or literature (as in pictorial representation) initial identification of Soanean manifestation that can be evaluated against the recognition criteria described above. This process is purely an empirical or ocular observation and this is normal practice for architectural historians, to make a formal and probably subjective observation. In my case this is done through fieldwork: where possible to visit the instance of Soane's influence; usually to view buildings (often the primary source in itself) in the UK, USA and Australia. My primary source material has comprised local and planning authority records; museum/art gallery and private archives; interviews; and fieldwork to evaluate buildings in those countries listed above. Secondary sources comprise: auction catalogues; monographs; journals; dissertations.
- 2) Writing up; shaping and presenting one's data according to either a paper or book format. In terms of analysis of gathered evidence, once I have collated my primary source fieldwork data and literature search findings this is then assessed against secondary sources and where these do not exist, positing explanations/interpretations and developing my own ideas as to how and why certain designs took form. This particular sequence is then repeated until the historical underestimation of Soane's influence can be challenged through new data to the contrary. In terms of presenting the data a continuous narrative rather than broken down into entries format worked more flowingly, in order to convey the temporal entity I am arguing for. The framework I built for the 2015 survey is thus: an introduction, serving as interpretive engine for the data in chapters 1-4 (Bradbury, 2015), discussing: *raison d'être*; vilification; historiography; temporal remit; singularity; codifying Soane's style; geographical coverage; building types; identification; context of contemporaries and earlier precedents. The data in the gazetteer (chapters 1-4) is organised in terms of chronological, typological and topographical remit; one of the objectives being to follow Soane's influence from the high-watermark era, 1800-1830, through to antipathetic eras, 1840-1915, to eventual critical re-appreciation from the 1920s onwards. The monograph and other publications is therefore a synthesis of original research and existing knowledge. The monograph is also my endeavour to bring together most of the research I have carried out on the topic into a single readily accessible format, a book.

3) Interpretation of data:

Once collated, how should the data be deconstructed and analysed? In response to studying H.S. Goodhart-Rendel, *English Architecture since the Regency* (1989), I was made aware of two architectural approaches: imitation and transmutation and this distinction appeared to be an appropriate way to interpret and organise my data. Although perhaps architecturally unique to Goodhart-Rendel, the imitation and transmutation perception nevertheless exists in other fields too (such as Marco Beretta, *The Alchemy of Glass: Counterfeit, Imitation, and Transmutation in Ancient Glassmaking*, 2009). In *English Architecture since the Regency* Goodhart-Rendel reflected on how architectural 'style' or shape is transmitted from one practitioner to another:

‘It is very improbable that any architectural design, however original it may appear, can be other than a transmutation or an imitation of something in its author’s experience, whether his memory of the model be conscious or subconscious. What that model may have been, old or new, from near or from far, is of no essential moment; what matters essentially is whether it has been transmuted or merely imitated. The distinction between transmutation and imitation is all it is wise to allow as the distinction between originality and unoriginality. A medieval steeple exactly like the slightly older one in the next village – that is an unoriginal work, however great its beauty; a Gothic cinema, impressing old forms into a new service – that, be it never so deplorable, is an original one.’¹⁷

Illustrating this understanding, if the nineteenth century merely imitated Soane’s style, the twentieth century was more inclined towards transmuting it (probably as a means of avoiding regressing back into then-damned nineteenth century historicism); these contrasting approaches are comprehensively explored (publications a & b versus c) in the works submitted here. I therefore feel Goodhart-Rendel’s distinction is particularly suited to a survey of architectural influence, even if he himself was usually critical of Soane’s built work. His approach is also a means of avoiding an overly subjective interpretation of data.

4 Narration strategy: coherence and consistency of approach (synthesis of the works as a coherent study):

This critical appraisal and my published works is a thesis, as in a single coherent argument, with all the components (empirical work, research design, literature review, critical self-evaluation) all subordinated to, related to, and serving to support, my main argument (the underestimation of Soane’s influence). In terms of a synthesis of its component parts, my empirical approach and writing manner has been consistent in my publications over a thirteen year span and that all four publications are about the same topic and matrix-interrelated because:

- 1) All four concern the same architect, John Soane.
- 2) All are concerned with the notion of architectural influence.
- 3) Two (articles a and b) concern the same architect, George Underwood, when influenced by Soane.
- 4) Two deal (articles a and b) with the late-Georgian period, a high-watermark for the ubiquity of Soane’s then influence.
- 5) Article c and book d address the same architect, Philip Johnson, when influenced by Soane during the High Modernist era.
- 6) Subject matter of articles a, b and c is then revisited in the book (d) in terms of either expansion or précising.
- 7) All four are concerned with either localism or internationalism, the book then bringing together these two strands of Soanean manifestation.

My publications can be related to and integrated with the existing body of literature on both Soane’s pupils and his architectural influence, ranging from the micro (pupils’ work at parochial level) to the macro (influence per se and for instance Richardson’s longer term account of Soane’s legacy), therefore demonstrating that my work is taking a view wider than that achievable in a single paper. Thus my articles on Underwood can be compared at micro level with Webster’s ‘Chantrell in Halifax: classicism and the Soane legacy’ and Michael Forsyth’s ‘Edward Davis: nineteenth-century Bath architect and pupil of Sir John Soane’ and at macro level with

¹⁷ (London: Century and National Trust), p. 22.

Richardson's 'Soane's Legacy' and my 2015 survey with the closest neighbour in terms of monographic approach, Schmitt's *Sullivan-esque*.

My publications thus belong to an overall theme or research programme, one that is aware of previous Soane studies in order to break new ground, present new empirical work, new interpretations and hopefully have an impact on the field of Soanean studies.

5 Other manifestations of Soane's influence not covered in the submitted publications:

Introduction:

In the nineteenth century new materials and construction techniques allowed for greater unencumbered internal space and deeper plan buildings (and for more storeys than ever before, as in early American skyscrapers), such edifices and planning within symbiotic with the acceleration of city building then because of increasing urban populations. These expanding populations generated the necessity for 'new building types to accommodate the emerging needs'¹⁸, thus creating a variety of typologies such as theatres, opera houses, law courts, banks, museums, gentlemen's clubs, hospitals and town halls. Although much emphasis has been traditionally placed on Soane's pursuit of a *personal* style (for example John Summerson, *Sir John Soane* (1952), p. 11), Soane was also responsible for further developing existing typologies (as in banks) that would better serve the burgeoning nineteenth century city, suggesting that his architectural contribution was in fact more holistic than previously appreciated. New functional requirements led to new forms of deep plan buildings¹⁹ served by connecting routes and top lighting, with varying degrees of success on Soane's part (in that his Westminster Law Courts of 1822-25 were demolished in 1883, and Bank of England rebuilt by him in 1788-1833 had to be rebuilt yet again in 1930-1940), but he undoubtedly created exemplars fit for the nineteenth century when it came to law courts, banks and museums. His Picturesque-era approach perhaps put too much emphasis on experiential procession as a result of intended fragmentation of space (Robin Middleton, 'Soane's Spaces and the Matter of Fragmentation', in *John Soane Architect*) leading to much criticism and eventual demolition of key works.

The purpose here is to identify and present the known spectrum of Soane's influence and not just his stylistic influence – the most investigated facet of his influence to date and subject of my published works. Concerned with presenting evidence of the non-stylistic spheres of influence, this section is less concerned with *my* interpretation but instead whether there is evidence for these spheres exerting any influence and if so to what degree. Documented through contemporary and more recent accounts, known spheres of influence are:

5.1 Soane and the professionalisation of architectural practice and his Royal Academy Lectures:

In many ways Soane was the model architect: totally committed; deeply serious; professional and very reliable, but perhaps his great undoing was his pursuit of an overly personal Classicism; this is now appreciated (Richardson, 1999, p. 55) but for many generations this was the cause of his neglect (Richardson, 1999, pp. 48-52). Soane set a new standard in that 'The essential services

¹⁸ Dean Hawkes, 'Building in the climate of the nineteenth-century city' in *Architecture and Climate: An Environmental History of British Architecture 1600-2000* (London: Routledge, 2012), p. 123.

¹⁹ Distinct from major clearing bank and insurance architecture, Soane's transferable influence on deep plan office architecture did not come into its own until the rise of commercial office architecture in the British inter-war years: 'Throughout this period there was an inexorable increase in the scale of building, not just in height, but in depth of plan and orthogonal massing.' Clarke, p. 4.

which he had rendered to Architecture, by his personal example, during a long period of his honourable professional practice, and by the precepts contained in his Lectures...²⁰ In terms of Soane's pioneering professionalism this appraisal is concerned with how it was perceived at the time and whether this was emulated.²¹ There are no independent investigations of Soane's professional influence since T.L. Donaldson's reflections of 1837, so it is problematic to quantify and because of this is probably most reliably evaluated through contemporary observations, such as Donaldson's: 'His ideas of professional honour and uprightness have never been called in question; and these principles which guided himself, he constantly instilled into the minds of the student.'²² So at least here we have a conduit for this aspect of his influence through personal exemplar: 'Throughout his whole career, as Professor of the Royal Academy, by the kind and encouraging manner in which he always addressed them, by the deep interest which he constantly expressed in their efforts, and by the strong and frequent appeals to their ambition, by which he sought to rouse their zeal and instil into their minds elevated views of the importance and dignity of the career upon which they had entered.'²³

Soane's professionalism was therefore partly conveyed through his Royal Academy Lectures and the early ones: '... produced considerable effect. They directed the attention of the student to the pure examples [architectural exemplars] of ancient and modern times; they inculcated a high tone of morals in professional practice; and they excited in the breast of the young architect, a glow and ambition for destination.'²⁴ But there was then a tailing off: 'He gave his first lecture in 1809, when it was very favourably received, as were those that followed in succession; until the fourth [Covent Garden debacle]. The public and the profession generally were greatly pleased with those observations; but it was complained of to the Academy by one of the members...'²⁵ And were of limited application because only Classicism was discussed and 'Practical Architecture' (how to go about constructing a building) omitted.²⁶

More recently, David Watkin has ventured an opinion on the contemporary influence of Soane's lectures: 'In Soane's lifetime his lectures were perhaps best known for their illustrations [...]. Over a thousand of these water-colours were prepared between 1806 and 1820, many of them as much as three or four feet long, each of which took his pupils at least a week's full-time work. Constituting a comparative history of world architecture which was unique in their day, they were the product of a public-spirited gesture for which he received no payment but which was part of his endorsement of the Enlightenment cult of civic virtue.'²⁷

Donaldson's consensus of 1837 has not been challenged since in that Soane's Royal Academy Lectures are still seen as being influential in the professionalisation of architecture, separating it from contracting and therefore Watkin has observed thus: 'Perhaps the principal long-term impact of his lectures lay in the granting of professional status to the architect, as demonstrated by the establishment of the Institute of British Architects in 1834.'²⁸ Laying the groundwork for this in 1788 Soane had advocated: 'The business of the architect is to make the designs and estimates, to direct the works and measure and value the different parts; he is the intermediate agent between

²⁰ T. L. Donaldson, *A Review of the Professional Life of Sir John Soane, Archt.* [...] (London: John Williams, 1837), p. 25.

²¹ Although concerned more with architectural practice, Soane's long-lasting professional influence is alluded to in a recent account that is Margaret Richardson, 'John Soane: The Business of Architecture', in *Papers Given at the Georgian Group Symposium 1991*, ed. by Giles Worsley, *Georgian Architectural Practice* (London: The Georgian Group, 1992), p. 66 and 71.

²² Donaldson, p. 26.

²³ Donaldson, p. 27.

²⁴ Donaldson, p. 20.

²⁵ [Anon.], *Gentleman's Magazine*, March 1837, p. 322.

²⁶ Donaldson, p. 20.

²⁷ Watkin, *Sir John Soane: The Royal Academy Lectures*, p. 6.

²⁸ Watkin, *Sir John Soane: The Royal Academy Lectures*, p. 22.

the employer, whose honour and interest he is to study, and the mechanic, whose rights he is to defend. His situation implies great trust; he is responsible for the mistakes, negligences, and ignorances of those he employs; and above all, he is to take care that the workmen's bills do not exceed his own estimates. If these are the duties of an architect, with what propriety can his situation and that of the builder, or the contractor be united?²⁹

Confirming this pragmatic vision, Webster has observed: 'It is a mark of Soane's far-sightedness, and indeed the opposition which he aroused, that it was more than 100 years after his death before his wishes were fully realised. Only with the passing of the Architect's Registration Act in 1938 was the practice of architecture finally separated from that of contracting.'³⁰

Although Soane's then pioneering role had been seemingly lost by the time of the 1938 Act, Soane's professionalism only applied to the architectural profession and not the origins of the modern construction industry; insomuch he went to pains to separate the two from the eighteenth century symbiosis he had known as a young man.

In Soane's obituaries there is very little sense or discussion of his influence in any sphere at all, excepting John Britton a few years earlier permitting Soane: 'it is but justice to say, that in making estimates – in a comprehensive knowledge of the value and quality of materials – in directing sound construction, and in the skilful arrangement of plans – Sir John Soane is allowed, by his professional brethren and rivals, to possess and exercise on all occasions, a discriminating judgment.'³¹ A disciple of such ethos, pupil Thomas Lee 'was held in high esteem by clients because of his patience, courtesy and diligence and his irreproachable professional ethics earned him a sufficient stature amongst his fellows to be nominated one of the twelve senior members of the profession who founded the Institute of British Architects in June of the year he died.'³²

5.2 General philosophical and societo-cultural background to Soane's era, introductory overview:

By way of a scene-setter, Soane is interesting for bridging the second half of the eighteenth century, the age of Enlightenment and rediscovery of Classical first principles, to the more emotive Romantic era of the early nineteenth century and with it Soane's aesthetic response to contemporary Picturesque theories. Evoking this span, in the words of his modern biographer: 'To be born in the 1750s and to die in the 1830s was to embark on an extraordinary journey. The route took in the processes of industrialisation, European turmoil and revolution, social readjustments and domestic convulsions. Modernisation fell under every conceivable heading.'³³ It can be observed that although Soane was a design radical, he was quite the opposite socio-economically. Politically, economically and socially conservative, this was probably the result of being a self-made man from humble origins; he was son of a brick layer or builder that had fallen on hard times. Upwardly mobile he added the 'e' to plain 'Soan' and this reflects a period of great social mobility in the late eighteenth century 'and in the arts there seems to have been little hindrance to those of humble birth, indeed quite the reverse.'³⁴

Informing a whole lifetime, Soane's design philosophy was moulded by immersion in ancient Italy during his two year Grand Tour (March 1778-May 1780) and then brought up to date, so to speak,

²⁹ J. Soane, *Plans, Elevations and Sections of Buildings erected in the Counties of Norfolk, Suffolk...* &c (London: I. and J. Taylor, 1788), p. 7.

³⁰ For a non-standalone elaboration on Soane and professionalism refer to Webster, 'The Influence', pp. 42-43.

³¹ John Britton, *Brief Memoir of Sir John Soane*, in Fisher's *National Portrait Gallery* (London: Fisher and Son, 1834), v, p. 12.

³² James Rothwell, 'Thomas Lee, Junior Architect, His Life and Works' (unpublished Postgraduate Diploma in History of Art, University of Warwick, 1993), p. 25.

³³ Darley, p. vii.

³⁴ Darley, p. viii.

by his later immersion in eighteenth century French architectural discourse when preparing for his Royal Academy Lectures in 1806-09. Echoing the questioning Age of Reason, Soane was 'Anticlerical in every bone' and considering the Bishop of Derry's behaviour towards his protégé in 1778 and then upon returning from his Grand Tour in 1780 to work for the Earl-Bishop in Northern Ireland, who can blame Soane? Preferring *King Lear* or Rousseau's *Confessions* to the pulpit or King James Bible, his was a mind possibly more preoccupied with 'theories of mnemonics, and a passion for exemplars.'³⁵ Soane's close involvement in Freemasonry was perhaps a substitute for conventional religion in Soane's case. In all this Soane typically reflects his times and only goes against convention by pursuing a very personal Classical style.

5.3 Shared concerns of Soane's architectural peers:

As the progeny of eighteenth-century Grand Tour values and with his essentially Palladian work of the 1780s, Soane's early pursuits were similar to those of his contemporaries but from the second half of the 1780s onwards the work becomes more singular, informed by deep and very personal immersion in advanced eighteenth-century French neo-Classical theory. Soane, like George Dance, Marc-Antoine Laugier, Benjamin Latrobe and Henry Emlyn, was interested in creating a new Classical order, but he was also devoted to the existing orders, and where he does share yet further commonality with some of his equally gifted contemporaries is in designing interiors with as little interruption of volumetric flow as possible, as enabled by Robert Adam's earlier pioneering work. These interiors are also characterised by essentially Palladian exteriors that were deliberately undemonstrative by comparison. Occasionally Soane and S.P. Cockerell's handling of idiosyncratic external form could be almost interchangeable; John Nash and Soane's handling of top-lit interiors could sometimes come close though it is likely that the former was appropriating from Soane but, less decoratively, Latrobe's often unprecedented vaulting solutions put him in the same advanced category as those instigated by both Dance and Soane too. In terms of architectural poetics and diffusion of light Soane shares more in common with his good friend the painter J.M.W. Turner than any architectural peer.

By way of conviction informing all his work and dedication to one's chosen craft, Soane's northern contemporary was Thomas Harrison of Chester (1744–1829). As an example of their similar concerns there is Harrison's painting gallery at Tabley Hall, Cheshire (c. 1810). In its original form, before later added decoration, it resembled in starkness, though not top-lighting, Soane's contemporary gallery at Dulwich. Tabley still houses Sir John Fleming Leicester's collection of British paintings, analogous to Soane's own Picture Room at No. 13 Lincoln's Inn Fields, or the private galleries of Nash on Lower Regent Street, or at Leicester's own townhouse in Hill Street, Mayfair, London (latter two demolished).

Internationally, Soane and Dance's work had much in common with the advanced geometric Classicism of F. Gilly's Franco-Prussian manner of c. 1800. And although considerably younger than Soane, K.F. Schinkel shared with Soane a complete dedication to architecture and an investigation of architectural form that could be linear and rationalist as well as poetic and Picturesque, these concerns reaching ultimate realisation in both Dance and Schinkel's grid-like compositions where masonry was nearly dissolved into total glazing as 'Architecture unshackled'.

Although always following his own singular path, there are considerable parallels in Soane's work with that of slightly earlier or contemporary architects such as his master George Dance (1714–1825) and Robert Taylor (1714–88) and Soane has to be viewed in the context of other inventive

³⁵ James Stevens Curl, *The Art and Architecture of Freemasonry: An Introductory Study* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1991), p. 211.

or reforming neo-Classical practitioners with similar aspirations or concerns in terms of investigating architectural space and a simpler form of Classicism. These include John Tasker (c. 1738–1816); Samuel Pepys Cockerell (1753–1827), Soane’s exact contemporary; and Henry Holland (1745–1806), in whose office Soane worked, and creator of tribunes at Benham Place, Berkshire, and Dover House, Whitehall (1787). Holland developed the tribune feature at Benham Place (1774–75 – the earliest executed tribune and clearly where Soane derived his later tribune ideas from, for he worked in Holland’s office from 1772) and at Carlton House (c. 1783); and then Humphry Repton followed suit at Sarsden House, Oxfordshire (1795).

Elsewhere and spatially analogous to Soane’s earlier work, Tasker’s Roman Catholic chapel at Lulworth Castle, Dorset (1786–87), has a shallow central dome over a centrally planned interior, open through high segmental arches to flanking spaces on all four sides. Moreover, it might have acted as a precedent of sorts for Latrobe’s not altogether dissimilar Baltimore Catholic Cathedral (1805–1821). Also by Tasker is a much smaller chapel within Kelvedon Hall, Essex (c. 1780), with segmental vault and apse. No. 32 St James’s Square, London, of 1819–1821, designed by father and son, S.P. Cockerell working with C.R. Cockerell, is another instance of the interchangeability between Soane and his contemporaries in terms of pursuing their mutual formal concerns. Generally, the younger C.R. Cockerell eschewed Soane’s personal form of Classicism but still followed Soane in that he became Professor of Architecture at the Royal Academy in 1839: ‘In general character and subject-matter – the history, theory and practice of architecture from the ancient world to the present day – Cockerell’s lectures resemble those of Soane which he had certainly heard as a young man.’³⁶ This being an instance of Soane’s easily overlooked influence in a number of areas.

5.4 Reception and perception by Soane’s peers:

Despite the shared concerns outlined above, Soane had always encountered criticism from the start of his career, as outlined in my 2015 survey, partly because of his difficult temperament and chronic inferiority complex fuelled in part by the snobbery of the age; a habit of falling out with otherwise supportive friends through ‘jealousy and unfounded suspicion’³⁷; and that his work was seen as being a too personal form of Classicism; nevertheless these hindrances did not prevent him from enjoying a successful career with many commissions. For the pre-1820s reception of Soane we can turn to Joseph Farington and the diaries he kept, which cover Soane’s era up to 1821 when Farington died. Although Farington was a very accomplished topographical painter, such as his *Chatham Dockyard*, of c. 1790 (Royal Museums, Greenwich), he is now better known as a diarist. Soane features greatly in Farington’s diaries with four pages of dense referencing in *The Diary of Joseph Farington Index* (1998) but it is very soon apparent that Farington did not like Soane and his comments seem invariably negative towards him. Because of the quantity of referencing, the following is based on just Soane’s ‘works’ (*Index*, p. 866) and not other indexed Soane topics such as ‘fine arts’ (p. 864). With Farington we can chart Soane’s reputation from 1796 to 1815:

3-8 February 1796: ‘Smirke [Robert, father of architect] called on me. He has been told Soane does not give his Pupils such means of information in many necessary parts of professional knowledge as He ought to do, and that they generally leave him having much to learn.’³⁸

³⁶ David Watkin, *The Life and Work of C.R. Cockerell* (London: A. Zwemmer Ltd, 1974), p. 105.

³⁷ Dorothy Stroud, *George Dance Architect 1741-1825* (London: Faber and Faber, 1971), p. 178.

³⁸ *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, ed. by Kenneth Garlick and Angus Macintyre, 15 vols (New Haven and London: published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, Yale University Press, 1978), II, p. 490.

The above is interesting for *fifty* years later Alfred Bartholomew felt there had been a major dereliction of duty on Soane's part in that he was to be eternally blamed for not passing his architectural knowledge on. As editor of *The Builder* and on a High Victorian mission to disseminate knowledge and the Freemasonic secrets of architecture, chapter 106 ('Of How the Quantity of our Architectural Knowledge Possessed by One Professor Seems to have Diminished with the Number of Professors') of Bartholomew's *Specifications for Practical Architecture* is where Soane is pilloried for ruining the prospects of a whole architectural generation, if not several:

'Sir John had found out the secret of having the drudgery of his professional business performed by un-salaried clerks for whom he cared nothing ...: these again thrown upon the world before they had become proficient in their art, some too proud, some too rich to seek employment, and some not fortunate enough to obtain it for a few years, till they had become thoroughly versed, practically, theoretically, and scientifically, in their art, – from the pupils became the opposers of their master, and in a sort of self-defence, and for emolument, and for the saving of expenditure, engrafted upon the profession to the third and fourth generation a new race still less and less informed, and from the subdivision of business having still less and less practical experience'³⁹

And continuing this theme, on 28-29 April 1796: 'Smirke I called upon. He is not satisfied with the manner in which Soane conducts himself to his pupils. He seems to be proud & peevish, and not instructive. There are 5 or 6 pupils who appear to have little respect for him.'⁴⁰

On 10-11 July 1796 we see the questioning of Soane's overly personal style of architecture, even in the 1790s (see also later 1799 diary entry here): '[John] Yenn shewed me today a printed inscription for a monument to the memory of Sir William Chambers in which the bad & corrupt taste of Soane in his works at the Bank were strongly described. Yenn said that to G Dance is imputed this whimsical deviation of Soane from the examples of good taste. Dance in the Library at Shelburne House, & at Guildhall, has set Soane his example.'⁴¹ As for John Yenn's remarks, they were probably motivated by jealousy (he was a weak designer if an accomplished draftsman). Here Yenn is referring to the printed and anonymous *Inscription for a Monument to the Memory of Sir William Chambers* (July 1796) and very slightly earlier *The Modern Goth* (May 1796) pasquinades directed at Soane on account of his replacement and demolition of Taylor's Rotunda at the Bank of England.⁴² James Wyatt may have been behind the joke; Yenn gleefully reported it. By this time people knew of Soane's thin skin, 'nerves of a cat',⁴³ and exploited his weakness to their malicious amusement.

In Farington's entries we see the tortuous politics of the Royal Academy at play with architect-academicians Dance, Yenn, Soane, Wyatt and the narrow circle of academicians, rivalling and quite often quarrelling with each other. At the end of the eighteenth century the Academy was increasingly split by factions driven by substantive issues and also personal grudges, mostly concerned with the governing of the Academy. The prevailing coterie was formed around president Benjamin West and included Farington; versus the 'rebels' including architects Yenn, Soane and Wyatt. Although very one-sided, Farington mattered especially after his election as full member in 1785 for he then became very influential and powerful in terms of controlling the Academy's proceedings. So much so John Nash was not made a Royal Academician and there was the uneasy friendship between Soane and Nash, though Soane was more friendly with Wyatt,

³⁹ *Specifications for Practical Architecture*, 2nd edn (London: John Williams and Co., 1846), paragraph 857.

⁴⁰ Garlick and Macintyre, II, pp. 534-35.

⁴¹ Garlick and Macintyre, II, p. 602.

⁴² *The Portrait of Sir John Soane, R.A.*, ed. by Arthur T. Bolton (London: Sir John Soane's Museum Publication, 1927), XIII, pp. 62-65.

⁴³ Bolton, p. ix.

despite the latter reading aloud at a dinner of the Institute of British Architects some scurrilous verses about Soane, in *The Modern Goth*, in regards to new headquarters in the City of London for the East India Company. All this carping activity increased Soane's paranoia. His lifelong Grand Tourist friend Rowland Burdon complained to their mutual acquaintance John Stuart in 1780 of Soane's '*Fancies*', by which we would mean paranoia today.⁴⁴ The same Stuart severely reprimanded Soane for overstepping the 'class' divide between architect/client,⁴⁵ and a characteristic sequence of events was that Farington supported West and Robert Smirke in the controversy over the following: Soane's adverse remarks on Smirke's Covent Garden Theatre delivered in a lecture at the R.A.⁴⁶; Soane's then subsequent chastisement; his temporary resignation as Professor.⁴⁷

Although a reforming designer, Soane was aware of his shortcomings. Wyatt, by comparison, was a natural draughtsman and could draw perfect circles and straight lines freehand without any assistance.⁴⁸ Compounding this self-perception of life-long persecution, 'Soane had been disregarded every time an important public architectural commission was awarded during George IV's reign as Regent and King, and his design for a Royal Palace on Constitution Hill had been ignored.'⁴⁹

Farington's close involvement in the affairs of the Royal Academy meant that both he and Soane would move in the same circles but it seems apparent from Farington's diaries that Soane was not a popular figure amongst fellow architects; for on 17-20 July 1796: '[George] Dance remarked on the violent manner in which the architects are attacking Soanes professional character.'⁵⁰

There is not space here to put all the following quotations in context, but the point is made with a consistently negative pattern; for on 12-13 August 1796: 'Soanes architecture at the Bank was described to be affected and contemptible.'⁵¹

(Sir) Robert Smirke trained in Soane's office for just a few months, because of mutual antipathy between the two, and on 6-9 January 1797: 'Smirke [father] is very uneasy abt. the situation of Robt. Smirke with Soane, whose conduct becomes more unsatisfactory every day. He now employs Robert only in copying bills, and is childishly capricious & trifling even abt. this. Soane has not much business to do, - so that the pupils are seldom engaged, but on insignificant matters. - In short Smirke cannot think of engaging his Son under Articles where there is so little prospect of improvement. - I recommended to him to have a full conversation with Dance without delay, & consider His opinion, if He Postpones doing this Soane will complain that a determination was not sooner made.'⁵²

There is probably a modicum of truth in all of Farington's diary entries but these need to be seen in the context of the author's emphatic bias against Soane: 'Farington, an indifferent artist but

⁴⁴ Bolton, p. 38.

⁴⁵ 'Once back in Britain, Soane presumed too much upon his intimate relations with the family and overstepped the fine line between patron and artist.' Pierre du Prey, *John Soane: The Making of an Architect* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), p. 113 and n. 22.

⁴⁶ Soane was forbidden to comment on living artists' work by the R.A. rules and this is what got him into trouble with Robert Smirke et al.

⁴⁷ Bolton covers the 1810-12 dispute, see pp. 148-150.

⁴⁸ See John Martin Robinson, *James Wyatt (1746-1813): Architect to George III* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011), p. 66.

⁴⁹ Derek Linstrum, *Sir Jeffrey Wyattville: Architect to the King* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 2.

⁵⁰ Garlick and Macintyre, II, p. 611.

⁵¹ Garlick and Macintyre, II, p. 638.

⁵² Garlick and Macintyre (1979), III, p. 740.

consummate gossip-monger, was eager to denigrate Soane's social and professional success.⁵³ Although biased, the diaries are still useful for gauging the perception of Soane from the point of view of his peers, for on 25-30 January 1797: 'Soane is accused of endeavouring to undermine [Richard] Jupp at the East India House. A Vote was proposed at the Architects Club to expel underminers.'⁵⁴ And 2-5 June 1797: 'Soane behaved awkwardly abt. Dance. – Dance said He might see I was *cool*.'⁵⁵

This pattern of tricky behaviour brings to mind Watkin observing: 'On the whole, people receive the treatment not that they deserve but that they expect; and Soane certainly expected the hostility which was frequently directed to him both as a man and as an architect.'⁵⁶

19-20 January 1799: 'Soane being employed by Mr. Pitt might be an awkward circumstance as He had undertaken to make designs for a House of Lords &c which were exhibited. – Wyatt said the King had observed on those designs and on Soanes Gates in the Park, and knew his peculiarities well. – If so there can be no apprehension of future works being trusted to a bad taste.'⁵⁷

27-30 March 1801: 'Mrs. Soane said, Mr. Soane was not to be compared with Mr. Wyatt as to ability, but had taken more pains than Mr. W. would do, therefore his designs might be more elligable [*sic*].'⁵⁸ Although more genial than Soane, the above refers to Wyatt taking on too much work and his clients then suffering from his divided attention span. Relations had been always cordial between Soane and James Wyatt, unlike Soane's strained terms with other peer architects.

2-4 July 1803: 'In the course of our ride [John] Hoppner remarked on the resemblance between Artists and their works. Cosway. – Louthburgh, - Zoffany, - Sir N Holland Soane &c &c are strong proofs of it.'⁵⁹

6-8 May 1804: 'Mr. [Thomas] Hope had been the day before at the Bank at the request of Soane. He did not approve the Architectural taste of Soane. – Mr. Hope's fortune is £200,000.'⁶⁰

2-25 August 1807: 'Lewis [James, architect] sd. that Soane had pulled down parts of the Bank, particularly the Rotunda, which was designed by Sir Robt. Taylor, & has built in the room of it one in a much worse taste. [S.P.] Cockerell remarked upon it, "That Soane in this had displayed some understanding, as by pulling down that which Sir Robert had built, it could no longer be a reproach to Him by its contrast to all the bad taste which He, Soane, had manifested in every other part"''.⁶¹ We now have instances of both Cockerell father and son criticising Soane's Bank architecture.

22-25 June 1809: 'Mr. Long gave an instance of Soane's conduct to the Board of Commissioners at Chelsea Hospital of which Soane is Surveyor. He was required to attend the Board at a time

⁵³ Darley, pp. 101-02.

⁵⁴ Garlick and Macintyre, III, p. 759. In that architectural monographs on Soane's peers and the next generation of architects carry almost nothing on how these practitioners perceived Soane; Dorothy Stroud's *George Dance* (1971), by way of example, has nothing coming from an architect so closely associated with Soane; an exception being C.R. Cockerell's views on Soane's Bank of England and Law Courts, but even this is a mere short paragraph in Watkin's 1974 monograph on Cockerell, p. 67.

⁵⁵ Garlick and Macintyre, III, p. 849.

⁵⁶ David Watkin, 'Soane and his Contemporaries', p. 40.

⁵⁷ Garlick and Macintyre (1979), IV, p. 1141.

⁵⁸ Garlick and Macintyre, IV, p. 1529.

⁵⁹ Garlick and Macintyre (1979), VI, p. 2073.

⁶⁰ Garlick and Macintyre, VI, p. 2316.

⁶¹ *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, ed. by Kathryn Cave (New Haven and London: published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, Yale University Press, 1982), VIII, p. 3110.

appointed, instead of which a letter was recd. from Him stating *that He was going to the Bank* & cd. not attend. In consequence He wd. have been removed from His situation had not Mr. Long prevented it.⁶²

4-7 March 1810: ‘Dance gave me a trait of Soane’s character. On Soane’s return from Italy He told Dance that after He left Rome He lost His sketches owing to the bottom of His trunk coming out. He afterwards borrowed Dance’s drawing of the Sybils temple at Tivoli & copied it, & hung it up in His House with John Soane written under it, as if the drawing had been originally made by Himself. This being remarked to him, He claimed originality for this drawing saying He borrowed Mr. Dance’s drawing only to compare it with his own.’⁶³

And on 10-11 August 1815 an instalment of the long-running enmity between Robert Smirke and Soane: ‘He [Robert] spoke of the meetings He had attended at the Speaker’s of the House of Commons on the subject of erecting a palace for the Duke of Wellington. Soane and Wyatt had met Him there, and He had met Soane & Wyatt elsewhere to consider this business, but at the last meeting at the Speaker’s Soane produced a report so different from what He had expressed to Robt. Smirke in order to fall in with what seemed to Him to be the wish of the Speaker & Lord Liverpool &c. that R. Smirke now sd. to me that He never wd. again have anything to do with Soane in making a report, as He cd. have no further reliance upon Him for sincerity.’⁶⁴

And finally, on 25-31 August 1815: ‘... for as to the building of a palace for the Duke it is quite out of the question Soane having a Commission to do it.’⁶⁵

Despite the above instances of anti-Soane feeling and the therefore diminished potential for even greater influence amongst his contemporaries and subsequent generations of architects, my 2015 survey demonstrates that Soane was nevertheless still influential into the 1820s⁶⁶ and long beyond then. However and compounding yet further the above traits held against Soane, by the 1820s there was an intellectual shift away from his work in advanced circles and this was certainly apparent by early 1824, if not before (his work under attack from the 1790s, but not because it was Classical at this stage). Soane was out of step in later years due to a natural and generational shift in prevailing taste that had occurred, despite his own efforts. This was the rise of the Gothic Revival exemplified in the problems he encountered in Parliament with criticism over the New Law Courts, Westminster (1822–25), and controversy arising from him introducing Palladian elevations in front of a Gothic national edifice, Westminster Hall – Soane’s exterior was then humiliatingly Gothicised in 1824 against his wishes, in accordance with a design he disowned - and the debate surrounding this in Parliament: ‘He [Sir James Macintosh] could not help adverting to the new building which now showed its face so impudently in the face of Westminster Abbey. That building was called Grecian. (A laugh.) It was not English – it was not national – so it had been denominated Grecian. He only regretted, if a necessity existed, for the erection of the building in question (the new Courts), that it should have been carried to the North entrance of Westminster-hall, which had been so well restored, but which was now disgraced and deformed by the contiguity of the new structure. As an hon. friend observed to him, that building, if it were

⁶² Cave (1982), IX, p. 3495.

⁶³ Cave (1982), X, p. 3610.

⁶⁴ Cave (1984), XIII, p. 4691.

⁶⁵ Cave, XIII, p. 4698.

⁶⁶ A case perhaps of designers not necessarily liking Soane the man, but still inclined to appropriate from his work.

Grecian, must be of the Boeotian order, supposing such an order to exist. (Laughter.) He, however, instead of calling it Grecian, must denominate it “most barbarous.”⁶⁷



Figure 1: New Law Courts, Westminster, before



⁶⁷ Excerpt from [Anon.], ‘Committee of Supply. New works at the House of Lords, Royal Palaces, &c.’, *The Times*, 2 March 1824, p. 3.

(Above) Figure 2: New Law Courts, Westminster, after

The interiors here were Soane's curious attempt to bridge the Classical and the medieval; to show they were in a sense one and the same, as in from 'First Principles' and Nature. Although he did not care for Gothic, Soane believed that the two styles were not incompatible and that they derived from a common source (Nature). Soane incorporated disused corbels from Westminster Hall right onto the façade of No. 13 Lincoln's Inn Fields, as if to say he was in fact open to Gothic. But others took a more doctrinaire position, the younger Pugin as seen notably in his spoof on the Soane Museum in the 1836 first edition of *Contrasts*. By the early 1830s Soane's work was under sustained attack both here and by overseas critics, particularly German, and then from the late 1830s Soane's reputation was in rapid decline because of the way in which the Ecclesiologists and Gothic Revivalists were increasingly influencing publication and architectural debate generally. Although Soane was by now father of the profession (with a Gold Medal presented to him by the Institute of British Architects in 1834 with 350 subscribers), his time was essentially up for this period.

The situation from *Contrasts* thereon and Soane's tortuous relationship (or not) with the Victorian Gothic Revival is explained in my 2015 survey, pages 237-242. Nevertheless, the supreme irony is that both Pugin and Soane despised modern architecture, 'with its mean, commercial priorities',⁶⁸ but Soane's solution to remedying this was not reviving Gothic. With their mutual admiration for the past and a more generous way of life then, as they perceived it, Watkin has observed: 'The parallel between Soane and Pugin now seems so close that we wonder whether Pugin may have seen or heard described some of Soane's lectures illustrations.'⁶⁹ If so, this would have to be the ultimate accolade – from Classical high-priest to Gothic high-priest - in terms of Soane's non-stylistic influence being passed onto the next generation for 'What Pugin wanted was exactly what Soane called for again and again that, as Pugin put it in *Contrasts*, "the style of a building should so correspond with its use that the spectator may at once perceive the purpose for which it was erected."⁷⁰ Watkin then reproduces a portrait of Soane (1828) and Pugin (1845) observing: 'seemingly opposites, but both fastidious, gloomy, passionate, in the clothes they adopted to stress their isolation from the material values of their day: mediaeval priest's in Pugin's case; Freemason's in Soane's case, who commissioned this portrait of himself in the Freemason's Hall which he designed himself.'⁷¹ By disliking and not embracing the rising primacy of the Gothic style in the 1830s Soane sent his own manner and poetic approach into abeyance for the next forty to fifty years, though my 2015 survey argues that there were a few flickers of a Soane afterglow here and there during this long wilderness period.

5.5 Significance of Soane's theoretical approach to his architecture, particularly with reference to choice of 'appropriate character' or degree of elaboration, and 'development'.

5.5.1 Character:

Soane adhered to a long-established convention in that:

⁶⁸ David Watkin, *The Annual Soane Lecture: Sir John Soane & Enlightenment Thought* (London: Sir John Soane's Museum, 1996), p. 21.

⁶⁹ Watkin, *The Annual Soane Lecture*, pp. 22-23.

⁷⁰ Watkin, *The Annual Soane Lecture*, p. 23.

⁷¹ Watkin, *The Annual Soane Lecture*, pp. 23-24.

‘hierarchy mattered and it mattered because of the instinctive Georgian adherence to the principles of Classicism. In a tradition extending back to Vitruvius in the first century BC the principle of ‘decorum’ style and decoration appropriate for a particular function and status was followed.’⁷²

Applying this innate Georgian understanding to Soane, Watkin has observed that he:

‘was anxious from the start of his career to find the appropriate character for every commission. In his book, *Plans, Elevations and Sections of Buildings erected in the Counties of Norfolk, Suffolk... &c* (1788), in which he illustrated his own early works, Soane urged that ornaments should always be “characteristic of their situations.” Thus, only those should be used “as tend to show the destination of the edifice, as assist in determining its character, and for the choice of which the architect can assign satisfactory reasons.” A no less significant indicator of his early belief in appropriate symbolism was his statement that,

“The ancients with great propriety decorated their temples and altars with the skulls of victims, rams heads and other ornaments peculiar to their religious ceremonies; but when the same ornaments are introduced in the decoration of English houses, they become puerile and disgusting.”

The preoccupation with character, which was to feature strongly in his Royal Academy lectures, bore fruit in his own architecture, ranging from the purist linearity of his entrance gateway at Tyringham, to the Corinthian splendour of his Lothbury Arch at the Bank of England of 1800, probably the first permanent triumphal arch erected in London.⁷³

Soane, more than any other British architect ever, is felt to have exploited to maximum potential the full spectrum of appropriate character in his work ranging from elaborate palace designs to minimalist pig sheds and so it is not surprising he had pronounced views on both character and decoration.⁷⁴ For in 1788 Soane had advocated: ‘It is impossible to compose one design adapted to every situation, an eminence and a valley require a different stile of architecture; an edifice in an open country should consist of large and simple parts, while the peaceful valley, and silent stream admit of more delicacy and ornament. The difference in manner of living, and the different ideas of convenience, comfort and elegance, render the attempt at forming one plan for every situation still more impracticable.’

This is of course a philosophy not unique to Soane and in fact a traditional architectural approach, spanning from Vitruvius to the work of Stirling and Gowan in the 1950s and early 1960s. In very long and verbose, if not purple prose, sentences Soane explained his design philosophy prior to his later immersion in French theory:

‘let us not therefore blindly and servilely copy the ancient buildings, but cautiously examine them, and if possible catch the spirit of them: by constant study, deep reflection, and unwearied diligence, we shall discover the causes of their various combinations and proportions, and shall trace the springs from whence we derive satisfaction in contemplating the venerable remains of ancient grandeur; we shall then look upon those wonderful and stupendous works with equal pleasure and improvement; we shall constantly discover new beauties; we shall perceive how different are the effects produced by the sight of the objects themselves, from the ideas raised on examining them in prints, drawings and models; we shall see how closely the ancient artists attended to the

⁷² Russell Taylor, ‘13 Ely Place’, *The Georgian*, summer 2017, p. 30.

⁷³ Watkin, *Sir John Soane: The Royal Academy Lectures*, p. 2.

⁷⁴ For this argument in full see Giles Worsley, ‘Soane was no fainthearted Classicist’, *The Georgian Group Journal*, [n.v.] (1994), 43-50.

character, convenience and locality of their edifices; and that the same ornaments, and the same proportions that astonish and delight in some situations, fail of effect in others.⁷⁵

And once he had immersed himself in French theory, Soane would remain consistent about character for in Lecture XI (1815):

‘Notwithstanding all that has been urged to the contrary, be assured my young friends, that architecture in the hands of men of genius may be made to assume whatever character is required of it. But to attain this object, to produce this variety, it is essential that every building should be conformable to the uses it is intended for, and that it should express clearly its destination and its character, marked in the most decided and indisputable manner. The cathedral and the church; the palace of the sovereign, and the dignified prelate; the hotel of the nobleman; the hall of the justice; the mansion of the chief magistrate; the house of the rich individual; the gay theatre, and the gloomy prison; nay even the warehouse and the shop, require a different style of architecture in their external appearance, and the same distinctive marks must be continued in the internal arrangements as well in the decorations. Who that looks at the interior of St. Martin’s church, and observes its sash-windows and projecting balconies at the east end, but is inclined rather to imagine himself in a private box in an Italian theatre than in a place of devotion?’

Without distinctness of character, buildings may be convenient and answer the purposes for which they were raised, but they will never be pointed out as examples for imitation nor add to the splendour of the possessor, improve the national taste, or increase the national glory.⁷⁶

5.5.2 Development:

In teaching pupils in his office and students of the Royal Academy, Soane like any right-minded teacher was not concerned with promoting his own manner or any particular style (though his favourites were Greek and Roman over any other idiom) for that matter, though it can be observed he ignored the Gothic Revival as a style to be emulated or developed.⁷⁷ This is significant, and relates to the Gothic discussion above, for it helps our understanding as to why Soane’s own manner of architecture fell out of favour from the 1820s onwards. Soane was instead more concerned with forming a foundation for developing any style once architectural fundamentals had been grasped by the student. Explaining Soane’s approach there is one key passage in his Royal Academy Lectures, Lecture 1 of 1810:

‘The mind of the student should be impressed with the absolute necessity of close and unremitting attention, of deep and indefatigable research. From earliest youth not a moment must be lost by him who desires to become a great artist. He who seeks superior excellence must search deeply into the motives and principles which directed the minds of the great artists of antiquity who produced those works of elegant fancy, of true refinement, and correct taste, which have done so much honour to the human mind and will ever be the admiration of enlightened people of all ages and of all countries. By referring to first principles and causes, the uncertainties of genius will be fixed, and the artist enabled to feel the beauty and appreciate the value of ancient works, and thereby seize the spirit that directed the minds of those who produced them. We must be intimately acquainted with not only what the ancients have done, but endeavour to learn (from their works) what they would have done. We shall thereby become artists not mere copyists; we shall avoid servile imitation and, what is equally dangerous, improper application. We shall not then be led

⁷⁵ Soane, pp. 3-4.

⁷⁶ Watkin, *Sir John Soane: The Royal Academy Lectures*, p. 255.

⁷⁷ For example not a single Gothic building is illustrated in the 35 representative plates in *Sir John Soane: The Royal Academy Lectures*. Watkin observes that Soane ‘disapproved of Gothic’. Watkin, *The Annual Soane Lecture*, p. 20.

astray by fashion and prejudice, in a foolish and vain pursuit after novelty and paltry conceits, but contemplate with increased satisfaction and advantage the glorious remains of antiquity.’⁷⁸

To what extent Soane was influential with this timeless message is problematic to verify,⁷⁹ for this was just one point of many within 12 detailed Lectures and so not even the key theme of Lecture I, which was about nature and the origins of architecture, thematically sitting within an overall grand historical survey of architecture in Soane’s first course of Lectures, 1-6. Nevertheless this type of grounding he was advocating was a theme he would return to from time to time in his Lectures in that to become an artist and not mere copyist was a difficult pursuit (Lecture VII): ‘[...] painting and sculpture, with all the mighty and justly admired powers they possess, are arts chiefly of imitation, but architecture is an art purely of invention, and invention is the most painful and the most difficult exercise of the human mind.’⁸⁰

If not passed on through his Lectures,⁸¹ Soane certainly set his office staff up in order that they could pursue any style later in life. West Yorkshire is a part of the country thin on the ground for Soane’s influence, with the exception of the work of his pupil Robert D. Chantrell (1793–1872). Nevertheless, Chantrell is best known for his pioneering later Gothic Revival work (in particular a church that revived a then flagging career, Leeds Parish Church, 1837-1841), not Soanean, but it appears that Soane instilled in his pupils skills then transferable to styles other than Classicism.⁸² In this respect he would surely have been proud of his pupil for Soane was not concerned with imposing his manner on others. Despite his rigorous Classical training, Chantrell was fortunately able to create at Leeds what was the first large town church to exemplify the principles of the Cambridge Ecclesiologists of the first phase of the ‘serious’ Gothic Revival of the early 1840s. For Soane’s pupils’ generation this was a case of swim with the tide to keep in business or drown and die, as was the case of George Wightwick. Not just Chantrell, through the tabular list of pupils, assistants and clerks who are recorded to have worked in Soane’s office between 1784 and 1837 it would be possible to identify through their works, once established in independent practice, recorded in this list (and other sources, such as Howard Colvin’s *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, 4th edition, 2008), the styles and building typologies pursued by Soane’s pupils.⁸³

Development was a concept underpinning much post-Renaissance architectural thinking and certainly the case in the first few decades of the nineteenth century, perhaps even bolstered by

⁷⁸ Watkin, *Sir John Soane: The Royal Academy Lectures*, pp. 28-29.

⁷⁹ Issues being the size of the audience on the day; how receptive the students were; and that the Lectures were not first published until 1929 (*Lectures on Architecture by Sir John Soane ... As delivered to the Students of the Royal Academy from 1809 to 1836 in Two Courses of Six Lectures each*, ed. by Arthur Bolton (London: Soane Museum Publications, 1929)).

⁸⁰ Watkin, *Sir John Soane: The Royal Academy Lectures*, p. 174.

⁸¹ Saying that, perhaps a review of Soane’s R.A. lecture audiences would reveal other instances of his influence in terms of stylistic development. The students in the Schools were required to attend Soane’s lectures and so most probably his ideas rubbed off on some in the audience. Other than for example C.R. Cockerell, who were they? Answering this question would require research into the R.A. Schools. Future investigation could look at Humphrey C. Morgan, ‘A History of the Origins and Growth of the R. A. Schools to 1836’ (master’s thesis, University of Leeds, 1964). And there is Bolton’s Soane Museum pamphlet no. 12, *Architectural Education a Century Ago* (c. 1926) which not only lists Soane’s pupils, but mentions their admittance to the R.A. Schools and their exhibits at the R.A.

⁸² See Christopher Webster, *R.D. Chantrell (1793–1872) and the Architecture of a Lost Generation* (Reading: Spire, 2010).

⁸³ Arthur Bolton, *Architectural Education a Century Ago* (London: Sir John Soane Museum, c. 1926), XII, pp. 12-19. Curiously, the only building style mentioned in the entire list is ‘a Gothic house at Cowes’ by an obscure assistant of Soane’s, G.A. Underwood (see Bradbury, 2015), dating from 1815. Underwood would then design Holy Trinity, Cheltenham in a Commissioners Gothic style in 1817-1823, but he was not a Gothic Revival pioneer in the way his almost exact contemporary in Soane’s office, Chantrell (a pupil), was. See Bolton, *Architectural Education*, p. 16.

Soane's R.A. lectures. This, ultimately, might even be Soane's most important legacy, though of course quantifying the impact of Soane's lectures is very open-ended. More so than mere lectures, architectural history is often concerned with the pervasive impact of acclaimed and persuasive built exemplars, which are then repeated and modified *ad infinitum*, and to borrow the words of Soane (Lecture V): 'For taste in a great degree depends on the examples we have before us; however bad they may be, if sanctioned by success, they become objects of general imitation.'⁸⁴ One of the paradoxes here is that in his lectures Soane espoused complete orthodoxy and yet his own work could be very singular, and was highly vilified at times for being just so (New Law Courts etc.), but all this informed by an unwavering commitment to the Classicism of the ancients. This is more or less the view reached by Webster too: 'Their [Royal Academy lectures] scope was limited, and from an architect whose own work was so exciting, their content was surprisingly conservative. That he failed to acknowledge the rising interest in Gothic, Tudor and the picturesque further impaired the usefulness of the lectures, and their author's influence.'⁸⁵

Although Soane saw ancient Greek architecture has setting an eternal standard to be forever emulated, he did not espouse slavish copying but originality instead, once the student had fully studied the work of the ancients, and this might go some way to explain how Soane could espouse one approach and practice another (Lecture XI): 'Imitations of masters is not required in architecture. Poets amuse themselves in this way, but I know not why architects should. It may make them humble mannerists, but this method of study will never make a great artist. It is the road to mediocrity but not to Fame's most dignified niche. He that only copies or imitates will always be left behind.'⁸⁶

The following seems to be a summing up by Soane of what he had said above in the Lectures and can therefore serve as a conclusion to this section here (Lecture XI): 'If such be the power and effect of novelty, how cautious ought we to be in what we offer for imitation? For although in the instances mentioned [Lecture XI], fortunately true taste and elegant refinement generally prevailed, perhaps, had that not been the case, and had novelties of an inferior and less classical kind been ushered into the world by some amateur of taste, they might have spread for the time their baneful influence full as wide, and as extensively, and have been as destructive to the diffusion, and establishment of good taste, as in this case [Wedgwood's Etruscan ware] they proved advantageous and beneficial to the arts in general.'⁸⁷

5.8 Soane and planning: asymmetrical plans behind symmetrical exteriors:

Soane's plans are invariably asymmetrical behind symmetrical elevations, though quite often these overall elevations were not truly symmetrical because the building was the result of a number of separate building campaigns. Where possible Soane would attempt to impose a symmetrical elevation on a site that was not symmetrical, such as the Bank of England island site, though he would then respond to the site's inherent asymmetry when it came to floor planning. This marks Soane out for being different to, for instance, an Arts and Crafts architect and their inclination to embrace the asymmetry of a site in terms of providing asymmetrical elevations for overall Picturesque effect and outline.

⁸⁴ Watkin, *Sir John Soane: The Royal Academy Lectures*, p. 117.

⁸⁵ Webster, 'The Influence', p. 30. That he failed in mentioning 'the picturesque' is not strictly true; see Watkin, *Sir John Soane: The Royal Academy Lectures*, p. 215, and Soane imbued Picturesque principles into his own work (see Watkin, 'Soane and his Contemporaries', p. 10).

⁸⁶ Watkin, *Sir John Soane: The Royal Academy Lectures*, p. 249.

⁸⁷ Watkin, *Sir John Soane: The Royal Academy Lectures*, p. 259.

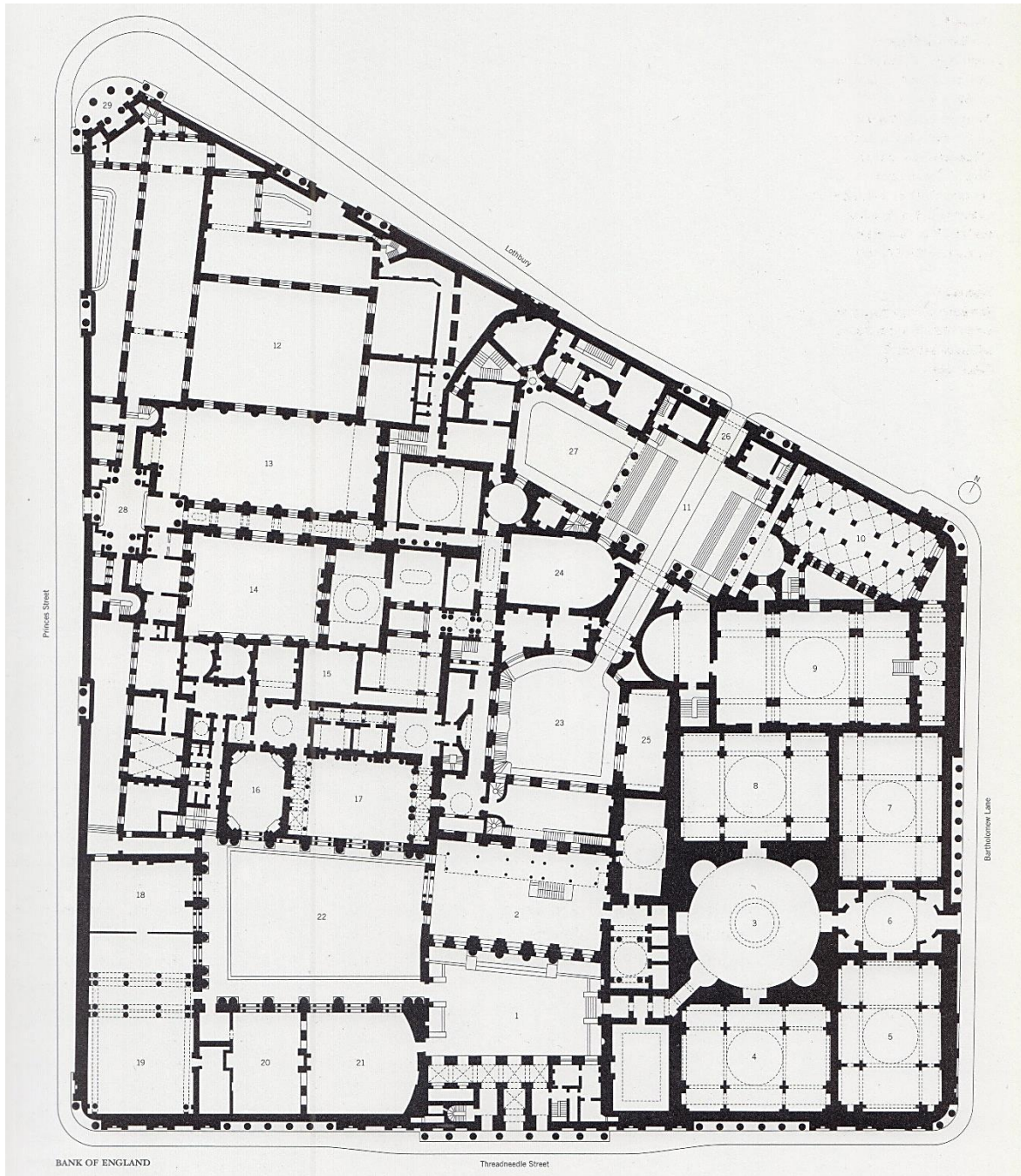


Figure 3: Asymmetrical plan: Bank of England, as rebuilt by Soane, 1788-1833, and redrawn in 1999 from a plan of 1833 (from *John Soane, Architect: Master of Space and Light* (1999))

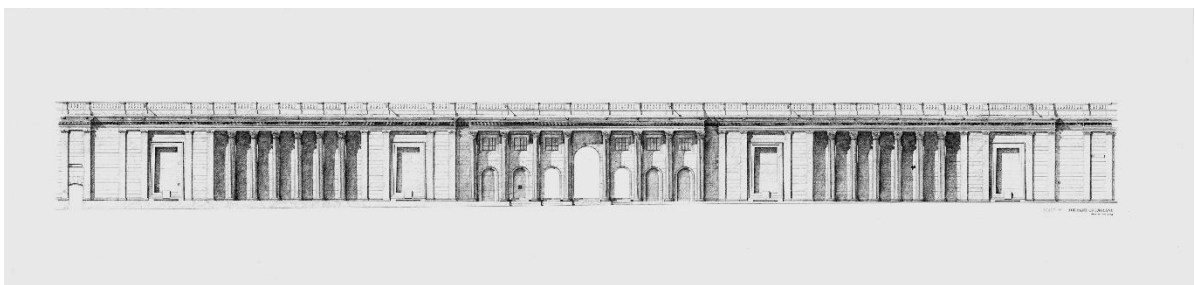


Figure 4: Symmetrical elevation: Bank of England, Threadneedle Street façade, 1823-26

An instructive and major instance of Soane's asymmetrical planning behind largely symmetrical elevations is his Bank of England, as rebuilt between 1788-1833. He would then repeat the asymmetrical plan behind a symmetrical elevation/s approach as and when needs arose, such as Nos. 12, 13 and 14 Lincoln's Inn Fields (1792-94; 1812-13; 1823-24) and New Law Courts, Westminster (1822-25) etc. Nevertheless, as so often the case with Soane, his practice (asymmetry) was in contrast to what he advocated as the ideal (symmetry) for in Royal Academy Lecture 8 he advised: 'Due consideration must likewise be given to the general extent and character of the whole building, so that the precise dimensions of each of the component parts of the structure may be regulated by the strictest rules of symmetry.'⁸⁸ And that 'The student in composing his plan must be mindful to avoid irregularity. He must look at nature, imitate her simplicity, and follow her symmetry. He will there learn that contrast with a balance of parts is as essentially requisite to form a well-composed plan, as a strict attention to the uses to which the different parts of his work are destined, are to produce a convenient dwelling.'⁸⁹

And so how do we equate Soane's generally asymmetrical plans with his contrary advocacy of symmetry? The answer lies in the following: 'In speaking of the uniformity or regularity of plans, I mean that happy balance of parts, that due relation of solids and voids, which are equally compatible with beauty and propriety.'⁹⁰ For Soane it seems the words symmetry and balance were probably interchangeable.

Generally speaking, for classical country houses – arguably a sound typology for multiple plan comparison – of Soane's era the external arrangement tended to be for symmetrical, essentially Palladian exteriors with asymmetric plans within, compared to the rigid symmetry of earlier plans of for instance Lord Burlington in the eighteenth century or more rigid still, seventeenth century domestic planning. With Soane however it is problematic to identify planning traits that are peculiar or innovatory to Soane and he has never had a reputation as an innovator planner, in the way the Adam brothers are regarded as having revolutionised domestic planning, by means of processional route and variety of room outline. Moreover, Soane's planning was regarded as chaotic at, for example, the Bank of England, hence the limited life of his work there.

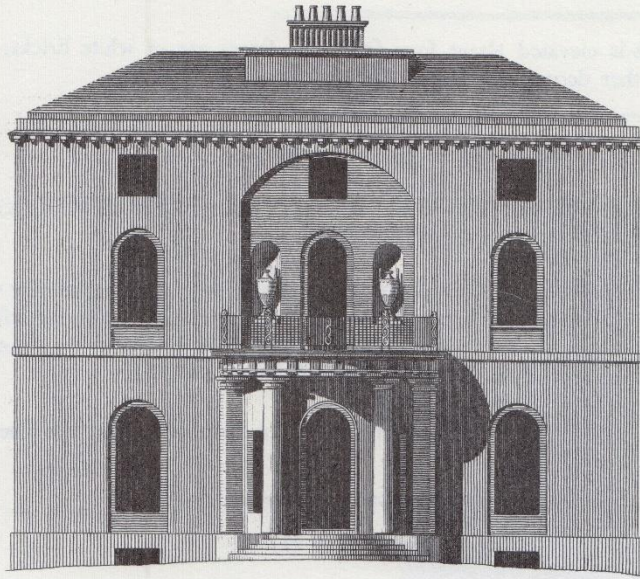
For typical Soane domestic plans, we can feature here an early and late example; beginning with the semi-symmetrical plan at Letton Hall, Norfolk of 1783-89, ending with the asymmetrical plan at Pell Wall House, Staffordshire, of 1821.

⁸⁸ Watkin, *Sir John Soane: The Royal Academy Lectures*, p. 179.

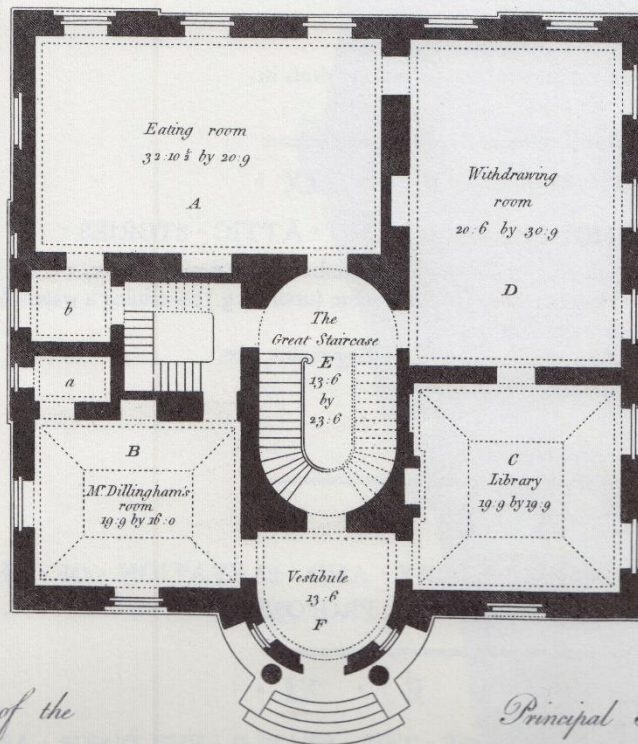
⁸⁹ Watkin, *Sir John Soane: The Royal Academy Lectures*, p. 188.

⁹⁰ Watkin, *Sir John Soane: The Royal Academy Lectures*, p. 188.

LETTON HALL, NORFOLK.



Entrance front.



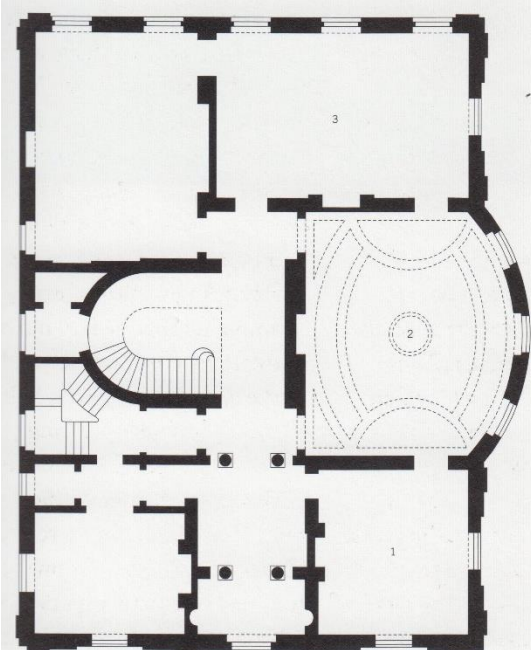
Plan of the

Principal Story.

Figure 5: Letton Hall, Norfolk, from John Soane, *Plans, Elevations and Sections of Buildings Executed in the Counties of Norfolk ...* (1788)



FIGURE 160



PELL WALL HOUSE

Figure 6: Pell Wall House, Staffordshire, from *John Soane, Architect: Master of Space and Light* (1999)

As can be seen above, both are asymmetrical plans behind symmetrical elevations; showing that in some ways Soane's planning had not changed that much in the 38 years between the two jobs, but there is greater asymmetry and variety of outline in the later design. A trait true to both designs is Soane's use of the *bombé* façade devotedly throughout his career, the early work 'combines the logical axial planning of Robert Taylor with the simple geometric forms of Robert Adam. The

bombé facade treatment, carried through from front to back, becomes the unifying factor.⁹¹ Soane's plan for Pell Wall ties in with the bulging façade feature here and in many other Soane designs/buildings stretching back as far as 1778. Whether symmetrically or asymmetrically placed, the *bombé* recurs too frequently to be ignored. Soane had a liking for the motif derived from his predecessors and he used it again and again. But, as seen in plans reproduced below, this device was not peculiar to Soane for his peers' work also resorts to the same *bombé* design feature, and can be found in the work of the previous generation of Chambers, Morris, Taylor, Kent and Adam.⁹²

In order to gauge whether Soane's approach was different or not to his peers, the symmetrical elevation/asymmetrical plan approach ought to be compared to the plans of his contemporaries. Inevitably, this then provides a vast reserve of buildings to choose from and therefore I am basing the following comparison study on Christopher Hussey's *English Country Houses: Late Georgian 1800-1840* (1958) as showcasing representative examples during Soane's era as a practicing architect from the 1780s to the 1830s. The observation then arises that an asymmetrical plan behind a symmetrical elevation was in fact the convention of this period and long before; this will be demonstrated in the following plans reproduced from Hussey (to save space here please refer to the pictures of the symmetrical elevations reproduced in Hussey). This therefore reinforces the notion that it is difficult to make any kind of generalisation about Soane's planning approach as being unique, and is further complicated when Ptolemy Dean argues in *Sir John Soane and the Country Estate*:

'The most fundamental of Soane's design tools was the use of *symmetrical axis* in the planning of a building. Symmetry was applied to both the overall arrangement of the house and to each individual room. Soane's use of the symmetrical axis was demonstrated at his first country house at Letton in 1783. This was an entirely new structure whose compact form was typical of the fashionable 'villas' produced by many architects at the time.'⁹³

Dean therefore counters the notion that Soane was pursuing asymmetry within and as demonstrated in the representative plans below, buildings put up by his contemporaries between the 1780s and 1830s show that they also employed the symmetrical axis. But Dean's observation that '*Symmetry* [my italics] was applied to [...] the overall arrangement of the house' can arguably be challenged. In that although Soane's plans might have been semi-symmetrical in his early, more Palladian work of the 1780s, they become less so by the 1820s. The following plans demonstrate that during Soane's working life, at least in domestic architecture, the asymmetrical plan behind the symmetrical elevation was in fact the norm,⁹⁴ as was the axial (as pointed out in my captions below) arrangement:

⁹¹ Pierre du Prey, 'The *Bombé*-Fronted Country House from Talman to Soane', in *The Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House: Studies in the History of Art*, ed. by Gervase Jackson-Stops (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1989), XXV, p. 40.

⁹² Du Prey observes 'The literature on individual *bombé*-fronted country houses by Soane's contemporaries is vast and dispersed.' See du Prey, 'The *Bombé*-Fronted', p. 49, n. 33.

⁹³ Ptolemy Dean, *Sir John Soane and the Country Estate* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1999), p. 25. See also du Prey's emphasis on an axial view throughout the house, in 'The *Bombé*-Fronted', pp. 40-42.

⁹⁴ To place this in the bigger picture, in an equally architecturally advanced nation such as France the opposite seems to have been the case: Louis Combes' (1754-1818) Château Margaux, Margaux, Médoc (1810-17), has a much more symmetrical plan behind a symmetrical façade than would have been found in Soane's England of 1810-17. The neo-Palladian Margaux plan must have seemed then-archaic to an English audience, though by now the French had embraced the English informal garden, here surrounding a formal house. See Nicholas Faith, *Château Margaux* (London: Mitchell Beazley Publishers, 1991), pp. 42-43. A comparison between Soane and Combes in fact reveals much in common. Both held ancient Greek to be the architectural ideal; both disliked Gothic; both had pronounced views on correct use of Classical ornament. See Faith, p. 116.

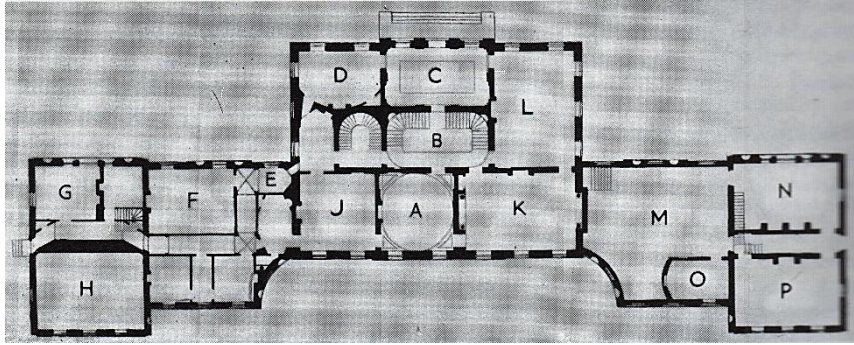


Figure 7: Symmetrical axis working from front to back and side to side: ground floor plan, Woodhall Park, Hertfordshire, by T. Leverton, 1778-1782

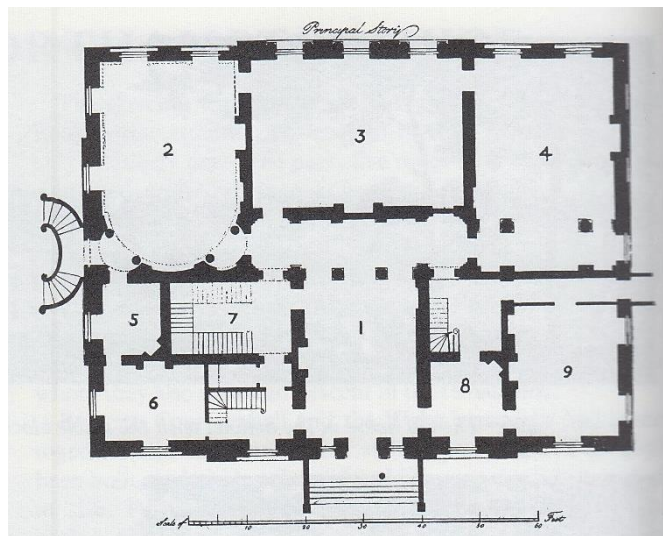


Figure 8: Symmetrical axis from side to side: principal storey, Courteenhall, Northamptonshire, by S. Saxon, 1791-93

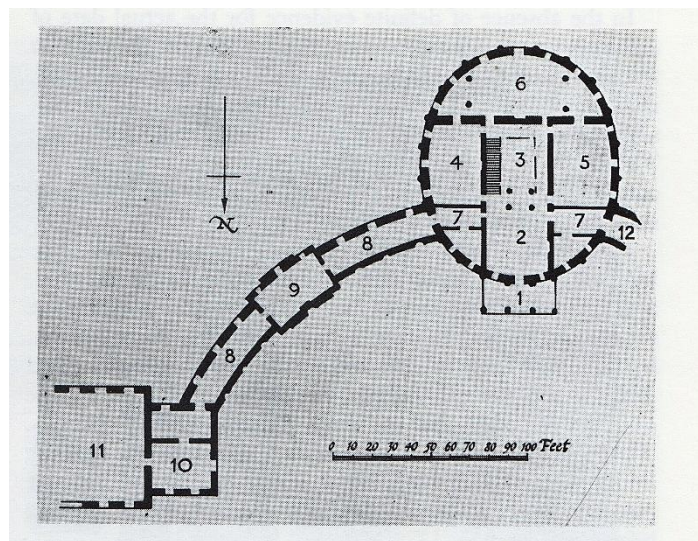


Figure 9: Ickworth, Suffolk, by F. Sandys, 1796

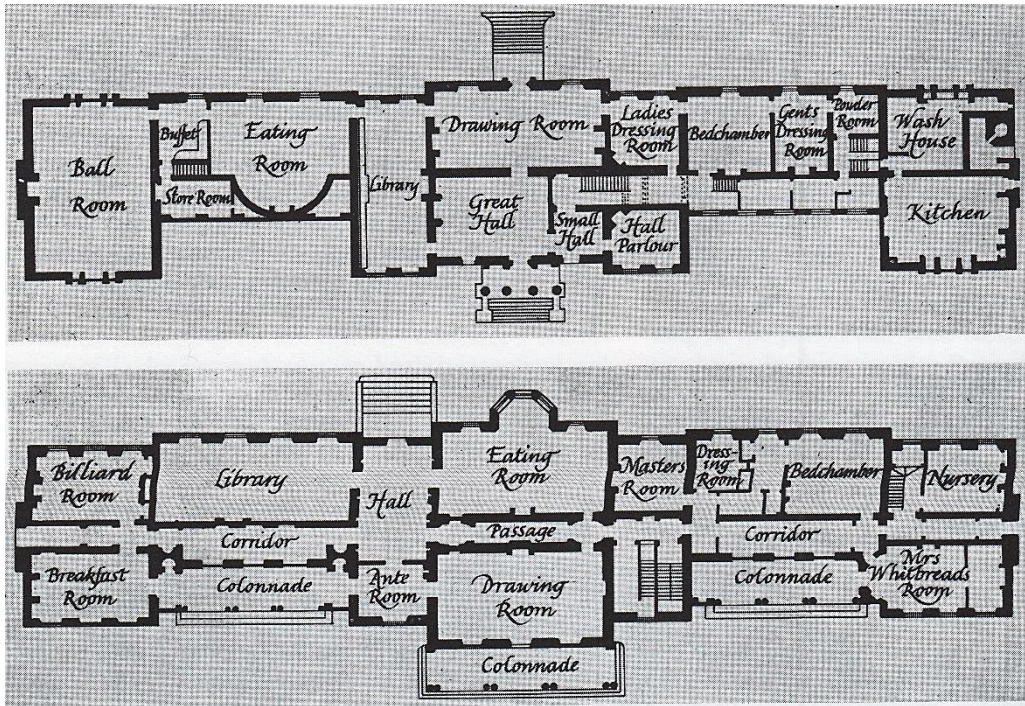


Figure 10: Ground floor as re-planned by Holland with symmetrical axis from side to side: Southill, Bedfordshire, by Henry Holland, 1796-1803

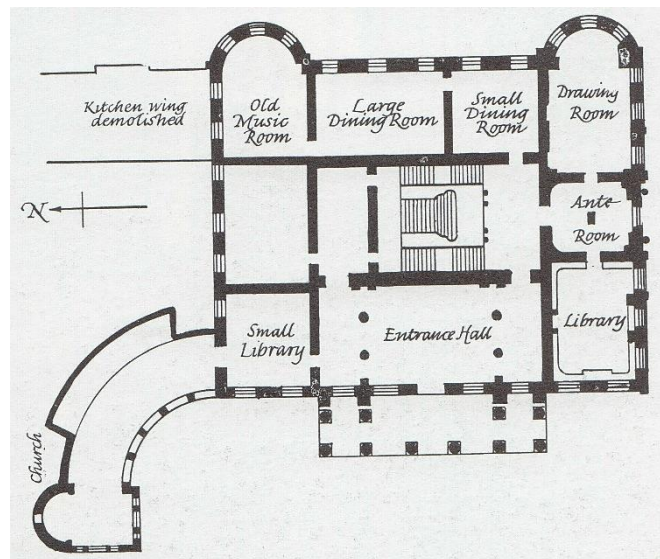


Figure 11: Dodington Park, Gloucestershire, by James Wyatt, 1797-c. 1817

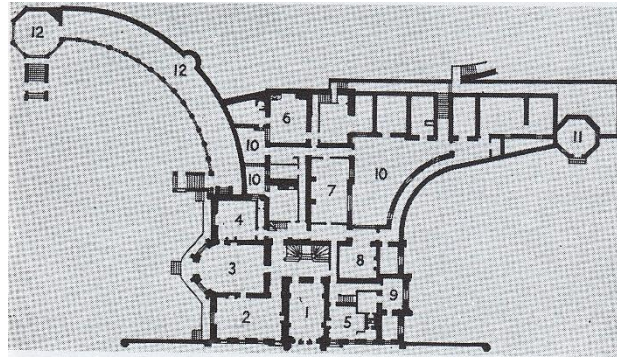


Figure 12: Symmetrical axis side to side: Sezincote, Gloucestershire, by S.P. Cockerell, c. 1805

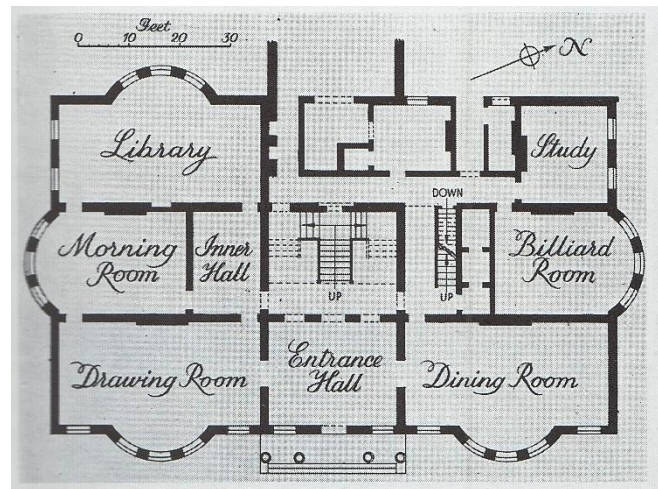


Figure 13: Semi-symmetrical ground floor plan, Ridding Park, Yorkshire, by L.W. Wyatt, R.D. Chantrell, c. 1825

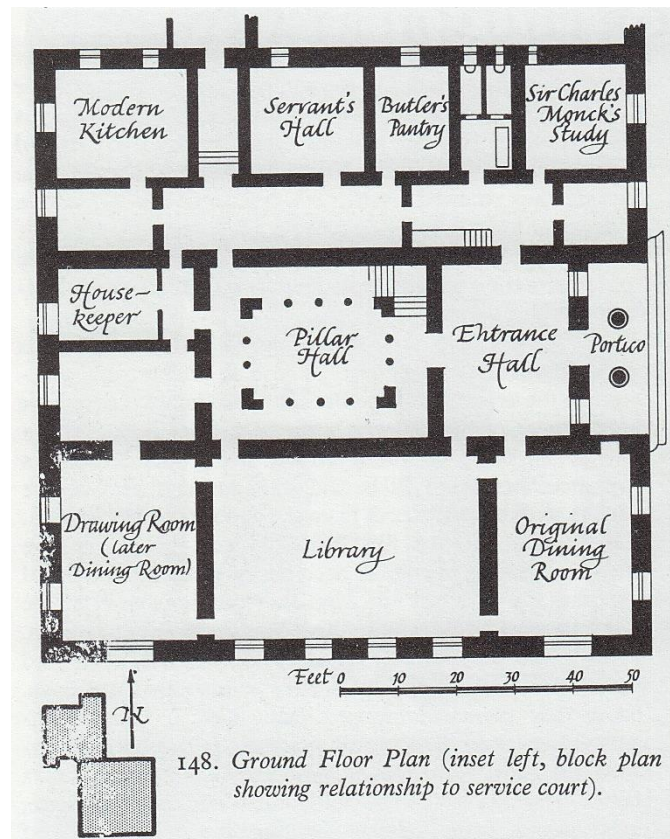


Figure 14: Belsay Castle, Northumberland, by C. Monck, 1807-1817

Brief interlude note on domestic planning traits during Soane's era:

Informed by the Picturesque aesthetic ideal first formulated in 1782 and in terms of broader trends during Soane's era, thirty years later a house such as Sheringham Hall, Norfolk (1812-19), shows 'the changed requirements of country houses, in plan and arrangement of rooms, necessitated by the easier communications and less formal manners then prevailing. Where the Georgian 'apartments' system had provided self-contained suites and formal reception rooms, now more bed and dressing rooms were required, (though sanitary provisions continued sparse), more servants' rooms and more specialized reception rooms. Breakfast was now a social occasion needing a special room, and the various occupations of the day demanded a sociable library, music room, billiard room, conservatory and, in the larger houses, a ballroom and a gallery for works of art. The description by Greville of a house party at Belvoir suggests how the new system of 'total use' worked in a great house on a grand occasion. In more modest establishments the same trend is shown by the desire for a single largish room adapted both for general conversation and specialized pursuits.'⁹⁵

⁹⁵ Christopher Hussey, *English Country Houses: Late Georgian 1800-1840* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 1988), p. 19.

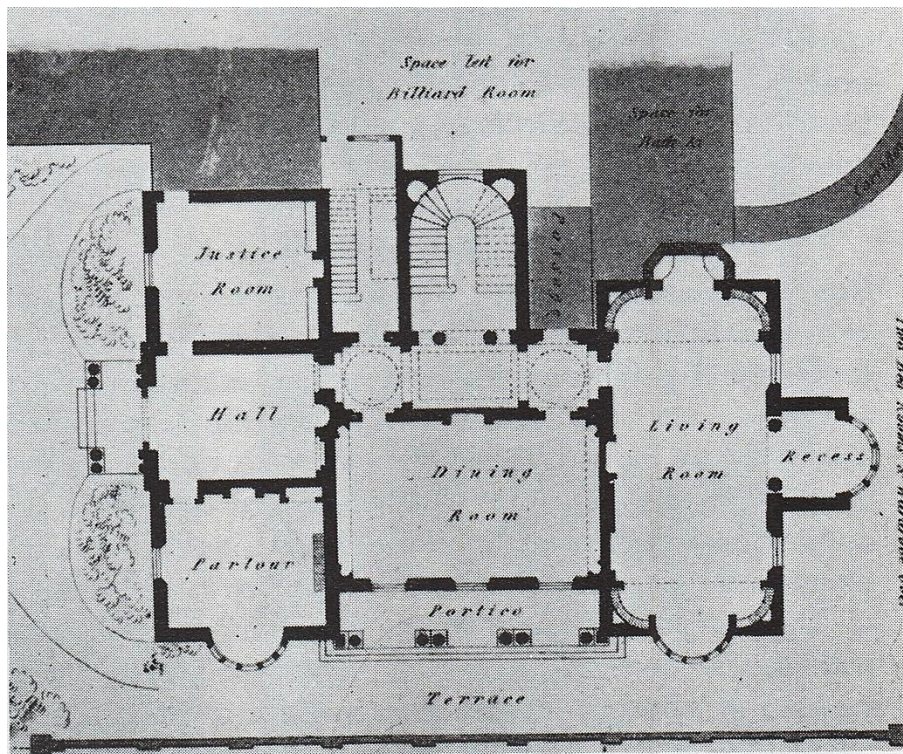


Figure 15: Symmetrical axis side to side: ground floor plan, Sheringham Hall, Norfolk, by H. and J.D. Repton, 1812-19

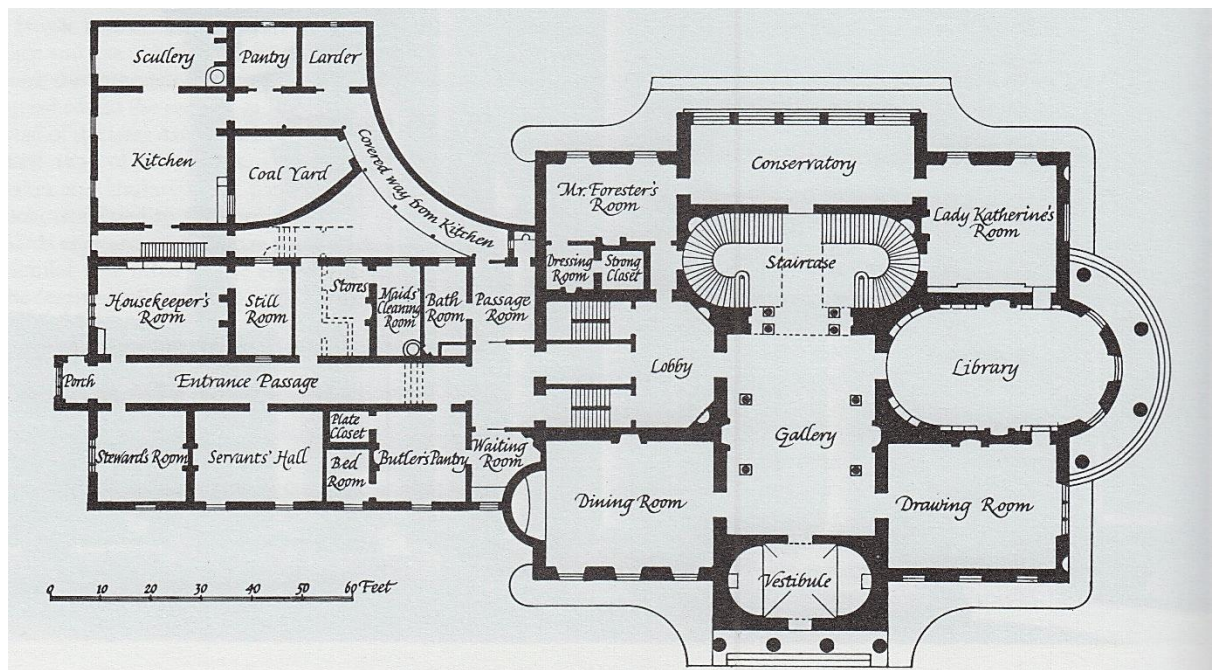


Figure 16: Symmetrical axis from front to back and side to side: ground floor plan as proposed, Willey Hall, Shropshire, by L. Wyatt, 1812

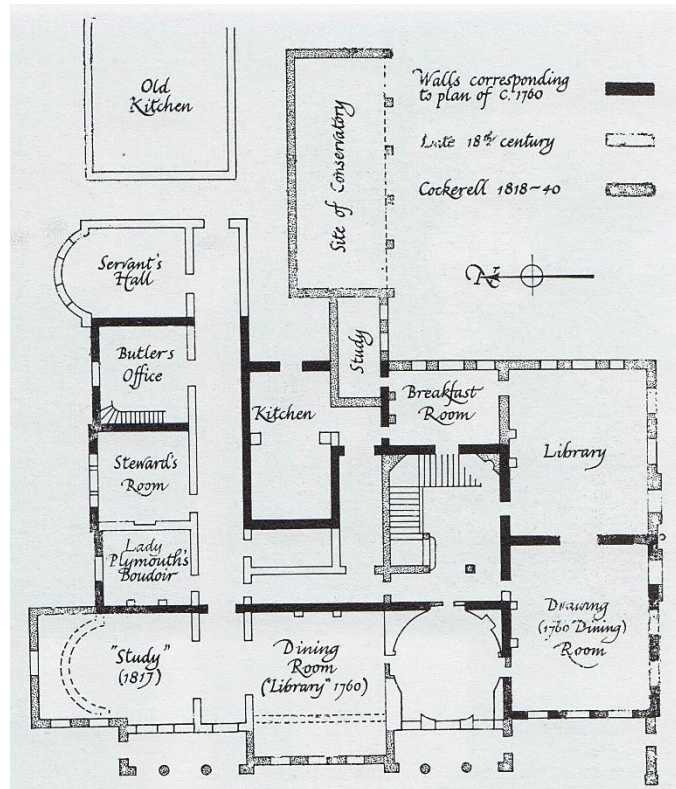


Figure 17: Symmetrical axis side to side, ground floor plan, Oakly Park, Shropshire, by C.R. Cockerell, 1819

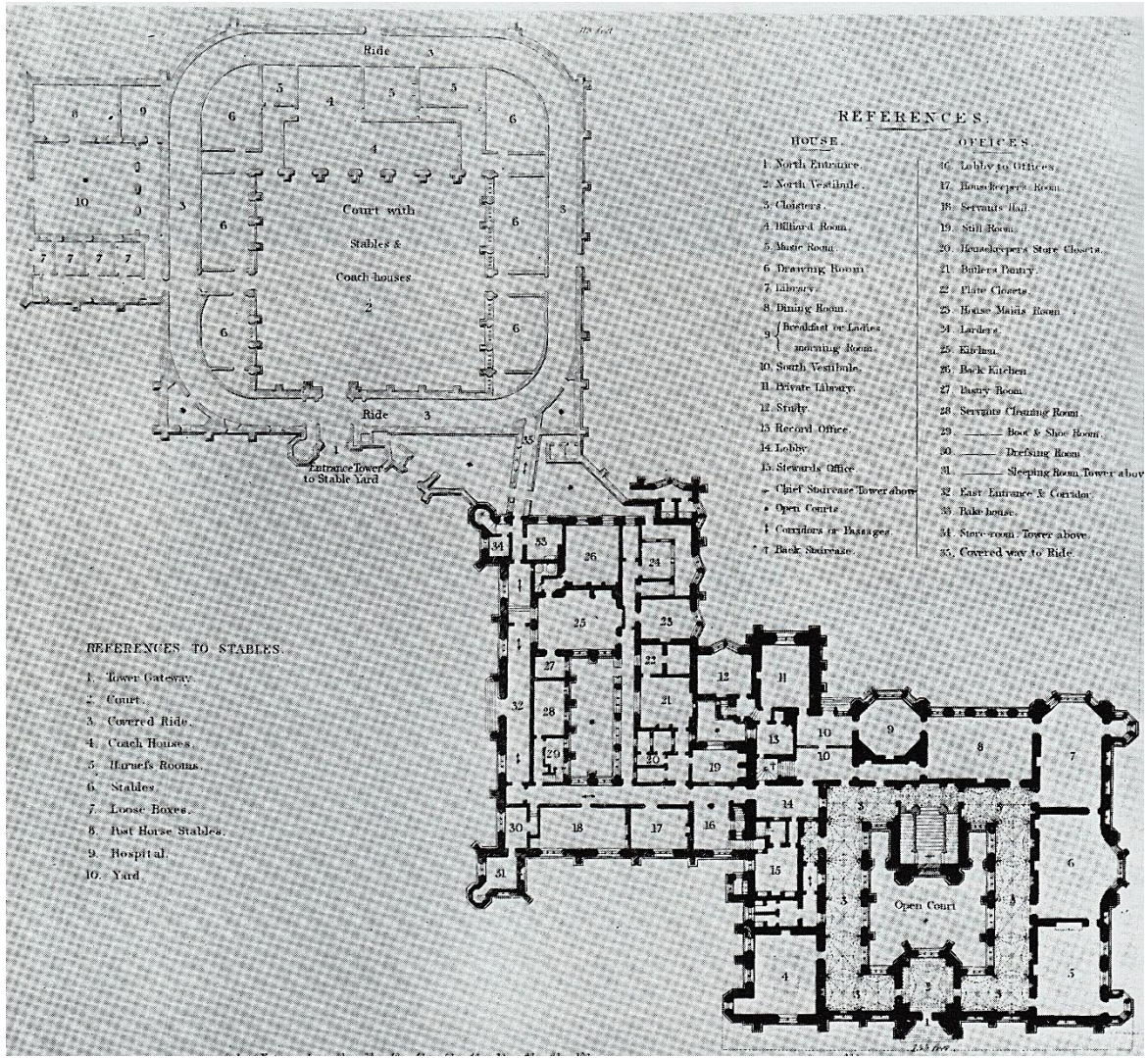


Figure 18: Ground floor plan, Toddington Manor, Gloucestershire, by C. Hanbury-Tracy, 1819-1840

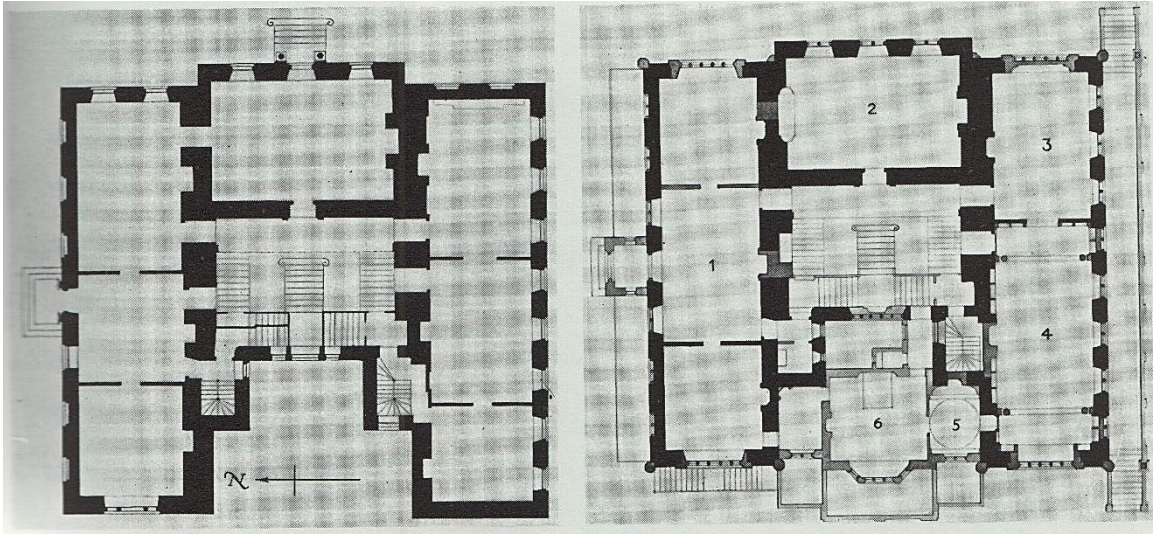


Figure 19: Symmetrical axis side to side: Kitley, Devon, by G.S. Repton, c. 1820-25

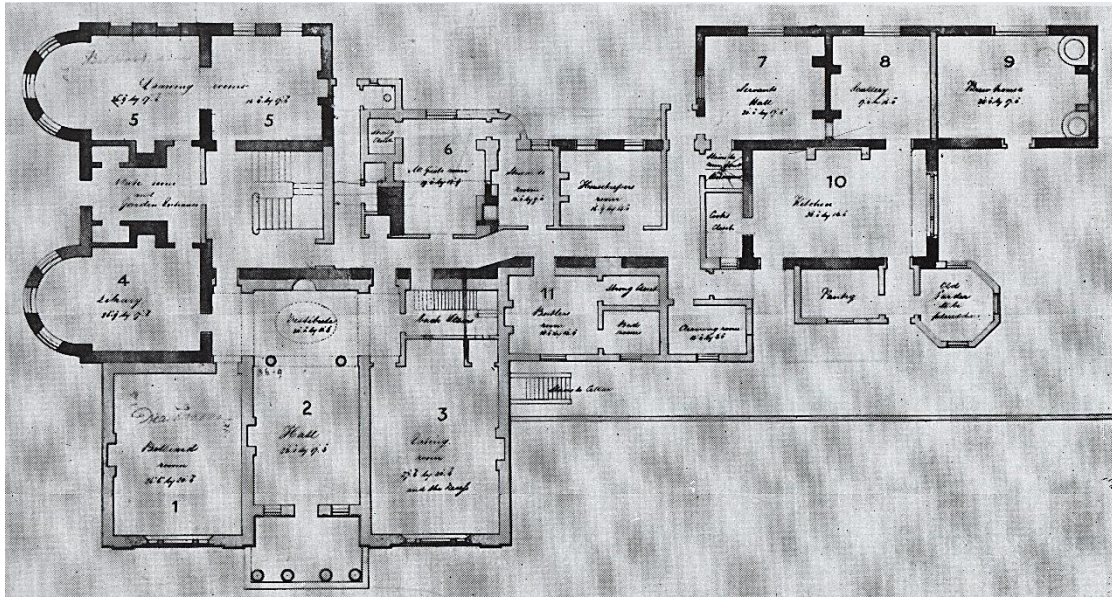


Figure 20: Symmetrical axis side to side: ground floor plan, with earlier building tinted black, Wormington Grange, Gloucestershire, by H. Hakewill, 1826-27

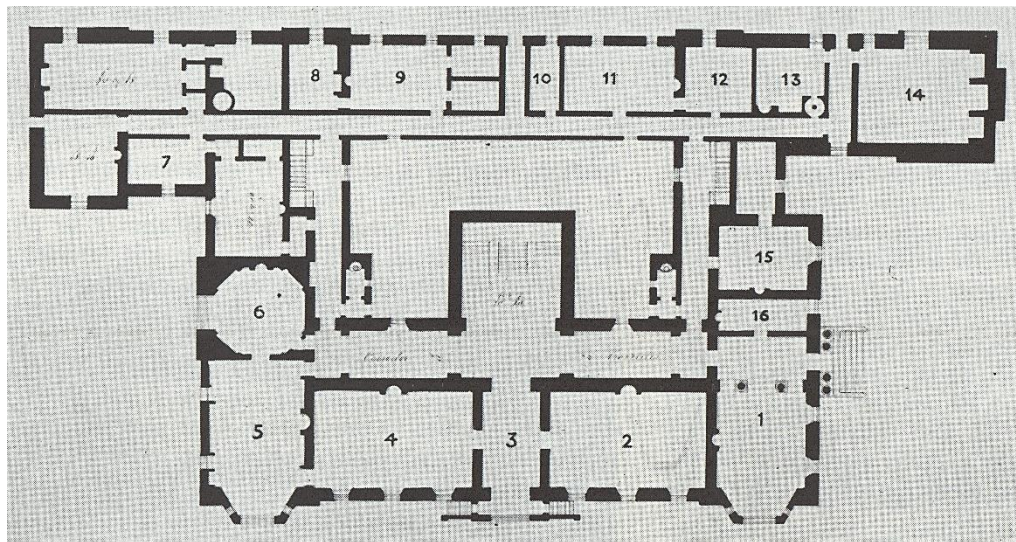


Figure 21: Symmetrical axis side to side: Mamhead, Devon, by C. Fowler, A. Salvin, 1827-1833

In conclusion, Soane's influence on architectural planning has never been independently investigated before, perhaps indeed for the reasons outlined above (as in not sufficiently singular, unlike his elevations, and just plain eccentric on occasion); however, there is a summary analysis of Soane's approach to planning (and the only discussion to date) in Dean's *Sir John Soane and the Country Estate*.⁹⁶ With the symmetrical axis and asymmetrical plan behind symmetrical façade being the then norm, there appear to be few planning tropes that are peculiar to Soane, but, and somewhat beyond the remit of this section, it is possible to discern planning tropes pursued by

⁹⁶ Dean, *Sir John Soane and the Country Estate*, pp. 25-28. There is also a degree of discussion on Soane's domestic planning traits in du Prey in that 'his country-house designs revolved around the *bombé* façade concept.' See du Prey, 'The *Bombé-Fronted*', pp. 39-47.

Soane that were then continued in the work of his pupils and assistants, and we can end this section with three representative instances:

George Wightwick's central section of Athenaeum Terrace, Plymouth (1832-34), is a clear instance of Soane's domestic planning influence. An asymmetrical plan is placed behind a symmetrical façade, with an emphatic off-centre north-south axis forming the Lobby serving all the Ground Floor rooms from front to back, with an uninterrupted view from front Portico to rear window.

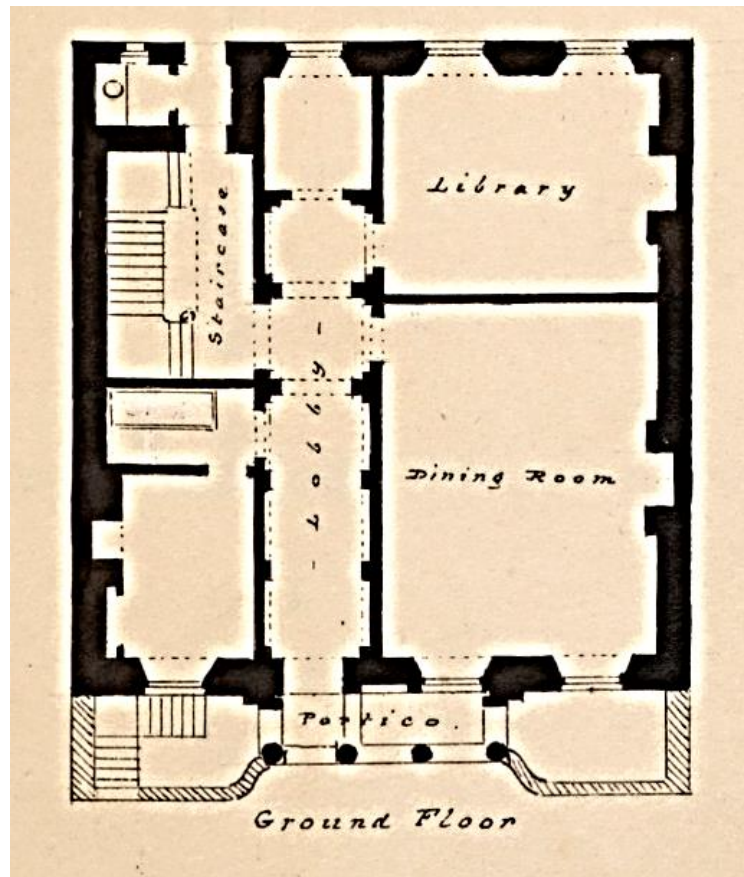


Figure 22: 'Elevation of the Terrace Front' (detail of plan shown here), Athenaeum Terrace, Plymouth (1832-34)

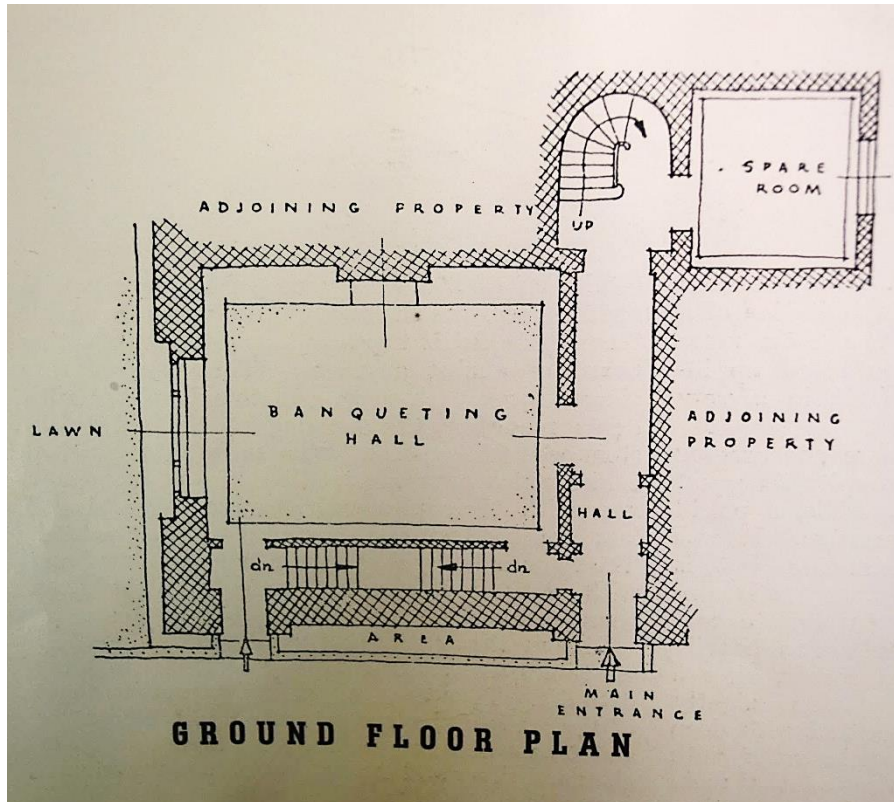


Figure 23: Ground floor plan taken from Hugh Casson, ‘Masonic Temple: 1829 [sic]’, *The Architectural Review*, June 1941, p. 124.

George Allen Underwood’s Masonic Hall, Cheltenham (1818), hall corridor plan is perhaps reminiscent of the hall corridors leading to the stairs in Soane’s Nos. 12 & 13 Lincoln’s Inn Fields (these two designed before 1818) and possibly Soanean too is Underwood’s treatment of the uninterrupted vista from entrance to stair at far end of the building, even when the aperture at the Main Entrance is narrowed.

Underwood’s Lower Assembly Rooms (Royal Literary and Scientific Institution) at Bath (1822-23) was an orthodox neo-Classical design with little debt to Soane, at least on the outside. Within there were two domed rooms: firstly, the Principal Entrance Hall; then the Library. The plan of the Library is readily comparable to one of Soane’s Bank offices: in the case of Bath a Greek cross with a central circular domed space set within a square with columns or piers at each corner; flanked by aisles on all four sides forming a rectangle that goes beyond the confines of the columns. Aligned with the dome and columns, there are semi-circular apses beyond punctured by sash windows. Other Soanean planning tropes are the processional route with no interruption if one was walking from one end of the building to the other (see Dean, *Sir John Soane and the Country Estate*), and circulation around the main vessel, the Museum Exhibition Room and occasional Lecture Room.

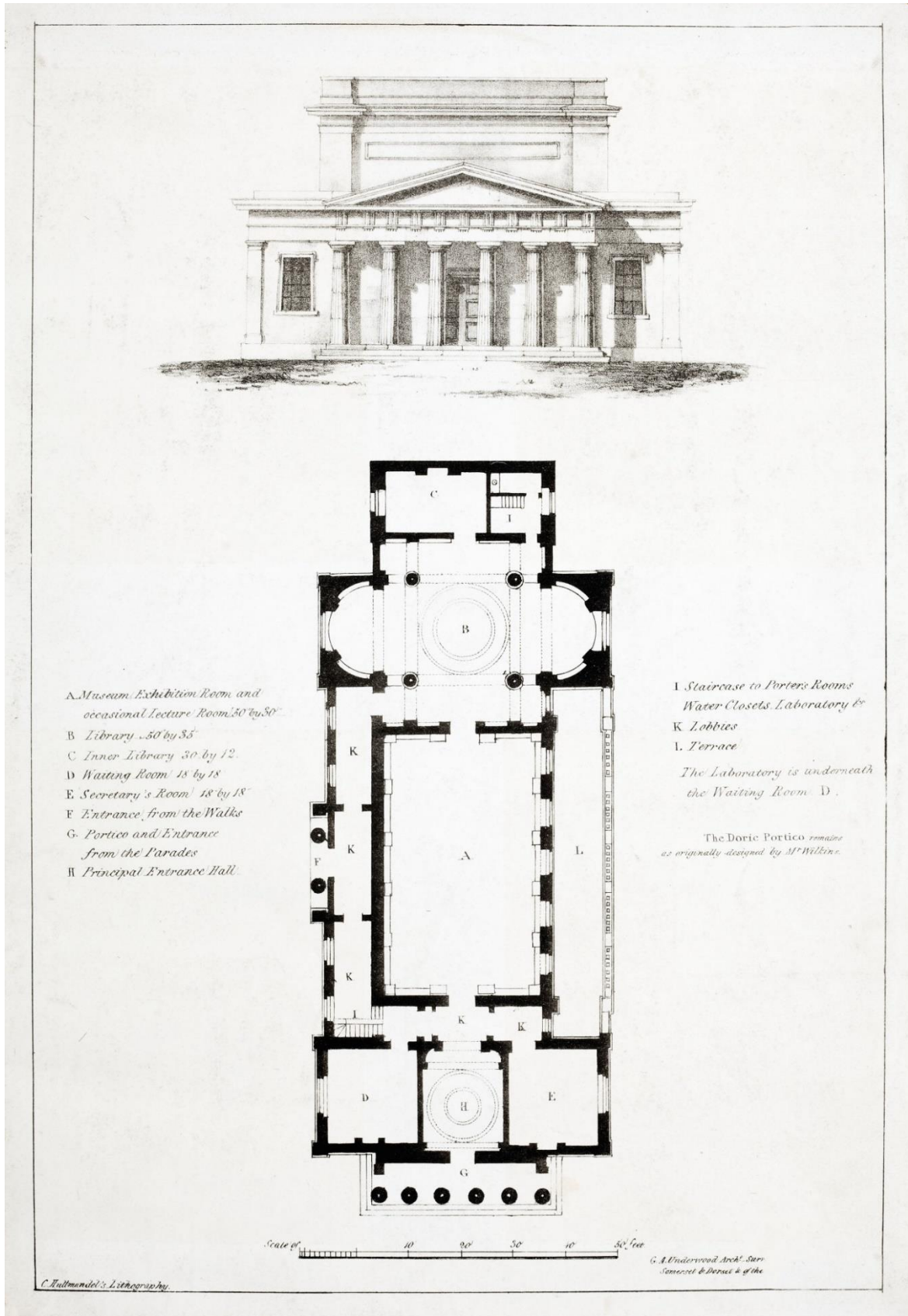


Figure 24: Engraving of portico and plan of ground floor of Royal Literary and Scientific Institute, Bath (1822-23). © Bath in Time

5.7 Contribution and influence of Soane's innovative integrated environmental thinking and early use of central heating:

From 1797 Soane was concerned with early central heating systems and the remit of my survey is to ask was his environmental interest therefore influential? We need to look at the available evidence to answer this. In-depth research on heating methods and their impact on Soane's work has been carried out and here is the précis of a 1993 study:

‘During the years of Sir John Soane’s practice, there were tremendous advancements in central heating methods. Stoves and fireplaces were no longer the primary means of heating spaces as hot air, steam, and hot water systems were introduced and gained currency. Soane designed expressive stoves, and fireplaces remained especially important to him because of their cultural associations, but he also readily recognized the possibilities of central systems and utilized them as they became available. The result is a compelling dialogue between his architecture and the diversity of available heating strategies. To understand fully Soane’s manipulation of space or design intent in such major works as Lincoln’s Inn Fields and Dulwich Picture Gallery, it is critical to understand his awareness of heating methods and his expertise in addressing the architectural opportunities they offered.’⁹⁷

From 1797 when Soane used steam heat, at Tyringham Hall, Buckinghamshire, to installation of A.M. Perkins’ pressurised hot water system soon after it was patented in 1831 at No. 13 Lincoln’s Inn Fields, Soane ‘was an eager and aggressive user of these emerging central heating technologies’.⁹⁸ Perkins’ system was very successful, enabling ‘the true breakthrough of central heating. Its ability to provide even heating directly addressed the problem typical of conventional fireplaces and stoves.’⁹⁹ With extensions in 1891 and 1911 and refurbishment in 1911, it was in installation at No. 13 Lincoln’s Inn Fields until 1964. Because of this, Soane was able to recommend Perkins’ system accordingly in 1835: ‘It was important to Soane that he could find parallels between the Perkins system and ancient mechanisms. Others were simply interested in the apparatus’s performance. When Soane was asked to evaluate Perkins’s system for a prospective buyer, he gave it high praise in a dictated letter: “[...] Soane has no hesitation acknowledging that the apparatus constructed by Mr. Perkins warms a portion of his house in a more satisfactory manner than any he has hitherto employed, and he has tried several.”’¹⁰⁰ Evidently, because of Soane’s seniority and celebrated position observers would have taken notice of his use of central heating, thus resulting in it being featured in a publication of 1837. C.J. Richardson, an assistant that worked in Soane’s office, illustrated floor plans and a section of the heating system in Soane’s house and museum as the frontispiece of his *A popular treatise on the warming and ventilation of buildings; showing the advantages of the improved system of heated water circulation, &c.* (London: John Weale, 1837) and arguably readers would have noted the prominent pictorial frontispiece:

⁹⁷ Todd Willmert, ‘Heating Methods and Their Impact on Soane’s Work: Lincoln’s Inn Fields and Dulwich Picture Gallery’, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 52 (1993), 26.

⁹⁸ Willmert, p. 58.

⁹⁹ Willmert, p. 48.

¹⁰⁰ Willmert, p. 48.

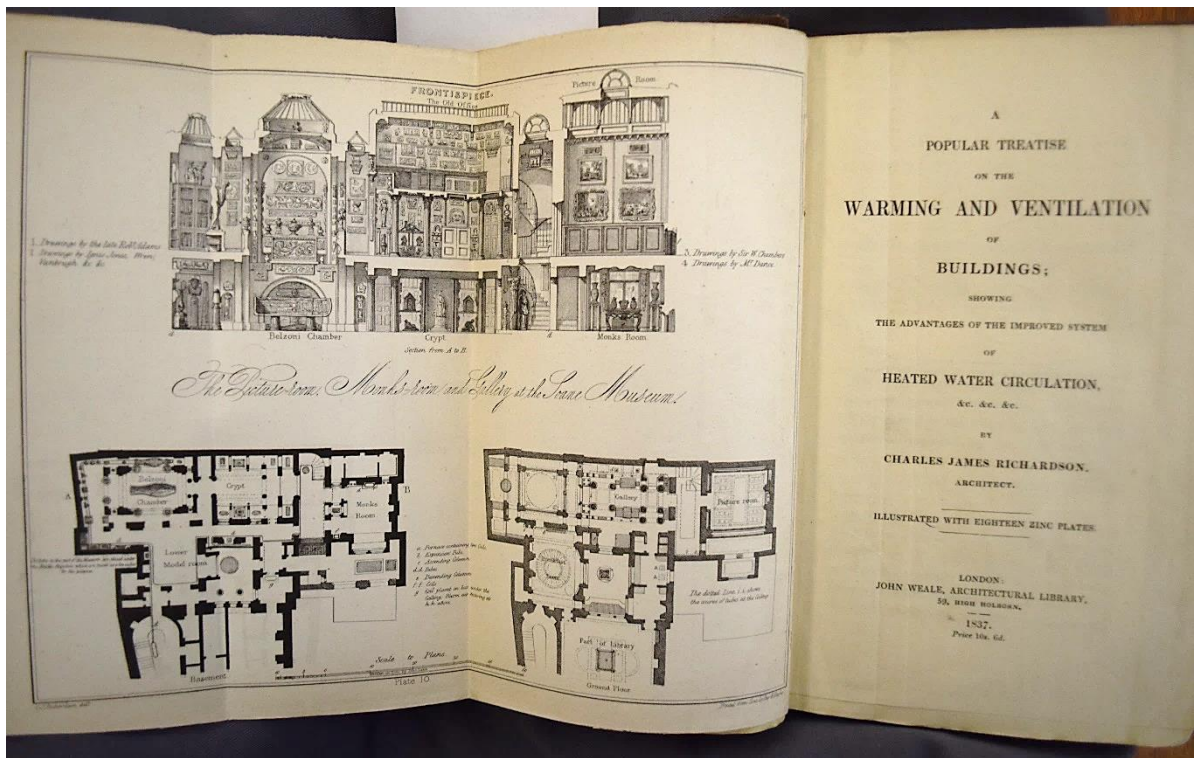


Figure 25: Foldout frontispiece for *A popular treatise on the warming and ventilation of buildings; showing the advantages of the improved system of heated water circulation, &c.* (1837).

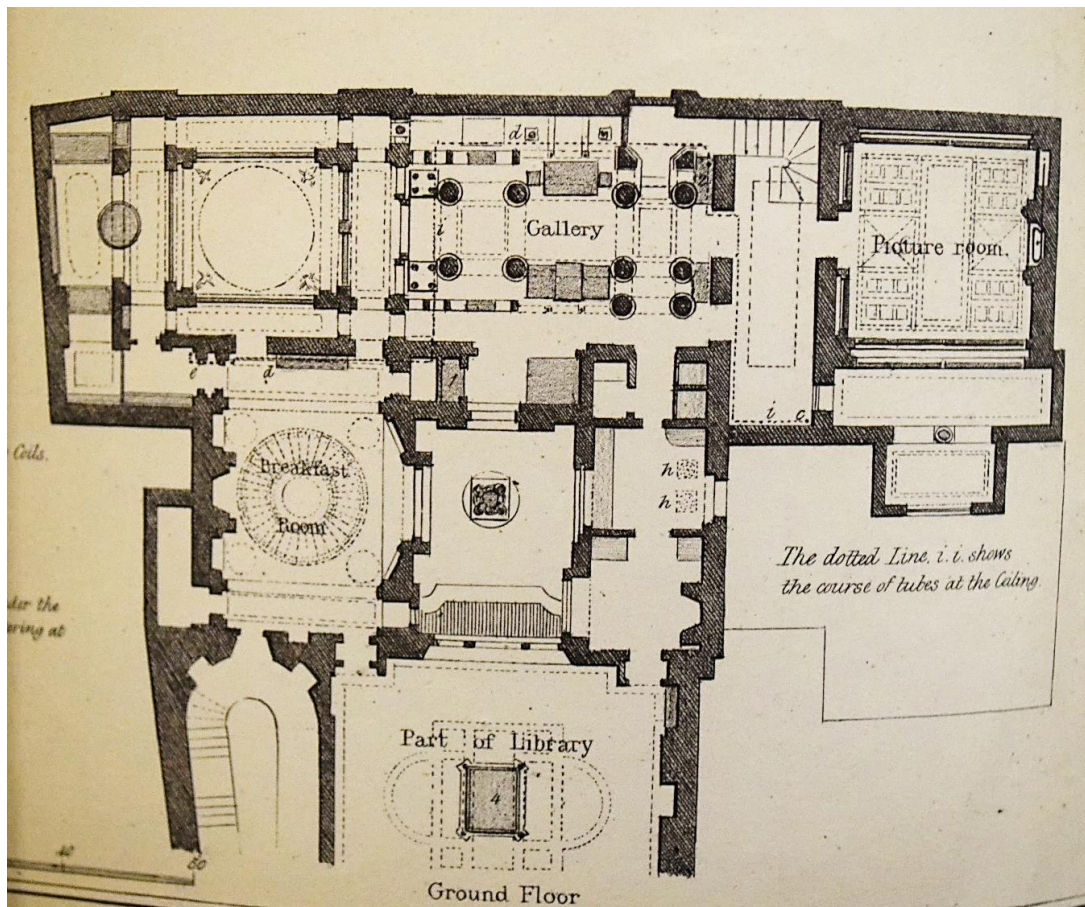


Figure 26: Ground Floor heating plan, Nos. 12, 13 and 14 Lincoln's Inn Fields

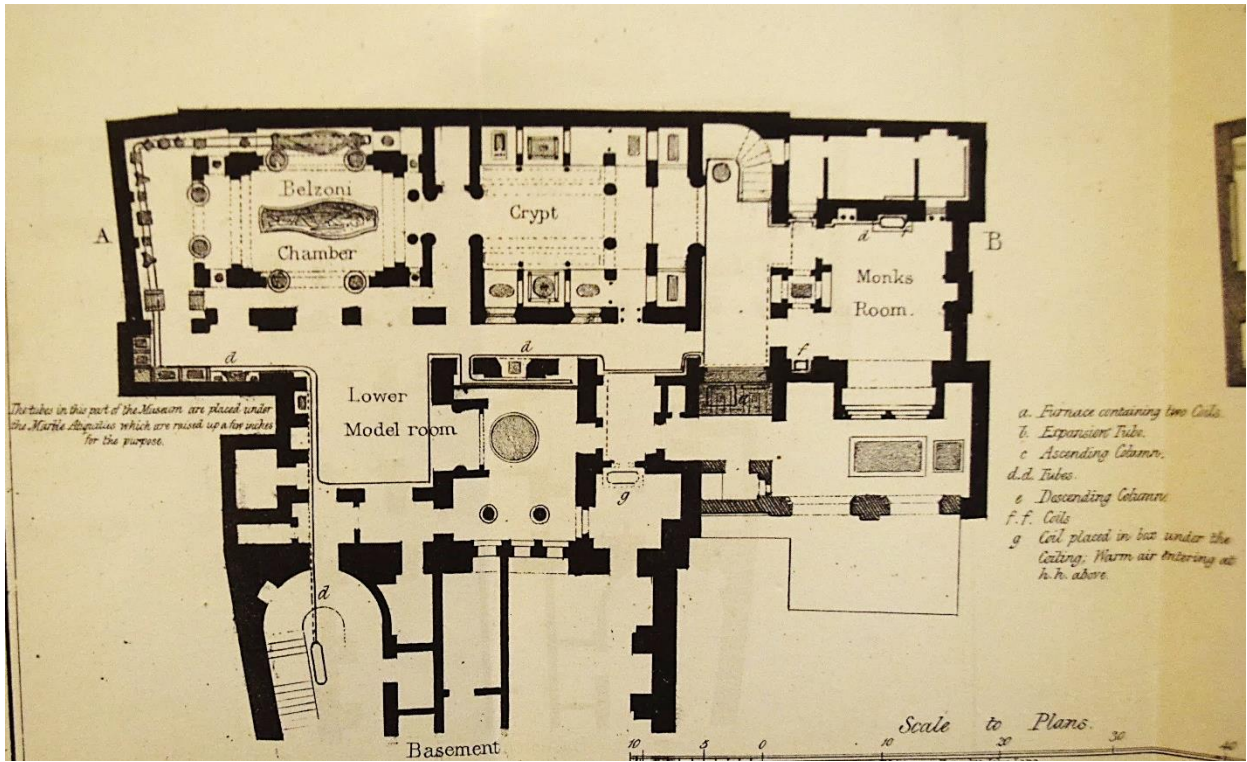


Figure 27: Basement heating plan, Nos. 12, 13 and 14 Lincoln's Inn Fields

Within the book Richardson acknowledged: ‘The kindness with which the late Sir John Soane was pleased to regard any attempt on my part to professional advancement, induced me to lay before him, a few weeks only before his decease, the present treatise, and to explain to him my sentiments on the subject, which I have the gratification to know he essentially approved.’¹⁰¹ And in his dedication to Sir Robert Smirke Richardson wrote: ‘To myself, first a pupil, and many years afterwards in the office of the late [...] Soane, and honoured by his especial kindness, this system could not fail to obtain the more interest as being the one he cordially approved and adopted in his house and museum, where I daily experienced the benefits it imparts.’¹⁰² Soane’s use of A.M. Perkins’ hot water system was therefore noted by his eminent contemporaries but they proffer no suggestion that this was then influential on it being installed elsewhere, for Richardson is merely illustrating Soane’s use of Perkins’ system. All we have is Soane’s endorsement of 1835.

Furthermore, having carried out a literature review of modern discussions of Soane’s interest in innovative integrated environmental thinking which came together in the heating and lighting of his house museum as a hermetic environment that could operate in resistance to the oppressive smog of nineteenth century London, there is little indication that Soane’s usage had any influence on later experiments in ventilation during the development of the Palace of Westminster by D.B. Reid between 1840-46, according to standalone studies that are ‘Soane, Labrouste, Mackintosh Pioneers of environment’ in Dean Hawkes’ book, *The Environmental Imagination: Technics and poetics of the architectural environment* (2006) and his ‘Building in the climate of the nineteenth-century city’ in *Architecture and Climate: An Environmental History of British Architecture 1600-2000* (2012); and Henrik Schoenefeldt, ‘The Temporary Houses of Parliament and David Boswell Reid’s architecture of experimentation’, *Architectural History*, 57 (2014). This limited impact is partly because one: ‘Charles Hood, by 1837, could describe hot water systems as commonplace.’¹⁰³ In conclusion, as demonstrative of being an architectural innovator, Soane was environmentally progressive, because he had the means to keep warm and live into his eighties, but surely can take little credit here for being influential for he was merely utilising technology available on the open market.

Regarding Soane’s layered compositional planning, particularly when integrated with top lighting as a means of expanding space and drawing the observer through an experiential journey, Soane is likely to have derived his ideas here from ancient Gothic edifices for he was dismissive of the contemporary Gothic Revival: ‘By Gothic architecture I do not mean those barbarous jumbles of undefined forms in modern imitations of Gothic architecture: but the light and elegant examples in many of our cathedrals, churches, and other public buildings.’¹⁰⁴ Soane would have taken lessons from the indirect side lighting in Gothic architecture at clerestory level and the way this illuminated numerous storeys below.

6 Justification, significant and original independent contribution to knowledge of the publications in field of study, and wider picture:

In summing up, this critical appraisal is both a justification for my publications and opportunity to present other manifestations of Soane’s influence. Having presented all the known spheres of Soane’s influence above (section 5), I can now isolate his decorative influence as being the most materially defined in terms of quantification (as in higher yield of data capture than other spheres

¹⁰¹ Richardson, *A popular treatise*, p. 53.

¹⁰² Richardson, *A popular treatise*, pp. 3-4.

¹⁰³ Willmert, p. 29.

¹⁰⁴ Soane, *Plans*, p. 9.

of his influence). This is because decorative influence can be identified either through imitation or transmutation when assessed against the codified recognition criteria presented in 3.4.1-3.4.2. Recognition criteria for other facets of influence (section 5) is less defined and more speculative, by comparison. In thirty pages (pp. 12-42), I have presented the evidence for the impact of Soane's non-decorative facets of influence. This can then be weighed against my 473 pages of peer-reviewed published evidence of Soane's decorative influence in order to defend my published studies of Soane's decorative influence as being more materially entrenched than in other areas, and also as evidence that earlier underestimation of Soane's influence either by negative assumption or dearth of study can now be proven categorically erroneous. As demonstrated above, quantification for non-stylistic influences is problematic because it is largely dependent on literary acknowledgment and this has been found in little supply. In existence regardless of literary acknowledgement, decorative influence is therefore the most materially recognisable data, when collated through the iterative-descriptive process, and proves (submitted publications) my hypothesis that Soane has been more influential than previously understood.

My publications are therefore an independent and original contribution to new knowledge through the discovery of new information. A new argument has been put forward positing that Soane has been much more influential than historically understood; this has been achieved through new empirical work and theoretically supported by a revisionist understanding that views his influence as a historical continuum, not just unrelated instances.

As such the chronological scope of my 2015 survey is original, thus telling for the first time the uninterrupted story of Soane's influence from the 1790s to embryonic Postmodernism in the 1970s. Within this temporal journey, my survey discusses Soane's influence on featured architects of note (Pite, Lutyens, Johnson) in greater detail than previous accounts. Finally, monographs on influence are very rare, unusual, the wider picture being my work as a contribution to a currently limited field of investigation, the literature of architectural influence and the reformer architect's afterlife.

7 Future intentions:

Briefly, gaining a PhD will progress and consolidate my position as researcher for a London-based architectural conservation practice. As a future research project I have long considered the possibility of a parallel survey on Soane's opposite number, the German architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781-1841); he perhaps more influential in terms of embodying national mind-set than Soane in their respective mother countries and his influence or afterlife never investigated before. This reflects my interest in the notion of an architect's individual influence being a severely understudied field, with my monograph on Soane and Schmitt's pioneering equivalent *Sullivan-esque* being perhaps the only in-depth monographs on individual influence to date. Finally, in terms of a different approach next time, a study on Schinkel could incorporate aspects from Schmitt's approach as well as placing greater or different emphasis on the *non-stylistic* spheres of architectural influence as outlined above (section 5), such as typological exemplar (museum, bank etc.) for serving the nineteenth century city.