

Leves Wood, Sussex, by R. Norman Shaw

From the original drawing in the R.I.B.A. Library

LATE VICTORIAN ARCHITECTURE: 1851-1900*

By HENRY-RUSSELL HITCHCOCK

CRITICS AND ECCLESIOLOGISTS

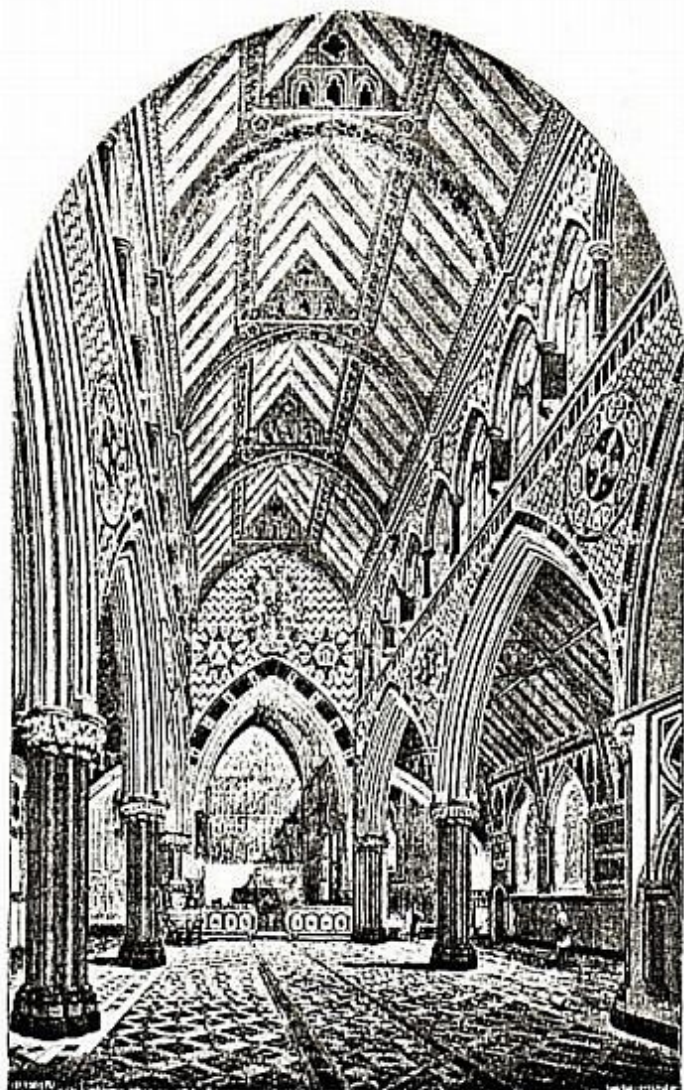
Architectural critics are rarely famous; but to mention English nineteenth-century architecture would bring to mind almost anywhere in the world no architect but a critic—John Ruskin (1819-1900). John Ruskin began, of course, as a critic of painting, and his direct associations with architecture were very few. It is of interest to study his own house, Brantwood, Coniston, which he bought in 1870 and remodelled and enlarged in the following years. For Brantwood, Coniston, is the last thing one would expect to come from the mind of Ruskin. Except for an octagonal bow window at one corner, it is remarkably straightforward, almost conventional in design, styleless and devoid of ornament, a charming house which defies ordinary architectural analysis.

However, Brantwood had no influence, and in the end the influence of Ruskin's writings in England, and perhaps even more in America, was enormous, although it is doubtful whether at the very first he had much direct effect upon the profession. His first book on architecture, *The Seven Lamps*, was published in 1849, and in *The Seven Lamps* he not only developed

some of the ideas of Pugin's writing on the essential functionalism of mediæval architecture, but he gave perhaps rather more emphasis to urging emulation of the rich colour effects, the elaborate sculptured detail of Italian mediæval architecture. It is true that at just this time in English architecture the Gothic revival, which under Pugin's leadership had been primarily nationalistic and rather rigidly tied to fourteenth-century forms, began to grow more eclectic, and that polychromy and richer sculptural decoration were increasingly used. It seems, however, unlikely that this was due to Ruskin so much as to certain architects.

For example, in the same year, 1849, Butterfield began to build the model church of the Camden Society, All Saints, Margaret Street, in which he made much use of polychromy and all sorts of rich figured embellishment. Indeed, Ruskin, in the new edition of *The Seven Lamps* of 1855, specifically praises All Saints. Ruskin's next architectural book, *The Stones of Venice*, was even more of a campaign document for richer, more sumptuous mediævalism in modern design. The first volume of this appeared in 1851. In 1853 his Edinburgh lecture carried into the stronghold of what remained of the English classical tradition a violent attack upon the simplicity and, as it seemed to Ruskin, barrenness of most English architecture; and this lecture was

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[From "The Builder," 1850]

All Saints, Margaret Street, by Butterfield

very frequently republished. However, although the laymen were undoubtedly beginning to read Ruskin, not only in England but also in America, where his books were pirated within a year or two of publication, the profession found more interest in technical publications by men like Rickman and Sharpe and Brandon, who provided them with the fourteenth-century English detail which they wanted to imitate.

POLYCHROMATIC VIVACITY

A book by an architect, George Street, *Brick and Marble Architecture of the Middle Ages*, published in 1855, however, undoubtedly reached the profession. Richly illustrated with polychromatic motifs from Italian mediæval work, it provided a source book, one might say frankly a crib book, which was probably more influential directly upon architecture than anything Ruskin wrote. Indeed, Ruskin's support of the pre-Raphaelite painters was more significant in the early 'fifties.

Pugin, as a Roman Catholic, had been outside the Established Church, but within the Established Church the Camdenians and the Ecclesiologists had been very busy reviving ritualism, and hence, since mediæval ritualism required mediæval plans and church fittings, they were extremely effective, if somewhat muddled, propagandists of the Gothic revival; and if the more famous leaders of thought in the Oxford Movement—Keble, Newman and Pusey—were little interested in architecture, the High Church development as a whole was completely committed to the use of Gothic for churches. Hence the great importance of All Saints, Margaret Street, which was intended to be a Camdenian model church, and of which, indeed, Dr. Pusey laid the corner-stone.

Butterfield had earlier done work for the High Church party at St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, where he had enlarged and added to existing fourteenth-century buildings in a manner not very different from that of Pugin. But here at All Saints, Margaret Street, he broke loose with a profusion of polychromatic decoration of eclectic mediæval inspiration. The more vital architectural qualities of Butterfield were not as yet conspicuous. They can be better seen in London in the Church of St. Alban's, Holborn, 1858-61, where the striped brick of the wall screen gives a quite new character to the wall surface, and the very tall proportions and general sense of the significance of proportions is to be contrasted with the rather dull archaeological tendencies of the preceding decade.

Not only in city churches, but also in the country, we find Butterfield setting a new, a more original and imaginative standard for the High Victorian Gothic revival, notably, for example, in the Baldersley Church and surrounding buildings near Thirsk, in Yorkshire, of 1856-58, while in such educational buildings as the schools at Rugby and at Keble College we have an even further development of his polychromatic vivacity with, perhaps, rather less distinction of proportion and interest of composition than in his churches. The fact that Butterfield is an architect of very great interest is no news to many people to-day, but it is extraordinarily difficult to illustrate the fact by any photographs or even drawings. But if Butterfield himself, despite the exuberance of his polychromy, is always a master, the Butterfieldian repertory of ornament and of proportion became rapidly turgid in the hands of imitators. Such a house as Eaton Park, of 1858-61, by Prichard, indicates for instance a sort of chaotic exuberance that is barely intelligible, and the surfaces are loaded with both moulded and coloured detail, which was easily subject to abuse, and perhaps nowhere worse than in America, where the sense of true mediæval work was really unknown, and it was too easy to imitate superficial originalities of English style without any inner discipline whatsoever. So that despite the fact that a Puginesque tradition continued in the mid-century, on

[From *Eastlake**Easington Park, Warwickshire, by J. Pritchard*

the whole the Gothic revival, now seeking its inspiration in the mediæval forms of Italy and also to some extent of France, was as eclectic, and from an English point of view as exotic, as the strange compilations of Assyrian and Hindu and Egyptian forms which Thomson was using in Scotland at the time. Yet even though the developments of the mid-century in the Gothic revival are so associated with Ruskin's writings that the Gothic of the period is sometimes called Ruskinian, it is probably rather more due to Street and to Butterfield that it took the form that it did.

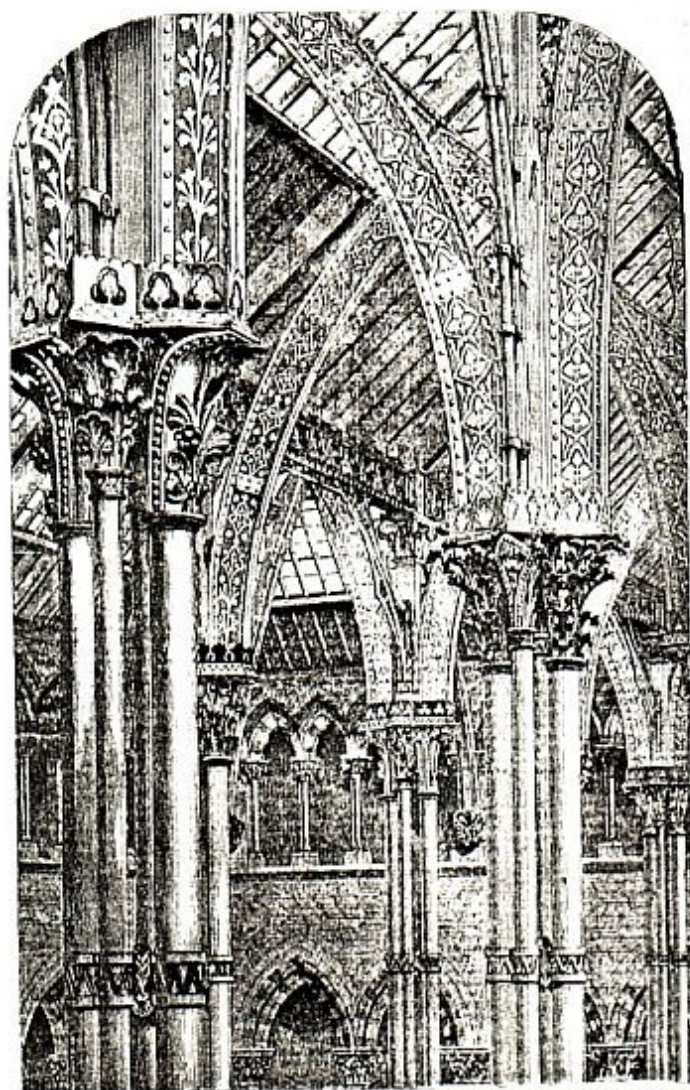
RUSKIN'S INFLUENCE

Ruskin was only associated directly with the construction of one building, the Oxford University Museum, and with that he was associated more because of his interest in science, perhaps, than because of his interest in architecture. The architects were Deane and Woodward, and according to Ruskin the style was Veronese. This fact is not obvious to a modern eye. The building was begun in 1855 and completed in 1868, and is a not particularly interesting composition, but neither is it a particularly disagreeable or corrupt composition. Ruskin's influence appeared most definitely in the ornament, which was to be executed in the mediæval fashion as the more or less free expression of the craftsmen employed. O'Shea, an Irish carver, whom Deane and Woodward had already used on their work at Trinity College, Dublin, began to carve the capitals and the window jambs with a real vivacity and quality of direct cutting that does recall mediæval work, and is vastly superior to most ornamental architectural carving of the period. Alas, it did not meet with the approval of the dons, who found the beasts and foliage trivial, and the work was stopped before more than a few windows had been completed.

The other aspect of this building which is of interest is the court. Ruskin had violently objected to the Crystal Palace, and saw no good in it whatsoever, yet,

curiously enough, the court of the Museum remains perhaps the only even partially successful attempt to combine the metal and glass architecture, which had reached its culmination in the Crystal Palace, with the æsthetic ambitions of the Gothic revival, and although these two elements are not altogether happily fused, the use of decorative metal scroll work in the spandrels and of wrought-iron leaves bolted on to form capitals suggests that, had this line been pursued further, England might have had work to compare with the very remarkable iron and glass buildings of the 'eighties and 'nineties on the Continent.

But Ruskin soon lost whatever faith he had had in the Gothic revival, and in 1859 abjured it all, including the "vile" colours at the Museum itself. Ruskin praised at this time only one Gothic revival building, which seems to modern eyes one of the duller examples of the mid-century—the Assize Courts in Manchester, by Waterhouse.

[From "*The Builder*," 1860]*View in the Court, the Oxford University Museum, by Deane & Woodward*



[From Eastlake

Quar Wood, Gloucestershire, by J. L. Pearson, 1857

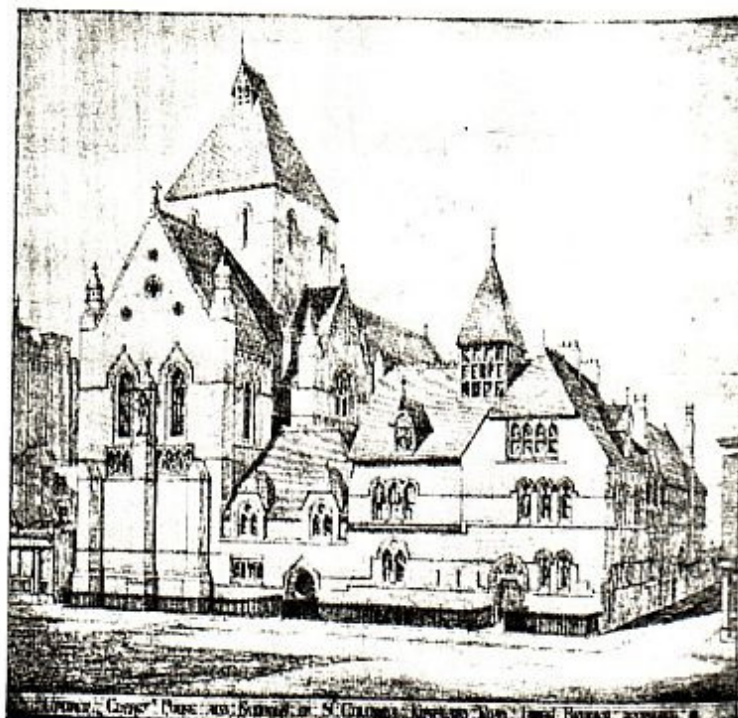
Ruskin became Slade Professor at Oxford in 1869, and thenceforth to the end of his life was a sort of artistic oracle to the Anglo-Saxons. Strangely enough, however, Ruskin's ideas, although they stimulated men enormously, certainly led to no specific development. Brilliant as is Ruskin's thought, it was somewhat chaotic always, and although Ruskin generally abjured what were supposed to be the actual results of his doctrines, theoretically support could be found in his writings for almost any historic development except a return to the academic architecture of the previous 100 years.

Indeed, the Gothic revival itself was drawing to an end about 1870, and Eastlake's *History*, published in 1872, almost coincides with the disappearance of the Gothic revival as the dominant movement in English architecture. However, the 'fifties and the 'sixties were a period of enormous architectural production, and almost all the architectural production of serious æsthetic intention was produced under the ægis of revived mediævalism, but with a more and more eclectic tendency. Waterhouse, who was certainly not one of the greater architects of the period, but is perhaps for that reason the more typical, continued in the late 'sixties with the Gothic Manchester Town Hall, and the enormous Eaton Hall of the Duke of Westminster, in a kind of standard Victorian Gothic which is suave and plausible, but not very boldly original. Yet at Caius College in Cambridge in 1868 he had experimented with the François Premier, and in 1873 to 1880 he built the Natural History Museum at South Kensington, making use of Romanesque detail. Waterhouse, however, as I have said, was not of great intrinsic importance.

A far more interesting man was Pearson, who drew his inspiration rather from the French Gothic than from the Italian, and who was one of the few Gothic revival architects who used real vaulting whenever he could. Thus he was a particular predecessor of that kind of archaeological revival of the High Gothic which crystallised in America and to some extent in England towards

the end of the nineteenth century after the real Gothic revival was wholly over. The most interesting work of Pearson is that which is least what he believed himself best at. A house like Quar Wood, built in 1857, is an excellent example of the possibilities of free planning and free composition within the frame of mediæval precedent. The detail is simple and related to the general structure, the composition is ingeniously studied, and there is very little extraneous ornament. Pearson is, however, better known for his churches, of which the most conspicuous is Truro Cathedral, begun in 1880, and a large quite archaeological development of the French twelfth century style. But this, of course, falls outside the High Victorian period.

In church architecture, after Butterfield, certainly one of the most ingenious men was Brooks, whose slum churches at Haggerston and Houndsditch have a very fine mass composition, simple detail, excellent proportions and an essentially non-archæological point of view. His country churches, such as that at Plaistow in Essex, of 1867, are equally good; but the leaders of the Gothic revival, the most æsthetically competent men within the Gothic revival, were somewhat restricted by the very theory of the Gothic revival to ecclesiastical architecture; and the really great commercial success of the mid-Victorian period, exceeding even that of Waterhouse, was made by Sir George Gilbert Scott (1811-78), whose churches are for the most part extremely dull, and whose buildings other than churches are generally considered by later taste to be examples of mid-Victorian horror.



[From Brooks' original drawing in the R.I.B.A. Library

St. Columba's, Haggerston, by James Brooks

GILBERT SCOTT

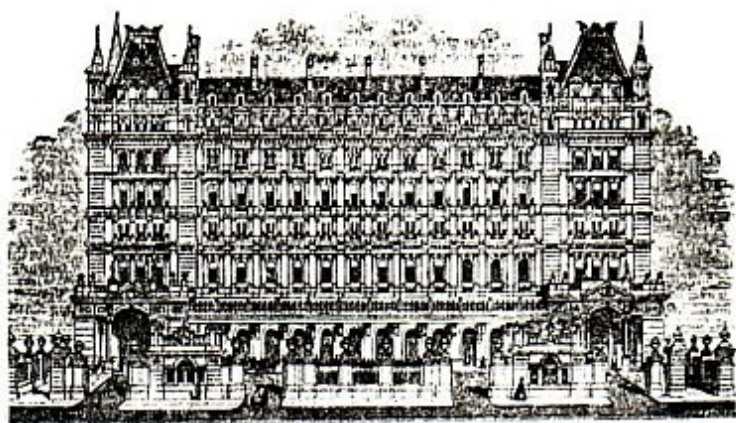
The most famous of Gilbert Scott's work is, of course, the Albert Memorial, begun in 1863. It is interesting to compare Thomson's project for the Albert Memorial, which develops a sort of eclectic antique inspiration and geometrical sense of massing, with the executed work upon which Scott lavished all the resources of the contemporary tradition of polychromatic and sculptured ornament. The Albert Memorial is not, I think, really a horror, for above all one cannot help feeling that it is exactly what Albert would have wanted, and it will always have an appeal to vulgar taste, which is perhaps what such public monuments should have. Scott, among other things, competed for the Foreign Office in 1858 after, for some reason which I do not know, the general competition for rebuilding the Government offices in Whitehall in a mass fell through—perhaps because it was won by a Frenchman. But here Scott, one of the most triumphantly successful architects who ever lived, came up against an immovable obstacle in the person of Lord Palmerston, who had been momentarily out of office at the time the competition was won, but who returned to office in 1859, and would not accept Scott's very eclectic, typically Victorian Gothic designs—saying, after a lot of inconsequential argument, that Gothic buildings were (a) too well lighted; (b) inadequately lighted; and that the Foreign Office might be suitable for a Jesuit seminary, but that *he* was not going to work in it—and told Scott that he must either provide what Palmerston called a Palladian design or else give up the job. Scott swallowed his principles, and produced, with the assistance of M. D. Wyatt, what I suppose is a Palladian design. It is not very interesting from the Whitehall side, yet even so it is perhaps Scott's most successful building; and towards the park, where he retained the picturesque composition with a curving mass and a tall tower from his Gothic scheme, the result is extremely interesting, suggesting a sort of large-scale version of the Italian villa type. Moreover, some of the ornamental carving on the Foreign Office, for instance, the pilaster capitals on the ground floor, succeeds in combining something of the mediæval vitality of the Gothic revival with the classical, the academic tradition in ornament in the broadest sense. Scott is reputed to have used up the rejected Gothic designs for the Foreign Office upon the Midland station at St. Pancras. He probably did use many of the detail drawings, but the massing is totally different. It is, of course, a horrible building, and the magnificent train shed is not Scott's work, but that of an associated engineer.

It is interesting to compare St. Pancras, where there is no relationship between the engineering and the frontal architecture, with King's Cross Station across the way, where, a bare fifteen years earlier, the architecture had been so successfully related to the quality of the metal and glass train sheds; but if one is inclined

to think that the Midland station is one of the great horrors of the mid-century to be charged against the Gothic revival, the Charing Cross Hotel and station by E. M. Barry serves at once to make one realise that what was left of the eclectic academic tradition was no more competent. E. M. Barry (1830-80) carried on from where his father had left off, with an extremely corrupt version of French Late Renaissance architecture—proportionless, confused, excessively ugly in materials. Indeed, this French Renaissance style, which received prestige from its adoption by Napoleon III for the new Louvre, was rather popular in the City in the mid-Victorian period. While the land-owning class and the Established Church favoured the Gothic revival, City men seem rather to have taken their cue from the splendours of Second Empire Paris. Cambridge Terrace, Regent's Park, is a case in point. Another conspicuous case in point are the houses at the Hyde Park Corner end of Grosvenor Place and those by Victoria Station, which were the work, apparently, of no particular architect, but of draughtsmen in the builder Cubitt's office who were sent to Paris to pick up what they could in the way of the latest style ideas, much as draughtsmen were sent in the late 'twenties to pick up the stylisms of the Paris Exposition of 1925.

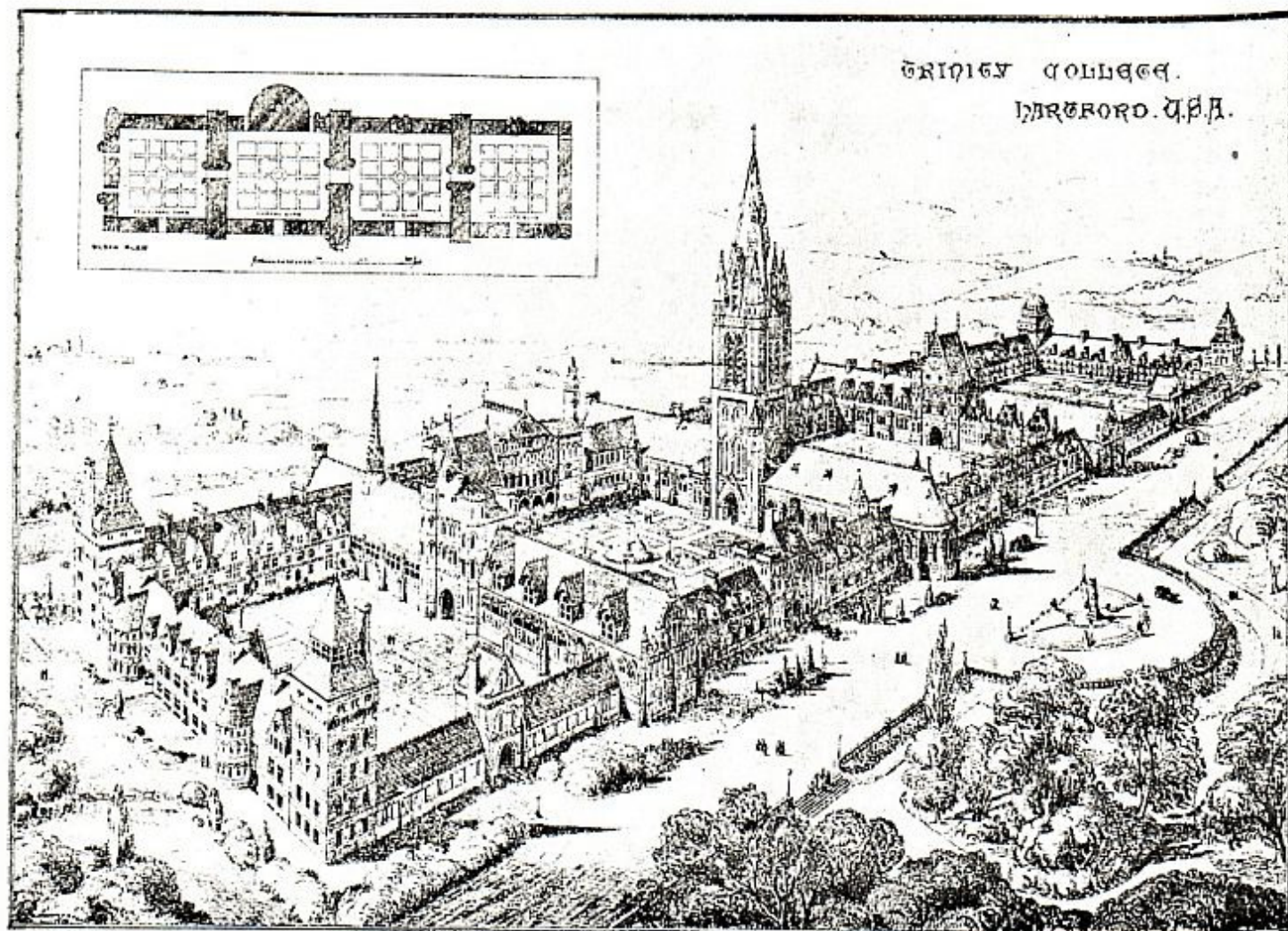
HORACE JONES'S GIDDYWAY

Fortunately there was not much of this sort of domestic architecture. In the main, the Barryesque tradition was maintained, but with increasing emphasis upon the individual house, and increasing loss of a sense of unity of the terrace or the crescent. The most active architect in this type of work was Horace Jones, the architect to the City, who built the Smithfield Market in an extremely giddy way which is certainly not Gothic, and which it would be to malign the French to call French. His best work is probably Marshall & Snelgrove's, which has a certain charm of delicate scale and, as we see it to-day, sand-blasted, a certain prettiness of colour. But in spite of the profusion of, broadly speaking, French-inspired Renaissance architecture, there were no



From the "Building News," 1864

Charing Cross Hotel and Station, by E. M. Barry



William Burges's design for Trinity College, Hartford, U.S.A.

very great men working in this vein, and it formed no consistent movement, no true æsthetic tradition like the Gothic revival, but rather, by its existence side by side with the Gothic revival, tended to complete the destruction of all stylistic sense in the lay mind.

STREET AND BURGESS

Before we leave the High Victorian period there are two Gothic revival architects of great power and considerable ingenuity who should be mentioned. Street, whose *Brick and Marble Architecture* we have mentioned, was on the whole rather more inspired in his actual work by French mediæval precedent than by Italian. His churches, such as St. Philip and St. James in Oxford, of 1862, are powerfully massed, not over-decorated, remarkably clear in their expression of masonry structure, and fall among the worthiest models that the mid-nineteenth century provided. His slum churches, such as St. James the Less, off Vauxhall Bridge Road, compare in quality with those of Butterfield and Brooks. But, alas, his most conspicuous monument, the Law Courts in the Strand, though it has cer-

tain qualities of mass that are distinguished, is too late in the development of the Gothic revival to have much vitality. Although he won the commission in a competition held in 1866, the building was not begun until 1874, nor completed until after his death in 1882; so that although it is one of the largest buildings of the Gothic revival it really falls outside the period when the Gothic revival was the most living architectural tradition in England.

William Burges (1827-81), who was, even more than Street, inspired by French twelfth-century architecture, came also somewhat late in the Gothic revival. His cathedral of St. Finbarre in Cork is remarkably articulated, with particular emphasis upon the vaulting shafts even though the church is unvaulted. A small church in Stoke Newington shows a more creative use of these isolated wall shafts, where they are of cast iron and not of stone, and in Trinity College at Hartford, Connecticut, in America, he produced a project for a complete educational institution in a rather bold and heavy Early Gothic style which, as far as we can judge

from the small portion completed, would have been one of the real masterpieces of the mid-century.

However, although these men, Street and Burges particularly, combined in a remarkable way an erudite comprehension of what Gothic architecture had really been with very great professional competence, original taste and a remarkable sense of construction, they came at the end of the Gothic revival, and their pupils, particularly the pupils of Street, were destined to turn English architecture in a wholly different direction. This different direction is somewhat ambiguously labelled by the name of "Queen Anne," although the movement was not before the late 'seventies particularly related to the architecture of the Queen Anne period. However, since the term was already applied in its own day to this movement, it is as well, perhaps, to preserve it, though the nineteenth-century "Queen Anne" is really an outgrowth of the Gothic revival based, in part, upon Ruskinian ideas, and in part upon the sense, lost during the High Victorian Gothic period, that revivalism should preserve as far as possible a contact with the living traditions of the past, should be national rather than international in spirit, and also that in many fields of architecture the style of the High Gothic, the monumentality and the exuberance of bold polychromy and heavily scaled sculpture were conspicuously out of place. Above all, it represents a shift in the hierarchy of architectural types from the ecclesiastical to the domestic.

"QUEEN ANNE" ARCHITECTS

The first monument of the Queen Anne is perhaps as much the work of the client, William Morris, as of the architect, Philip Webb (1831-1915). Morris at Oxford had been all kinds of a mediævalist, perhaps particularly a literary one, and under the stimulus of Ruskin's writing decided, despite his early success with poetry, to become an architect, entering Street's office. But architecture proved to be not technically his field, and then he turned to painting under the influence of Rossetti, only ultimately to find his field of artistic expression in what he would have so disapproved of our calling the minor arts. But in 1859, when he built the Red House, he was as yet only a dilettante.

The Red House is very much simpler in plan than the characteristic Gothic revival houses of the mid-century, forming an L with the stair tower in the inner corner. It is also very much simpler in its architectural expression, attempting a revival not so much of architectural forms as of methods of craftsmanship. It was built of plain red brick with a red-tiled roof. It made use of very few Gothic forms; indeed, the very windows were sash windows—the only Queen Anne feature—and the segmental arch, which is the most natural form in brick, was used rather consistently. But the proportions were well studied, the relation to the landscape was vital, and the reaction towards simplicity and away from the turgid gorgeousness of the

day so marked that it definitely opens a new period. Furthermore, it was the difficulty of obtaining appropriate furnishings for this house that sent Morris off on his new tack, forming with his friends Morris & Co. for the production of furniture and all sorts of house furnishings.

Webb remained one of the most conspicuous architects of the Queen Anne generation, but he was rather a crank; he took little work, accepted few commissions, and never, I think, again produced anything as fine as the Red House, which must be in large part the product of Morris's rather than of Webb's imagination. A large mansion of the 'eighties, such as Clouds, by Webb, shows his eclecticism, the combination of late mediæval and post-mediæval features very much simplified, with the emphasis upon varied materials, the avoidance of palatial scale, the preference for a cottage-like informality. But Webb, although he was much the most conscientious of his generation, and in some ways the most original, was not the most powerful influence upon the age, and the general direction that the Queen Anne was to take was first indicated in the work of two other men.

However, before we mention them there is one monument worth naming which was the first to be Queen Anne in the sense of reviving the English domestic architecture of the early eighteenth century—that is, Thackeray's own house, built in 1861, in Kensington Palace Gardens. Thackeray at this time was writing his novels based upon the early eighteenth century. It was natural for him to desire a setting appropriate to the period in which he was immersed. To modern eyes Thackeray's house does not look particularly Queen Anne, and, indeed, has very little interest other than ideological; but it indicates that the pall of suspicion with which the Early Victorian period had regarded the preceding century had lifted, and that the curious attitude which still dominates the Royal Commission



The Red House, Bexley Heath, by Philip Webb

on Historical Monuments, i.e., that anything built previous to the second quarter of the early eighteenth century is old and that anything built afterwards is not old, was already coming into existence. But Thackeray's house provided no stylistic prototype for imitation.

A very small building built in 1864, however, provided an amazingly wide repertory of architectural themes which were destined to be developed for almost a generation. This is the Regent's Park Lodge, by Nesfield (1835-88). Here we have a small-scale domestic architecture which, if anything, exaggerates smallness of scale, which depends for its effect upon brickwork, on tile-hanging, on turned oak, on bottle glass, on small-paned windows, on pargetery decorated core cornices, and in a final burst of whimsy, bits of broken coloured glass stuck in the plaster. The composition is picturesque and asymmetrical, hugging the earth, unimposing, quaint; and this is the type which was destined, in a vast variety of forms, to take the place of the bold, monumental, overwhelming High Victorian Gothic.

In 1866 Nesfield built, in the gardens of Kensington Palace, a garden house which is actually Queen Anne in that it imitates the simplest vernacular of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, appropriately following the forms of the old palace, and extending clearly the mantle of respectability to English early classicistic forms. Hence the range of forms of prototype of the Queen Anne architects ran from the late Tudor through the simpler architecture of the early eighteenth century; and the more one studies the Queen Anne the more it seems to have been a kind of revival of the English hybrid styles of the seventeenth century, carefully avoiding, however, the academic Palladianism of Jones and his school.

NORMAN SHAW

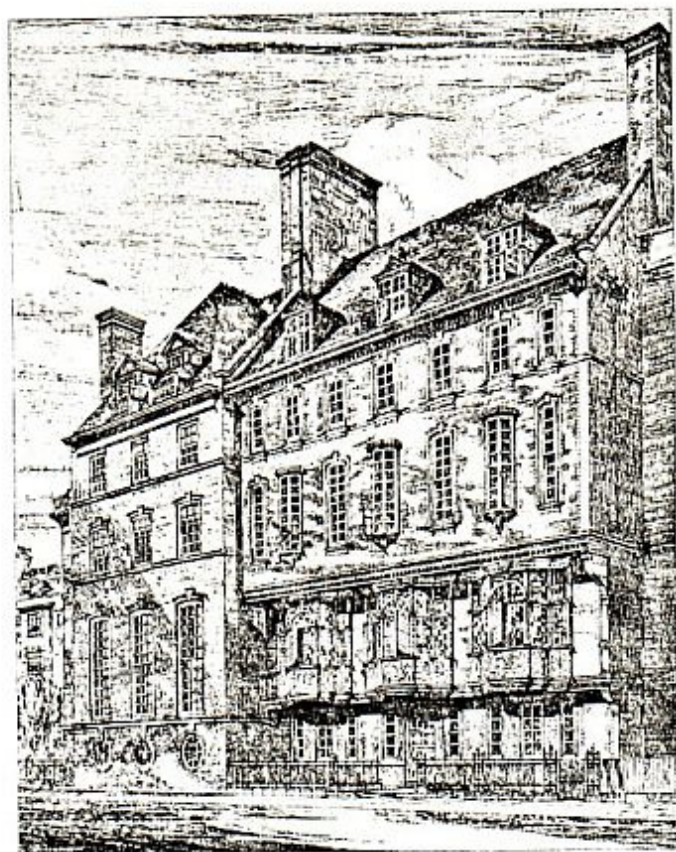
But the really successful architect of the Queen Anne, the man who was destined to hold the centre of the English architectural stage from the late 'sixties down to the war, was Norman Shaw (1831-1912), who had studied first with William Burn, whom you will remember as a country house architect of the Early Victorian period, specialising rather in Jacobean revivalism, and had then, like Webb and Nesfield, been in the office of Street. The earliest projects, and perhaps the most imaginative architectural conceptions, of Shaw were done under the inspiration of Street; but in the late 'sixties he first found his own manner, particularly in the building of large country houses in the home counties. And while Nesfield seemed, after the Regent's Park Lodge and the Kensington Palace Gardens House, unable quite to co-ordinate his rather diverse tendencies, so that we find his Cloverley Hall predominantly late mediæval in style, but with some Japanese detail, and Kinnel Park almost Louis XIII, Shaw, inspired by the local tradition of the home counties in cottages and in manor houses, worked out a very pleasant domestic

style, highly picturesque, melting into the landscape, and elaborately deployed in plan, with almost every room open on three sides, and with a vast repertory of small-scaled surface treatments with brick, with stone, with tile hanging, with half-timber, and so forth, which were not based on any high style of the past, but upon local traditions which had, indeed, often been maintained down into the early eighteenth century.

Such a house as Leyes Wood, sprawling around a court, illustrates the extreme freedom, indeed casualness, of Shaw's planning. Such a house as Pinner, with its rich combination of materials, indicates the etching-like sense of varied texture which Shaw possessed, and both in England and in America this sort of rambling rusticity has never wholly passed out of fashion, although it was perhaps when Shaw's work was published on the Continent by Muthesius that his historical function was completed. Then what was really casualness, indeed almost sloppiness in planning, and an intuitive sense of the picturesque in composition, seemed, to foreigners sunk in decadent academicism, the inspiration for functional free planning and for highly asymmetrical but still formal composition.

The Queen Anne movement, particularly as represented by the work of Shaw, was always more or less eclectic in inspiration, and it is a mistake to emphasise too great a progression from one type of design to another. The rambling, essentially Surrey Tudor style of the country houses was not given over when, very shortly, Shaw in urban buildings began to make use of more Renaissance detail and a considerably more rigid sort of composition. New Zealand Chambers, in Leadenhall Street, of 1873, is an effective example of the moderate rationalism of the Queen Anne applied to urban flats, with the strong brick supporting piers subdividing the façade vertically almost as in skyscraper construction, but with the windows between given the form of highly picturesque bays, their subdivisions organised in what is perhaps the most characteristic of all the Queen Anne motifs—an arch set in a field of square panels. This motif, it is perhaps worth recalling, derives from the Sparrow House at Ipswich, built in 1567; but the general character of the detail of New Zealand Chambers might, perhaps, be called rural Carolean, and seems to modern eyes extremely inappropriate to the underlying simple structural conception.

As Shaw advanced into the 'seventies, the rural mediæval features of his first manner drop away in favour of the simplified forms of the brick architecture of the later seventeenth century, and in such a house as Lowther Lodge, of 1874 (now the Royal Geographical Society), even the picturesque composition is somewhat solidified and organised, as is also the case with the excellent Luke Fildes and Mark Stone houses in the Melbury Road. With this phase of Shaw's work the term "Queen Anne" becomes, at last, quite appropriate. Much the same sort of cut and rubbed brick



Swan House, Chelsea Embankment, by R. Norman Shaw, 1877

detail of late Stuart hybrid inspiration provides the vocabulary for the design of a large block of flats, the Albert Hall Mansions (1880), and at this time many row houses in Kensington show the continued virtuosity of Shaw's pencil in brick and terracotta. Alas, although these houses are very ingenious in plan and remarkably well lighted, their high ornamented gables, their bay windows and their excessively rich detail provide a most unfortunate contrast to the row houses organised into consistent blocks of the Early Victorian period, and despite the validity of Shaw's finest individual works the Queen Anne period probably produced the least satisfactory urban architecture that London has ever known.

But Shaw's development from the mediæval and the excessively picturesque towards later English Renaissance forms, and a certain discipline of composition, continued, and in the Old Swan House in Chelsea of 1877 we have a far finer city house than any of those in Kensington, now symmetrical in composition, but including the characteristic Queen Anne bay windows derived from those of the Sparrow House in Ipswich. It is worth pointing out that the projection of the second storey above these bay windows is made possible by the use of metal beams; but where, in the early nineteenth century, the use of metal is directly expressed in architecture, now, in the second half of the century,

it is wholly masked behind the features of traditional construction.

From 1877 to 1880 Shaw was working on one of the first of the garden suburbs, destined to prove both the general and in many cases the specific inspiration of the great majority of English suburban architecture since that time. The individual houses at Bedford Park are usually very well planned, and the varied, somewhat eclectic traditionalism of the detail is consistently inventive; but unfortunately the many motifs of detached villa architecture which Shaw herein produced became the prototypes for generation after generation of speculative builders, until the very originals seem, in that respect, to be vulgarised by the millions of cheap imitations.

In the middle of the nineteenth century churches received a remarkably large part of English architectural attention, but with the Queen Anne the centre of English architecture swung back to residence work. Churches, however, continued to be built, now predominantly of either archæological or stylised Perpendicular character, but sometimes with eclectic Queen Anne detail, as in the case of the rather Laudian church by Shaw at Bedford Park. More characteristic of Shaw's churches is that at Leek in Staffordshire, of 1877, with its broad, low proportions, suave restraint and Perpendicular detail, which, along with the more archæological Late Gothic churches of Bodley and Garner, of which St. Mary's, Clumber, is an excellent example of 1886-89, provided the prototype for most of the church building not only in England but also in America from the end of the nineteenth century down almost to to-day. Sedding's Holy Trinity, Chelsea, of 1889, with its broad stylised Perpendicular forms and Renaissance fittings, was very influential, but a better example of this period is the younger Scott's church in Kennington, which is more ecclesiastical and less domestic in character than Shaw's churches.

The most conspicuous ecclesiastical monument of this period, however, is Bentley's Roman Catholic Cathedral in Westminster (1895-1903), in which the eclecticism of the Queen Anne takes the curious form of a mixture of Byzantine structural methods and Italianate mediæval and Renaissance detail. The interior, its stock bricks fortunately still mostly uncovered by mosaics, has something of the grandeur and straightforwardness of mid-nineteenth-century railroad engineering works in stock brick, but the exterior has a Butterfieldian violence of polychromy and fusion of small-scale detail which, despite frequent ingenuity and originality of compilation, is chiefly confusing and irritating.

But in the confused amalgam of Queen Anne, mediæval inspiration was continually losing ground to Renaissance inspiration in the last quarter of the century, and by 1895 Shaw at Bryanston, in Dorset, produced a large, wholly symmetrical and quite academically detailed country house in the spirit of the more



*Collingham Gardens, London, S.W., by
Ernest George and Peto, from drawing
by Ernest George*

formal architecture of the age of Queen Anne. So that the Queen Anne ended with an academic and monumental phase which became the basis, in England, of an early twentieth-century Georgian revival parallel to the academic developments in America, which began in the mid-'eighties with the mature work of McKim, Mead and White.

The Queen Anne, as such, was most vigorous in the 'eighties, and emphasis upon Shaw should not lead one to neglect the interest of such work as George and Peto's houses in Collingham Gardens, or such an amazing piece of stylistic eclecticism as Colclutt's Imperial Institute. But in the main the Queen Anne was not a valid urban style, and for the most part its buildings in London have not worn well. The last important and typical product of Queen Anne development is the early work of Lutyens. His Deanery Garden, Sonning, of 1900, is almost a return to the basically traditional forms of home counties tradition of the Red House, practically without applied ornamentation, but with the plan more compact and to some extent symmetrically organised. Unfortunately, Lutyens, whose first works seemed to derive from the happiest early Queen Anne tradition, shifted very soon to academic Palladianism with the building of Heathcote, Ilkley, in 1906. Thus the Queen Anne, in its main development, leads automatically into the academic revivalism of the early twentieth century, and it must seem to us to-day the basis upon which most reactionary doctrines in the modern English architectural situation are founded.

THE LAST TWENTY YEARS. THE LINK WITH MODERN-ISM

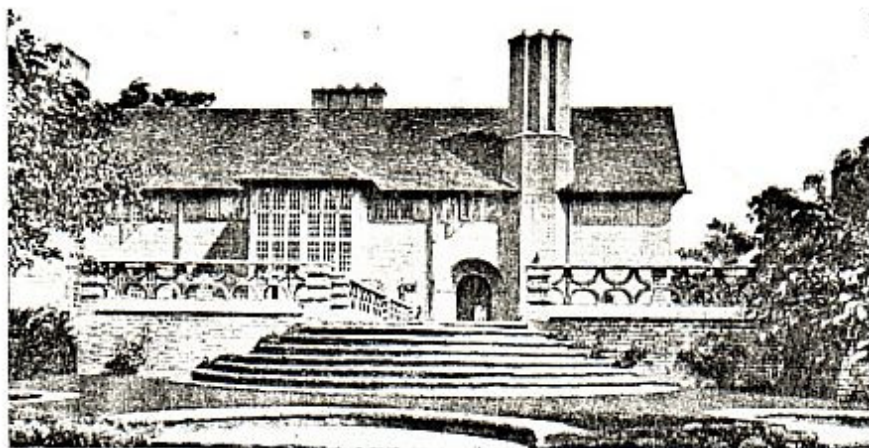
But there was, in the late 'eighties and 'nineties, a brief interlude in which the more rational and the more imaginative and the more original elements of the Queen Anne were developed by a considerable group of architects, some of them, like Baillie-Scott or Smith and Brewer, of interest for their simplification of the eclectic traditionalism of the Queen Anne, others of them, such as Macmurdo, Townsend, and above all Voysey and Mackintosh, men of far greater creative force. Townsend's Whitechapel Art Gallery, of 1897-99, has a bold composition in which the basic geometric forms are emphasised, very few traditional elements other than Webb-like mouldings and ornament in the manner of Morris's and Walter Crane's wallpapers and book decorations. Townsend's is not a wholly integrated style, but it was adventurous, and in the Horniman

Museum in Dulwich in Lordship Lane capable of drastic stylisations, recalling the European Art Nouveau.

Voysey is a more important figure. His masterpiece is, perhaps, Broadleys on Lake Windermere. The plan recalls a little the plan of the Red House, but is more clearly organised and better orientated. The continuity of the roof lines, the avoidance of ornamental detail, and the boldness of such features as the plain stone mullioned, curving bay windows towards the lake give it nearly as positive an æsthetic modernism as the epoch making contemporary houses of Frank Lloyd Wright in America.

But more powerful even than the work of Voysey in suggesting that at long last the historicism of the nineteenth century could be discarded, and that out of new methods of construction and a more direct approach to the problems of architectural design a new architecture might arise in the twentieth century, was the work of Mackintosh in Glasgow. Unfortunately, Mackintosh's *œuvre* is very limited, and although his influence on the Continent was very great indeed, because of the work he did in various expositions, apparently he had almost no influence or following in the British Isles. His true significance has, perhaps, only been appreciated within the last few years, when the influence he sent forth like light to the Continent has been reflected back again in the form of what we to-day recognise as modern architecture.

The few houses by Mackintosh are not his most significant work. His significance is concentrated almost entirely in one monument, the Glasgow School of Art, for the design of which he won a competition held in



Deanery Garden, Sonning, by Edwin Lutyens

[Country Life photo]

1893, and of which he built the major portion, the North Wing, 1897-99, adding in 1907-09 the West End. Of the two wings the later is perhaps the more striking, with its bold vertical lines, imaginative plasticity of form and fully original proportions; but the virtuosity of this portion of the building seems, in the mid-twentieth century, to belong too much to the extremes of the Art Nouveau period, and our admiration to-day must go more particularly to the earlier wing, with its enormous studio windows under visible ferro-concrete lintels, its clear, almost industrial organisation of parts and its more serene and classical proportions. So bold was Mackintosh's step into the future that at first sight his connection with the Queen Anne is difficult to unravel, but if one concentrates upon the entrance motif one sees clearly the remains of the freer and more structural type of semi-traditional design of Webb or Townsend. Indeed, this relic of what had been most original in the very immediate past is somewhat

awkwardly associated with the complete rationalism of the rest of the façade, with which there is hardly anything to compare in English architecture since the engineering achievements of the mid-century.

For all the rather special character of English architectural development during the nineteenth century, for all its almost incidental effect upon developments elsewhere, England's contribution during this period to the architecture of the world remains of amazing importance. A century which opened with the work of Soane and closed with that of Mackintosh must be, to all countries in the twentieth century, worthy of detailed study; while, of course, of all the monuments of the nineteenth century erected anywhere in the world, none has seemed to the mid-twentieth century, both historically and intrinsically, of the importance, or indeed perhaps of the beauty, of the Crystal Palace, of which the first really worthy successor was Mackintosh's Glasgow School of Art.



Broadleys, Windermere, by C. F. A. Voysey