The Union & The Imagination
Images of Sir John Soane's Museum in Britton's first guidebook

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in the School of Art History and World Art Studies, University of East Anglia.

January 2018

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Abstract

John Britton's *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting* (1827) is the first guidebook to Sir John Soane's Museum. Alongside the textual description, both the museum's system of unique spaces and its collection are represented using images more frequently associated with the architectural design process than a guidebook. In the case of *The Union*, we have the material collection itself as a resource to consider in tandem with the guidebook. By comparing the guidebook to the museum, this work attempts to form an understanding of the layers of representation offered by Britton. Of particular interest is the meaning readers derive from these images and texts bound together in the specific arrangement in *The Union*, and what sort of demands these particular visual conventions make on the public eye.

At the crux of this thesis is the idea that perspective is closely tied to the concept of the imagination as argued by Robin Evans, as well as the concept of the *invisible hinge* borrowed from Alberto Pérez-Gòmez and Louise Pelletier. Evans's distinction between the active imagination of the observer and dormant imaginative intelligence underpins this work, the latter explored in terms of memory, whereas the former will be explored as the translation of the building to the image, or a so-called "letter to the spectator". The application of these more contemporary theories regarding architectural representation will offer a new reading of the various illustrations within Britton's *The Union*, specifically those involving the combination of disparate conventions on a single picture plane, or on consecutive pages of the volume. This will culminate with the application of Gaston Bachelard's phenomenology of the house; at the heart of Bachelard's discussion is the experience of the inhabitant represented by the congregation of fragmentary images.

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For John

Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible without the valuable and sophisticated guidance of my supervisor and confidante, Professor Dana Arnold. I will look back on this process with a fondness for that troublesome grin that always indicated a new, "character-building" task, and I hope you in turn recall our four years with warm memories, among them a fateful cup of tea at the ICA café in November 2013, and a rather large glass of red wine in Ankara.

I have been extremely fortunate to have the incredible assistance of Susan Palmer, archivist to Sir John Soane's Museum. Thank you for kindly and diligently laying out every single volume and piece of correspondence I requested on the library desk prior to my arrival. Also at the museum, Dr Frances Sands for inviting me to present a Soane Study Group and subsequent thoughtful comments, and Helen Dorey for her useful feedback. And finally, my gratitude to the warders and volunteers at Sir John Soane's Museum whose interpretation of the collection and whose guidance has been invaluable in forming my early understanding of the visitor's experience.

My first trip to Sir John Soane's Museum was in 2007 with Professor Joan Coutu with the University of Waterloo, and for this introduction to the museum as well as the history of architecture in general I express my deepest gratitude. Our meet-ups in London are few and far between, but your unwavering enthusiasm for my research and "shifting the focus of architectural history away from measuring the distances between columns" has been a constant source of motivation.

I would like to extend my gratitude to the libraries and staff of The Courtauld Institute of Art, RIBA Drawings & Archives Collection, The Royal Academy of Arts, The Tabley House Collection, the University of Manchester, and the Wiltshire Museum. Thank you to Sophia Psarra and Allan Wexler for the helpful use of their graphic works to illustrate this thesis. A resounding "thank you" to Adam Khan Architects for supporting my research in a number of ways. The opportunity to interact with a living, breathing architecture practice has informed my work in ways an archive never could.

To Hamish for the drawings, etc., and to my friends, for the constant reassurance and kind words; I am so fortunate to be surrounded by exceptionally caring individuals. And finally, none of this would have been possible without the support (in all sorts of forms) from my family; although there is an ocean between us, the academic and working practices I have inherited from you underpin this thesis, and your tireless encouragement (thankfully) transcends geographic borders.

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Introduction and Literature Review

The multiplicity of guidebooks in various forms for the Sir John Soane's Museum is an indication of the struggle to describe something that evades description. Currently offered to visitors at the gift shop in No. 12 Lincoln's Inn Fields is *A Short Guide to Sir John Soane's Museum*, the newly published *Complete Description* (2018), Tim Knox's *Sir John Soane's Museum* (2009) and a museum guide.[1] The *Complete Description* is of direct lineal descent from Sir John Soane's own descriptions of his house and museum, but before Sir John Soane himself published this volume in 1835, antiquarian and topographer John Britton set about providing the same literary and visual resource. In light of the existing spectrum of information available to support the visitor experience, perhaps the ideal format for a guidebook to Sir John Soane's Museum is yet to be discovered.

This study of Britton's guidebook to Sir John Soane's Museum is largely concerned with subjects that are classified on the periphery; architecture in the early nineteenth century was generally categorised as a fine art, but struggled to be institutionalised as such and thusly remained on the fringes; the architectural book is a varied category, but the particular volume on which this study is focussed arguably lies somewhere between a guidebook, a series of survey drawings and a topographic publication; Sir John Soane's Museum simultaneously fits the definition of such estranged terms as a domestic home, a public gallery and an architectural academy and office, thus evading identification; and finally, architectural representations can be approached methodologically as an art work, but also a very practical means to an end, presenting difficulties to those who choose to examine them.

My research, which is fundamentally concerned with John Britton's *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting; exemplified by a series of illustrations, with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane* (1827), has grown to be a multidisciplinary endeavour and as such its literature review is split categorically to build a formula with which to tackle the topic. The contexts within which the publication is explored require thorough investigation, and consequentially the first half of this study is comprised of a number of rather ordinary chapters; however, this required prerequisite reading culminates in the application of interesting theoretical paradigms that have not been paired with such material previously. The chapters of the thesis weave together and accumulate in an architectonic reading of the illustrations within John Britton's publication that disassembles the way that these image typologies have previously been perceived, specifically within these particular contexts. I will

[1]B Boucher (preface by), *Sir John Soane's Museum: A Complete Description (13th edition)*, London, Sir John Soane's Museum, 2018.
T Knox, *Sir John Soane's Museum London*, London, Merrell Publishers Ltd., 2009.

draw upon methodologies of architectural history, especially those in reference to architectural representation, design theory, descriptive geometry, as well as various theories on the historical concept of space, memory and visitors' studies, resulting in a piece of work that contributes to the subject of architectural and design history as well as museum studies. The order that my information is presented mimics my own process of understanding; it aims to thoroughly introduce the primary material that has been examined, and then to widen this contextual lens and offer historical and biographical contexts with which to understand the volume, which concerns John Britton, Sir John Soane, and their experience within the institutionalised architectural sphere of the early nineteenth century. The Sir John Soane's Museum is also closely examined to such a point that, it is my hope that the unfamiliar reader will be imparted with an idea of the built form and its spatial complexities. Subsequently, various theories on Soane's unique composition of space will be reiterated in order to qualify the difficulty of the task of compiling a guidebook to the Sir John Soane's Museum. This study also presents various ways with which such a publication can and has already been examined, focussing on genres of closely-related publications and the established canon of literature, specifically country house studies. However, because John Britton's *The Union* does not come from the same mould as these numerous guides to country houses, treating it as such is not entirely suitable; it is, however, a good foundation.

The organic progression that my own academic journey forged is further simulated in the subsequent text; the examination of country house studies prompts the consideration of more complex and meaningful readings of John Britton's volume largely through visual and compositional comparisons. It is at this point that a marked shift occurs, and the study transitions from surveying the established to an innovative consideration of the appearance of various methods of representation within such a literary typology. As the museum guide functions as an integral piece of the museum visit, and *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting* is the first in a long line of infamous descriptions of the Sir John Soane's Museum, it is important to consider the aims of such a publication, and how its illustrations support the museum visit and/or the ability of the visitor to mentally conjure their past encounter with the townhouses. The necessity to draw on various methods and theories proves that *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting* is a uniquely complex volume that serves a purpose yet unknown due to a lack of first-hand reviews, and also signals to the complexities of Soane's spaces and subsequently the difficulty of translating them to paper. The need for this multidisciplinary method in reference to the work of a topographer is summarized in Dell Upton's 'Architectural History or Landscape History?' (1991), which asserts that "[a]ny historian who teaches in a professional school is frequently led to question the relationships

among history, architecture and design, particularly the tendency to write the history of the third as if it were the second."[2] In light of the close ties between history, architecture, and design, I will draw upon sources that traditionally refer to one of the aforementioned genres, and apply them to my subject matter in new and interesting ways. In the same way that Dana Arnold's 'The Soundtrack to History' is concerned with a multidisciplinary approach to history and the history of art, this study subscribes to a multidisciplinary approach to architecture and the history of architecture.[3] The first portion of this literature review shall explore the material I have come across from Soane and Britton's time in order to form a foundational knowledge of the museum, the architect and the topographer.

Soane and Britton; Building an historical context

Firstly, to form a basis of knowledge regarding Sir John Soane and John Britton, I consulted the exceptional library at the Sir John Soane's Museum, which houses much of the original correspondence between the two. These letters in tandem with A T Bolton's *The portrait of Sir John Soane, R. A.* provide the perfect context for *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting.* Bolton's seminal publication is unparalleled in its ability to construct a narrative of Soane's life from his correspondence alone.[4] Bolton is aware that Soane is the creator of his own archives, and as such, the collection of letters presented to the present-day researcher transparently constructs an image of Soane that he deems fit in his own time, and beyond.

The guide itself is a collaborative work in many ways, and Soane appropriates the images Britton compiles in *The Union* in subsequent guidebooks for his museum. To gain a better understanding of John Britton from a contemporary source, J M Crook's 'John Britton and the genesis of the Gothic Revival' offers an unbiased view of Britton's place in nineteenth-century topography, as well as society in general. Crook refers to the "absurdity of his style"[5] and asserts that he "...managed to combine the egoism of a born actor with the verbosity of a self-taught pedant"[6], but also recognises that "[w]hat Stuart and Revett were to the Greek Revival, Carter and Britton were to the Gothic."[7] There is an interesting dichotomous narrative regarding Britton and his work, but what is most important for the sake of this study is that

[2] D Upton, 'Architectural History or Landscape History?', *Journal of Architectural Education*, Volume 44, No. 4 (August, 1991), p. 195.
[3] D Arnold, 'The Soundtrack to History', *Interdisciplinary encounters: hidden and visible explorations of the work of Adrian Rifkin* (ed. D Arnold), London, B Tauris, 2014.
[4] A T Bolton (ed.), *The portrait of Sir John Soane, R. A. (1753-1837): set forth in letters from his friends (1775-1837)*, London, Sir John Soane's Museum, 1927.
[5] J M Crook, 'John Britton and the genesis of the Gothic Revival', *Concerning Architecture (*ed. J Summerson), London, Penguin, 1968, p. 100.
[6] Ibid., p. 102.
[7] Ibid., p. 98.

Crook understands that Britton's illustrations are the focal point of his work, and that his aim is to combine accuracy with picturesque effects, which can be read as indicators of his book-selling nature and need to please the public, as well as his professional ambitions. There are also certain strategies evident in his illustrations that indicate his struggle for authority, a conclusion I have come to by means of combining Britton's graphic works with literature on graphic conventions in tandem with Crook, Bolton, as well as my own deciphering of Britton's autobiography (1850).[8]

Once an historical backdrop has been formed using the above sources, similar nineteenth-century engravings with some contextual relevance to *The Union* will be explored. These sources include John Britton's topographical volumes, various nineteenth-century guidebooks such as that of Thomas Hope's Duchess street residence, *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration* (1807), subsequent guides to the Sir John Soane's Museum by curators and Sir John Soane himself, and Britton's guides to other private collections; those of Cleveland House (1808), Corsham House (1806) and Fonthill Abbey (1823).[9]

Within this outline of historical context, the biographical trace widens to encapsulate Britton's place within Soane's spheres, including that of the Royal Academy as well as the esoteric professional architectural education and practice as a whole. Britton's autobiography is also useful for this purpose. It is important to note that Britton's *The Union* opens with a call for the founding of an Architectural Academy separate to that of the established Royal Academy. This is an underpinning theme throughout *The Union* — how does the practice of architecture fit within the confines of the union of the fine arts? Adversely, with the exclusivity of architectural practice, where does Britton, the topographer/antiquarian, fit in the institutionalised architectural echelon? John Britton practiced on the fringes of a profession in the throes of a period of unrest, thriving for recognition and a methodical educational system: "Thus, by the middle of the nineteenth century, English-speaking architects had defined a professional

[8] J Britton, *The Autobiography of John Britton: Personal and literary memoir of the author*, London, printed for the author, 1850.
[9] T Hope, *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration*, New York, Dover Publications inc., 1971.
J Britton, *Graphical and literary illustrations of Fonthill Abbey, Wiltshire; with heraldical and genealogical notices of the Beckford family*. London, printed for the author, 1823.
J Britton, *Catalogue raisonné of the pictures belonging to the most honourable the Marquis of Stafford, in the gallery of Cleveland House. Comprising a list of the pictures, with illustrative anecdotes, and descriptive accounts of the execution, composition, and characteristic merits of the principal paintings,* London, printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme; and for the author, 1808.
J Britton, *An historical account of Corsham House, in Wiltshire; the seat of Paul Cobb Methuen, Esq. with a catalogue of his celebrated collection of pictures. Dedicated to the patrons of the British Institution; and embracing a concise historical essay on the fine arts. With a brief account of the different schools; and a review of the progressive state of the arts in England. ... By John Britton. Embellished with a view and plan of the house,* London, printed for the author, and Joseph Barrett, Bath, 1806.

identity based on technical expertise, historical tradition, and aesthetic judgment, all derived from systematic professional education …What was legitimate in architectural history fell within the architect's realm; what was not encompassed by professional architecture was illegitimate."[10] The evolution of the role of the architect, and subsequently the Royal Academy, are explored through the canon of architectural history including the works of Neil Bingham, Barrington Kaye, Spiro Kostof, and John Wilton-Ely.[14] This also includes first-hand accounts of the Royal Academy from both Sir John Soane and John Britton, an Academician and a Royal Academy reject respectively.

The struggle of architectural practice within the union of the fine arts is integral to this study as indicated by the title of Britton's volume, but furthermore, so is the struggle of a self-educated book-seller. The divide between architecture and craft in the nineteenth century is also discussed by Laura Jacobus in 'On 'Whether a Man Could See before Him and behind Him Both at Once': The Role of Drawing in the Design of Interior Space in England c. 1600-1800' (1988), as well as Robin Evans' 'The Developed Surface' (1989), both in reference to the laid-out interior drawing, an architectural convention that appears in *The Union* that will be discussed in great detail amongst other representational conventions.[15]

Approaches to architectural and topographic books

There exists a selection of writing that concerns guidebooks, but the selection is generally narrow in its scope and does not directly apply to the publication in question, but more typically country house guides. Among the most significant examples of this literature is John Harris's

[10] D Upton, 'Architectural History or Landscape History?', *Journal of Architectural Education*, Volume 44, No. 4 (August, 1991), p. 195.

[14] N Bingham (ed.), *The Education of the Architect,* Proceedings of the 22nd Annual Symposium of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain, London, 1992.
J Wilton-Ely, 'The Rise of the Professional Architect in England', *The Architect* (ed. S Kostof), Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1977.
K Barrington, *The Development of the Architectural Profession in Britain: A Sociological Study*, London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1960.
S Kostof, *The Architect,* Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1977.

[15] L Jacobus, 'On "Whether a man could see before him and behind him both at once": the role of drawing in the design of interior space in England c.1600-1800', *Architectural History*, Volume 31 (1988).
R Evans, 'The Developed Surface', *Translations from Drawing to Building,* London, Architectural Association Publications, 1997.
Evans explains in his notes that his work as well as Jacobus's were compiled simultaneously: "We seem independently to have arrived at similar conclusions, although she hives greater emphasis to earlier examples. The most important different is that she understands the box-like format to be a practical convenience that was restrictive of the architect's imagination, whereas I see it as expanding some horizons while restricting others." Ibid., p. 231.

'English Country House Guides, 1740-1840'(1968). [16] This work is a survey of guidebooks from the mid-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century; however, it focuses on the walking routes of various antiquarians, as well as the format and use of these publications, which serve collections amassed and on display in the country rather than London. Of upmost importance is that Harris's focus is certainly not the graphic aspects of these books.

Country house guidebooks are widely examined, and as such I will incorporate the work of Dana Arnold, Mark Girouard and Adrian Tinniswood.[17] These valuable sources form a foundation with which to approach the social implications of visiting collections in the nineteenth century, however they are concerned with the country house specifically, not the house-museum within the metropolis of London. Girouard's work focusses on the social, political and economic readings of a country house in terms of their day-to-day intent and usage. Ultimately, the country house is understood in terms of power through sources such as inventories, family papers, plans, travelogues and images. Similarly, Tinniswood examines the country house in terms of social patterns of polite tourism. He recognises the country house guidebook as a direct relation of the present-day country house pamphlet, such as those published by the National Trust: "...we are heirs to a great tradition which stretches back across the centuries".[18] Whilst Girouard and Tinniswood are ground-breaking in examining the social, political and economic implications of the country house, sometimes through associated literature such as guidebooks, it is never within the context with which these guidebooks are created; the guidebook serves as archival evidence to support the built form of the country house itself. Adversely, Jocelyn Anderson examines the production and reception of guidebooks, but again these are specifically country house guidebooks. Anderson's PhD *Remaking the Country House: Country-House Guidebooks in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* acknowledges the status of guidebooks within the wider architectural publication typology, and also presents the idea of "remaking" the built form from its literary representation.[19]

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[16] J Harris, 'English Country House Guides, 1740-1840', *Concerning Architecture* (ed. J Summerson), London, Penguin, 1968.
[17] D Arnold (ed.), *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape, and Society*, Stroud, Sutton, 1998.
M Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History*, London, Yale University Press, 1993.
A Tinniswood, *A History of Country House Visiting: Five Centuries of Tourism and Taste*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1989.
[18] Ibid., p. 2.
[19] J Anderson, *Remaking the country house: country-house guidebooks in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries* (unpublished doctoral thesis), The Courtauld Institute of Art, 2013.

Arnold's study of the Georgian country house is interdisciplinary and in that respect integral to this work, specifically in building upon the biographical approach to "…unravel these [biographic] strands in order to explore the discontinuities and contradictions of the country house."[20] This is especially appealing to this study; a complex and thorough archive to work from forms an element of caution when subscribing to the presented archive as truth, especially in the case of Britton and Soane and their mutual awareness of "future antiquarians" and their respective biographic traces.[21] My study offers the "broader social significance" through the various disciplines that apply to the built form, which then evolves and expands.[22] Dana's work, however, focuses on designs for country houses from 1780 to 1815, and does not include examples of survey drawings which, in terms of the cultural theories I apply to the engravings in Britton's guidebook, is an essential quality for the image to possess. However, Arnold asserts that "…despite stylistic differences [we can] identify similar ideological debates and issues that emerge in an interdisciplinary study through which we can understand the relationships between cultural practices and artefacts."[23] The relationship between cultural practice and artefact is fundamental to this study, as evinced by the foundational chapters that help support the reading of the primary artefact, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*.

With regards to John Britton's oeuvre of topographic publications, it becomes evident that these works are formulaic and follow very specific conventions of representation that evolve over time as Britton becomes more confident in this field. These publications offer insight into Britton's topographic method and practice; he often explains his techniques and offers the reader insight into why he chose to include specific representational conventions, and what he wishes to convey. It is in this way that one is able to discuss Britton's *intent*, and although this term is controversial and often considered a futile topic of exploration, Britton is so forthright with his aims that it becomes essentially unavoidable. I use these his publications to demonstrate the evolution of his technique, which is very clear from his earliest work, *The Beauties of Wiltshire* (1801), and the apex of his career, the *Cathedral Antiquities* series (14 vols., 1814–1835).[24] The fact that Britton deviates from this linear evolution of technique in *The Union*

[20] D Arnold (ed.), *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape, and Society*, Stroud, Sutton, 1998, p. 2.
[21] This is a reference to the protagonist of Sir John Soane's unpublished manuscript, *Crude hints towards an history of my house in Lincoln's Inn Fields*, introduction by Helen Dorey, Oxford, Archaeopress, 2015.
[22] D Arnold (ed.), *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape, and Society*. Stroud, Sutton, 1998, p. 3.
[23] Ibid., p. xiii.
[24] J Britton, *The beauties of Wiltshire, displayed in statistical, historical, and descriptive sketches: interspersed with anecdotes of the arts. Vol.I, II,* London, printed by J.D. Dewick, for Vernor and Hood, J. Wheble, J. Britton, 1801.

is integral to this study, and speaks volumes about Britton's commission specifically, as well as the wider purpose of the guidebook itself.

Due to his limited scope of preferred guidebook imagery, to compare the engravings within *The Union* to Britton's other publications isolates similarities and differences, highlighting the reasoning behind its failure both for Soane and the public. It is evident not only through these nineteenth-century publications, but also secondary sources on this very topic that Britton experiences a swaying between the picturesque and a more scientific approach to representation, the result of the advent of Victorian empiricism in his time; a concept explored in such works as Dana Arnold's 'Facts or Fragments? Visual Histories in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction' (September 2002) in reference to *The Ruins of Paestum* (1768) by Thomas Major, as well as Alexis Cohen's 'Domestic Utility and Useful Lines: Jean-Charles Krafft's and Thomas Hope's Outlines' (December 2013), and Nicholas Savage's 'Shadow, shading and outline in architectural engraving from Fréart to Letarouilly' (2005)[25].

I will also be exploring Thomas Hope's Duchess street residence guidebook, *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration* (1807)[26], which is hugely important when it comes to the translation from "drawing" (or rather, guidebook illustration) to (at present, non-existent) building, and its reversal.[27] Thomas Hope's London-based collection is closely related to Sir John Soane's Museum; David Watkins, who draws parallels between Hope and Soane's work, asserts that, "[i]t is possible to piece together a very clear picture of [Duchess Street]'s appearance from Hope's own thorough record of it in the text and illustrations to Household Furniture."[28] It is here that a comparison between Duchess Street and Sir John Soane's Museum is drawn, specifically focusing on delineation and use of space in their respective guidebooks — this is an especially fruitful investigation as Thomas Hope's own residence no longer exists. What can we decipher from Hope's guidebook illustrations without the physical building itself? I hope to introduce Thomas Hope with the intention of exploring visual representations of the built form, and the hypothetical translation of an architectural engraving to the fabric of the Duchess Street residence, and most crucially what is lost in this process.

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[25] D Arnold, 'Facts or Fragments? Visual Histories in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', *Art History,* Volume 25, Issue 4 (September 2002).
A Cohen, 'Domestic Utility and Useful Lines: Jean-Charles Krafft's and Thomas Hope's Outlines', *Journal of Art Historiography*, Issue 9 (December 2013).
N Savage, 'Shadow, shading and outline in architectural engraving from Fréart to Letarouilly', *Dealing with the visual: art history, aesthetics and visual culture* (eds. C van Eck & E Winters), Aldershot, Hants, Ashgate, 2005.

[26] T Hope, *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration*, New York, Dover Publications inc., 1971.

[27] "Translations from drawing to building" is a phrase coined by Robin Evans in his 1986 essay of the same name. Although it specifically deals with architectural drawings, it will herein be used in reference to guidebook architectural engravings and the methods of representation John Britton employs.

[28] D Watkin, *Thomas Hope, 1769-1831 and the Neo-Classical idea,* London, Murray Publishers, 1968, p. 101.

Lastly, I will be looking at Britton's *The History of Deepdene*, an unpublished manuscript that is frequently considered in tandem with *The Union*.[29] The Deepdene was Thomas Hope's country residence, and Britton undertook creating a textual and graphic companion to Hope's country house much as he did for Soane's London townhouse. Deepdene is awarded brief mentions in some texts outlined previously, primarily those concerned with Thomas Hope, but due to the obscurity of Britton's unpublished work, the illustrations therein remain largely unexplored. However, a second manuscript for this project titled *The Union of the Picturesque in Scenery and Architecture with Domestic Beauties* held at the Minet Library in Lambeth is arguably more closely tied with Britton's *The Union*, both in terms of its title as well as the subjects depicted (such as mirrors) in its graphic content.[30] Differences in representational methods help to form a deeper understanding of the images compiled in *The Union*`. Paula Riddy writes specifically about Britton's manuscripts in reference to his ability to capture the picturesque in his visual and textual content, however content and conventional comparisons of both *Union*s have not yet been made.[31]

The aforementioned indirectly related publications and their associated literature form a foundation with which to approach *The Union*, the reader now equipped with a wider understanding of the country house guidebook and topographic volume typologies and architectural engravings in general. The connection between visitor's studies and Soane's unique modulations of space are defined using such texts as Jonathan Crary's *Techniques of the Observer* (1992), an analysis of the historical construction of the observer.[32] Crary's work is especially of interest as it focuses on an observational shift that occurred in the nineteenth century, which involves the collapse of stable representations of space. Crary asserts that these were replaced by visual sensations effectively severed from any fixed point of reference, instead shifting and disjunctive, and most importantly, centred on *individual* experience, thus ultimately relating to the visitor. Visitor's studies is an integral aspect of this study in that the dissection this publication is very much about gaining an understanding of the sort of readership Britton attempts to please with his illustrations. In this sense, it is worth mentioning

[29] J Britton, *A historical and descriptive account by John Britton of The Deepdene, Surrey, the seat of Thomas Hope,* unpublished manuscript, 1825-26.
[30] J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: exemplified by a series of illustrations, with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane*, London, printed for author, 1827.
[31] P Riddy, 'The Guidebook and the Picturesque: Thomas Hope and the Deepdene', *Georgian Group Journal*, Volume XXIV (2016).
[32] J Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*; *on vision and modernity in the nineteenth century*, Cambridge, The MIT Press, 1992.

Nicholas Savage's 'Exhibiting Architecture: Strategies of Representation' (2002).[33] This article is uniquely applicable to the illustrations in *The Union* as exhibition drawings arguably face the same public scrutiny as guidebook engravings, and as such feature dichotomous methods of representation; those professional architectural techniques associated with a design's constructability, as well as techniques that please the public eye, more closely related to artistic representation. Of course, the context of exhibition drawing has the added benefit of the discussion of curatorship and the hierarchy of the hang, an aspect that *The Union* lacks; the material limitations of the architectural book are explored by Andre Tavares in *The Anatomy of the Architectural Book* (2015) as well as Marian Macken's *Binding Space; The Book as Spatial Practice* (2018).[34] Savage also refers to the need to exhibit these drawings with supplementary images, highlighting connections and differences, using the example of Soane's draughtsman Joseph Michael Gandy's Royal Academy offerings. Savage asserts that Gandy appropriates a history painting-like style in order to appeal to the public, and this can be aligned with the seemingly scientific approach Britton utilises, appealing to his scholarly, intellectual audience of Royal Academicians. Relating this to *The Union*, the appearance of multiple drawings in the same general area and/or composite drawings, including several representational conventions on a single plane, forms a large portion of my final chapters, and opens the scope of research to include literature on architectural design drawings, like the ground plan, section, and elevation, and how these are perceived by a public audience when they appear in tandem, a few examples of which are found in *The Union* in the form of engravings.

In considering public reception, this brings to light that the illustrations in *The Union* are not direct graphic representations of the built form in their own right, but representative of the visitor's observations of the effects of Soane's spaces and collection. It is in this way that I begin to consider Britton's work as a two-dimensional representation of a three-dimensional space. The discussion of dimensions is made possible by the publication of Edwin A. Abbot's *Flatland; A Romance of Many Dimension* in 1884, which indicates a Victorian understanding of dimensional transitioning. [35] Although *Flatland* was written as a social satire, for the purpose of this study it is the fundamental comprehension of a two-dimensional individual writing about a three-dimensional world that is of interest.

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[33] N Savage, 'Exhibiting Architecture: Strategies of Representation in English Architectural Exhibition Drawings, 1760-1836', *Art on the line: The Royal Academy Exhibitions*, London, Courtauld Institute of Art, 2001.

[34] A Tavares, *The Anatomy of the Architectural Book*, Zurich, Lars Muller, 2015.
M Macken, *Binding Space; The Book as Spatial Practice*, Routledge, London and New York, 2018.

[35] E Abbott, *Flatland: A Romance in Many Dimensions,* Marston Gate, 2012.

The Museum, spatiality and constructability

The idea that Sir John Soane's Museum is a unique and arguably Modern modulation of space is well-established.[36] I have laid down the foundational knowledge of how conventional space has been captured on paper in the nineteenth century, therefore the reader who has not stepped foot in the museum must be briefed on what the spaces of the museum are like, and how this has been studied. This portion will largely feature photographic aids, a feature common in contemporary museum guides and a technology that Britton lacks. It offers a very basic understanding of the footpath of the visitor.[37] This method will suit my needs specifically in order to impart the reader with a subjectively visual tour of the museum. This is a necessary text, but quite comical in that it attempts to disseminate the same knowledge to the reader as *The Union*, and in light of this, it needs transparency in its intentions. The publication itself, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting* (1827) is formally introduced as well as a thorough physical analysis of each of the copies of *The Union* housed at Sir John Soane's Museum. This is important when it comes to the matter of how the publication was used, as evinced through wear and tear, a topic that will be explored further in reference to the visitor experience and the consumption of the guidebook.

Secondary sources regarding Soane's use of space are used in this discussion to highlight the arguably Modern way Soane composes his architecture. The most prominent piece of literature to be utilised is the Royal Academy exhibition book *John Soane, architect : master of space and light* (1999).[38] Upon the opening of this exhibition in September 1999, Richard MacCormac, Modernist British architect and founder of MJP Architects, gave an introductory speech, later published in the Architects' Journal, in which he explains why Soane's work is so relevant for contemporary architects. He recognises that he is speaks as a practicing architect and not an historian, and with that in mind, declares that "...the current interest in Soane and the event of this exhibition closes the door on the false opposition

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[36] See: R Middleton, 'Soane's Spaces and the Matter of Fragmentation', *John Soane, architect : master of space and light* (eds. M Richardson and M Stevens), London, Royal Academy of Arts, 1999, p. 36.
D Preziosi, 'Seeing Soane Seeing You', *Compelling Visuality: The Work of Art in and out of History*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2003, pp. 211-212.
O Bradbury, *Sir John Soane's Influence on Architecture from 1791; a continuing influence,* New York, Routledge, 2015.

[37] Footpaths through the museum vary. As of 2016, the visitor to Sir John Soane's Museum enters through No. 12 Lincoln's Inn Fields, a very separate experience to entering through the traditional Entrance Hall. It is important to note that the footpath I have illustrated (Chapter 2, figure 2) is only in reference to the ground floor, and follows a counter-clockwise path around the ground floor circuit, which was the preferred route during my time volunteering at Sir John Soane's Museum.

[38] *M Richardson & M Stevens (eds.), John Soane, architect : master of space and light, London, Royal Academy of Arts, 1999.*

between history and modernity which has debased architectural debate in recent years." MacCormac later cites Soane's "spatial fluency" as the precursor to Frank Lloyd Wright's early work.

The most directly relevant essay in this collection is Robin Middleton's 'Soane's Spaces and the Matter of Fragmentation', in which Middleton discusses Sir John Soane's Museum, amongst other Soane works, in tandem with examples of more recent 'fragmented' architecture, such as that of Le Corbusier (Villa Savoye at Poissy, 1929) and the even more recent works of Louis Khan (Central Hall of the Library at Phillips Exeter Academy, 1965). Other literature that comprises the Sir John Soane's Museum bibliography, particularly in terms of ways the house-museum and its collection are perceived, includes the works of Jas Elsner, Wolfgang Ernst, Susan Feinberg, Helene Furjàn, Robin Middleton, Donald Preziosi, Sophia Psarra and Margaret Richardson; the thread of commonality that binds these texts are the "kaleidoscopic" and "labyrinthine" qualities of the built form.[39]

Robin Evans also acknowledges the unique qualities of Soane's spaces in his essay 'The Developed Surface' (1989), but crucially ties these qualities to their graphic representation: "Soane's architecture, like so much to follow, broke through walls to achieve real and extended depth. Enclosures would dissolve into virtual presence, revealing a complex of receding, partially enclosed volumes beyond. Containment is virtual, depth real; … To attempt to illustrate deep spaces expanding out from a room represented as if it were a flattened paper box was plainly futile."[40] Crucially, Evans' essay briefly cites the relationship between a specific architectural drawing convention and the unique qualities of Soane's spaces; the fundamental qualities of this specific drawing convention, or method of representation, and the fabric of the building that it is capable of capturing are at the heart of this study.

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[39] J Elsner, 'A Collector's Model of Desire: The House and Museum of Sir John Soane', *The Cultures of Collecting* (eds. J Elsner and R Cardinal), 1994.
W Ernst, 'Frames at work: Museological Imagination and Historical discourse in Neoclassical Britain', *Art Bulletin*, Volume 75 (1993).
S Feinberg, 'The Genesis of Sir John Soane's Museum Idea: 1801-1810', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* Volume 43 (October 1984).
H Furján, 'The Spectacular Spectacle of the House of the Collector', *Toward a New Interior* (ed. L Weinthal), New York, Princeton Architectural Press, 2011.
R Middleton, 'Soane's Spaces and the Matter of Fragmentation', *John Soane, architect : master of space and light* (eds. M Richardson and M Stevens), London, Royal Academy of Arts, 1999.
D Preziosi, 'Seeing Soane Seeing You', *Compelling Visuality: The Work of Art in and out of History*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2003.
S Psarra, *Architecture And Narrative: The Formation of Space and Cultural Meaning in Buildings*, Oxford, Routledge, 2009.
M Richardson, 'Imaginative Compositions', *John Soane Architect: Master of Space and Light* (eds. M Richardson and M Stevens), Royal Academy Publications, 1999.
[40] R Evans, 'The Developed Surface', *Translations from Drawing to Building,* London, Architectural Association Publications, 1997, pp. 223 – 224.

In light of these connections made between Soane's spaces and the work that succeeds his in the twentieth century, I will discuss a lecture delivered by Robin Evans on geometry and architecture at the Southern California Institute of Architecture in 1987, during which he provides attendees with a comprehensive discussion of architectural drawing, specifically in terms of geometry, perception, and dimensionality. He explains that when one sees an object, or say, an interior, perception is synthetic — one does not simply see the object, but one also remembers various aspects and characteristics of the object, things one already knew, and one projects these back on the object. Evans uses cubism to explain this phenomenon; the fragments that construct the face in a cubist portrait are from different perspectives — a side and frontal projection are combined on a single plane, or as Evans puts it, "a frontal view made of memories of side views".[41] Evans compares the laid-out drawing method of spatial representation, which appears in *The Union*, to a cubist painting, and I will be taking this comparison further in terms of what Britton attempts to convey with his use of this convention.

Representational conventions and reversed translations

"An architect doesn't go off with a shovel and dig his foundation and lay every brick. He's still an artist."[42]

Art historians write of the tools of the artist, the evidence of paintbrush bristles on a canvas, or the marks a chisel has left on a sculpture, but the medium of the architect is often taken for granted, replaced by the end result —the building, which is an entirely separate entity from what the architect has created with his or her hands. The architectural drawing, though technical, is the direct work of the architect and facilitates the end result. In this sense, it is akin to, for example, Sol LeWitt's instructional art. If LeWitt's work is rarely explored in terms of medium and end result, why is the same not the case for architecture?

Branching outside the limitations of art history, this study embraces the ways with which architects approach the architectural drawing by appropriating practice-driven methodologies that came to the fore briefly through theoretical paradigms of the 1980s and that have recently been resurrected with the advent of such institutions as *Drawing Matter*. Through an understanding of how educational and professional institutions approach drawing, Britton's architectural engravings can be examined in new and interesting ways due to the unexpected representational conventions he utilises – that is, unexpected for a nineteenth-

[41] R Evans, 'Fragmentation and Ambiguity', *Formalities Lecture Series*. SCI-Arc Media Archive. (18 March, 1987).
[42] Sol LeWitt, "Paragraphs on Conceptual Art," Artforum 5, no. 10 (June 1967), pp. 79–83, reprinted in Gary Garrels, ed., Sol LeWitt: A Retrospective (exh. cat.), 2000, p. 369.

century guidebook. Before attempting to deconstruct the formal qualities of the illustrations within *The Union*, this text will argue why this is being done, and further, the best way of doing this.

I must agree with Jacobus when she argues, "graphic language is not neutral. The adoption of any particular convention involves choice, and therefore has meaning."[43] This is, ultimately, fundamental to my research. This sentiment is echoed in Arnold's 'The Soundtrack to History', which opens with a contemplation of what history would be without words. She refers to the "preoccupation with 'scientific' evidence'" in the mid-nineteenth century, and uses the National Portrait Gallery and its methods of display as a prime example of this. [44] The nineteenth-century historian's aim was to present an archival truth. This aim is evident in some of Britton's illustrations, including those in *The Union*, by his means of using empirical elements such as staffage and dissections of objects that depict an objective, thorough understanding of the concerned object. In light of this, I will be referring to Bruno Reichlin's 'Reflections – Interrelations between Concept, Representation and Built Architecture' (1981), which, in essence, is primarily concerned with the difference between the perception and the conception of physical reality.[45] Reichlin refers to simultaneity, as well as total tactile knowledge of an object, and how this can be represented on paper. This is how I will discuss Britton's struggle in creating the guidebook to the Sir John Soane's Museum; it is clear that his attempt strives to form a total representation of the house-museum, but not the museum itself, more the visitor's experience and memory of the museum; this will be discussed further in my concluding remarks. Similarly, Robin Evans' *The Projective Cast* and Alberto Pérez-Gómez and Louise Pelletier's *Architectural Representation and the Perspective Hinge* are two works that further explore methods of representing space on a two-dimensional plane, mostly in the form of architectural design drawings.[46] The latter publication focuses on the relationship between drawing and building, much like Evans' collection of works contained within *Translations from Drawing to Building and Other Essays*. However, Pérez-Gómez and Pelletier offer the reader a broad historical exploration of this translation, from the seventh to the twentieth century, subscribing to the notion that representation is not a neutral tool (much like Jacobus), and ultimately concluding that the history of projection is not linear and ultimately poetic rather

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[43] Ibid., p. 154.
[44] D Arnold, 'The Soundtrack to History', *Interdisciplinary encounters: hidden and visible explorations of the work of Adrian Rifkin* (ed. D Arnold), London, B Tauris, 2014, p. 65.
[45] B Reichlin, 'Reflections – Interrelations between Concept, Representation and Built Architecture', *Daidalos* Volume I (September 1981).
[46] R Evans, *The Projective Cast; architecture and its three geometries*, Cambridge, MIT Press, 1995.
A Pérez-Gómez and L Pelletier, *Architectural Representation and the Perspective Hinge*, Cambridge, MIT University Press, 2000.

than prosaic. With regards to the nineteenth century it refers to the work of such draughtsmen and theorists as Jean-Nicolas-Louis Durand and Gaspar Monge, and the advent of descriptive geometry from the École des Beaux-Arts: "Indeed, it is important to recognise that modern architecture's 'objective space' originated with descriptive geometry, and that perspective theory was the *invisible hinge* systematising its projection."[47] Evans's *Projective Cast* focuses on the same topic, the transformation of projection, and also the relationship between geometry and architecture as a whole, and also explores stereometry, a mode of representation that, it can be argued, is one of the most ill-suited for public consumption. Stereometry and total, objective representation will be examined as *potential* representational conventions, proof that because Britton includes unconventional illustrations within his guidebook, if his aim was to represent the museum's built form objectively, he could have done so using these techniques.

We know that Soane was well-versed in descriptive geometry as works by Durand remain in his literary collection. Descriptive geometry and stereometry are two methods of architectural drawing prevalent in the nineteenth century. As Britton's personal library was largely auctioned during and following his death due to financial issues, one cannot be sure of his knowledge of these practices. However, the presence of such works Jean Nicolas Durand's *Precis des Lecons d'Architecture* (1809) in Soane's library suggests that he was familiar with these mathematical techniques of representation.[48] By forming an understanding of the methods of representation available to Soane and Britton, I construct a scale of consumption; in essence, illustrations fit for different purposes fall at different ends of this spectrum, one end encompassing methods fit for the public that are inherently subjective, and the other extreme are the more objective, total, and technical methods such as stereometry. The investigation of these methods also provides more evidence of the struggles or architecture to fit into the hierarchy of the fine arts in the nineteenth century, amongst painting and sculpture. This discussion will not be comprehensive; it is merely an example, or an indication of what *The Union* could have been in terms of representational conventions that specifically appeal to the architectural institution and not the public eye — the opposite of the architectural exhibition drawing.

[47] A Pérez-Gómez and L Pelletier, *Architectural Representation and the Perspective Hinge*, Cambridge, MIT University Press, 2000, p. 304.
[48] J N L Durand, *Précis des leçons d'architecture données a l'École Polytechnique, par J. N. L. Durand, architecte et professeur d'architecture. Premier (second) volume contenant trente-deux planches...,* A Paris chez l'auteur, a l'Ecole Polytechnique, 1809, Soane reference 5043.

Composites, the imagination and memory

The concept of memory is pertinent to this study in many ways. Fundamental to Sir John Soane's Museum is the idea of safeguarding one's legacy through a tailored archive; this archive can be understood as the primary documents I have examined left in Sir John Soane's library, or further, his collection and the arrangement in which it has been preserved by his 1833 Act of Parliament. Similarly, but left uncovered by Soane scholars is the memory engrained within the pages of *The Union*, and how this is to be understood by its visual representations, and can be pinpointed through an architectonic reading of certain conventions, or specifically the combination of such conventions.

The arrangement of these conventions has been examined in reference to the exhibition of architectural drawings at the Royal Academy by Nicholas Savage, who articulates a treatise of arrangement via the review of the 1776 Royal Academy exhibition by Philo-Architectus, who offered his views on the adaptation of architectural drawings for a public audience. In the context of the architectural exhibition rather than the book, the conventions can appear within the confines of a single frame, or even transcend the picture plane and be hung next to each other, or further, appear in consecutive exhibitions. Ultimately, the review of the exhibition demonstrates that the combination of conventions is a part of "mainstream architectural thought".[49] The crux of this is the idea that perspective is closely tied to the concept of the imagination, as argued by Robin Evans in his article 'Architectural Projection', as well as the concept of the *invisible hinge* borrowed from Pérez-Gómez and Pelletier. Evans's distinction between the active imagination of the observer and dormant imaginative intelligence is the foundation of this chapter, the latter explored in terms of memory, whereas the former will be explored as the translation from the building to the drawing, or a so-called "letter to the spectator". The application of these theories regarding the representation of the built form will offer a new reading of the various illustrations within Britton's *The Union*, specifically those involving the combination of disparate conventions on a single picture plane, or on consecutive pages of the volume.

To impart yet more meaning on these illustrations, Gaston Bachelard's theories on poetical space, memory, imagination and phenomenology are applied in order to transcend the purely descriptive geometric reading of illustration and explore the more domestic characteristics of the museum and a visitor's experience therein. This reading is reliant on the visitor's memory, much like composite images arranged over sequential pages. Certain graphic

[49] D Arnold, *The Architect and the Metropolis: The work of James and Decimus Burton in London and Dublin, c.1800-1840* (unpublished doctoral thesis), The Bartlett School of Graduate Studies, University College, London, 1997, p. 45.

conventions suit certain needs; from the architectural drawing modified for the public, to stereometry for the translation of design to the built form, etc., it thus becomes apparent that Britton's unique arrangement of visual material deviates from what one might expect from a guidebook, therein imparting something more than the spatiotemporal; when considered in light of the "impossible brief", Bachelard's parallel between the arrangement of a house and one's ability to contemplate and visualise is comparable to John Britton's arrangement of his guidebook and the ability of the public to synthesize and imagine the memory of Soane's house and collection. In light of the visitor's experience at Sir John Soane's Museum, the aim of the guidebook is to serve as a visual architectural mnemonic, not as a total objective representation of the building itself, despite the methods of representation employed by Britton that might suggest otherwise.

1. *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting* (1827) An outline of the volume's conception, reception and typology

At the apex of his career in publishing, John Britton, in light of "many years" intimacy with Professor of Architecture at the Royal Academy and architect to the Bank of England, Sir John Soane, and more years' "partiality for architecture in particular"[1], set out to publish the first guide to Soane's house and museum. This volume, titled *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting* (1827) is the first in a long line of guidebooks to the museum, a publication that is still offered to its visitors to this day and presently features a number of illustrations from Britton's original iteration. Published in 1827, 400 copies were printed, 150 in large format and 250 in small, and sold for three and two guineas respectively. Britton sought to create a "curious" publication that would "surprise" the public, and perhaps "satisfy" Soane as well as himself, as evident in the letters he wrote to Soane whilst compiling the volume.[2] What was produced did not sell, and ultimately Soane was not satisfied as indicated by the publication of the first of Soane's own line of *Descriptions*, published only three years after Britton's volume.[3] The interim period between their respective publications was one of turmoil for their relationship.

This chapter will focus on the guidebook itself; it will outline the conception of the publication, Soane and Britton's correspondence during this period, the materiality of the copies at the Soane library, reviews of museum visits as well as the guidebook, all culminating in a sense of uncertainty regarding the way the publication functioned, and furthermore, its reception. It will also include a concise summary of the text and images within and their arrangement. This chapter will largely be supported by archival sources housed at the Sir John Soane's Museum; this basic approach to the content, arrangement and physicality of the book to extrapolate a deeper meaning for its readers and an understanding of its use is a starting point adhered to by other works that examine guidebooks, such as Jocelyn Anderson's study of country house guidebooks from 1770-1815.[4] Although in reference to an arguably different

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[1] J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: exemplified by a series of illustrations, with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane*, London, Printed for author, 1827, p. ix.
[2] Soane library reference Priv corr. III B 1. 51.
[3] For an extensive study of the various *Descriptions* of the museum that followed Britton's *The Union* up to present day, see D Willkens, 'Reading Words and Images in the *Description(s)* of Sir John Soane's Museum' in *Architectural Histories*, Volume 4, No 1 (2016), pp. 1-22.
Also: J Elsner, 'A Collector's Model of Desire: The House and Museum of Sir John Soane', *The Cultures of Collecting* (eds. J Elsner and R Cardinal), 1994, p. 170 for a brief, textual comparison.
[4] J Anderson, *Remaking the country house: country-house guidebooks in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries* (unpublished doctoral thesis), The Courtauld Institute of Art, 2013.

genre and slightly earlier period, Anderson asserts that, "[t]hrough analysis of books' introductory content, their physical characteristics and the contexts in which they were sold, we can identify books which functioned as country-house guidebooks in the eighteenth century, and those which did not."[5] Country house guidebooks within the context of the social aspects of country house living and tourism have been widely examined, and as such I will incorporate the work of Dana Arnold, Mark Girouard and Adrian Tinniswood. These valuable sources will form a foundation with which to approach the social implications of visiting collections in the nineteenth century; however they are concerned with the country house specifically, not the house-museum within the metropolis of London. Arnold's widening of the biographical trace to a varied, multidisciplinary approach to the country house archive, including the guidebook, is fundamental to this approach.

The conception of *The Union*

What is known about the creation of *The Union* is largely obtained through correspondence between Sir John Soane and John Britton held in the Sir John Soane's Museum library, supplemented by the insights gained from *The Portrait of Sir John Soane*, an anthology of Soane's correspondence transcribed and annotated by Arthur Thomas Bolton, Curator of the Museum from 1917-45. Bolton's narrative of Soane's socialisation via post helps to illuminate the contents of his letters, but similarly is selective for the narratives Bolton found interesting and worthy of publication.

Why Soane assigned John Britton with the task of recording his house within a volume is uncertain, but Gillian Darley has suggested that it was Britton's published accounts of Thomas Hope's country seat, the Deepdene, as well as Fonthill Abbey that provoked Soane to entrust Britton with the responsibility of creating the first published aid to his collection.[6] The earliest mention of such an endeavour appears in a letter from Britton to Soane dated 3 November, 1825:

> "My Dear Sir,
>
> I write a line to say we / are well, and that I have put / many heads and hands into your house / as will enable me to have ready the / whole drawings done before your return. / I am also persuaded that we shall / produce a vol to surprise the public, / and even to satisfy you and myself."[7]

This letter reveals two important facts about *The Union*, the first being that it was begun in late 1825, and the second, that Soane was absent whilst drawings of the museum were being

[5] J Anderson, *Remaking the country house: country-house guidebooks in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries* (unpublished doctoral thesis), The Courtauld Institute of Art, 2013, p. 88.
[6] G Darley, *John Soane: An Accidental Romantic*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1999, p. 286.
[7] Soane library reference Priv corr. III B 1. 51.

executed. The next correspondences are letters from Britton to George Bailey, Soane's Senior Assistant at the time, requesting "plans, section, etc." of Soane's house, as he was to "dine in / L. Inn for this sup and shall then / make a final arrangement with Mr S / about the subjects…"[8]

The following letter to Bailey from Britton instructs him to have changes made to four of *The Union* drawings from 30 November 1825:

> "Dear sir,
>
> I return 4 of the drawings with / some remarks on them, and beg / you will have the goodness to [direct] the young gentleman in the office / to make the abbreviations as / suggested when I can put them in the engravers hands.
>
> Mr S wishes the plan and the / section of the museum to be / filled up as directed.
>
> Have you found the plan of / Somerset house - beg your young / gentlemen to put their names to / their respective drawings.
>
> Yours truly
>
> J Britton"[9]

These letters between Bailey and Britton reveal the amount of supervision and control Soane had over the illustrations within the publication. In the letters that follow, there is a marked absence of mention of *The Union*. Nearly half a year after the Britton-Bailey letters, Britton writes to Soane regarding the publication:

> "21 April, 1826
>
> My Dear Sir,
>
> I send a proof of the engraved / title part for your work and hope you / will approve of its execution.
>
> Mr Leeds will wait on you / Sunday morning to look over the / lecture allusion to interior decoration, / architecture etc. disposed as we both / are to full justice to your professional / works, to the extent of our judgement and / talents, we shall be the better enabled to / effect this by intimate acquaintance / of your principles and opinions, as well as / practice. I am persuaded that we / shall be enabled to make a very / interesting and curious volume: and one that / will tend to perpetuate your name / when your buildings are levelled to / the dust and to persons and countries / where your designs cannot be seen.

[8] Soane library reference Priv corr. III B 1. 52.
[9] Soane library reference Priv corr. III B 1. 54.

> If you could make it convenient / to allow Jackson to make a catalogue / of your books, at the present time, it / would render a service to him, to yourself, and be gratifying to
>
> Yours very truly,
>
> J Britton"[10]

An ongoing theme throughout the correspondence between Soane and Britton, such as within the preceding letter, is an awareness of the future: the historians of the future, the role that a guidebook will fill long after Soane and Britton have perished and Soane's buildings are "levelled to the dust". This sense of legacy is equally apparent in Soane's *Crude Hints towards an history of my house*, an unpublished manuscript written in 1812 in which Soane imagines a future antiquarian discovering the ruins of 13 Lincoln's Inn Fields. This, although atypical, could be considered the *true* first description of Soane's house-museum, predating *The Union* by 15 years. It is discussed further in chapter 5 of this thesis.

In another letter, a few weeks on from the previously transcribed, Britton alludes to having already neglected working on *The Union*:

> "On returning, the house and collection / in Lincoln's Inn Fields shall have my whole and / concentrated attention; and if I do not produce a vol / on it that shall reflect honour on the collection, / and do some credit to the author, I will forfeit / all claim to present respect to your esteem / and to ultimate fame. Though I have said but / little on this subject I have felt anxious, and / often very unhappy, but with a heavy load of / previous obligation on my shoulders. I could not / fairly, honourably and conscientiously neglect the / old for a new object."[11]

A letter from over a year later indicates that the publication, now released to the public, is a commercial failure. Composed on 22 November 1827, it reveals that *The Union* "does not sell", and that Britton considered destroying the plates to limit the publication at 150 large and 250 small copies, as well as reducing the price of the volume. It also crudely describes Britton's dire personal finances: "I am sorry to tell you that I / am poorer than I was ten years ago. Instead of / publishing myself, I must write for the publish/ers at so much per sheet, and I have now two / or three offers. I must still work hard to keep *up* my credit and pay my way."[12] Britton was eventually forced to reduce the cost of *The Union*, which was entirely the author's property, and the loss upon it amounted to £300; a great portion of which was repaid by Sir John Soane, to

[10] Soane library reference Priv corr. III B 1. 58.
[11] Soane library reference Priv corr. III B 1. 59.
[12] Soane library reference Priv corr. III B 1. 68.

whom a number of the wood blocks were transferred.[13] Ultimately, 14 of Britton's engravings were used in Soane's own description of his house. Seventeen of the survey drawings and views used for the engravings in *The Union*, by C.J. Richardson, Edward Davis and Henry Shaw, can be found bound within a small paper, quarto issue of *The Union*, SM Drawings Vol. 84, Sir John Soane Museum collection reference 6614, copy 2 [figure 24 and 24.2].[14]

The architectural book and arrangement

"One could not write 'about' the museum without creating it at the same time."[15]

The task of representing the built form in a publication is fundamentally reductive in terms of both the selection of two-dimensional images to represent the three-dimensional structure, as well as the translation of the built form to text. Writing for the Architectural Review in 1988, architect Pierre-Alain Croset highlights the difficulties in representing the "complex reality of the building, which can be understood only after an in-depth visit" by "only a few reproducible images."[16] Furthermore, the limitations of the published form, or the physical qualities of the book itself, present the author with further constraints; there is something to be said about arrangement in reference to Sir John Soane's Museum, as well as *The Union*. In *The Anatomy of the Architectural Book*, architect André Tavares explores the fundamental qualities of a book, particularly in comparison to a more loose, fluid method of presentation, such as sheets unbound in a portfolio:

> "A book is a fixed sequence of bound pages the invariability of which presents many difficulties to authors and readers. This might account for the popularity of portfolios among architects until the mid-twentieth century with their congruent sets of unbound plates brought together under a cover. Regardless of the original order, the leaves of a portfolio can easily be scattered across a drafting table and reassembled to suit the user's interests. Binding a book eliminates such flexibility. The process beings with the printing of two pages

[13] J Britton, *The Autobiography of John Britton: Personal and literary memoir of the author part 2,* London, printed for the author, 1850, p. 124.
[14] *The Union* features 22 wood engravings. Wood-engraving developed in the late eighteenth century, and is a relief-process growing out of the European woodcut tradition, which was abandoned for book illustration in the 1600s: "The period of wood-engraving's widest use and greatest significance only began after 1830 with the great expansion of journalism and book publishing brought about by the increase of popular education and the technical revolution of steam-powered printing presses…Thus, in Europe…an entire industry was created of engravers who could rapidly translate a drawing or photograph [such as those drawings of C.J. Richardson, Edward Davis and Henry Shaw] into a network of lines on a block of wood." A Griffiths, *Prints and Printmaking: An Introduction to the History and Techniques,* Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1996, p. 24.
[15] W Ernst, 'Frames at work: Museological Imagination and Historical discourse in Neoclassical Britain', *Art Bulletin*, Volume 75 (1993), p. 492.
[16] P A Croset, 'The Narration of Architecture', *Architectureproduction,* New York, Princeton Architectural Press, 1988, p. 201.

> onto each side of a flat sheet of paper, and then several of these printed sheets are folded into signatures and stacked before being sewn together."[17]

Tavares concludes that although the physical nature of a book provides limitations, within these limitations is the potential for creation - that is, the creation of a sequence, and an implicit meaning within such a sequence. Within a guidebook such as *The Union*, this sequence most obviously manifests as a prescribed route for the visitor to follow. On a smaller, more focused scale, the arrangement of certain illustrative conventions in pairs might be more premeditated than simply following the order in which the apartments have been presented in the accompanying text. The concept of the arrangement of multiple representational methods in sequential order, or even within the same page, is explored in chapters 7 and 8 of this thesis. What is important to note is that the order in which Britton chose to arrange his text and images is arguably as meaningful as the manner in which Soane arranged his museum; the fixed nature of the bound book elicits permanence, a table of contents solidifying this physical order within the text thereby eliminating the potential for rearrangement after publication.

Moreover, the size of such a volume is also of great importance, not just in terms of weight and mobility, but also in determining the layout of an image. "Sheets of paper are not neutral with respect to the drawings done on them," writes Ackerman, "they are generally cut in a rectangular format that promotes a certain range of orientation in the drawing…"[18] When the orientation of the sheet is fixed by binding, the layout becomes more considered.

Contents and arrangement of *The Union*

Britton's publication deviates from what we would expect from an early nineteenth-century guide to a private-gone-public collection; a comparison of *The Union* to other related publications such as those of John Britton and guides to similar collections is explored in chapters 4 and 5 of this thesis. The specific genre of guidebook literature is characterised by certain features that are deemed useful during a visit to the collection. Alternatively, Britton's topographic works function as much more than a guide for visitors. In the unique case of *The Union*, the focus of the text, the methods of representation in the images, as well as their arrangement within its binding, deviate from the expectations of the associated genres of literature, as well as the author's oeuvre.

The Union opens with a frontispiece that depicts the Monk's Parlour with *The Union* on display within [figure 1]. A segment of the ceiling in the Picture Room is visible in the top right

[17] A Tavares, *The Anatomy of the Architectural Book*, Zurich, Lars Muller, 2015, p. 237.
[18] J Ackerman, *Origins, Imitation, Convention*: *Representation in the visual arts*, London, The MIT Press, 2002, p. 294.

Chapter 1 figure 1. Frontispiece, Monks Room, and Gallery. J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, 1827. Sir John Soane's Museum.

right portion of the image, with the walls of the gallery slightly ajar; light flows from above into the crypt level of the building. This is the first of a number of perspective views within the publication, however, it is the only aquatint. In some copies, this plate is hand-coloured, and in others it appears again as a line-etching.

The title pages reads, "The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting; exemplified by a series of illustrations, with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane, Professor of Architecture in the Royal Academy - Fellow of the Royal Society and Society of Antiquaries, Architect to the Bank of England, etc.", which is followed by a vignette titled *View of Vases* [figure 2]. Britton offers the reader an excerpt of John Bull's "Museum" (1824), which was originally written in reference to the British Museum:

> "It's not time lose, to talk with antique lore,
> And all the labours of the dead: for thence
> The musing mind may bring an ample store
> Of thoughts, that will her labours recompense.
> The dead hold converse with the soul, and hence,
> He that communeth with them, doth obtain
> A partial conquest over time."

Next, Britton addresses George IV in his dedication in which he asserts that, like the trinity of the King, Lords and Commons, architecture, like the monarch, is the "head, and paramount power" of the fine arts. [19] Britton's preface is a rather complex piece that incorporates various concerns regarding architecture, its status, education and practice at the time. He offers his reader a concise history of architecture described more like a grand tour in its geographic evolution from Egypt to Greece, Italy and beyond; a topic tackled by Soane himself in his Royal Academy lectures.[20] He culminates his preface by bringing to attention the rather poor state of architectural education in comparison to the other arts, painting and sculpture, claiming that "[t]hese considerations, and the daily evidence before our eyes of failures and degradations in this noble art, show the necessity of speedily founding an ARCHITECTURAL ACADEMY."[21] This demand is quite closely tied to the founding and function of Soane's public collection, and is explored further in chapter 3 of this work.

Britton provides the reader with a vague idea of how the guidebook is to be used, whom it will benefit, its failures, and its shortcomings. Perhaps most importantly, Britton explains how the images will assist the reader:

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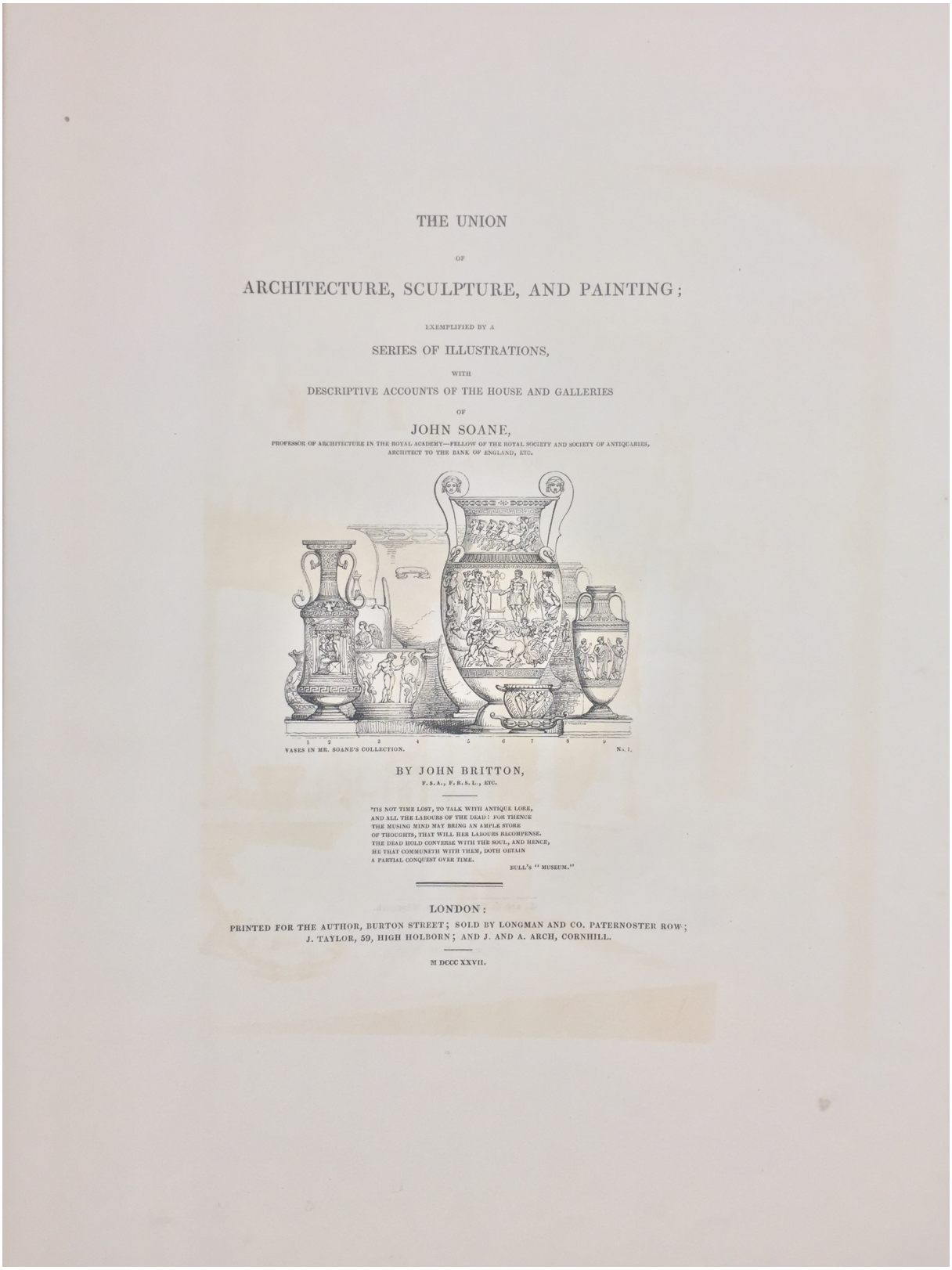
[19] J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: exemplified by a series of illustrations, with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane*, London, Printed for author, 1827, p.v.
[20] "...the main object of the lectures...is to trace architecture from its most early periods." *D Watkin (ed.), Sir John Soane: the Royal Academy lectures, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000*, p. 29.
[21] J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: exemplified by a series of illustrations, with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane*, London, Printed for author, 1827, p.xiv.



THE UNION

OF

ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE, AND PAINTING;

EXEMPLIFIED BY A

SERIES OF ILLUSTRATIONS,

WITH

DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNTS OF THE HOUSE AND GALLERIES

OF

JOHN SOANE,

PROFESSOR OF ARCHITECTURE IN THE ROYAL ACADEMY—FELLOW OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY AND SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, ARCHITECT TO THE BANK OF ENGLAND, ETC.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

VASES IN MR. SOANE'S COLLECTION. No. I.

BY JOHN BRITTON,

F. S. A., F. R. S. L., ETC.

'TIS NOT TIME LOST, TO TALK WITH ANTIQUE LORE,
AND ALL THE LABOURS OF THE DEAD: FOR THENCE
THE MUSING MIND MAY BRING AN AMPLE STORE
OF THOUGHTS, THAT WILL HER LABOURS RECOMPENSE.
THE DEAD HOLD CONVERSE WITH THE SOUL, AND HENCE,
HE THAT COMMUNETH WITH THEM, DOTH OBTAIN
A PARTIAL CONQUEST OVER TIME.

BULL'S "MUSEUM."

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR, BURTON STREET; SOLD BY LONGMAN AND CO. PATERNOSTER ROW; J. TAYLOR, 59, HIGH HOLBORN; AND J. AND A. ARCH, CORNHILL.

M DCCC XXVII.

Chapter 1 figure 2. Title Page with *View of Vases* vignette. J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, 1827. Sir John Soane's Museum.

> "...we purpose to notice, and shall endeavour to characterise by a few general observations in passing from one apartment to another, through the whole; and in the subsequent chapter shall enter more into detail, by describing some of the choicest objects of art and virtu which are here preserved. By referring to and studying the annexed plan, the reader will be able to obtain an accurate idea of the forms and arrangement of the ground floor; and will not fail to remark how ingeniously every portion of the space has been occupied and rendered beautiful: and how every irregularity of form is made to contribute to variety, and to produce picturesque effects."[22]

This paragraph in particular is laden with instructions for the reader. It raises the issue of the Sir John Soane's Museum as a whole, and the inability of the reader to construct the larger picture, or conceive the museum as one entity rather than a series of rooms. Britton continues on the subject of the fragmented nature of the museum visit further on in the guide:

> "In the preceding chapter a summary view has been taken of the House, as far as regards the Plan alone: in this a more detailed description is given of the various apartments with respect to their decorations and contents; and although this mode of treating the subject may have occasioned one or two trifling repetitions, it has been adopted as the most convenient and perspicuous; and as enabling the reader better to comprehend either the general distribution of the rooms, and their connection with one another, or the peculiar character and detail of each, individually."[23]

What then follows is the bulk of the text relating to the museum, or the 'descriptive accounts', which is largely comprised of a treatise on interior architecture.[24] It focuses on such features as painted glass, mirrors, and ornaments; all key elements of interior architecture at Soane's house. Subsequently, Britton describes the "general arrangement of Mr. Soane's house".[25] This is comprised of descriptions of each room in terms of their interior features, as well as their placement within the built form as a whole; this is implied with reference to the first of the engravings that proceed the textual content of the book, the ground plan, which is explored in detail in chapter 6 of this work. Britton's personal treatise on interior design and architecture leaves no stone unturned, offering the reader some very strong opinions on interior features such as trompe l'oeil, painted glass, mirrors, and ornament. Tellingly, many of the techniques and features Soane utilises in his house are cited as positive additions to interiors. Britton explains that, unlike large public edifices, the architect is posed with certain obstacles in

[22] J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: exemplified by a series of illustrations, with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane*, London, Printed for author, 1827, p.25.
[23] Ibid., p.32.
[24] Note: although these "lucubrations" are partially written by W.H. Leeds, I will continue to refer to it as Britton's text, as Britton accepts responsibility for his entire works despite collaborators, as explained in chapter 4 in reference to J Britton, *The history and antiquities of the see and cathedral church of Lichfield* (1820).
[25] Ibid., p.xv.

designing his own domestic space: "In larger works he often plans ad libitum; but here he is frequently trammelled by circumstances, that, while they present obstacles, ought to stimulate his invention..."[26] It is at this point that the role of architect and interior designer become blurred, simply because Sir John Soane managed to act as both in the case of his own home:

> "Till lately, interior architecture, which is certainly of the very first importance in a country where the climate compels us to seek our social enjoyments and relaxations within our dwellings, has not been sufficiently attended to by the higher class of architects, nor has it formed the subject of any graphic work. Architects appear almost to have considered that they had accomplished every thing when they had produced a suite of spacious and well proportioned rooms, and designed the chimney-pieces, the ceilings, and the cornices ; in short, when they had followed approved rules. To step beyond this, — to impart originality of character, to create new effects, or to produce novel combinations, — has not been often attempted."[27]

It is this opinion that influenced the way in which the museum is transcribed to paper, which will be discussed further. The role that interior design plays in the publication is an interesting one, and it is this textual reference that corresponds with a few of the methods of representation incorporated, specifically those typically associated with interior design and craftsmanship.

Britton's description of the house-museum follows the following route: ground floor: the "Vestibule and Staircase", "Eating-room and Library", "Breakfast-room", "Passage, Cabinet", "Museum", "Vestibule to, and Picture Cabinet", "Dressing-room and Study" (a clockwise passage from the entrance, north to the museum-proper, and back south to the entrance via the Dressing room and Little Study), basement level: the "Monk's Parlour and Cemetery", "Corridor", "Sarcophagus-room", "Drawing-rooms" (again, a clockwise passage beginning at the bottom of the staircase adjacent to the Picture Room.)[28]

Following the second chapter regarding the arrangement of the museum, Britton's third chapter focuses on detailed descriptions of the rooms previously listed, in that order. It is important to note at this point that the sense of fragmentation and issues of spatiality previously mentioned are present in the text. The initial reaction of the visitor is described as "astonishment", and the cause of this is pinpointed as the "intricacy" of the layout of the

[26] Ibid., p.1.
[27] J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: exemplified by a series of illustrations, with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane*, London, Printed for author, 1827, p.3.
[28] This terminology is lifted from John Britton's text. I will adhere to separate titles for each room; titles that are used in the current guidebook to the museum, and therefore are more familiar to the contemporary visitor and reader. These room names are introduced in the next chapter of this thesis.

museum.[29] To make the experience seem even more jarring, the visitor is referred to as "the stranger" on several occasions.[30]

Lastly, the text culminates with an essay on the contents of the house, which has been written within the context of the grand tour. As such, this text outlines the provenance of featured objects classified under the following categories: Egyptian Antiquities, Grecian, Roman, Pictures and Drawings, and lastly, Books. This chapter is concerned with the acquisition of knowledge, and the subsequent improvement of intelligence for "the architect and amateur".[31]

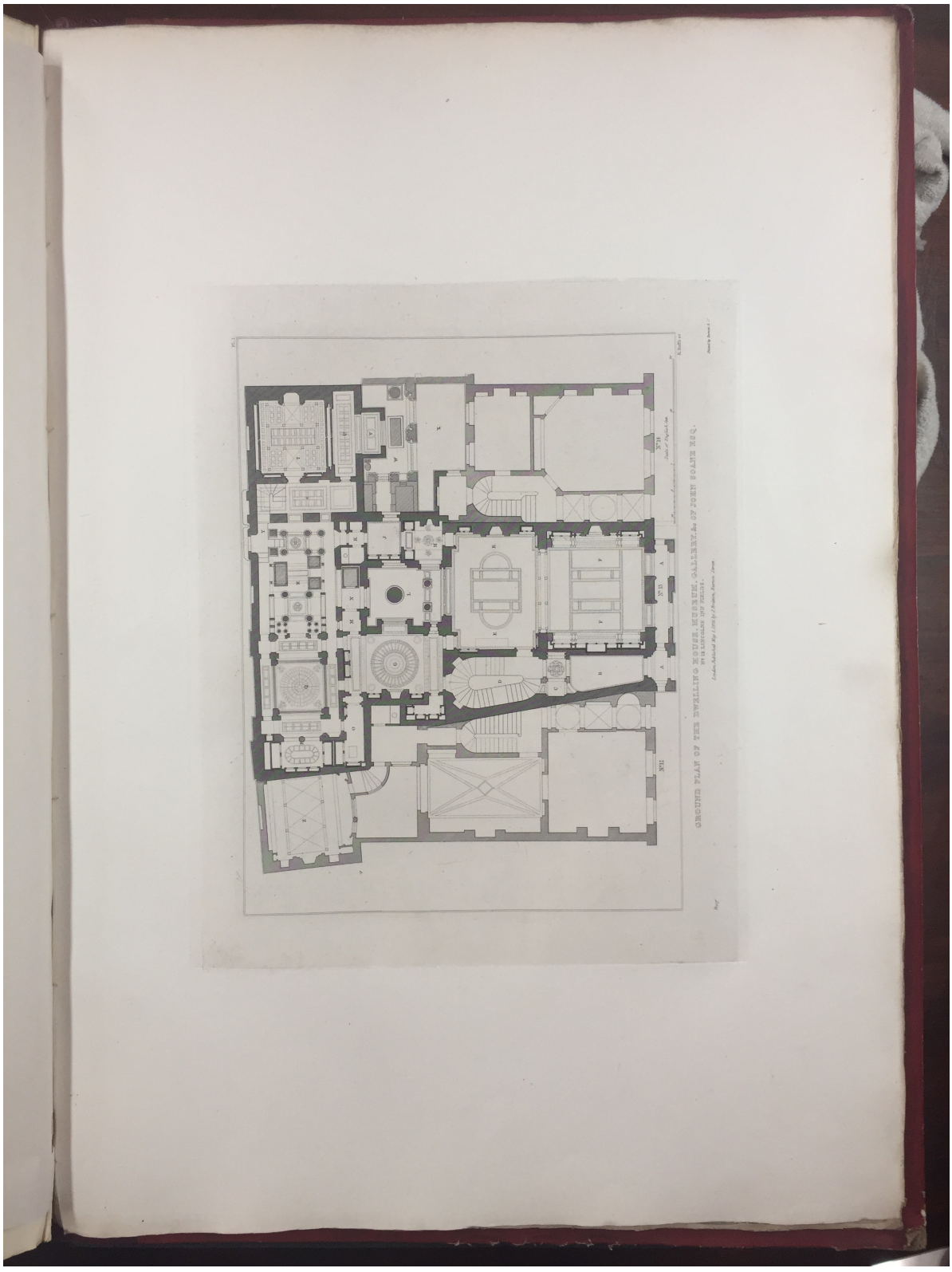
The engravings follow this text, and are ordered as such:[32]

Plate 1. Ground Plan of the Dwelling House, Museum, Gallery, &c. Of John Soane Esq. [figure 3]
Plate 2. Sections and Elevations of the four sides of the Library and Dining Room [figure 4]
Plate 3. Sections and Elevations of two sides of the Breakfast Parlour [figure 5]
Plate 4. A Section of Museum and Breakfast Parlour, Looking West [figure 6]
Plate 5. A View of the Sarcophagus from the basement floor [figure 7]
Plate 6. Perspective View of the Museum [figure 8]
Plate 7. A Plan of the Sarcophagus-room, with elevations of its four sides [figure 9]
Plate 8. Section of the whole Museum, from East to West with a Plan of the basement floor [figure 10]
Plate 9. A View of the Vestibule to the Picture Gallery [figure 11]
Plate 10 and 11. Views of the Picture Gallery, one Looking South-east and the other West [figure 12 and 13]
Plate 12. A Plan and Section of the Picture Gallery [figure 14]
Plate 13. A View of the Monk's Parlour, Looking East [figure 15]
Plate 14. A View of the Egyptian Sarcophagus [figure 16]
Plate 15. Sections and Elevations of the Egyptian Sarcophagus [figure 17]
Plate 16. Antique Marble Urns [figure 18]
Plate 17. Marble Cinerary Urns [figure 19]

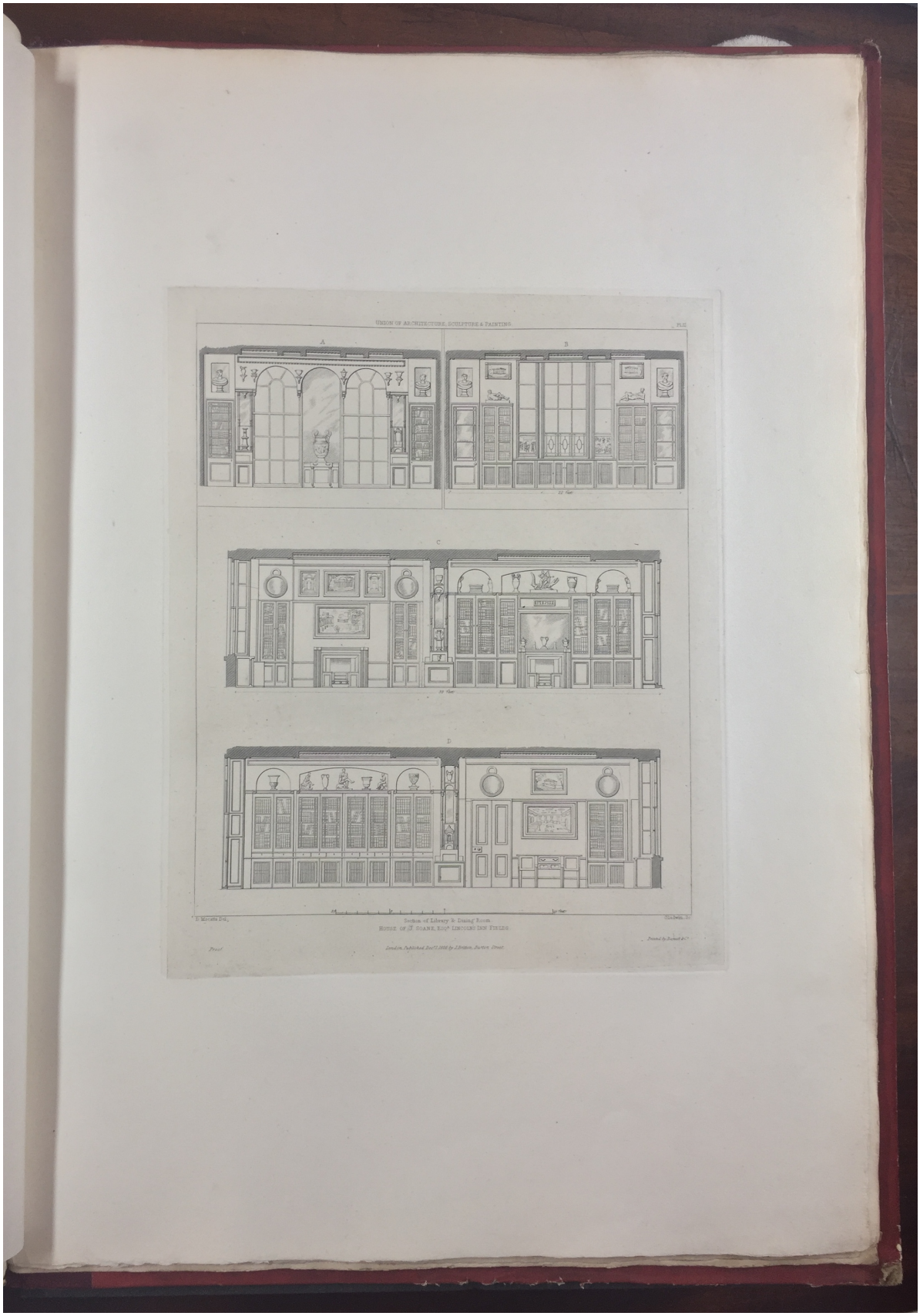
Public reception

As far as we can tell from the intimate letters transcribed in reference to the book's conception, *The Union* was not well received by the public as indicated by poor sales. There are, however, a number of reviews of Sir John Soane's Museum from the period when Britton's volume was

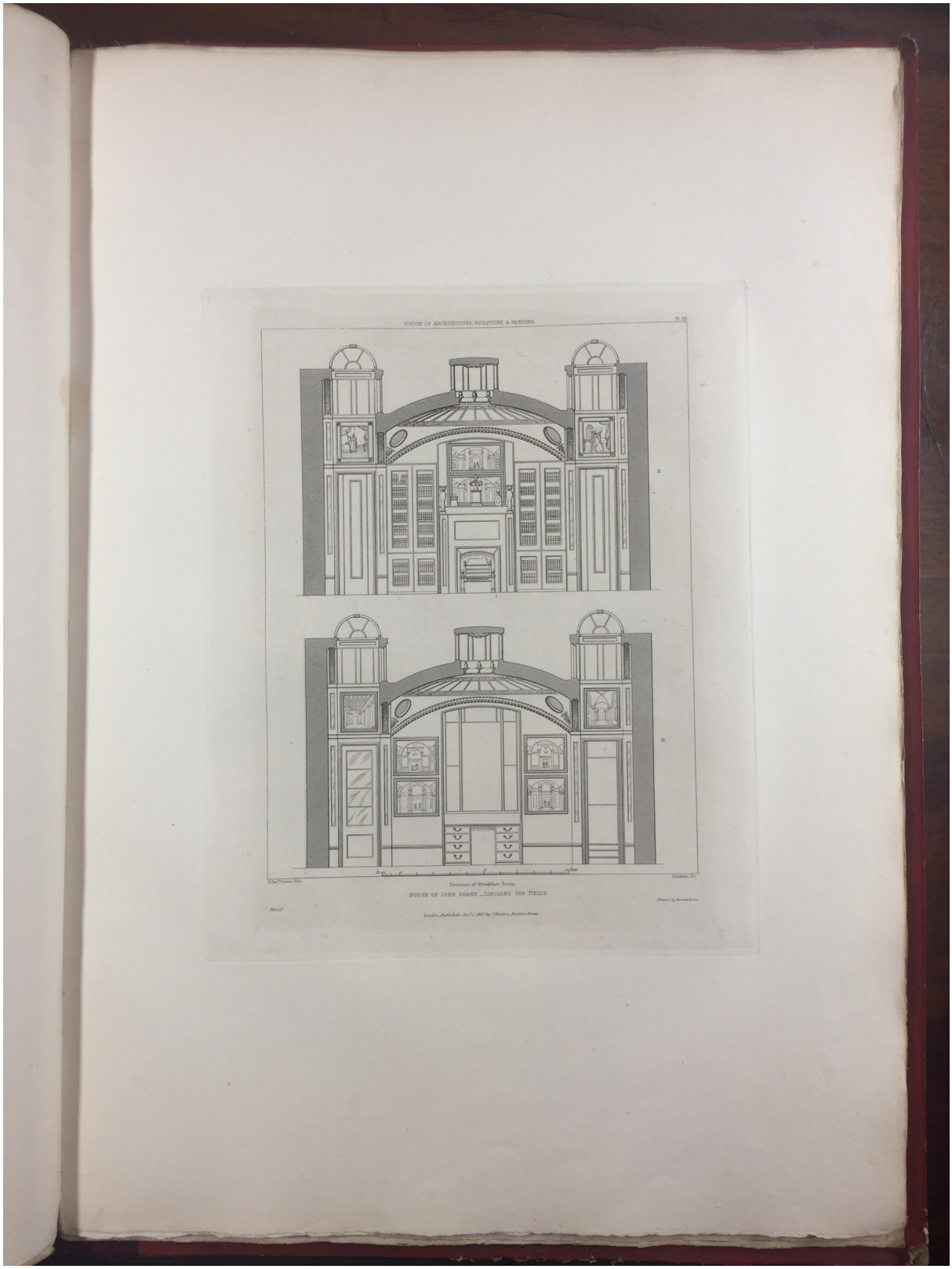
[29] J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: exemplified by a series of illustrations, with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane*, London, Printed for author, 1827, p.27.
[30] Ibid., p. 36, 37, 42, 44 and 46.
[31] J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: exemplified by a series of illustrations, with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane*, London, Printed for author, 1827, p.48.
[32] These titles have mostly been lifted from the engravings themselves in the many examples in which Britton's own title describes the engraving aptly, however for example, Plate II is cited as *Elevations of the four sides of the Library and Eating-Room* in John Britton's list of engravings, however there is an indication of the cutting of the architectural fabric of the Library and Dining Room, therefore this engraving is a section with an orthogonal elevation within, and has thusly been modified for the purpose of this study.



Chapter 1 figure 3. Ground Plan of the Dwelling House, Museum, Gallery, &c. Of John Soane Esq. J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, 1827. Sir John Soane's Museum.



Chapter 1 figure 4. Sections and Elevations of Library and Dining Room. J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, 1827. Sir John Soane's Museum.

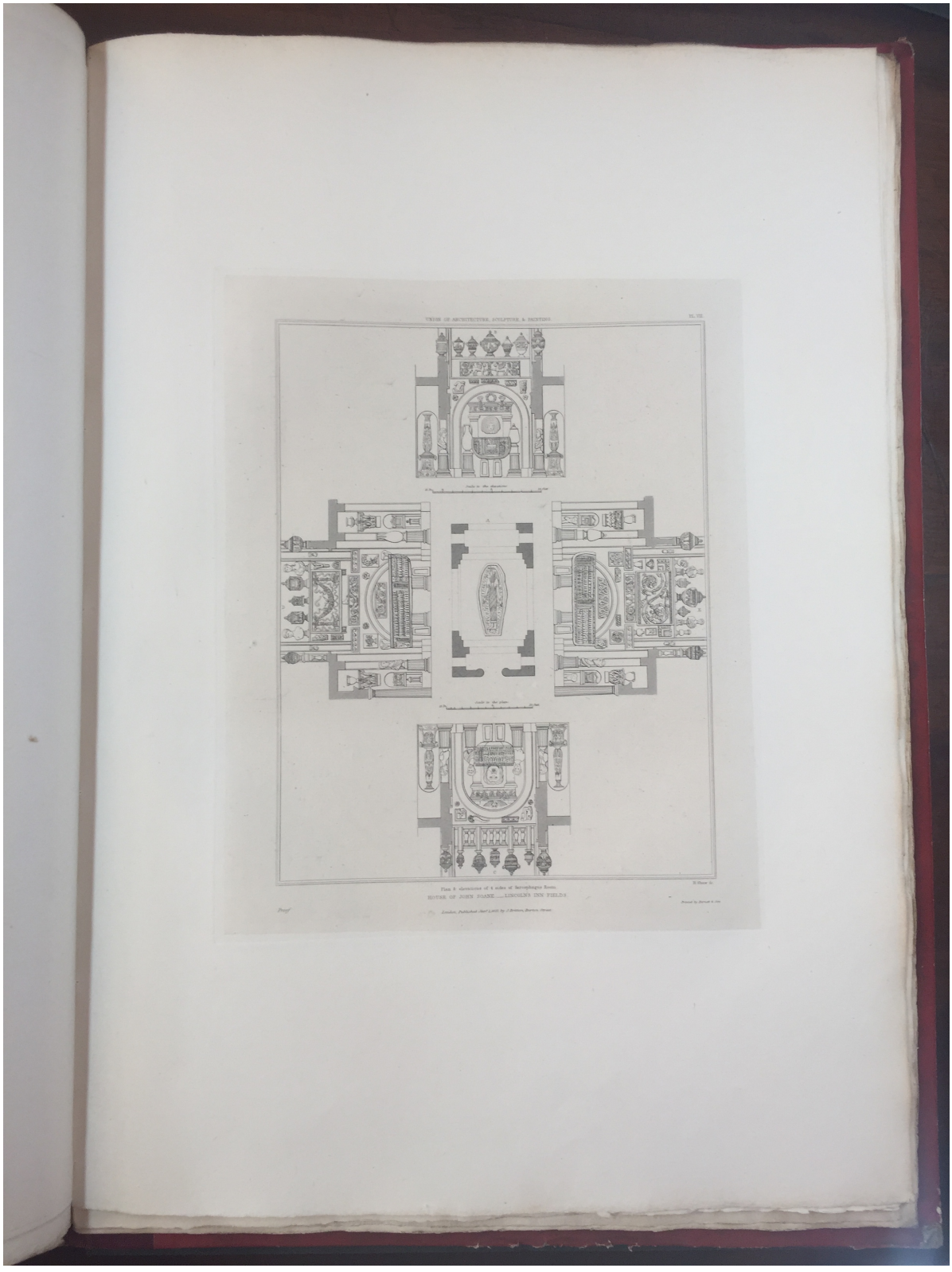


Chapter 1 figure 5. Sections and Elevations of Breakfast Parlour. J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, 1827. Sir John Soane's Museum.

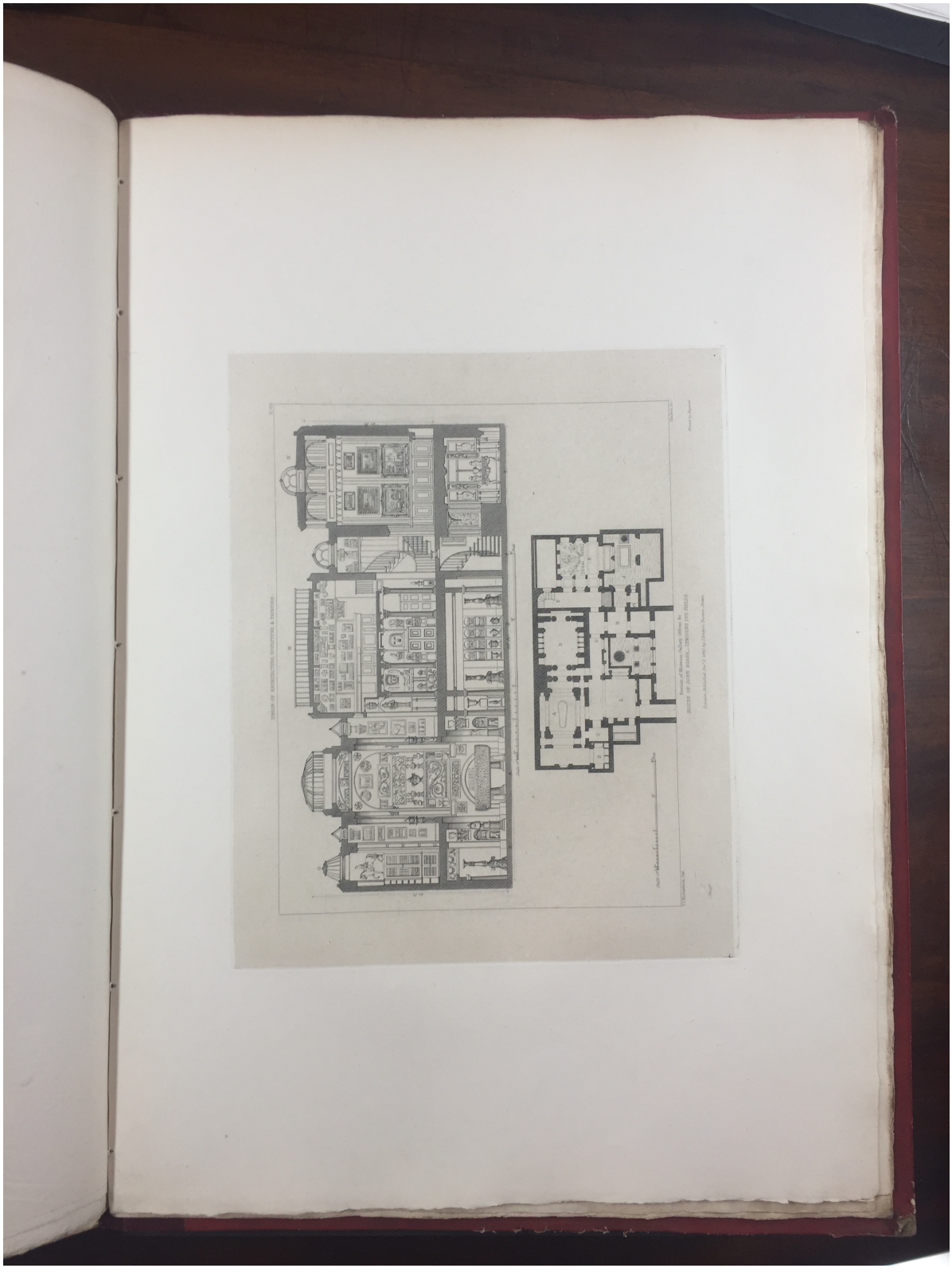
Chapter 1 figure 6. Section of Museum and Breakfast Parlour Looking West. J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, 1827. Sir John Soane's Museum.

Chapter 1 figure 7. View in the Museum — in Sarcophagus Room. J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, 1827. Sir John Soane's Museum.

Chapter 1 figure 8. Perspective View of the Museum. J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, 1827. Sir John Soane's Museum.



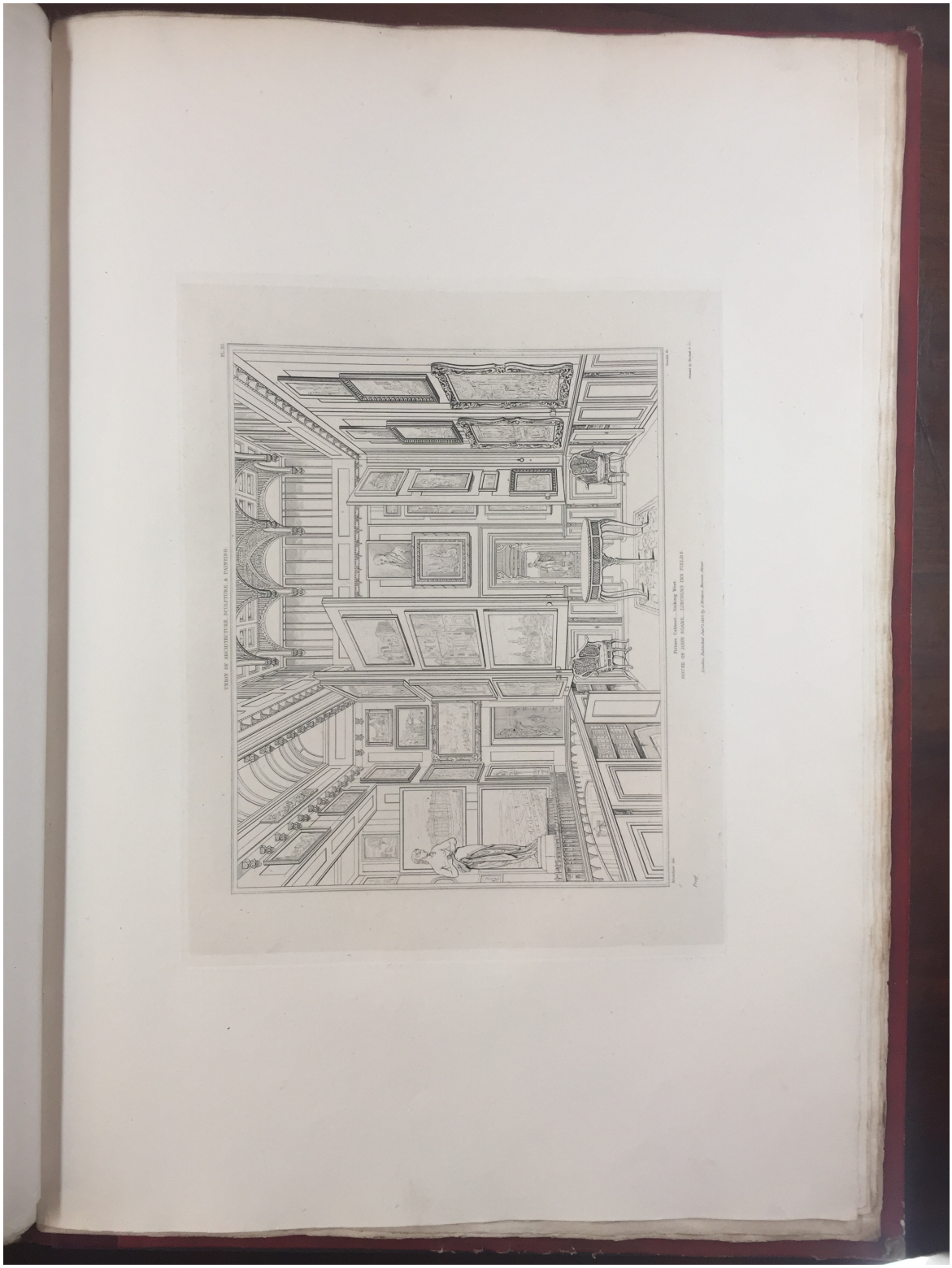
Chapter 1 figure 9. Plan and elevations of 4 sides of Sarcophagus Room. J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, 1827. Sir John Soane's Museum.



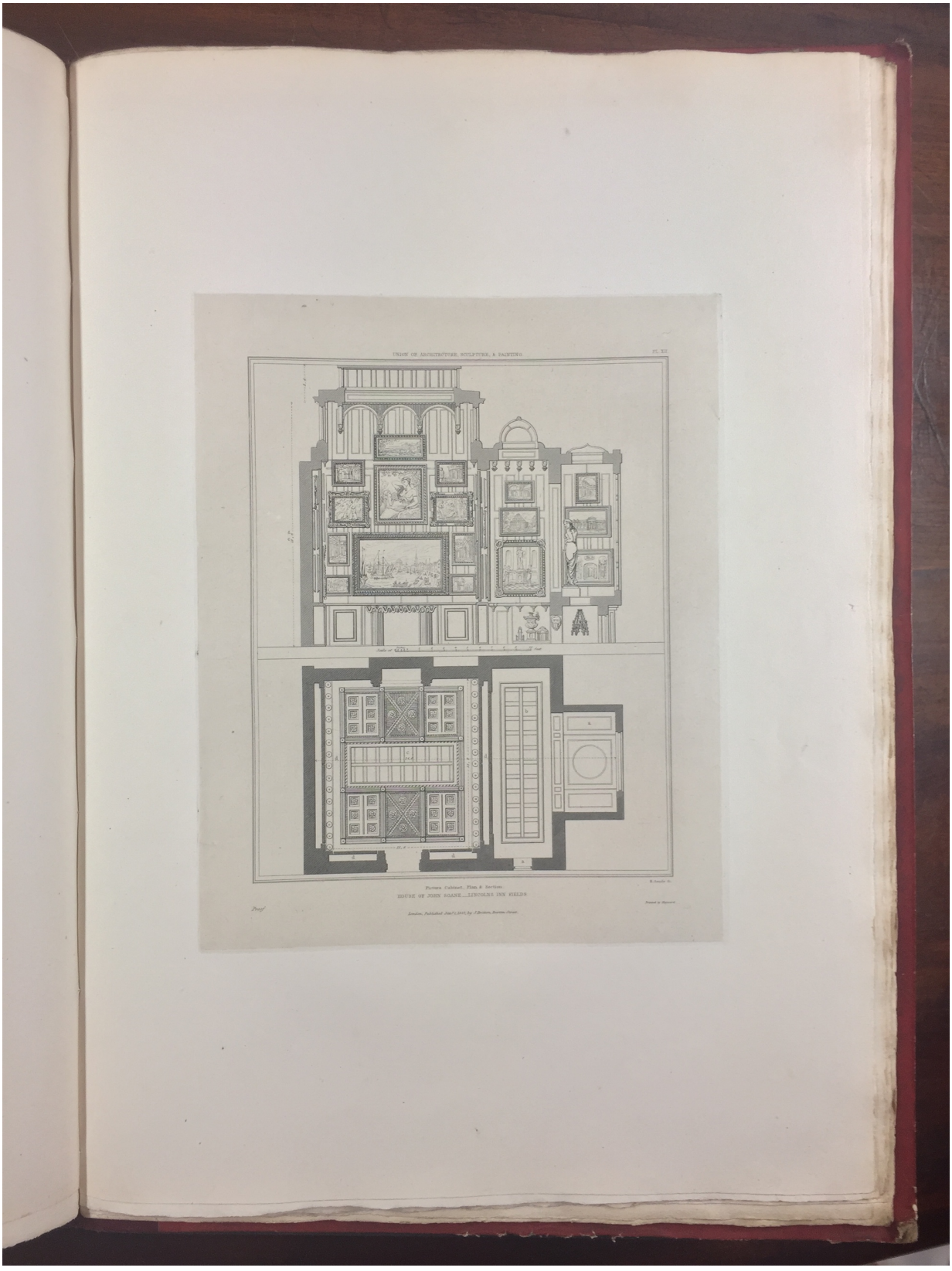
Chapter 1 figure 10. Section of Museum, Gallery, Offices &c with a Plan of the basement floor. J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, 1827. Sir John Soane's Museum.

Chapter 1 figure 11. A View of the Vestibule to the Picture Gallery. J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, 1827. Sir John Soane's Museum.

Chapter 1 figure 12. Picture Cabinet, Looking S.E. J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, 1827. Sir John Soane's Museum.



Chapter 1 figure 13. Picture Cabinet, Looking West. J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, 1827. Sir John Soane's Museum.

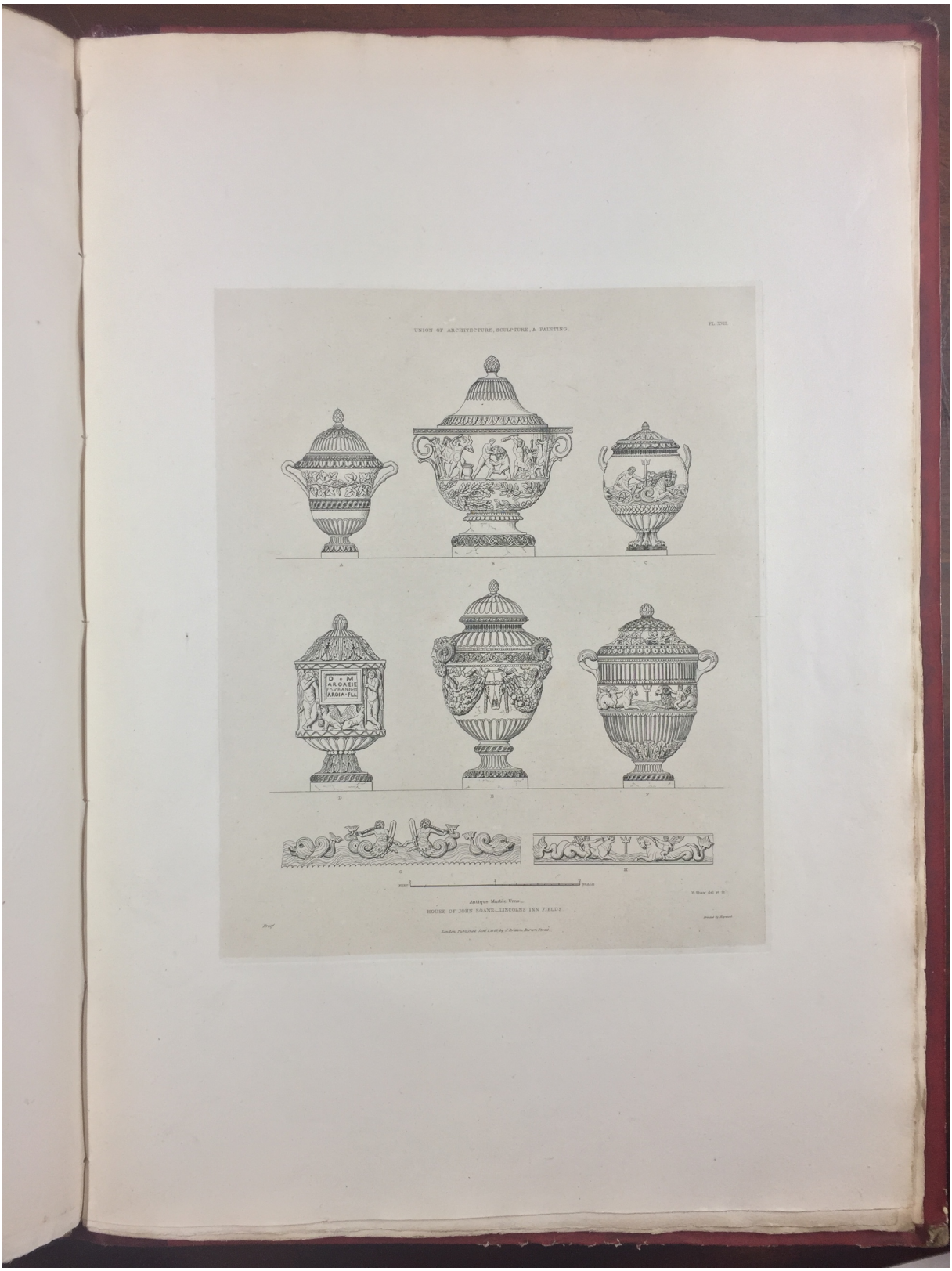


Chapter 1 figure 14. A Plan and Section of the Picture Gallery. J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, 1827. Sir John Soane's Museum.

Chapter 1 figure 15. View of the Monk's Room, Looking East. J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, 1827. Sir John Soane's Museum.

Chapter 1 figure 16. Egyptian Sarcophagus, &c. J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, 1827. Sir John Soane's Museum.

Chapter 1 figure 17. Sections and Elevations of the Egyptian Sarcophagus. J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, 1827. Sir John Soane's Museum.



Chapter 1 figure 18. Antique Marble Urns. J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, 1827. Sir John Soane's Museum.

Chapter 1 figure 19. Marble Cinerary Urns. J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, 1827. Sir John Soane's Museum.

available to the visitor that praise the guidebook. For example, *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction* describes *The Union* as "a labour of taste, which associates the precision and elegance of the pen and graver, in a style honourable to all parties concerned in its production."[33] The author of this review admires both the images and the text that comprise Britton's publication, and draws special attention to the helpfulness of Britton's ground floor plan[figure 3]: "This we purpose noticing by a few details of the principal apartments and their main contents, since only by aid of a grand plan could the reader obtain an accurate idea of the ingenious arrangement by which every portion of the space has been occupied and rendered beautiful, and how every irregularity of form is made to contribute to variety, and produce a picturesque effect."[34] This directly corresponds with Britton's text which, when describing the various rooms within Soane's house, refers back to this fundamentally useful illustration. This article features some of Britton's images, including the view of the Sarcophagus from the basement floor [figure 20].

Similarly, *The Lady's Magazine* first problematises the representation of the large number of objects in Soane's collection, then describes *The Union* as "very good"[35] although not inclusive of the collection in its entirety, disregarding Britton's note in his preface that he had at first intended to publish a catalogue raisonné, but this would have "...extended to at least two large quarto volumes, and thus have been merely a book for reference, and not for reading."[36] Positive reviews like this suggest that the guide functioned well within the museum setting, as indicated by the respect and praise for Britton, but did not tempt the visitor to purchase a copy for their own homes, indicated by its poor sales.

In November 1837, the *Penny Magazine of the society for the diffusion of Useful Knowledge*'s monthly supplement offered their readership a brief description of Sir John Soane's Museum in the same year as his death. It opens with an account of De Lamartine expressing the limitations of a verbal description, reflecting that, in terms of the museum, "[t]o have described the whole minutely, would be tedious to the reader who might not be able to visit them; while the visitor will be enabled, from the description given, to have a general idea of what he is going to see, and thus turn his visit to some practical account."[37] This description is inclusive of a short

[33] 'The Soanean Museum', *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction*, No. 598 (Saturday April 6, 1833), p. 210.
[34] Ibid.
[35] *The Lady's Magazine and Museum of the Belles Lettres, Music, Fine Arts, Drama, Fashions, etc. (under the distinguished patronage of HRH the Duchess of Kent, Volume 7, No. 37 (July 1835) Soane reference 5919,* p. 18.
[36] J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: exemplified by a series of illustrations, with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane*, London, Printed for author, 1827, p.xiii.
[37] *'The House and Museum of Sir John Soane', Monthly Supplement of the Penny Magazine of the society for the diffusion of Useful Knowledge, Volume 6, No. 363 (October 31 - November 30 1837)*, p. 463.

The Gallery of Practical Science.

CONTENTS OF PART I.

CHAP. I.—Definitions and obvious Properties of Watery Fluids, with the Preliminary Elementary Principles of Hydrodynamics, for estimating the Pressure of Incompressible Fluids.

CHAP. II.—Of the Pressure of Non-Elastic Fluids upon Physical Lines, Rectangular Parallelograms considered as Independent Planes immersed in the Fluids, and upon the Sides and Bottoms of Cubical Vessels, with the Limit to the requisite Thickness of Floodgates.

CHAP. III.—On the Pressure exerted by Non-Elastic Fluids upon Parabolic Planes immersed in those Fluids, with the Method of finding the Centre of Gravity of the Space included between any Rectangular Parallelogram and its Inscribed Parabolic Plane.

CHAP. IV.—Of the Pressure of Incompressible Fluids on Circular Planes and on Spheres immersed in those Fluids,—the Extremity of the Diameter of the Figure being in each case in exact contact with the Surface of the Fluid.

CHAP. V.—Of the Pressure of Non-Elastic or Incompressible Fluids against the Interior Surfaces of Vessels having the forms of Tetrahedrons, Cylinders, Truncated Cones, &c.

CHAP. VI.—The Theory of Construction and Scientific Description of some Hydrostatic Engines, viz. the Hydrostatic Press, Hydrostatic Bellows, the Hydrostatic Weighing Machine, and Experiments proving the *Quaquaversus* Pressure of Fluids.

Part II. will be published on the 1st of June.

London: Published by Wm. Edwards, Ave-Maria Lane; Sold also by John Weale, Architectural Library, 59, High Holborn; J. Williams, Library of Arts, 10, Charles Street, Soho Square; G. G. Bgonis, Paris; Wiley, Long, and Co., New York; and Carey and Hart, Philadelphia.

J. Rider, Printer, 14, Bartholomew Close.

The Mirror

OF

LITERATURE, AMUSEMENT, AND INSTRUCTION.

No. 598.] SATURDAY, APRIL 6, 1833. [Price 2*d*.

THE SOANEAN MUSEUM.

(Sarcophagus Room.)

Vol. XXI. P

Chapter 1 figure 20. View in the Museum — in Sarcophagus Room. 'The Soanean Museum', *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction*, No. 598 (Saturday April 6, 1833) Sir John Soane's Museum.

history of guidebooks for the museum, beginning with Britton's volume, "intended to illustrate The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting", followed by an account of Soane's descriptions, and informing the potential visitor that Soane's 1835 edition "lies in the house, and may be consulted by the visitor."[40]

The Handbook to the Public Galleries of Art in and Near London by Mrs. Jamieson (1842) also reviews Sir John Soane's Museum within the second volume of the work. In reference to the guidebook to the collection, at the point of publishing most likely Soane's own description, Mrs. Jamieson advises her readership to deviate from his prescribed route. Being a guide itself, it is perhaps unsurprising that Mrs. Jamieson is critical of the museum's guidebook. She deems similar categories to those Britton used in his fourth chapter with a list of select items that fall under these categories fit for purpose.[41] Differentially, in September 1880 *The Cabinet Maker* offered its readership their account of the house-museum, and concluded that the curator's catalogue raisonné "...gives some hint of what is to be found which does not meet the eye, though only partially, as it is intended chiefly as a handy guide."[42] On the other hand, Soane's 1835 description is evidently still available to the visitor, "handsome and large volumes...placed on the library table for consultation..."[43]

Whilst the latter examples of public reception are not in direct reference to Britton's *The Union*, these first-hand accounts of visits to Soane's house-museum offer an idea of the placement of the guidebook in the decades following Soane's death, and therefore a suggestion of how it functioned within the visitor's experience. For example, the explicit placement of Soane's 1835 description in the Library translates to an introductory perusal within one of the first apartments "the stranger" interacts with. As only 150 copies were published, and several were presented to public institutions, it is safe to assume that this copy remained in the Library, rather than travelling with the visitor as a vade mecum, its large format a further testament to its immobility.[44]

The materiality of *The Union*

Because we know that *The Union* was not a commercial success, but there exist a few positive reviews of the publication as a part of the visitor's experience rather than a take-home commodity, it is worth exploring the function of the book within the house-museum further,

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[40] *'The House and Museum of Sir John Soane', Monthly Supplement of the Penny Magazine of the society for the diffusion of Useful Knowledge, Volume 6, No. 363 (October 31 - November 30 1837)*, p. 464.
[41] A Jameson, *The Handbook to the Public Galleries of Art in and Near London vol II*, London, John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1842, p. 551.
[42] The Furniture at Sir John Soane's Museum', *The Cabinet Maker* (September 1, 1880), p. 39.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.

bringing this study to the matter of the physical analysis of the copies of the guidebooks that have been examined in the hopes of finding evidence of their use.

There was only one copy of the small paper issue in Soane's library at the time of his death [figures 21 and 21.2]. This seemingly never operated as a copy that a visitor to the museum could peruse at liberty as the spine is in an extremely good condition. If we compare this to the copy of Soane's own description of his house, which we know was on display for the perusal of visitors, we can see that the spine has deteriorated a great deal more from wear and tear. [figures 22 and 22.2] Similarly, the only folio paper issue of *The Union* [figures 23 and 23.2] housed at the museum is in good condition, again negating the possibility that this book was in heavy circulation or on display.

There are two further copies of the small edition of *The Union* that were acquired by the museum after Soane's death. One, purchased by the museum in 1914, had been in the library of Mr. Frederick Cooke, an architect based in Eastbourne [figure 24 and 24.2]. It contains the armorial bookplate of Richard Benyon de Beauvoir (1770-1854), who presumably purchased the volume from the museum originally. This copy, kept in private libraries, is also in excellent condition.

The final volume [figures 25 and 25.2] of *The Union* at the Sir John Soane's Museum was gifted to Sir John Summerson by bookseller Alec Tiranti on 5 September 1947, as indicated by a letter kept within the cover of the book. It was originally given to painter John Jackson R.A. by Britton. This copy is a working book and subsequently was never bound, therefore it is difficult to analyse its wear and tear; however, as it was a gift to Jackson from Britton himself, it is safe to assume that this copy did not spend too much time being consulted by visitors within the museum setting. This speculation is supported further by the lack of binding: it is a copy not fit for presentation to the public.

Whilst there is an absence of an account of how *The Union* functioned within the museum, there is evidence that follow-up editions, including Soane's own guidebook ,were readily available at a time when George Bailey, the first Curator of the Soane, published his own guidebook as well, as indicated by *The Cabinet Maker* review previously mentioned:

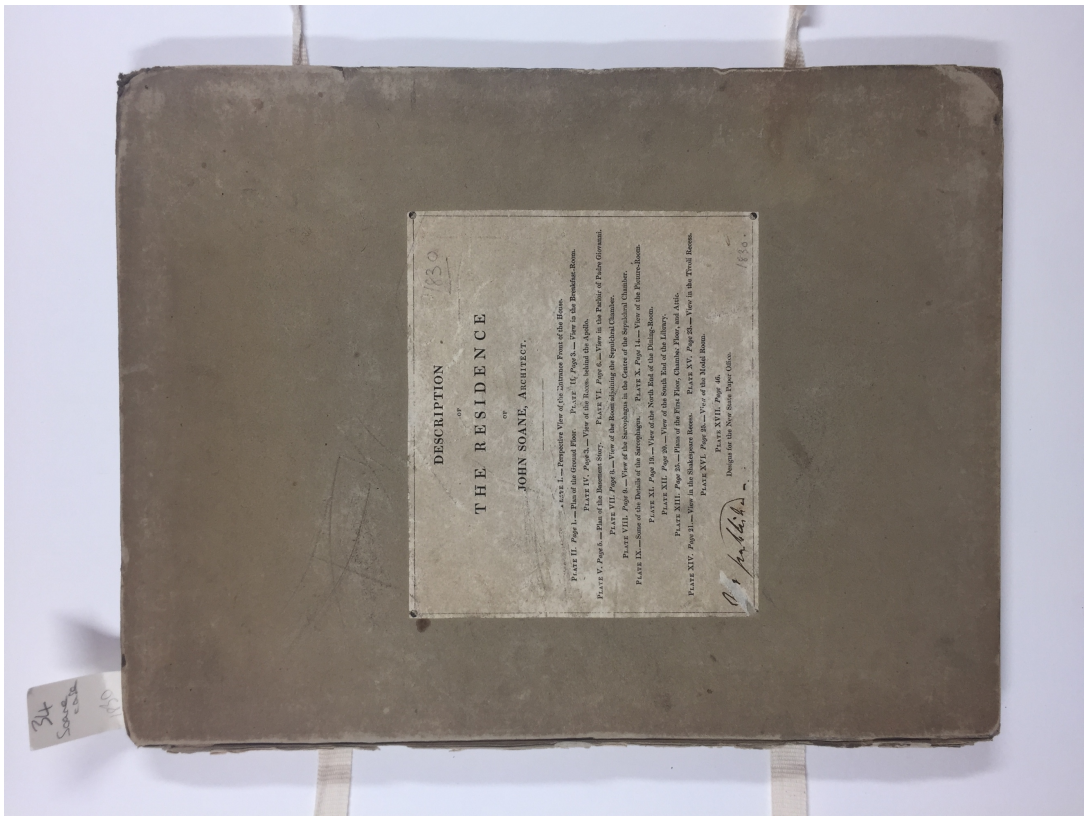
> "The catalogue raisonné which has been made by the present curator gives some hint of what is to be found which does not meet the eye, though only partially, as it is intended chiefly as a handy guide to visitor's who do not know the place. Copies of Soane's own catalogue, handsome and large volumes in English and French, are placed on the library-table for consultation."[45]

[45] 'The Furniture at Sir John Soane's Museum', *The Cabinet Maker* (September 1, 1880), p. 39.

Chapter 1 figure 21. The spine of *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting* Sir John Soane Museum collection reference 6614, copy 1. Sir John Soane's Museum.

Chapter 1 figure 21.2. The cover of J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, 1827. Sir John Soane Museum collection reference 6614, copy 1. Sir John Soane's Museum.

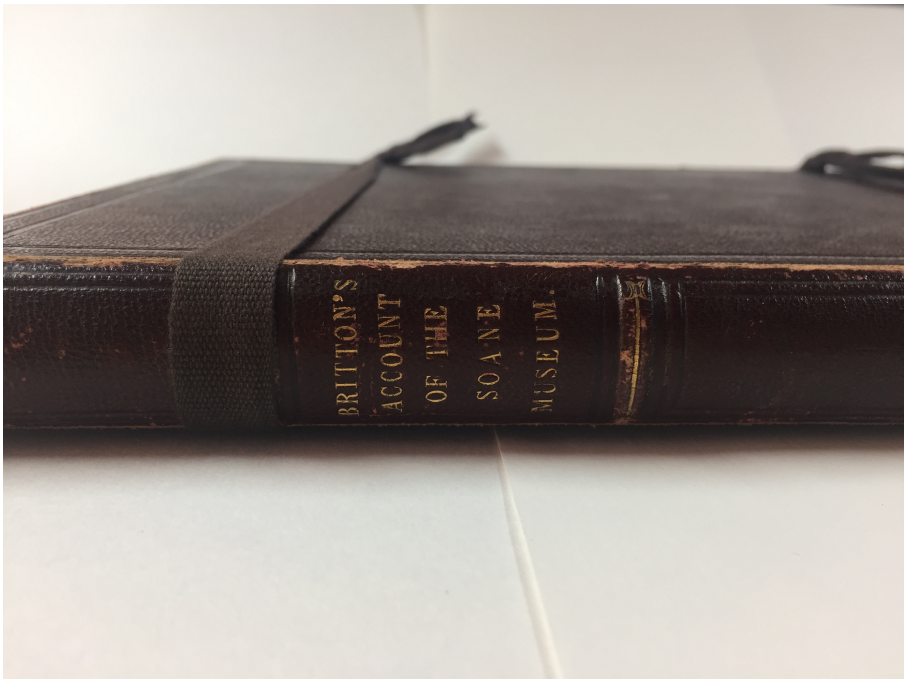
Chapter 1 figure 22. The spine of Sir John Soane, *Description of The Residence of John Soane, Architect*, 1830. Sir John Soane Museum collection reference Soane Case 34, copy 3. Sir John Soane's Museum.



Chapter 1 figure 22.2. The cover of Sir John Soane, *Description of The Residence of John Soane, Architect*, 1830. Sir John Soane Museum collection reference Soane Case 34, copy 3. Sir John Soane's Museum.

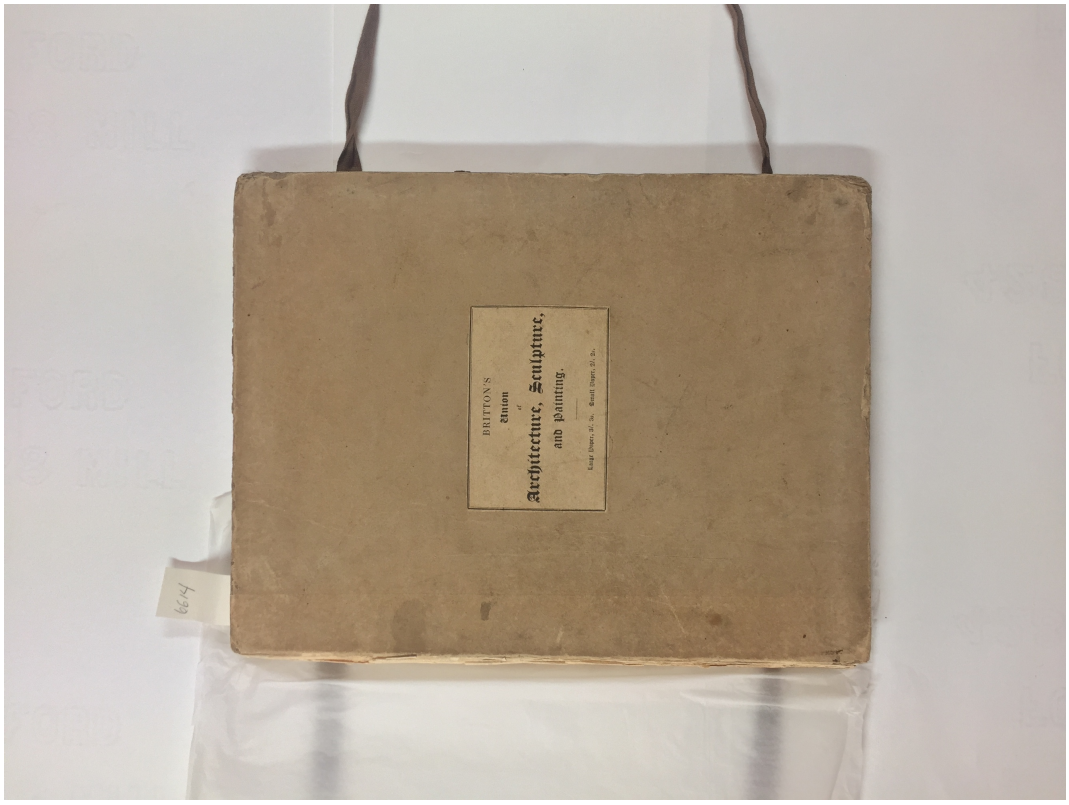
Chapter 1 figure 23. The cover of J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, 1827. Sir John Soane Museum collection reference 5611. Sir John Soane's Museum.

Chapter 1 figure 23.2. The spine of J Britton, The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting, 1827. Sir John Soane Museum collection reference 5611. Sir John Soane's Museum.

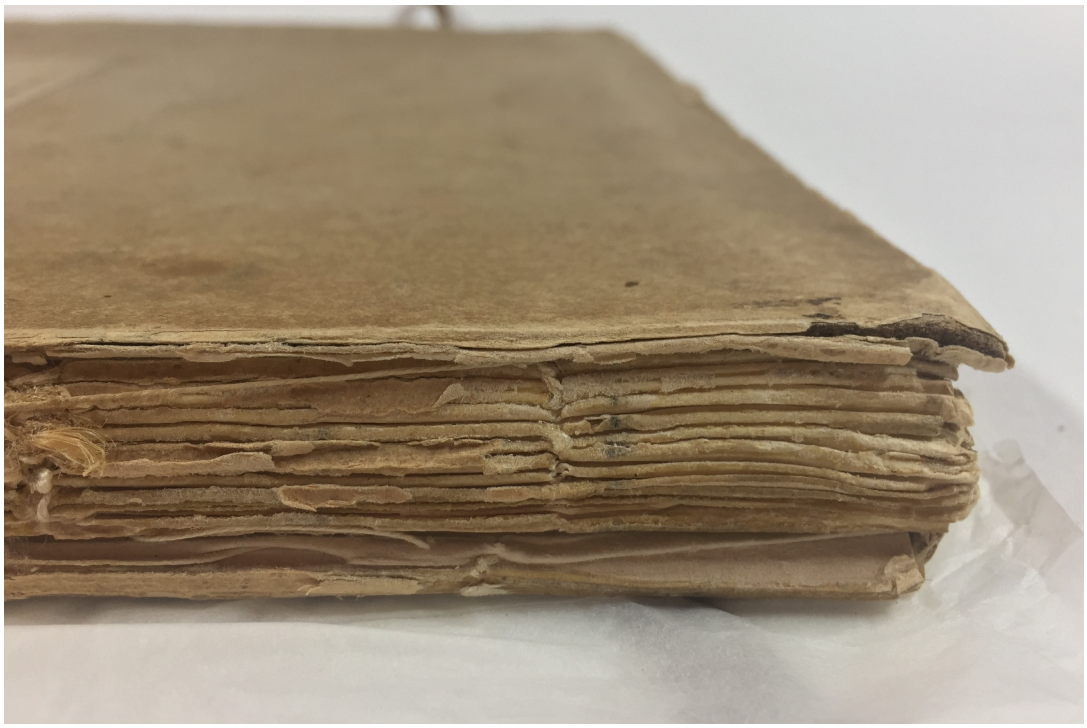


Chapter 1 figure 24. The spine of J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, 1827. Sir John Soane Museum collection reference 6614, copy 2. Sir John Soane's Museum.

Chapter 1 figure 24.2. The cover of J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, 1827. Sir John Soane Museum collection reference 6614, copy 2. Sir John Soane's Museum.



Chapter 1 figure 25. The cover of J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, 1827. Sir John Soane Museum collection reference 6614, copy 3. Sir John Soane's Museum.



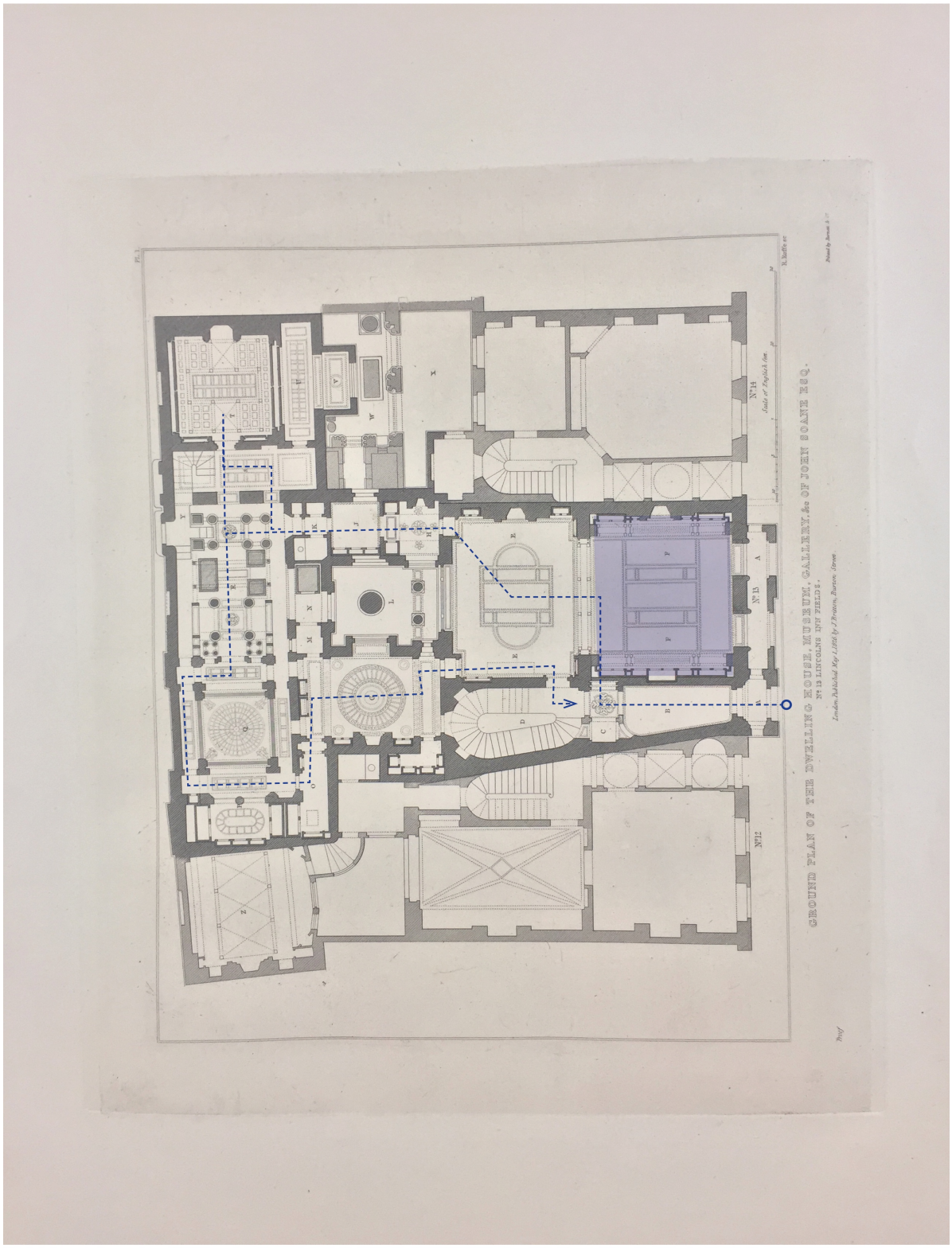
Chapter 1 figure 25.2. The spine of J Britton, The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting, 1827. Sir John Soane Museum collection reference 6614, copy 3. Sir John Soane's Museum.

Consider the footpath of the visitor to the Sir John Soane's Museum, and the placement of the library therein [figure 26]. Visits begin at the entrance to Number 13 Lincoln's Inn Fields, and the placement of *The Union* would be well suited for early consultation, however, as indicated by the condition of the copies at Sir John Soane's Museum, it is unlikely that several volumes would have been in circulation around the museum; rather, the book would have remained in place at the beginning of the tour. Differentially, if visitors were advised to carry *The Union* around the house as a vade mecum, even the small paper copy is a hefty weight. Furthermore, there is the issue of lighting in the house-museum. Soane was adamant that no one was to enter his museum on dark, cloudy days, as it then relied solely on natural light permeating the interior by means of skylights, some yellow-tinted. However, even on the sunniest of days, the basement level of the building remains quite dark in places, and does so intentionally — this adds to the impression of the sepulchre, and the sensation of melancholy; it does not, on the other hand, facilitate reading. In the author's own experience interpreting the collection for visitors, often placed just outside the Monk's Parlour, it was the advantage of good eyesight, rather than a knowledge of the collection that was the most desirable characteristic of a good Warder. Thus, it is curious that the frontispiece of *The Union* [figure 1], perhaps conceived before the consideration of the final placement of the book, depicts the guide positioned in the Monk's Parlour. In a way, this introductory image is suggestive of the relationship between the built form and its representation on paper, in this instance the built form being The Monk's Parlour, the Picture Room above, as well as Britton's publication, at the time yet unpublished. It is within this particular visual context that Robin Evans' writings on the translation from drawing to building will be introduced.

Translations from Drawing to Building – a brief introduction

Robin Evans' essay 'Translations from Drawing to Building' (1986) explores the relationship between the built form and its representation on paper. Evans investigates the origin of drawing in Western art to distinguish between the drawing in terms of art and architecture using two neoclassical depictions of Kora of Sicyon tracing the shadow of her departing lover.[46] This, according to Pliny's *Natural History* (77-79 AD), was the inception of drawing. Evans uses both Karl F Schinkel (architect) and David Allan's *The Origin of Painting*, executed in 1830 and 1773 respectively as examples of this event, and evidence of how drawing differs for the artist and

[46] R Evans, 'Translations from Drawing to Building', *Translations from drawing to building and other essays*, London, Architectural Association, 1997, p. 163.



Chapter 1 figure 26. Ground Plan of the Dwelling House, Museum, Gallery, &c. Of John Soane Esq. (with footpath and Library and Dining Room highlighted by the author). J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, 1827. Sir John Soane's Museum.

the architect. Allan's depiction of Kora [figure 27] is set indoors, indicating an interesting timeline in terms of drawing; the architectural setting in which this painting takes place was somehow conceived prior to the invention of drawing in this example. Differentially, Schinkel's depiction [figure 28] is more considerate of the role of drawing in architecture. He captures the inception of drawing as an outdoor event, indicating that the built form could not exist prior.

If we apply this idea of conception and the event to the frontispiece of *The Union*, the intended use of the publication within the walls of the house-museum becomes muddled and uncertain. There are similarities between Allan's depiction of *The Origin of Painting* and Britton's depiction of *The Union*; the Monk's Parlour and the Picture Room were opened to visitors in 1824 after Soane acquired No. 14 Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1823, predating the publication of *The Union* by three years.[47] However, the frontispiece must predate the publication of the book itself, and certainly predates its physical form on display for visitors. This illustration is in this sense representative of a causality dilemma rather than an account of reality, in that it imagines how the book will appear and/or function within the museum. This suggests that the modus operandi of *The Union* is unclear even prior to its publication, further evincing that Britton's uncertainty might result in an un-consulted, unsellable volume, as indicated by both sales and the physical materiality of the book. The depiction of the guidebook within the unlit Monk's Parlour, well into the route prescribed by the book itself, is an unpractical setting for various reasons.

Guidebook typology within architectural publication

In order to refer to the literature regarding such a guidebook, its typology must be loosened to fit into two categories: that of the country house guidebook, and the architectural publication. Because Sir John Soane's Museum evades such simplistic terms as house/academy/museum/office etc. (as explored in the next chapter of this thesis), there are no set pre-existing methodologies regarding how to approach this publication, and as such the next best thing, texts referring to arguably similar buildings and collections, are used alternatively. The purpose of the use of these texts within this chapter is to highlight that John Britton's choices in content and arrangement are unique among these typologies.
Although Britton's *The Union* is often described as the first guidebook to Sir John Soane's Museum, the guidebook genre at the time of its publication was still relatively new, its origins found in eighteenth century country house guidebooks. Jocelyn Anderson explores different variations within the genre in terms of country house publications, and whether certain

[47] *A Complete Description of Sir John Soane's Museum, 12th revised edition, London, Sir John Soane's Museum, 2014,* p.110.

Chapter 1 figure 27. D Allan, *The Origin of Painting ('The Maid of Corinth')*, 1775. National Galleries of Scotland.

Chapter 1 figure 28. K Schinkel, *The Origin of Painting (Die Erfindung der Zeichenkunst)*, 1830. Von der Heydt-Museum Wuppertal. Photograph by Antje Zeis-Loi, Medienzentrum Wuppertal.

characteristics indicate a genuine guidebook, or a book "merely about a country house".[49] Similarly, John Archer's comprehensive study of architectural publications, *The Literature of British Domestic Architecture, 1715-1842* (1985), although largely a catalogue of published offerings from his designated period, introduces the topic with a history of British architectural books, observing the evolution of such books in terms of appearance and content, due to "important changes in architectural practice, fashion, techniques of book illustration, the professional status of architects, and the clientele for whom designs were prepared."[50] An exploration of many of these changes is offered in the next chapter of this work. Further, Britton himself expresses his concern with the architectural climate at the time of writing in the preface of *The Union*. Using these texts that outline characteristics of what one might expect from a guidebook to Soane's house-museum and by analysing the content within the book, rather than its physicality and public reception, perhaps then the true intended function of the book will be revealed.

The most obvious void within Britton's content, and what one expects from an early nineteenth-century guidebook is some sort of outline of admissions, ticketing, opening times, etc. We find this information outlined in some of Britton's other volumes explored in chapter 4 of this work. Anderson argues that this introductory text with guidance for visitors is fundamental to the guidebook genre, and uses Britton's guide to Corsham House as an example of such a text. The *Historical Account of Corsham House*, presented to Soane by John Britton in March of 1809, would have been an influencing factor in Soane choosing Britton to publish the first guidebook to his house, and as such it is meaningful that an outline of admissions is omitted from Soane's commission.[51] The first publication that might be considered a guidebook by these standards is that of George Bailey, published after Soane's death in 1840: *A General Description of Sir John Soane's Museum with Brief Notices of Some of the More Interesting Works of Art Therein*. The title page of this work indicates that it was solely acquired at the museum itself, whilst also outlining the days of admission for visitors, as well as how to gain admission.[52] Moreover, the volume was published in duodecimo format, further suggesting its mobility,

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[49] J Anderson, *Remaking the country house: country-house guidebooks in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries* (unpublished doctoral thesis), The Courtauld Institute of Art, 2013, p. 88.
[50] J Archer, *Literature of British Domestic Architecture, 1715-1842*, London, The MIT Press, 1985, p. 23.
[51] Visitors could have accessed information on visiting the Sir John Sir John Soane's Museum from sources such as *The Lady's Magazine* description of Sir John Soane's house and Museum, *The Lady's Magazine and Museum of the Belles Lettres, Music, Fine Arts, Drama, Fashions, etc.* (under the distinguished patronage of HRH the Duchess of Kent, Volume 7, No. 37 (July 1835) Soane reference 5919, p 17.
[52] Danielle Willkens notes that this implies that the publication not only serves as a guidebook, but also as a souvenir that would be read by other potential visitors who would wish to learn how to gain admission to Soane's house. D Willkens, 'Reading Words and Images in the *Description(s)* of Sir John Soane's Museum' in *Architectural Histories*, Volume 4, No 1 (2016), p. 12.

unlike Soane's large format description of 1835, or further, the 150 copies of Britton's volume in large format. The dual format of *The Union* suggests a certain flexibility within its intended use, or perhaps further confusion of its purpose.

The inclusion of a ground plan is another typical element of a guidebook, as is a room-by-room description which, arguably promotes a prescribed route to the visitor, as explored in chapter 6 of this thesis. However, what one would not expect is a richly detailed treatise on interior architecture, which is exactly what Britton offers his readership in his descriptive accounts, not only describing the apartments of Soane's house, but also asserting that it is good and should be perceived as an inspiration to visitors. This is not the only unique text within the book, but relates to what one might expect. Anderson asserts that "it is not surprising that some of the most elaborate and lengthy sections in these and other guidebooks are those devoted to identifying and discussing art works. In most cases, they appear to provide comprehensive lists of every art work on display."[53] As outlined previously in this chapter, Britton does highlight some select objects from Soane's collection for his readership, but he himself declares that it is not a comprehensive catalogue raisonné, and in this sense it is also unique; a focus on elements of interior architecture, rather than the contents of Soane's collection, is atypical within the wider scope of Britton's other guidebooks as well as the genre at large.

Conclusion; confusion

Britton's *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting* is fundamentally an interesting and unique publication, from its contents and arrangement, its format, and critically, its reception. When analysed using techniques applied to other guidebooks, in terms of physical evidence as well as contentual choices, it is difficult to conclude how the book was intended to function, further attesting to Britton's difficulty in tackling Soane's brief. Although it seems as though the book functioned well for visitors, the material evidence suggests that the book did not perform as a traditional "guidebook" or vade mecum, however, its small format copies and various reviews indicate that it was consulted upon visiting. Adversely, the benefits of reading, for example, Britton's treatise on interior architecture during a visit are unclear. A ground floor plan is certainly helpful, especially for the visitor unversed in the intricacies and minute details of Soane's spaces. Whilst these confused characteristics *could* indicate a "bad" publication, it could also be argued that the fluid and unique qualities of *The Union* are indicative of a carefully considered, boundary-pushing publication. Whilst archival evidence suggests that Soane was unhappy with the work, and that it did not sell, we also know that

[53] J Anderson, *Remaking the country house: country-house guidebooks in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries* (unpublished doctoral thesis), The Courtauld Institute of Art, 2013, p. 147.

Soane paid for the wood blocks of a number of the illustrations in *The Union* to appear in his own description.

To refer back to the introductory texts of Britton's work, a very crucial portion of a "guidebook" according to Anderson, although the reader does not acquire an understanding of admissions to the house-museum, what is offered is an outline of the poor status of architectural practice and education. "Architecture, as an art," he writes, "has not been treated fairly and liberally in this country. In the Royal Academy it has been, and still is, slighted : by public bodies it is regarded as a trade, and put up to speculatory competition."[54] It is in this sense that the union to which the title is referring is the union of the fine arts through equal educational quality through use of the resources on offer at No. 13 Lincoln's Inn Fields. Is this symptomatic of a readily available guidebook, on display as well as for purchasing? Could it be possible that the guidebook functioned well from within the walls of the museum, but visitors could not fathom its place in their own personal libraries? This raises issues of personal experience, spatial awareness, as well as visual perception.

Consider the footpath of the visitor to the Sir John Soane's Museum, and the placement of the Library therein [figure 26]. Visits begin at the entrance to Number 13 Lincoln's Inn Fields, and the path to the museum portion of Soane's home is accessed via the Library and Dining Room. If we presume that *The Union* was placed similarly, the experience of the visitor would have been to enter the house, perhaps consult *The Union*, and then move on to what Britton refers to as "The Museum" (the distinction between house and museum is much hazier in later guidebooks), which, according to *The Union*, begins at the east end of the Colonnade, past the Little Study and Dressing Room. Those familiar with the arrangement of Sir John Soane's Museum are familiar with the perils of returning to the Library and Dining Room from, for example, the Monk's Parlour - obstacles are plenty, and staircases difficult to find. Thus, a re-consultation of *The Union* during a visit would not be ideal. Differentially, if visitors were advised to carry *The Union* around the house as a vade mecum, even the small paper copy is a hefty weight. Furthermore, there is the issue of lighting in the house-museum. The dilemma of the practicality of a guidebook within the Sir John Soane's Museum is likely the result of the space itself; whilst a typical museum or private collection features a systematic layout and arrangement, and is therefore well-suited to a catalogue raisonné-style guide or something similar, Sir John Soane's Museum is not so straightforward.

[54] J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: exemplified by a series of illustrations, with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane*, London, Printed for author, 1827, p.xiii.

2. The Impossible Brief; a description of Sir John Soane's Museum and its various complexities

This thesis is concerned with the representation of the built form, and as such an understanding of the house-museum itself must be imparted on the reader. It is within this context that I will describe the house-museum room by room in the hopes of bringing clarity to subsequent chapters. In a sense, this chapter is akin to *The Union* itself in that it attempts to encapsulate the museum by means of a textual description with illustrative accompaniments, however, photographs will assist greatly with allowing the viewer an impression of the museum. As opposed to describing the objects that comprise the collection, I aim to focus on Soane's use of space, the fabric of the townhouses, and the visitor experience informed by my own experience volunteering as a Volunteer Warder at Sir John Soane's Museum. This will then progress to discuss the characteristics of Soane's house-museum that are unique, and as such pose difficulties to their representation on paper. Tracing literature that concerns Sir John Soane's Museum reveals a confused and ever-evolving brief for a guidebook to a house that blurs institutional boundaries and evades identification.

A brief history of the house and museum of Sir John Soane

The students of architecture who studied under Sir John Soane found him a very helpful professor indeed. As Professor of Architecture for the Royal Academy at Somerset House, Soane lectured with visual aids in the form of large-scale lecture drawings. Students gained knowledge of the history of architecture with the help of these illustrations, however, Soane was aware of the importance of a grand tour to thoroughly grasp an understanding of the architecture of the ancients. The Napoleonic Wars had begun six years before Soane began lecturing, preventing his students from having the same opportunity that he had in his youth; to examine classical architecture in situ. In light of this, Soane endeavoured to create the ultimate learning resource, the accessible grand tour situated within a stone's throw of the Royal Academy.[1]

[1] Whilst the pedagogic potential of Soane's townhouses is a factor in his assemblage and exhibition of his collection, Helen Dorey outlines the multiplicity and complexity of reasons for Soane's house-museum in her introduction to the transcription of his unpublished manuscript *Crude Hints towards an History of my House in Lincoln's Inn Fields*: "The reasons for Soane's public announcement in 1812 that he was opening up his house to students were probably complex. He may have wanted to show how liberal he was and, bearing in mind the lecture dispute, he may at that moment have wished to promote his house as a rival resource for Royal Academy students - thus bolstering his own position. His sons were not interested and so he needed to find a purpose for his rapidly growing collection and he had a genuine wish to benefit architectural education. He believed that young architects unable to take a Grand Tour needed *to see objects in three dimensions*, through the medium of casts and fragments, as well as prints and drawings and he was also only too aware that the resources of the Royal Academy were inadequate…." J Soane,

The project was lengthy, and the development was piecemeal. Soane acquired No. 12 Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1792 as a residential and professional space. Working within the confines of this London townhouse, Soane sought to acquire more space and subsequently purchased No. 13 in 1807, a year after he was appointed the Professor of Architecture at the Royal Academy. His collection had outgrown his central London townhouse, and as such he extended his property into the stable block he acquired along with No. 13. He rebuilt the stable block into his office and museum space. Five years later, after his 6 January 1812 lecture at the Royal Academy, Soane announced to his students that they could visit his house and collection. His growing collection required more space, and as such he rebuilt the front of No. 13 and moved in. Finally, in 1824 he purchased and rebuilt No. 14 Lincoln's Inn Fields, completing his acquisition of space; however, the acquisition and arrangement of his collection was a gradual process that continued up until his death in 1837.

An account of a visit to Sir John Soane's Museum

"What exactly were you expected to see... in the bizarre labyrinth of a place known as Sir John Soane's Museum, a place that seems to bespeak a horror vacui of monumental and encyclopedic proportions and seems obsessed with death and commemoration: a haunted house, teeming with ghosts?"[2]

In the same way that Donald Preziosi offers his reader a brief walkthrough of Sir John Soane's Museum in light of the questions raised by a visitor's expectations, I aim to do the same with added reference to Britton's guidebook. This description is in no way analytical; it is purely to impart the reader with an understanding of the built form itself.

Although Britton's *The Union* focuses greatly on the interior of the museum, it is important to have an understanding of the façade in order to understand the entrance to the museum, and to subsequently situate oneself within the interior. There are technically three entrances to Soane's house; No. 12, 13 and 14, each one acquired by Soane from 1792 to 1824. No. 13 is mostly of concern; however, the museum extends through to the backs of No. 12 and 14. Students of architecture at the Royal Academy were confined to the museum area upon their visit however, at present, a number of Soane's private spaces have been opened to the public following years of refurbishment. As *The Union* focuses on the museum proper in 1827 specifically, this description will begin at No. 13, then the entrance for visitors, and continue through the prescribed route (counter-clockwise, rather than clockwise in *The Union*), and will not include areas such as the new exhibition space, nor the No. 12 Breakfast Parlour.

Crude hints towards an history of my house in Lincoln's Inn Fields; introduction by Helen Dorey, Oxford, Archaeopress, 2015, p.15.

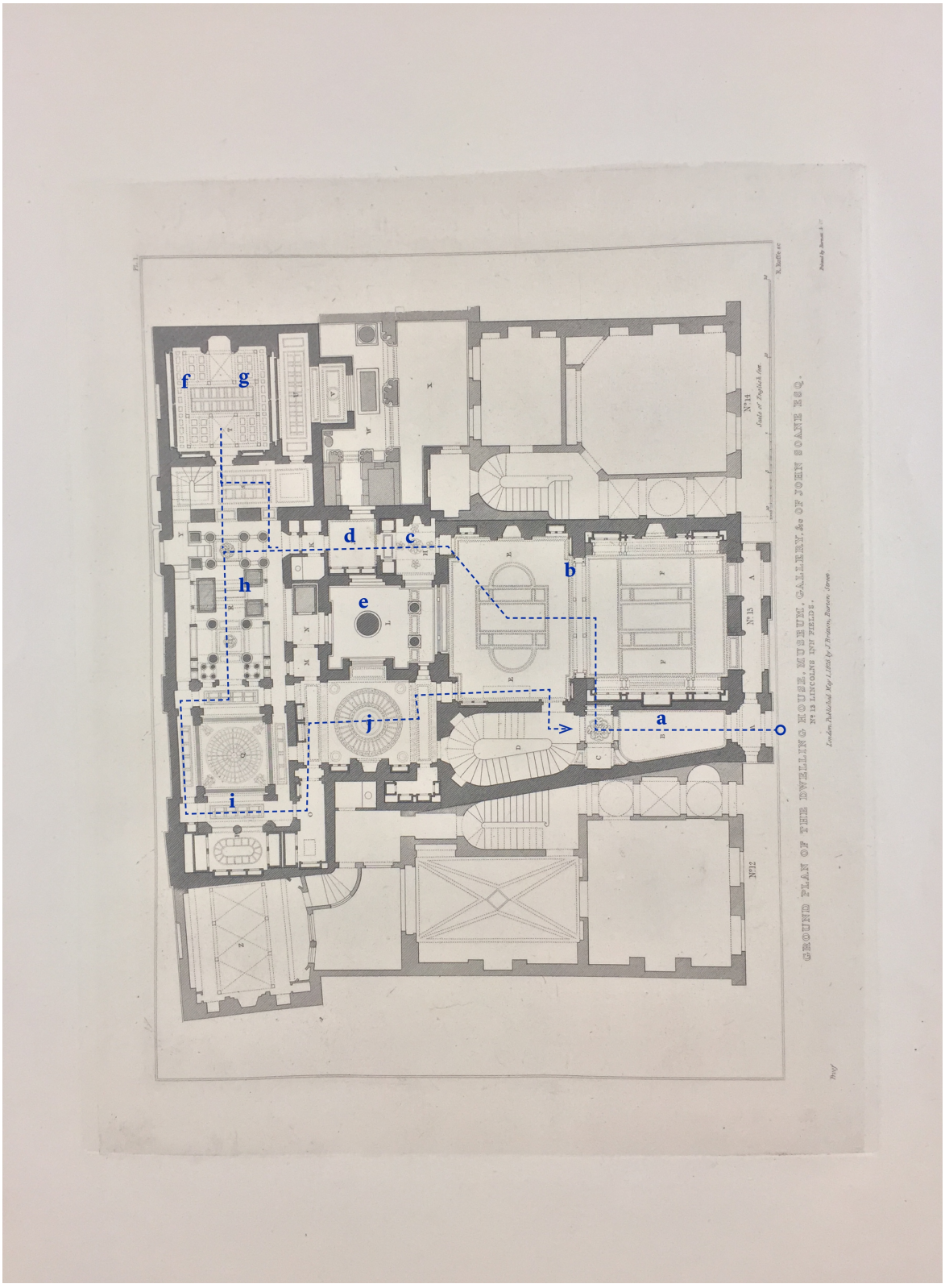
[2] D Preziosi, 'Seeing Soane Seeing You', *Compelling Visuality: The Work of Art in and out of History*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2003, p. 212.

The museum entrance is marked by a white stone loggia which projects forward from the façades of No. 12 and 14 [figure 1], extending from the basement to the first floor, with elements bleeding into the second and third. As a testament to Soane's use of space inside, the loggia, which was once an open verandah on the first floor, was glazed in with glass by Soane in 1829 and 1834 to supply more space for the objects within. Upon climbing the stairs to No. 13, a prospective visitor required a letter of recommendation from a familiar of Soane, or fellow Royal Academician.

For the following description, please refer to [figure 2]: it includes the footpath this text follows, as well as markers designating important locations within the tour. In order to access the museum, the visitor passes through a series of domestic spaces; the Entrance Hall (a), the Library and Dining Room (b), the Little Study (c) and lastly, the Dressing Room (d). The Entrance Hall [Figure 3] is first and foremost overwhelmingly dark. The combination of walls coloured to imitate porphyry and stained glass create an ambiance that contrasts greatly with the museum area of the house, whilst marble casts suspended from the wall and the use of mirrors provide a skewed vision of the contents of this passage; both very typical characteristics of Soane's interior architecture.

The tour then takes the visitor past a staircase leading to the first floor and various private rooms that do not concern the tour as it would have been in Soane's time, however, today's visitor is familiar with the North and South Drawing Rooms on the first floor of No. 13 and the newly opened exhibition space on the first floor of No. 12. The Library and Dining Room are technically one room, the largest in the house, pinched in the middle by two projecting bookcases and hanging pendentive arches [figure 4], designating the south side of the room the Library [figure 5], and the north the Dining Room [figure 6]. These spaces feature similar décor as the Entrance Hall in that they are painted red, feature dark wood as well as mirrored panelling, and are generally gloomy regardless of the natural light streaming in from Lincoln's Inn Fields, as well as the Monument Court (e), an outdoor space on the north side of the Library. The Monument Court is located at the centre of the townhouses, and the Pasticcio monument, a stack of stylistically varying architectural fragments within this outdoor space, has been referred to as a symbolic pivot of the house-museum. Using the Monument Court as a reference that the tour is constantly circling will supply the reader with a fixed point, assisting with orientation. Soane's Library and Dining Room feature a number of mirrors, such as above the fireplace, to bring light to the middle of the room, set back from the natural light from both

Chapter 2 figure 1. Exterior of Sir John Soane's Museum, No. 13 Lincoln's Inn Fields. Photograph by the author.

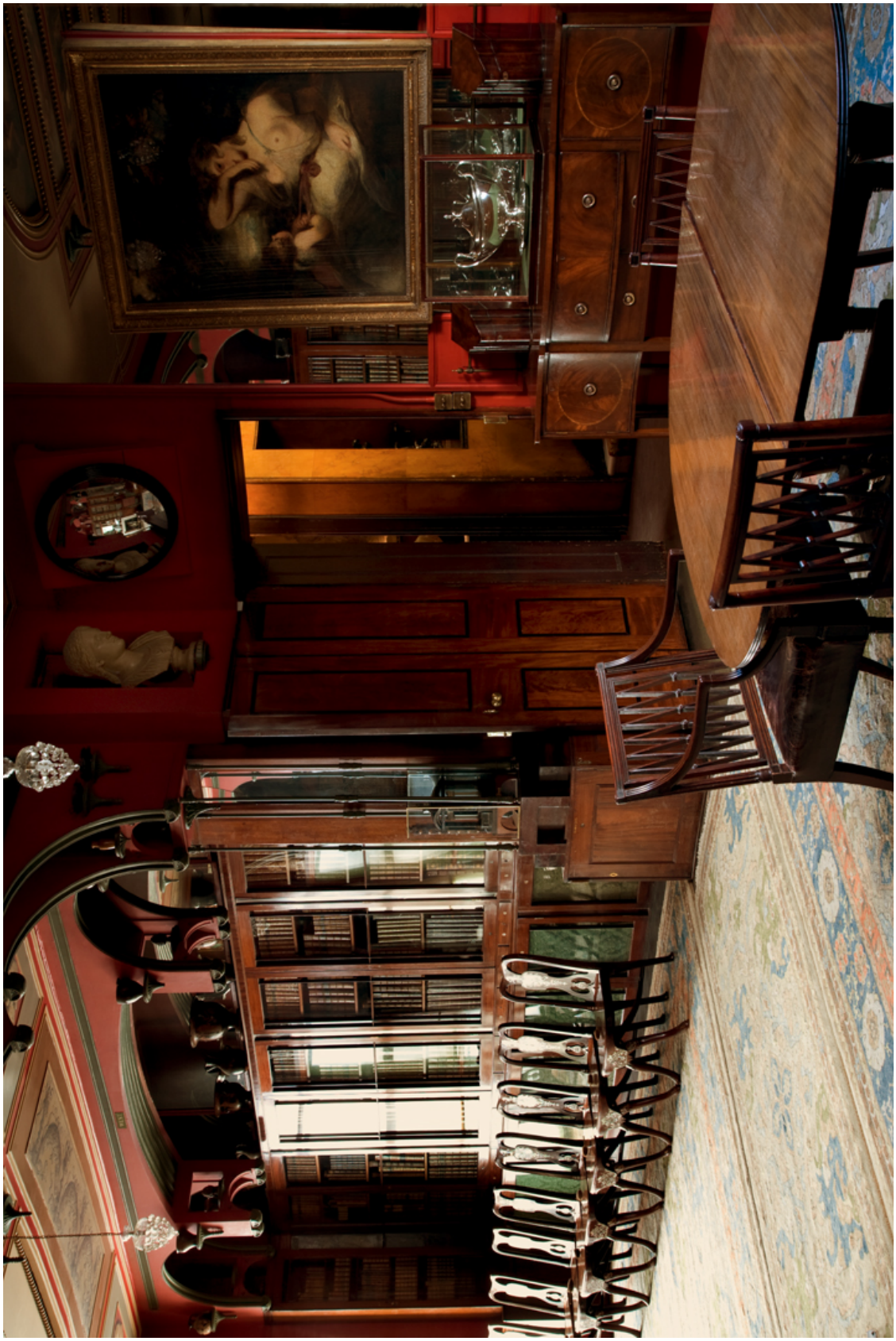


Chapter 2 figure 2. Ground Plan of the Dwelling House, Museum, Gallery, &c. Of John Soane Esq. (with footpath and labels by the author). J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, 1827. Sir John Soane's Museum.

Chapter 2 figure 3. The Entrance Hall, Sir John Soane's Museum. Photograph by Gareth Gardner. Courtesy of Sir John Soane's Museum.

Chapter 2 figure 4. The Hanging Pendentive Arches in the Library and Dining Room, Sir John Soane's Museum. Photograph by Derry Moore. Courtesy of Sir John Soane's Museum.

Chapter 2 figure 5. The Library Looking East, Sir John Soane's Museum. Photograph by Derry Moore. Courtesy of Sir John Soane's Museum.



Chapter 2 figure 6. The Dining Room Looking Northwest towards the Library and Entrance Hall, Sir John Soane's Museum, Photograph by Derry Moore. Courtesy of Sir John Soane's Museum.

the Monument Court and Lincoln's Inn Fields. Convex mirrors are also employed in this room. Sir Thomas Laurence's portrait of Soane (1829) presides over this domestic room, commonly used for hosting candle-lit dinners, which marks the beginning of the transition from house to museum proper.

The Little Study [figure 7] and Dressing Room [figure 8] are two very practical and personal rooms, both overlooking the Monument Court [figure 9]. These rooms combined act as a transitional area between the more domestic Dining Room and the museum proper, in both location and décor; they feature the same red wall colouring as the previous room, but a number of architectural fragments are suspended from the walls and on shelving units at various heights. Furthermore, these rooms mark Soane's transition from private to public, as he would spend a good deal of his own time in the Little Study working on his own architectural drawings, and would use the Dressing Room to prepare himself to accept visitors. From this room, the Monument Court can be seen through a window on the east side, and the Monk's Yard through the window on the west side. Soane's efficient use of space first becomes apparent in these rooms, which are fundamentally passages; they function as hallways, Soane's desk in his Little Study is cleverly hidden away under the window to the Monument Court, only to be revealed during use, but otherwise would block the passageway to the next room.

It is at this point that the visitor comes to a fork in the road, a 'choose your own adventure' situation rather than a classic roped-off museum experience. The visitor can either continue north down a staircase to the Crypt (basement level), or turn right to enter the Picture Room (f) [figure 10]. This room, which is technically the back of No. 14, was created to house Soane's collection of paintings (namely those of Canaletto and Hogarth), as well as architectural drawings (namely those of Soane's draughtsman Joseph Michael Gandy). Starved for wall space, Soane tripled the hanging potential of the wall surfaces by covering them in a series of hinged panels that can be opened to reveal more pictures underneath [figure 11]. The south wall (g) opens to reveal a secondary wall of architectural drawings, which opens again to surprise the visitor with a recess featuring the statue of a Nymph by Richard Westmacott and various architectural models, including that of the Threadneedle Street front of the Bank of England, with a bird's eye preview of The Monk's Parlour below [figure 12] located on the basement level. These spaces' interactions with each other is an example of Soane's unconventional and original modulations, and as such pose challenges in their representations on paper. As such, Britton includes a separate illustration, a plan and section of this space of interest [figure 13], in which the secondary layers of hang space are set back in the poché of the built form.

Chapter 2 figure 7. View of the Little Study from the Dining Room, Looking North, Sir John Soane's Museum. Photograph by the author.

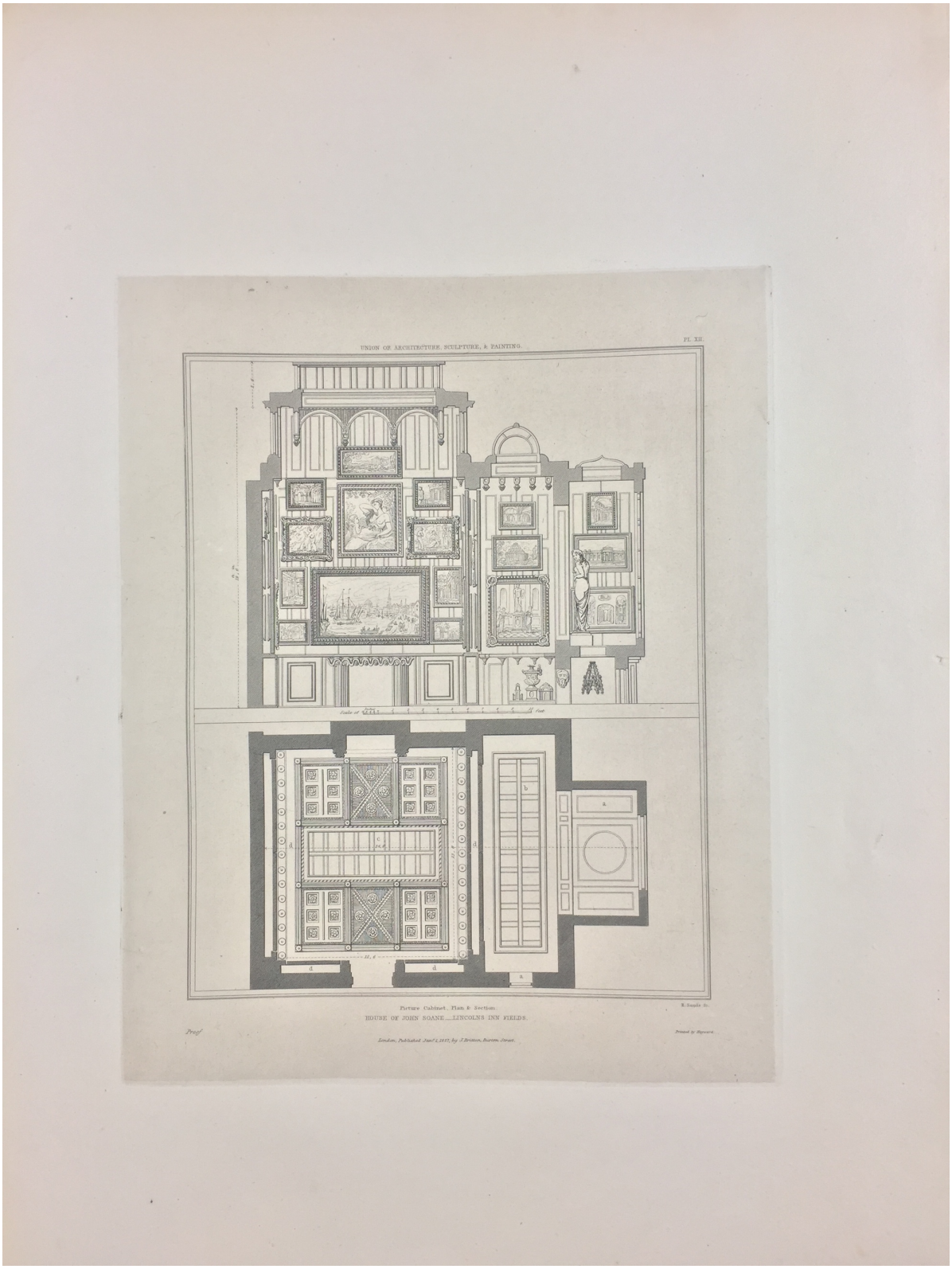
Chapter 2 figure 8. View of the Dressing Room, Looking South, Sir John Soane's Museum. Photograph by the author.

Chapter 2 figure 9. View of the Monument Court from the Dressing Room, Sir John Soane's Museum. Photograph by the author.

Chapter 2 figure 10. View of the Picture Room Looking East, Sir John Soane's Museum. Photograph by Derry Moore. Courtesy of Sir John Soane's Museum.

Chapter 2 figure 11. View of the Picture Room Recess Looking South, Sir John Soane's Museum. Photograph by Gareth Gardner. Courtesy of Sir John Soane's Museum.

Chapter 2 figure 12. The Monk's Parlour, Sir John Soane's Museum. Photograph by Martin Charles. Courtesy of Sir John Soane's Museum.



Chapter 2 figure 13. Picture Cabinet, Plan and Section. J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, 1827. Sir John Soane's Museum.

Having backtracked and made their way down the staircase to the Crypt that the visitor had previously bypassed for the Picture Room, they are greeted by a dark and gloomy ambiance inspired by Soane's interest in the sepulchral. Having a piqued interest in the Monk's Parlour already from their preview from the Picture Room above, upon entering the visitor glances up to see the nymph and various architectural models from a new angle. This room is the polar opposite of the Picture Room; its light sources are whatever might stream through from the Picture Room if the recess is open, as well as an outdoor space known as the Monk's Yard, a courtyard featuring the grave of Fanny, Eliza Soane's lap dog. This room, like much of the rest of the museum, is covered in architectural fragments; whilst the rest of the house adheres to the architecture of the ancient Greeks and Romans, this room is dedicated to Gothic architecture, including casts of medieval ornamentation. This room features stained glass windows, mirrors, and the consistent application of dark wood panelling.

The remainder of this floor is known as the Sepulchral Chamber. Visitors exit the Monk's Parlour and pass through a hall adjacent to the Monument Court and into the Chamber (which houses arguably the most notable object in Soane's collection, the sarcophagus of Seti I [figure 14]). Yet again, Soane has played with space in an interesting way; this room opens up vertically to encapsulate all storeys of the museum, topped with a glass dome which provides a stream of natural light, highlighting the sarcophagus and surrounding architectural fragments. Whilst the Monument Court is spatially at the centre of the museum, this is commonly referred to as the crux of the collection, featuring the sarcophagus, and above it the bust of Soane and a cast of the Apollo Belvedere, and many other important architectural fragments and plaster casts.

Having a singular, strained view of the level above that the visitor had abandoned to explore below, they are now likely to backtrack to the staircase at the Picture Room and make their way through the Colonnade [figure 15] which runs between the Picture Room and the Dome, where the Apollo Belvedere and bust of Soane are located. The Colonnade is vertically limited by the Pupil's Room above, where his employees and pupils would execute drawings. Lined by the columns that support the Pupil's Room, this space is decorated by architectural fragments. At the end of the Colonnade, the visitor enters the Dome [figure 16]. All at once, they are exposed to walls almost covered with fragments, a railing lined with ancient vases that reveals the Egyptian sarcophagus below, the Apollo Belvedere forever in conversation with the bust of Soane by Sir Francis Chantrey, the large glass dome ornamented by a plaster rose in its centre, etc. Every surface holds a piece of Soane's collection, which is another testament to his genius use of space, and his prioritisation of arrangement over provenance; original fragments and plaster casts are positioned next to each other, indistinguishable.

Chapter 2 figure 14. The Dome Looking East, Sir John Soane's Museum. Photograph by Derry Moore. Courtesy of Sir John Soane's Museum.

Chapter 2 figure 15. The Colonnade Looking West towards the Bust of Soane and the Apollo Belvedere (The Dome). Photograph by the author.

Chapter 2 figure 16. The Dome from the Apollo Belvedere, Looking East. Photograph by Derry Moore. Courtesy of Sir John Soane's Museum.

Much like the Picture Room and Monk's Parlour, Soane's spaces here are open to each other, the visitor able to reflect back on the Sepulchral Chamber below that they had previously occupied.

As the visitor stands in front of the Apollo Belvedere, now facing the Picture Room (i), on their right is an entrance to an ante-chamber which leads to the final room of the museum tour (on the ground storey), the Breakfast Parlour (j) [figure 17]. This room is of utmost importance in terms of Soane's unique interior design features as it showcases a great number of mirrors, as well as a domed ceiling light source. It is at once a demonstration of Soane's unique interior architecture, a platform for the display of his collection, and lastly, a passage from the museum back to the more domestic spaces of the townhouses, itself a room for the domestic activity of taking breakfast. This room offers the visitor their last view of the Monument Court, this time from the west, via a window opposite a wall of bookshelves, a fireplace, and mirrored panels. The room in its entirety boasts 122 mirrors, including tiny convex mirrors encircling the border of the ceiling dome. The mirrored panels of the doors leading out of the south side of the room reflect the windows to the Dome area on the north side, projecting a visual illusion of more museum space, multiplying the architectural fragments therein. The wall surfaces have been developed to accommodate paintings using the mechanism of opening leaves, like the Picture Room. After a circle around this room, one is led through the doors on the south side of the room, ending as they had begun at the Entrance Hall.

It is common for the visitor of Sir John Soane's Museum to feel disoriented, the collection of rooms which comprise the whole a difficult puzzle to piece together, with the Monument Court a constant visual reference point with which to orient oneself. The route laid out above is one of the most typical among visitors at present, but Britton's third chapter of detailed descriptions takes the reader from the Entrance Hall ("Vestibule and Staircase") to the Library and Dining Room ("Eating Room and Library"), followed by the Breakfast Parlour, rather than the Little Study, and thus the rest of the tour is conducted in the opposite direction as the above.[3] Having now, with the assistance of photographs, completed a visual and textual tour of the Sir John Soane's Museum, we can now begin to understand the spatial complexity that Soane brought to fruition, and furthermore why a topographer would struggle in attempting to capture the building within the confines of the two-dimensional pages of a book. Moreover, Soane's house-museum features many trademarks of Soane's interior architecture, which have been explored comprehensively as outlined below.

[3] In 2016, the route of the museum changed drastically when the entrance to the museum was transferred to No. 12, the guest entering and exiting now through the gift shop, rather than the Entrance Hall. Visitors are then guided through the No. 12 Breakfast Parlour and down to the basement level — a very different passage to that described in *The Union* as well as Soane's various *Descriptions*.

Chapter 2 figure 17. The Breakfast Parlour Looking North, Sir John Soane's Museum. Photograph by Gareth Gardner. Courtesy of Sir John Soane's Museum.

This undoubtedly posed an obstacle for Britton, a topographer and publicist by trade, who throughout his career had mostly produced publications about conventional buildings, from medieval ecclesiastical buildings to the public buildings of London. Could this struggle be at the heart of why *The Union* was not a commercial success, and if so, was this rectified by Soane in his own version?

Untranslatability

"...Soane's work, perhaps more than that of any other architect, lies on the edge of modernity."[4]

The problematisation of translating Soane's spaces onto the pages of a book is supported by scholarly offerings that deal with the unique characteristics of Soane's house-museum, many highlighted within Britton's text in *The Union*, in which he acknowledges features such as painted glass, mirrors, and ornaments. Jas Elsner, in 'Architecture, Antiquarianism and Archaeology in Sir John Soane's Museum' asserts that "...[t]he very plethora of published descriptions from 1827 to 1835 signals the difficulty in providing an adequate textual representation of the three dimensional "union" Soane had in mind."[5] This thesis aims to narrow this assertion to the first guidebook, and investigate the visual representations within the guide.

The combination of such a variety of representational conventions appearing in *The Union* is potentially telling of his struggle. Britton opted to include such standard engravings as a ground plan, indispensable for navigating the museum, and perspective views to give the reader an idea of what one sees when physically present within a certain space, facing a certain direction, at one time. But there are also some unexpected styles of representation, including a number that are typically associated with the design process and architectural drawing, specifically speculative drawing that instructs a builder on the architect's vision, rather than a retrospective documentation of a building.

A quick glance over literature on the Sir John Soane's Museum reveals a great interest in space, as in, the visitor's spatial awareness as well as Sir John Soane's ability to create jarring spatial surprises when starved for room within the confines of the metropolis. There are various ways that Soane's house is described, but adjectives often employed include "labyrinthine" and "kaleidoscopic". It is these two descriptors that I would like to focus on when outlining various literatures below, highlighting a number of important qualities of Soane's interior architecture.

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[4] R Evans, 'Figures, doors and passages', *Translations from drawing to building and other essays*, London, Architectural Association, 1997, p. 75.
[5] J Elsner, 'A Collector's Model of Desire: The House and Museum of Sir John Soane', *The Cultures of Collecting* (eds. J Elsner and R Cardinal), 1994, p. 170.

At the Royal Academy in 1999, a comprehensive exhibition on the architect, titled *John Soane, architect: master of space and light* was supplemented by essays written by various architectural historians, which describe the originality and avant-garde qualities of Soane's interiors that support the assertion that he was, in fact, a master of space and light. This ability is often cited as the trademark of Soane's works. It is not a coincidence that a good deal of these unique aspects of Soane's spaces, the 'Modern' characteristics, are picked up by Britton himself in the text of *The Union*, hence, this investigation is concerned with the visual representation of these aspects, and the conventions employed to depict them.

Soane's unique and often confusing spaces are not only indicative of his genius, but also the evolving concept of visual perception in the nineteenth century. In one of the essays comprising *John Soane, architect: master of space and light,* Robin Middleton confronts the issue of fragments in Soane's spaces. He references Jonathan Crary in his theory that with the shift from the classical to the modern era came a marked change of vision, involving "the collapse of stable representations of space, which were replaced by visual sensations effectively severed from any fixed points of reference, instead shifting and disjunctive, centred on individual experience."[6] The idea of the individual experience is central to this study, and Crary's description of instability in spatial representation aligns nicely with the individual's experience and the nature of Soane's spaces, as implied by Middleton.

Another idea that features prominently in Soane literature is that his advanced applications and compositions of space are inherently Modern, rather than of the nineteenth century, and as such have influenced a good deal of Modern architects. In the same essay on fragmentation, Middleton visually aligns Soane's Court of Chancery with Louis Kahn's Central Hall of the Library at Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter. Donald Preziosi further highlights Soane's originality and progressive architectural features, speculating that "Soane's Museum has received unprecedented attention in recent years from many architects and art historians due in large part to its seeming resonance with certain postmodernist or poststructuralist design tendencies…"[7] What the following will impart to the reader is these ideas of labyrinthine, kaleidoscopic and arguably 'Modern' spaces are the result of a number of mechanisms Soane has employed in his architecture, including fragmentation, real and virtual spaces, and mirrors.

[6] J Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*; *on vision and modernity in the nineteenth century*, Cambridge, The MIT Press, 1992, p. 4.
[7] D Preziosi, 'Seeing Soane Seeing You', *Compelling Visuality: The Work of Art in and out of History*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2003, pp. 211-212.

The kaleidoscope and the labyrinth

The concept of the fragment at Sir John Soane's Museum is multifaceted, evident in the nature of his collection, largely comprised of architectural fragments, to perhaps less obviously his arrangement of space. In discussing the fragmented interior, Middleton highlights that Crary's description is well suited to describing Soane's spaces, which are handled in such a progressive way that he had no peers, nor rivals. For Crary, it is not about artworks as evidence of a shift in perception, but the phenomenon of the observer, "[f]or the problem of the observer is the field on which vision in history and its effects are always inseparable from the possibilities of an observing subject who is both the historical product *and* the site of certain practices, techniques, institutions, and procedures of subjectification."[8] This is why an investigation of the most prominent institution in nineteenth-century architecture is fundamental to this study, and offered in the next chapter, which deals with the state of the Royal Academy in the early nineteenth century.

It can be said that this fragmented nature of Soane's layout has been described as "kaleidoscopic". When it is written that Soane's spaces are kaleidoscopic, it is supported by the specific mechanical underpinning of the kaleidoscope, an apparatus that Crary himself investigates.[9] "Kaleidoscopic" asserts some sort of hallucinatory experience, during which one's vision is skewed, albeit in interesting and beautiful ways. Crary's demonstration of the simplicity of kaleidoscopic technology further highlights how apt the terminology truly is; the kaleidoscope, invented in 1815 by Sir David Brewster, presents for its user a new way of observing. It fragments one's full field of vision, offering a smaller selective view refracted and reflected several times, symmetrically. As Crary writes, for Baudelaire and Proust, "…the kaleidoscope seems radically unlike the rigid and disciplinary structure of the phenakistiscope, with its *sequential* repetition of *regulated* representations."[10] For Baudelaire, the kaleidoscope "figured as a machine for the disintegration of a unitary subjectivity and for the scattering of desire into new shifting/ and labile arrangements, by *fragmenting* any point of iconicity and disrupting status."[11] On the surface, the kaleidoscope is a tool for new and interesting ways of seeing. However, Crary writes that for Marx and Engels in the 1840s, the kaleidoscope was more of an overestimated toy because its technology is rooted in mirrors and the symmetrical repetition of a single image, rather than a more complex operation. "The rotation of this

[8] J Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*; *on vision and modernity in the nineteenth century*, Cambridge, The MIT Press, 1992, p. 5.
[9] D Preziosi, 'Seeing Soane Seeing You', *Compelling Visuality: The Work of Art in and out of History*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2003, p. 214, 227.
[10] J Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*; *on vision and modernity in the nineteenth century*, Cambridge, The MIT Press, 1992, p. 116.
[11] Ibid.

invariant symmetrical format is what generates the appearance of decomposition and proliferation."[12] If we examine the kaleidoscope as a mechanism, it is conceivably a tool of artful deception, the complexity of its output at variance with the simplicity of its operation.

This is arguably the nature of the fragmentation of Soane's spaces; simplicity at the heart of a complex way of seeing characterises Soane's spatial techniques. Sir David Brewster argues that "[s]ince symmetry was the basis of beauty and nature and visual art… the kaleidoscope was aptly suited to produce art through "the inversion and multiplication of simple forms."[13] Sophia Psarra, in her work that explores visibility and reflections at Sir John Soane's Museum, also recognises the multiplicity of visual perceptions, and furthermore highlights the tension that is born out of the symmetrical design of Soane's individual rooms and the overall asymmetry of the house and its arrangement. This unsurprisingly aligns with the technology of a kaleidoscope; although Psarra avoids the word herself, she cites the "spatial relations" and "multiplicity of associations", describing Soane as a "peculiar mind designing intricate spaces and multiplying them through optical effects".[14] She acknowledges the simplicity, beauty and symmetry of each room, and their complex, asymmetrical spatial arrangement. The meaning derived from this method of composition, she argues, is an outline of history, not encyclopaedic, but rather "based on…all aspects of history - factual, dreamed, imagined and desired - through the artistic and fictional arrangements in his house… The house-museum is a universal play of combinations and a place that holds all places, a compendium of all times."[15]

Preziosi's exploration of the kaleidoscopic values of Soane's spaces is inclusive of not only a description of the various levels of accessibility, from the physically accessible, the visually accessible, and every combination on this spectrum, to the more complex spatial character of rooms when the mirror is introduced, creating "another dimension of the virtual spatial order of the place…spaces are extended, multiplied and altered by the many mirrors of different kinds in many rooms…"[16] What this means, in terms of perspective and interpretation, is that the house-museum is inherently kaleidoscopic in that within one room an observer gains physical access to the room that they inhabit, virtual access to inhabitable spaces as well as rooms yet to come/already inhabited, and further the virtual spaces reflected in mirrors, which

[12] J Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*; *on vision and modernity in the nineteenth century*, Cambridge, The MIT Press, 1992, p. 116.
[13] D Brewster, *The Kaleidoscope: Its History, Theory and Construction,* 1819, p. 134, quoted from Crary, p. 116.
[14] S Psarra, *Architecture And Narrative: The Formation of Space and Cultural Meaning in Buildings*, Oxford, Routledge, 2009, p. 177, 111.
[15] Ibid., p. 178.
[16] D Preziosi, 'Seeing Soane Seeing You', *Compelling Visuality: The Work of Art in and out of History*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2003, p. 225.

"exist in multiple perspectival positions."[17] The use of mirrors in Soane's house is well documented in terms of the accessibility of space, as well as their other functions.

The tradition of describing Soane's house and museum as "labyrinthine" is rooted in the nineteenth century, during which professor of Classical Archaeology Adolf Michaelis wrote, "...this labyrinth full of fragments is the most tasteless arrangement that can be seen; and it has the same kind of perplexing and oppressive effect on the spectator as if the whole large stock of an old-clothes-dealer had been squeezed into a doll's house."[18] The museum's labyrinthine qualities are often attributed to its various phases of construction and assemblage as, according to Furján, the built form"...continued to be altered, in a history that constructs a narrative as convoluted and labyrinthine as the spaces of the house themselves came to be."[19] Sophia Psarra, in 'Soane through the looking glass' builds upon the piecemeal manner of construction and arrangement, incorporating many more justifications for the labyrinthine character of the museum, the building acting as a record of many "...periods, styles, alterations, acquisitions, inventories, biographies, material histories and various mechanisms of representation."[20]

If one considers the meaning of labyrinthine, implying a confusing and elaborate network of spaces, it is an apt descriptor indeed. The labyrinthine qualities of Sir John Soane's Museum are arguably rooted in the same optical mechanisms as those laid out above in reference to kaleidoscopic qualities. Preziosi utilises the word in a list of descriptors ("a labyrinthine, kaleidoscopic, spatiotemporal domain"); Middleton refers to the "labyrinth of spaces" that comprise the house-museum, and Michaelis employs the word negatively. [21] The ground plan of Sir John Soane's Museum does indeed reveal a collection of spaces shaped and adhered to each other in unconventional ways; the unique qualities of the ground plan within the context of conventional nineteenth-century ground plans is explored in chapter 6 of this thesis.

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[17] D Preziosi, 'Seeing Soane Seeing You', *Compelling Visuality: The Work of Art in and out of History*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2003, p. 225.
[18] A Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, Cambridge, University of Cambridge Press, 1882, p. 164.
[19] H Furján, 'The Spectacular Spectacle of the House of the Collector', *Toward a New Interior* (ed. L Weinthal), New York, Princeton Architectural Press, 2011, p. 506.
[20] S Psarra, *Architecture And Narrative: The Formation of Space and Cultural Meaning in Buildings*, Oxford, Routledge, 2009, p. 153.
[21] D Preziosi, 'Seeing Soane Seeing You', *Compelling Visuality: The Work of Art in and out of History*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2003, p. 227.
R Middleton, 'Soane's Spaces and the Matter of Fragmentation', *John Soane, architect : master of space and light* (eds. M Richardson and M Stevens), London, Royal Academy of Arts, 1999, p.29.
A Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, Cambridge, University of Cambridge Press, 1882, p. 164.

Mirrors

One cannot write about Sir John Soane's Museum and exclude Soane's use of mirrors, and thus chapter 7 of this thesis deals with the depiction of Soane's mirrors in Britton's *The Union*. The following will outline the literature that specifically deals with the effects of mirrors in Sir John Soane's Museum, adding to the difficulty of Britton's brief.

Psarra discusses the use of mirrors in terms of enabling the visitor to discover "hidden properties" within the museum, through "visual connections seen through reflections in other parts of the building…", supporting her conclusion with a series of altered ground plans that depict the isovists and reflected views produced by mirrors in selected rooms, from the Library and Dining Room, to the meaningful museum Dome. [22] Similarly, as discussed, Preziosi acknowledges Soane's use of mirrors in terms of the kaleidoscopic nature of Soane's spaces: "You also become aware that there are scores of mirrors everywhere. They are flat and convex, large and small, and are fixed to walls, on concave or square indented ceilings, in pendentives, and in countless recessed panels that collect, focus, and pass on direct and indirect light, enriching and juxtaposing colours and multiplying the spaces of each room in such a way as to collect the contents of adjacent rooms into the space you're in."[23] This 2003 description of the placement of mirrors and their effects builds upon Britton's own take of their function from *The Union*: "By the aid of mirrors we multiply the costly embellishments that surround us, extend the apparent dimensions of our rooms, and create the most magical effects."[24] Whilst Britton writes of expanding the literal dimensions of space that comprise Sir John Soane's Museum, Preziosi describes a more complex spatial concept, that is, the division of the visible yet physically inaccessible spaces and the visible yet physically inaccessible spaces which, depending on the position of the mirror they appear in, "transforms the geometric order of the reflected space(s) to an order that requires (projects) a perspectival point different from that represented by the viewer's present position in space."[25] This is also described as a dimension of the museum's virtual space.

The mirror in a kaleidoscope is a flat plane and offers a multiplicity of the same reflection of reality; however, in Soane's house-museum there are a large number of convex mirrors that bend and alter reality, the highest concentration of which are in the Breakfast

[22] S Psarra, *Architecture And Narrative: The Formation of Space and Cultural Meaning in Buildings*, Oxford, Routledge, 2009, p. 179.
[23] D Preziosi, 'Seeing Soane Seeing You', *Compelling Visuality: The Work of Art in and out of History*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2003, p. 214.
[24] J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: exemplified by a series of illustrations, with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane*, London, Printed for author, 1827, p. 17.
[25] D Preziosi, 'Seeing Soane Seeing You', *Compelling Visuality: The Work of Art in and out of History*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2003, p. 226.

Parlour. Largely explored by Helene Furján in her essay 'The Spectacular Spectacle of the House of the Collector', she theorises that Soane's use of mirrors constructs dramatic spatial illusions, expanding the perception of limited space, and the quantity of objects therein. Citing the simplicity of a flat mirror's ability to increase the level of light that reaches space a good distance away from a natural light source, she offers her readers an history of mirrors as machined objects in Soane's time, and as such represent modernity in his collection of antiquities/casts of. She not only notes the ability of the mirror to offer the viewer a multiplicity of views and increased depth, but also "...to select and organise the interior, as crucial a part of its arrangement as the furniture it sends to fix in its images."[26] Ultimately, the mirror in this environment, in its ability to create repetition, much like the kaleidoscope, "threatens to exceed its capacity to organise, confounding and confusing, or better, dissolving, the spaces of the house into images."[27] These "images" of the house are arguably synonymous with the virtual spaces Preziosi refers to. For Furján, the convex mirror distorts reality, asserting a visual unity in what is reflected, thus creating a multiplicity of new narratives of history through cohesive, but warped representation.

Finally, if we consider the convex mirror in our own cultural caché, the closest relative to the mirrors in the Sir John Soane's Museum is arguably the pedestrian safety dome mirror commonly found at either end of an underpass or the like. This demonstrates the practical qualities of the convex mirror — it opens up one's field of vision, extending the visitor's peripheral vision.

Soane's identity crisis; Public/Private, House/Museum, Museum/Academy

The issue of translating Sir John Soane's Museum to a guidebook transcends the physical built form, confused by the many terms with which the collection is defined. Jas Elsner, in his essay 'A Collector's Model of Desire', asserts that the guidebook has the task of institutionalising the house as a museum, further complicating Britton's already perplexing task. This problem of definition is much more widespread than the singular issue of the house and museum; unlike other institutions of this typology, Sir John Soane's Museum functions as a multiplicity of characters. In Susan Feinberg's 'The Genesis of Sir John Soane's Museum Idea: 1801-1810', she acknowledges the evolution of the museum idea, but simplifies this into the binary house-museum, marking a shift from the domestic to the institutionalised over time, coming to a crux upon his death. "Over the years", she writes, "Soane became increasingly obsessed by the

[26] H Furján, 'The Spectacular Spectacle of the House of the Collector', *Toward a New Interior* (ed. L Weinthal), New York, Princeton Architectural Press, 2011, p. 507.
[27] Ibid., p. 508.

museum. Additions and alterations to accommodate the over-flowing collection gradually expanded the original dimensions. In time, the plethora of objects erased the boundaries between museum galleries and domestic quarters. When Soane died, virtually the entire residence at No. 13 (excepting the attic where Soane lived in his last years) was transformed into a house-museum."[28] Further to the boundary set between house and museum, there is much more at hand when discussing the complexities of this space. For example, similar to the way that Furjàn explains the modernity of a mirror as a part of Soane's collection, the mirror also falls somewhere between an object in Soane's collection and a part of the fabric that houses it. There are several other aspects of Sir John Soane's Museum that lie between definitions, and it is this lack of identity that also fundamentally posed problems for John Britton, and subsequently Soane himself.

First and foremost, as discussed in reference to passages and the function of his spaces, there is the issue of public and private; a common problem for any house-museum. At a conference entitled *Houses as Museums/Museums as Houses* held at the Wallace Collection in September 2014, Directors of house-museums, including Abraham Thomas, then Director of Sir John Sir John Soane's Museum, congregated to discuss the complexity of the relationship between museums and domestic spaces, and their institutionalisation. Whilst engaging to hold such a targeted event, the problem of handling a single entity as both a house and a museum poses complex problems in terms of display and perception, and a guidebook is no exception; the author bore witness to a great struggle. What adds significant confusion and complexity to this particular example is that the museum area of the house existed in Soane's time, whereas a typical "house-museum" is a domestic space preserved and labelled as a museum after the inhabitant's death. This means each space that once identified as private is now opened to the public. Simply put, "[a]s a house-museum, in which the collections cannot be distinguished from domestic objects, the furniture and furnishings, of the house itself, Lincoln's Inn Fields not only incorporated the collection in the house, but significantly, incorporated the house into the collection."[29]

Elsner explores the transition from collection to museum, "from the living and changing body of collected artefacts to that pivotal moment when, on some fundamental level, change is arrested and the museum begins…"[30] This is inherently problematic when applied to

[28] S Feinberg, 'The Genesis of Sir John Soane's Museum Idea: 1801-1810', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* Volume 43 (October 1984), p. 237.
[29] H Furján, 'The Spectacular Spectacle of the House of the Collector', *Toward a New Interior* (ed. L Weinthal), New York, Princeton Architectural Press, 2011, p. 506.
[30] J Elsner, 'A Collector's Model of Desire: The House and Museum of Sir John Soane', *The Cultures of Collecting* (eds. J Elsner and R Cardinal), 1994, p. 155.

Sir John Soane's Museum as change certainly was not arrested. In the unique case of Sir John Soane's Museum as it exists today, there is a mélange of spaces with various degrees of publicity and privacy. There are the rooms that Soane intended to be public upon their arrangement, or the museum proper; however, there also exists rooms like the Library and Dining Room; public to a degree in Soane's time as dinners were held in this room, as well as its adjacent placing to the Entrance Hall, flanked by the street and the rear of his house. Further, there are some rooms that give the illusion of privacy; in 2015, the restoration of Soane's private apartments was completed, institutionalising and rigidifying Eliza Soane's morning habits – modelled on a more traditional idea of the house-museum. Of course, the only surviving aspect of the original private apartment in situ prior to the restoration was fragments of the red Adelphi wallpaper, until 2015 buried under layers of subsequent wall coverings, presently unearthed and superimposed with expertly matched, freshly printed Cowtan paper. The original private apartments were dismantled upon Soane's death.

Still, Elsner defines the house as a museum because "...with its collection intact, [it] is memorialised *in situ* as museum. It thus embodies and freezes for posterity the moment at which collection (and redeploying a collection) ceases, the moment when the museum begins."[31] He then identifies the self-institutionalisation attempted through publishing Soane's *Descriptions*. Arguing that the guidebook has the task of institutionalising the house as a museum expands Britton's brief beyond the expectations of a typical guidebook. However, perhaps Britton even more than Soane and his later descriptions, accepted the building's role as museum, indicated by the poem included on the title page [chapter 1, figure 2] that references the British Museum. This topic is covered once more in his preface in which he gives thanks for such institutions as the British Museum, the nation owing credit solely to its founder, Sir Hans Sloane.[32] He then highlights the lack of architectural fragments within this national collection. Elsner further explores the issue of the house-museum, as he puts it, "...[t]he problem in a sense is one of definition, the result of a private collection talked up, as it were, into a museum. But the vacillation between house and museum, never quite resolved in Soane's own attempts to re-

[31] J Elsner, 'A Collector's Model of Desire: The House and Museum of Sir John Soane', *The Cultures of Collecting* (eds. J Elsner and R Cardinal), 1994, p. 156.
[32] J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: exemplified by a series of illustrations, with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane*, London, Printed for author, 1827, p. viii: "When we survey the contents of the British Museum, for instance, we are both astonished and delighted at the number, variety, and value of the articles there concentrated. In seeing what has thus been done, we cannot be too grateful to the individual who laid the foundation — who formed the nucleus — which has at length attained such magnitude and interest. Before the time of Sir Hans Sloane, i. e. about eighty years ago only, there was no public museum in England ; but that enlightened and zealous collector having expended about fifty thousand pounds in accumulating a mass of natural and artificial articles of rarity and value, directed, by his will, that the same should be offered to the Government for twenty thousand pounds, for the purpose of founding a national repository."

describe his collection, is still apparent in the modern state of the house, where the upper storeys are nowadays reserved for office space and for the resident-warder's flat."[33]

Moreover, there is the unique aspect of the didactic, and even professional, in Soane's house-museum. Unlike other museums, as indicated through Soane's own lectures at the Royal Academy as well as Britton's preface to *The Union*, Soane arranged and made public his collection for the purpose of supplying students of architecture a visual, three-dimensional learning resource on the history of architecture specifically. Further, as outlined in the above walkthrough of the house, at the heart of the museum, although hidden away from visitors today, there exists Soane's Pupil's Room where his pupils would work, surrounded by architectural casts from which to draw. The pupillage of architecture students is laid out in the next chapter of this thesis, but it is worth mentioning that the house-museum in a way also served as an Architectural Academy, just as John Britton wrote of in his preface to *The Union*.[34] This room as it exists now was established in 1824, however it was originally organised in 1821 as a drawing office, set on top of another drawing office in what is now the Colonnade, signifying a shift from the professional to the pedagogic, or from the office to the museum in the 1820s. This altering function further confuses the process of labelling the institution, placing it firmly on the brink of the domestic, the didactic, and the public. With this multiplicity of function and meaning, Britton's duty as publisher of the first guidebook, in light of this shift so close to the time of publication, became even more complex. These struggles are captured in accounts of the reception of the Sir John Soane's Museum; "A labyrinthine, kaleidoscopic, spatiotemporal domain, one that moreover demands of the visitor a degree or level of attentiveness beyond what we commonly take, today, to be the ordinary run of museological experiences of reading discrete objects, whether they may be seen in a narratological light or not. These visual and spatial complexities were commented on and appreciated by not a few visitors to the museum during Soane's day and afterward."[35]

It is my aim to demonstrate that the complexities of the conventions employed by Britton in his visual representations make the same demands on the reader as the museum does the visitor. The guidebook, as a tool, is intended to aid the visitor in interpreting a collection, and to navigate the spaces it is comprised of. Because Sir John Soane's Museum evades definition, and is comprised of "kaleidoscopic" and "labyrinthine" networks of space, Britton's

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[33] J Elsner, 'A Collector's Model of Desire: The House and Museum of Sir John Soane', *The Cultures of Collecting* (eds. J Elsner and R Cardinal), 1994, p. 159. Note: the role of resident warder was abolished in the 1990s, after Elsner's article was written.
[34] J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: exemplified by a series of illustrations, with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane*, London, Printed for author, 1827, p. xiii.
[35] D Preziosi, 'Seeing Soane Seeing You', *Compelling Visuality: The Work of Art in and out of History*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2003, p.227.

guidebook is atypical in the context of his oeuvre, as well as the genre of nineteenth-century guidebooks. As chapters 4 and 5 of this work are concerned with other typologies of Britton's work, or other iterations of guides to arguably similar collections, it is important to keep these complexities in mind.

3. The Architectural Institution in the Nineteenth Century

Unlike the built form, architectural representation is a direct output of the architect; it is at once the foundation of architectural education, and simultaneously at the heart of its practice.[1] The dissemination and interpretation of the Sir John Soane's Museum through the medium of the first guidebook's text and images is a complex process. John Britton, a self-taught topographer professionally situated on the fringes of the architectural profession, employed a number of architectonic graphic conventions within his publication; plans, sections, elevations and views of the principal apartments of the house and museum, drawn by C.J. Richardson, Edward Davis and Henry Shaw and others. In establishing the importance of representation in practice, the institutions with which Britton interacted that informed and shaped this type of visual output must be examined. The aim of this chapter is to outline both Soane and Britton's experiences with the most notable architectural institution of the nineteenth century, the Royal Academy, and to elucidate the role of architecture within the supposed "union" of fine arts, a difficult task even to this day.[2] This chapter forms the biographical trace for our two protagonists, Sir John Soane and John Britton, specifically in terms of their interactions with the Royal Academy, and as such begins with their early education. This will then span to narrate both of their experiences with the architectural institution, both collectively and respectively, with the ultimate aim of demonstrating how the practice of architecture was situated on the periphery of the fine arts, and additionally how John Britton, antiquarian and topographer, was an outsider of the establishment.

Drawing as epistemic practice

"Drawing is a specific epistemic practice for making architectural issues visible and thus allows for a critical examination and debate"[3]

When setting out to create a comprehensive visual analysis of an architectural volume, it is necessary to form an understanding of architectural education and practice at the time of its

[1] Spiro Kostof cites the material evidence of the architectural drawing, rather than the built form, as the signifier of the role of architect itself: "The presence of architects is documented as far back as the third millennium before Christ. Graphic conventions of architectural practice make their appearance even earlier, as for example the plan of a residential cluster in a wall painting of the seventh millennial B.C. at Catal Hoyuk in Asia Minor." S Kostof, *The Architect,* Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1977, p. v.
[2] On 17 January 2018, as part of the *Architecture on Display* lecture series at the Sir John Soane's Museum, Owen Hopkins, Senior Exhibitions Curator at Sir John Soane's Museum, remarked upon the "institutional prejudice against architecture [in fine arts exhibitions] resulting from a lack of expertise and understanding".
[3] J Bovelet, 'Drawing as Epistemic Practice in Architectural Design', *Footprint*, Drawing Theory (Autumn 2010), p. 75.

publication. As Bovelet succinctly asserts, "drawing brings epistemic architectural issues to the fore", and this notion does not discriminate against issues outside the minimal scope of the built form; the social and professional idiosyncrasies and transactions affect a practice's outgoing drawings and documents, as well as the exclusionary nature of this tight-knit network rooted in educational foundations. Fundamental to this study is the notion that architectural representation is a direct output of the architectural practice; unlike the painter and the sculptor, the architect is never in direct contact with the end result of his or her artistic process, the building. Further, the quality of the "final piece" (the built form) is dependent on a group of individuals, from surveyors to builders, engineers to landscape architects, thus, when considering architects within the realm of the fine arts as they were understood in the early nineteenth century, drawings are as much indicative of architectural practice as, for example, a painting and the studio it was produced in. As Crary asserts in *Techniques of the Observer*, it is these sorts of institutions that produce ways of seeing for its subjects, or in this case, students. He argues that, "the problem of the observer is the field on which vision in history and its effects are always inseparable from the possibilities of an observing subject who is both the historical product *and* the site of certain practices, techniques, institutions, and procedures of subjectification."[4]

John Britton; in his own words and otherwise

In describing John Britton's upbringing, I by no means wish to provide a from-rags-to-riches story; Britton does a fine job of this himself. He published his autobiography in 1850 at the age of 79, and by his own account it remained unfinished[5] and has been described as "ramblings"[6], or "fragments", but his message was unrelentingly clear. [7] It is comprised of his own account of his personal and literary life, followed by an account of his literary works by T. E. Jones, his secretary at the time, and appended by biographical, topographical, critical and miscellaneous essays. By maintaining an objective understanding of Britton's autobiography it becomes evident that he was very much aware of his status in society as influenced by his beginnings, which is vital in forming an understanding of where he fit within London's architectural society. The topic is clearly contentious; from the work of Mordaunt Crook to Sir Kenneth Clark, opinions differ on whether Britton was a "pot-boiling publisher", "the Father of British

[4] J Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*; *on vision and modernity in the nineteenth century*, Cambridge, The MIT Press, 1992, p. 5.
[5] J Britton, *The Autobiography of John Britton: Personal and literary memoir of the author,* London, printed for the author, 1850, p. viii.
[6] J M Crook, 'John Britton and the genesis of the Gothic Revival', *Concerning Architecture (*ed. J Summerson), London, Penguin, 1968, p. 118.
[7] K Clark, *The Gothic Revival: an essay in the history of taste*, London, Constable, 1950, p. 105.

Antiquities" or "a great newspaper owner - industry, persistency, a fine instinct for changes of fashion and perfect shamelessness in exploiting it."[8] The project was funded by an 1845 public testimonial put forward by a circle of his friends, a testament of either his genuinely friendly qualities, or his calculating charm and bookselling skills; whatever the case, at the time Britton had lost his wife and taken ill with consecutive bouts of bronchitis, and as such the volume is laden with self-pity.

Reflecting on his youth, Britton maintains this sense of gloom. In part 1 of his autobiography, he quotes Miss Mitford's publication *Our Village* (1824), which paints a rather elevated impression of Britton's hometown, a description he flatly dismisses: "Hence I can trace scarcely any analogy between Miss Mitford's Village, and that in which I was destined to pass many precious years without the acquisition of any practical or useful knowledge."[9] He writes of some success for his family, his father, a baker, shopkeeper and farmer had, at one point, employed two servants; a male for help on the farm and shop, and a female for the household.[10] At the point of his parents' death, he had already left Kington St Michael, but never quite recognises his seemingly good fortune in his youth. He is self-evident, and above all is self-victimising with an added persecution complex: "It was my constant aim to surpass my equals, and compete with my superiors. Unfortunately I met with but little to stimulate these natural tendencies among my playmates or schoolfellows, nor had I parents, friends, or masters to direct them in the right and laudable course. Full fifteen years were wasted and frittered away in trifling miscellaneous occupation, and in learning words and things which were almost wholly useless."[11]

In his preface, Britton aligns himself among certain illustrious figures with humble backgrounds: "In exhibiting the struggles of aspiring youth, against the difficulties and hardships of adverse circumstances, my narrative may be adduced as another link in the chain already formed by those of Franklin, Gifford, Holcroft, and others, who contended with, and surmounted, many obstacles in their worldly career. Oppressed by poverty, they laboured hard under forbidding influences, but ultimately acquired honourable distinction."[12] It is suspicious

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[8] J M Crook, 'John Britton and the genesis of the Gothic Revival', *Concerning Architecture (*ed. J Summerson), London, Penguin, 1968, p. 118.
A phrase taken from a letter penned by T.L. Donaldson, esq., then Professor of Architecture at University College, on 15 April 1845 to Mr. Britton, encouraging the idea of the Britton testimonial, and subsequently published in Britton's Autobiography: J Britton, *The Autobiography of John Britton: Personal and literary memoir of the author,* London, printed for the author, 1850, p. ix.
K Clark, *The Gothic Revival: an essay in the history of taste*, London, Constable, 1950. p. 105.
[9] J Britton, *The Autobiography of John Britton: Personal and literary memoir of the author,* London, printed for the author, 1850, p. 27.
[10] Ibid., p. 38.
[11] Ibid., p. 40.
[12] Ibid., pp. vii – viii.

that Britton neglects to mention Sir John Soane in his list of those individuals who overcame adversity to achieve greatness; Benjamin Franklin's father was a fabric dyer, and later a tithingman; William Gifford's father was a glazier and house painter; Thomas Holcroft was born in London, to a shoemaker; Sir John Soane was born in Goring-upon-Thames, and his father was a Bricklayer. More telling is that among this list, there are no Royal Academicians, and I believe this is evidence of Britton's disdain with the Academy due to his exclusion, which will be built upon further in this chapter.

Having left Wiltshire for London, Britton took on a number of gruelling apprenticeships and subsequently found himself immersed in the London theatrical scene rubbing elbows with the likes of Belzoni (of Sir John Soane's Museum's Seti I sarcophagus-acquisition, as well as weightlifting fame) in Clerkenwell. He refers to the "slavery of apprenticeship" at the time, however, at the age of 27, his drive to act took a turn and he began his topographical career when John Wheble, a bookseller and joint-proprietor of *The Country Chronicle*, suggested he survey his home county of Wiltshire. He published the first volume of *The Beauties of Wiltshire* in 1801 at age 30, and embarked on his illustrious literary career.[13] Britton is not discreet when it comes to the hardships involved in putting the work together and candidly explains the difficulties of a topographer, which for someone so new to the trade is an unabashed act of self-confidence. He is proud of his new profession, proclaiming, "[t]he topographer, above all others, should be possessed of undeviating perseverance; for the complete attainment of his object, the *perfection* of his labours, is dependant as much on patient investigation, as on the more volatile effusions of the most animated genius."[14] *Beauties* is peppered with proclamations such as this regarding the author's difficulties, and willpower to overcome them.

Sir Kenneth Clark asserts that Britton was "...no archaeologist and had no natural interest in architecture...", but I would argue the opposite. [15] Coming from the background outlined above, he entered a professional sphere in crisis, of which he practiced on the fringes. There is a great deal of evidence that Britton strove for the technical precision associated with architecture, which will be explored more in reference to his topography books in the next chapter of this thesis, and was impassioned and outraged by the fact that architects were the misfits of the fine arts as reflected by the Royal Academy at the time. What is important to note is that John Britton lacked a formal education as well as direction; his career was bestowed

[13] J Britton, *The Autobiography of John Britton: Personal and literary memoir of the author,* London, printed for the author, 1850, p. 24.
[14] J Britton, *The beauties of Wiltshire, displayed in statistical, historical, and descriptive sketches: interspersed with anecdotes of the arts. Vol. I.,* London, printed by J.D. Dewick, for Vernor and Hood; J. Wheble; J. Britton, 1801, p. vi.
[15] K Clark, *The Gothic Revival: an essay in the history of taste*, London, Constable, 1950, p. 105.

upon him and he was largely self-educated, having left school at age 16 when he left Wiltshire for London. In his own words. "...I never enjoyed, what may be called, any education; was cramped and oppressed with poverty..."[16] The reality of his upbringing is reflected in the way that his works are perceived and described, not only in the adjectives employed in reference to his autobiography, but the text within *The Union* when compared to Soane's own descriptions of his house.[17] Elsner describes Britton's work as "blithe", whereas Soane's own volumes are driven by the "pedantic collector's insistence on articulating the provenance of each item."[18]

Soane and early nineteenth-century architectural education

Unlike John Britton, although Soane emerged from equally "humble" beginnings (born John Soan, he added the "e" in 1794 for a more gentlemanly reception), their paths diverged when he undertook a formal education from the foremost institution of the fine arts: the Royal Academy. Soane's education, much like Britton's introduction to his respective career, was through a companion; his brother William, a bricklayer like their father, introduced Soane to a surveyor who worked with George Dance the Younger, under whom Soane subsequently trained from age 15. The logical educational progression for Soane was thus to enrol at the Royal Academy School of Architecture as Dance was a founding Academician. It is at the Royal Academy that Soane was formally educated as an architect through lectures by Thomas Sandby, as well as his indispensable Grand Tour that was funded by a travelling scholarship he was awarded along with the Royal Academy Gold Medal in 1776 for his design of a triumphal bridge. This architectural education is typical of Soane's time. By the late eighteenth century, there were four components to a complete architectural education: a pupillage with an established architect spanning approximately five years, lessons at a drawing school such as St Martin's Lane Academy, lectures on architecture and cast drawing exercises at the Royal Academy, all culminating, finance permitting, with a stint of studying on the continent, typically in Italy or France.[19] It can be said that for the students of architecture studying between 1806 and 1837, Sir John Soane, then Professor of Architecture at the Royal Academy, played an integral role in

[16] J Britton, *The Autobiography of John Britton: Personal and literary memoir of the author,* London, printed for the author, 1850, p. 215.
[17] D Willkens, 'Reading Words and Images in the *Description(s)* of Sir John Soane's Museum' in *Architectural Histories*, Volume 4, No 1 (2016), pp. 1–22; although this work is focussed on the various descriptions of Sir John Soane's Museum, John Britton's *The Union* is briefly mentioned, and then dismissed due to Soane's disappointment with the volume.
[18] J Elsner, 'Architecture, Antiquarianism and Archaeology in Sir John Soane's Museum', *Saisir l'antique/Appropriating Antiquity* (eds. A. Tsingarida and D. Kurtz), Brussels, University of Brussels Press, 2002, p. 185.
[19] F Jenkins, *Architect and Patron: A Survey of Professional Relations and Practice in England from the Sixteenth Century to the Present Day*, London, Oxford University Press, 1961, p. 107.

their respective education and ultimately their careers. Due to his comprehensive and well-organised archive, among the most well-documented masters in the history of architectural pupillage is Sir John Soane. Soane entered the office of George Dance the Younger as a pupil at the age of fifteen, and about four years later became an assistant in Henry Holland's office. It is at this time that notable practicing architects' education became a focal point, and specific to architecture. At the time of Soane's education many notable architects practicing had a background in a building trade. This curriculum vitae would soon fall out of favour as a result of the professional shift that will be outlined later in this chapter. Signs of favouritism towards architects with a specialised education begin to emerge within Soane's generation; of the seventeen architects who may be regarded as leading figures between 1750 and 1834, at least eleven received an expressly architectural training and adversely only three had a trade background.[20]

Aware of the importance of a good apprenticeship in the educational process from his own personal experience, from 1784 Soane offered the same opportunity to budding architects, and crucially drawing comprised a large part of this pupillage. George Basevi (1794-1845) arrived at Soane's offices at Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1811 to commence his studies, beginning with a day spent drawing various 'mouldings'. He then moved on to spend a day drawing the Tuscan Order, followed by the Doric Order, which, being slightly more involved, took Basevi two days. Basevi's drawing of the Ionic Order took four days to complete. This exercise ended with the Corinthian Order, which took eleven days to execute. There also exists his drawings of buildings he had visited and drawn on site, such as the plan of a house at Montague Place.[21] What this demonstrates, both in quantity as well as the timing of these drawing exercises, is that architectural drawing and documentation forms the foundation of architectural education. Pupils of Sir John Soane would also produce the large-scale drawings that supplemented Soane's lectures at the Royal Academy. Soane spent three years preparing his first course of six lectures, including the drawings which were to illustrate them. Altogether, for the twelve lectures devised by Soane, some 1,000 drawings were prepared by his pupils and office staff. This brings us to another component of architectural education: the school of architecture at the Royal Academy of Arts, and the lectures offered therein.

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[20] J Wilton-Ely, 'The Rise of the Professional Architect in England', *The Architect* (ed. S Kostof), Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1977, p. 180.

[21] More details on Basevi's time at Soane's office can be found in A T Bolton, *Architectural Education a Century Ago, Being an Account of the Office of Sir John Soane, R.A., Architect of the Bank of England, with Special Reference to the Career of George Basevi, his pupil, Architect of the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge*, London, Sir John Soane's Museum, (n.d.)

Soane and The Royal Academy

Whilst Soane was educated and employed by the Royal Academy, he did not subscribe to all of its practices, and often expressed this directly; perhaps most directly in the rogue didactic collection and arrangement within his house, but also in his unpublished public appeal of 1812 and the related series of events that inspired it. As outlined previously, Soane dedicated a great deal of his time and resources to preparing his lectures. Soane was appointed professor in 1806 and delivered his first lecture in 1809 after three years of preparation. Following the legacy of his own teacher George Dance the Younger, who had failed to deliver a single lecture during his professorship of 1798-1806, Soane's carefully constructed lecture drawings and thoughtful material, which traced the origins and history of architecture, were a welcomed change — that is, until Soane introduced elements of criticism in his fourth lecture, delivered 29 January 1810. The audience reception of Soane's comments was varied and animated in its combined approval and dissatisfaction, indicative of the rift between those who supported the criticism of their contemporaries and those who did not. Among the works Soane criticised were John Nash's first London building, George Dance the Younger's St Luke's Hospital, but most notably Robert Smirke's Covent Garden Theatre. With two lecture drawings of the theatre to illustrate his criticisms, Soane explained that it was an example of the "practice of sacrificing everything to one front…", and asserted that "[t]hese two drawings of a more recent work point out the glaring impropriety of this defect in a manner if possible still more forcible and more subversive of true taste." Soane predicted the audience's reaction, as following these statements he delivered a retrospective disclaimer, stating that "[i]t is extremely painful to me to be obliged to refer to modern works, but if improper models which become more dangerous from being constantly before us, are suffered, from false delicacy, or other motives, to pass unnoticed, they become familiar, and the task I have undertaken would be not only neglected but the duty of the Professor, as pointed out by the Laws of the Institution, becomes a dead letter."[23] As a result, Soane's lectures were suspended until further notice, and a meeting was organised by the Academy Council to discuss the prevention of professors criticising modern British architecture. Under the threat of dismissal, Soane omitted such content from his lectures upon his reinstatement in 1813, however he shares his unwavering opinions on his temporary suspension and the censoring of the content of his lectures by the Royal Academy in his unpublished work titled *An Appeal to the Public: Occasioned by the Suspension of the Architectural Lectures in the Royal Academy*, which opens, "[a] slight acquaintance with the affairs of the

[23] D Watkin (ed.), *Sir John Soane: the Royal Academy lectures*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000, p. 544.

world teaches us how difficult it is for an individual to obtain justice from a body of men, however clear his case may be, if it is contrary to their prepossessions: and perhaps a stronger example of this melancholy truth has seldom occurred than in the circumstances detailed in this pamphlet…"[24] Perhaps indicative of his unwavering opinion, Soane's pamphlet, circulated among friends, is inclusive of further criticisms of Smirke's Covent Garden Theatre, his persistent message unchanging: that it is necessary to make examples of contemporary works to inhibit the proliferation of bad taste. Despite the reinstatement of his censored lecture series, Soane's interactions with the Royal Academy would influence his outlook on the architectural institution; this sentiment is echoed within his work *Crude Hints towards a history of my house in Lincoln's Inn Fields* (1812), in which Soane imagines the discovery of his house-museum from the perspective of a future antiquarian, written the year prior to returning to lecturing: "The principal front was probably next to the great Square [area/place] and as far as may be judged from its present state it must have been raised by some fanciful mind smitten with the love of novelty in *direct utter defiance of all the established rules* of the Architectural Schools, anxious to 'Sketch a grace beyond the reach of art'."[25]

Britton and criticism

Similar to Soane, when it comes to criticism as a form of constructive feedback, it is evident that John Britton was a supporter of such a method of improving public taste. Founded in 1803, *The Annual Review*, edited by Mr. Aikin, was an annual octavo volume which offered criticisms of the literary offerings of the year leading up to its publication. It was a lengthy publication, usually comprising 800 to 1000 pages. The publication was set up in terms of genre with a single specialist tasked with the criticisms of each volume concerned with that genre. Britton was allocated the "British Topography and Antiquaries" department, a testament to his reputation in that field, but also his willingness to put to print his opinions and this method of reviewing his peers' works. In the first volume, Britton's offering amounted to eighteen articles; Fosbrooke's *British Monachism*; Lysons's *Reliquiae Romanse*; Warner's *History of Bath*; Button's *Roman Wall*; Malcolm's *Londinium Redivivum ; the Picture of London*; Coatcs's *History of*

[24] J Soane, *An appeal to the public, occasioned by the suspension of the architectural lectures in the Royal Academy. To which is subjoined an account of a critical work, published a few years ago, entitled, "The Exhibition; Or, A Second Anticipation:" with observations on modern Anglo-Grecian architecture; and remarks on the mischievous tendency of the present speculative system of building, &c. In letters to a friend. Illustrated with engravings, by John Soane, architect, F.A.S. Member of the academies of Parma and Florence; architect to the Bank of England, and to the Royal Hospital at Chelsea* (unpublished manuscript), 1812, Soane reference 6467, p. vi.

[25] J Soane, *Crude hints towards an history of my house in Lincoln's Inn Fields*; introduction by Helen Dorey, Oxford, Archaeopress, 2015, pp. 65-66 (emphasis added by author).

Reading; Charles Dibdin's *Tour " through almost the whole of England and a considerable part of Scotland"*; Lipscombe's *Journey into South Wales*; the same author's *Description of Matlock*; Hyett's *Watering Places in Devon*; Manby's *Fugitive Sketches of Clifton*, and *Guide through South Wales*; Sir Henry Englefield's *Walk through Southampton*; Warner's *Northern Tour*; and Campbell's *Tour in Scotland*. In return, a number of Britton's own works were included in *The Annual Review*, the task of their criticism taken on by Mr. Aikin who evidently also appreciates the positive qualities and outcomes of criticism.[26] Britton's willingness to criticise the work of his contemporaries and in turn have his own work reviewed is a testament to his inclination to go against the grain of the Royal Academy.

The Royal Academy and The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting

Soane's issues with the Royal Academy were not bound to their issue with criticism; as evinced by the purchase and setting up of his house-museum, Soane set out to offer his students a better learning resource than what was on offer during his own education. First-hand accounts signal to the fact that students of architecture were systematically treated differently from the more favoured students of sculpture and painting. It can be said that the problems with the Royal Academy and their learning resources stem from the founding of the institution.

The School of Architecture at the Royal Academy was founded with good intentions, but the resources for students were lacking, and this is a fact noted and expressed by many of the prominent names in the architectural sphere including Soane. William Chambers, its founder, chose the new and progressive model of Blondel's École des Arts as inspiration for the School of Architecture at the Academy, however, this model was not adhered to. Formed in 1743, the French architecture school was open six days a week, thirteen hours a day, and offered students a variety of practical lectures, time with professors, and architectural tours of Paris. The reality of the Royal Academy in London was much different and seemingly showed preference for the other fine arts, sculpture and painting, and the reason for this is evident in its foundations: of the thirty-six founding members of the Royal Academy, Thomas Sandby, John Gwynn, George Dance the Younger and William Tyler were the only architects; architecture was under-represented at the Academy from the outset. Further, the educational role of the Royal Academy was unclear, as George Dance the Younger failed to deliver lectures during his 1798-1806 professorship, a misgiving corrected by Sir John Soane during his time as the Professor of Architecture (1806-1837). As detailed previously, we know that Soane took this role very seriously and used his professional resources to illustrate his lectures. In addition to insufficient

[26] J Britton, *The Autobiography of John Britton: Personal and literary memoir of the author,* London, printed for the author, 1850, pp. 40-41.

lecturing, admissions were low for the architecture school, with an average of two or three students taken in to study architecture per year as opposed to eighteen for the other fine arts between 1775 and 1830.[27] The problem with the Royal Academy serving as the main educational and institutional hub for architects of the early nineteenth century becomes evident when it is compared to similar organisations that existed in continental Europe, namely l'École Polytechnique in Paris. As Crook writes, the educational system in Paris was the force that defined the professional architect in terms of structure and design.[28] Without this structure, what sort of certainty of identity would this professional degree instil in its students?

A separate component of the education of the architect was attendance at a drawing school. The Antique School at the Royal Academy was the intended source for inspiration for students of architecture, whilst painting and sculpture students had access to the Living Model school, which they only gained access to having mastered the art of drawing casts at the Antique School. The Antique School was difficult to access, being open only Monday to Saturday, 11am to 2pm, and later 10am to 3pm. The School's cast collection amounted to: 70 statues, 122 busts, 50 bas reliefs, 12 large unspecified fragments, as well as a variety of small figures, 105 pieces from Trajan's Column, 2 marbles from the Parthenon frieze, 5 ornamental marble fragments, and 19 architectural casts.[29]

JMW Turner lectured Academy students on perspective at the RA but still, as Margaret Richardson asserts, drawing perspective remained "plainly important" at Soane's office. [30] Whilst the Royal Academy was the sole awarding body as far as architecture was concerned, it was common knowledge among the community that something more was required, and often its failings were remedied by Sir John Soane. This lack of attention toward architecture is a problem that Britton highlights in one of his early letters to Sir John Soane:

> "December 8 1822
>
> Dear Sir,
>
> I send you another copy of / my address. I regret that we had not the / pleasure of seeing you at our meeting / on the tuesday last, but hope to see you / another day. For as an individual I / should be much gratified to profit by / your

[27] S C Hutchinson, 'The Royal Academy Schools, 1768 – 1830', *The Walpole Society*, Volume 39 (1962), p. 123.
[28] J M Crook, 'The pre-Victorian architect: professionalism & patronage', *Architectural History,* Volume 12 (1969), p. 63.
[29] RA, 'Minutes of the Council of the Academicians of the Royal Academy or Arts', IV (10 Nov 1810), p. 251.
[30] M Richardson, 'Learning in the Soane Office', *The Education of the Architect* (ed. N Bingham), Proceedings of the 22nd Annual Symposium of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain, London, 1992, p. 17.

> cooperation in our plan of / forming a substantial and respectable / establishment for the promotion of / Architecture. Indeed, if you could / resolve to be the ostensible founder / of such a plan, you would find our / embers gladly aid and assist. It is / time something were done, and it seems / almost a reproach on the body of / Architects that they are so inert and / indifferent. The Royal Academy does / nothing, comparatively, for this branch of / Art.
>
> Mrs. B begs to be kindly remembered and believe me yours very truly,
>
> J. Britton"[31]

This correspondence is proof that, even for those practicing outside of the Royal Academy, the poor treatment of architecture among the other fine arts is palpable. This dissatisfaction is also detected in the sequential founding of at least eleven new architectural organisations in London from 1791 to 1834.[32]

Architectural growing pains

As mentioned in terms of architectural education, the architectural institution at this time was influenced by a shift in the responsibilities bestowed to the architect. This change manifested in the educational system with the introduction of specialised and focussed courses and training resulting in a two-tiered system during the transitional years; architects with a trade background, who historically would have been respected within their professional sphere, were now discriminated against.

J. Mordaunt Crook's 'The pre-Victorian architect: professionalism & patronage' explores this very shift with a wider scope of social and economic factors, explaining that "[t]he practice of architecture had ceased to be a trade and had not yet become a profession. The impact of an industrial economy had been felt but not yet understood. What we see in the pre-Victorian period is a process of fragmentation, the splitting up of the idea of an architect into its component elements - the builder, the surveyor, the architect, and the engineer."[33] John Wilton-Ely widens his scope to uncover the reasons for this shift from the medieval to the industrial revolution, and how it is still relevant to professionals to this day:

> "The formation of the architectural profession in England is intimately bound up with two major intellectual and social changes of the past four centuries – the transition from medieval to modern processes of thought and the shift from agrarian to capitalism-based society through the Industrial Revolution. The inter-disciplinary character of the modern architectural

[31] Soane library reference Priv corr. III B I. 27.
[32] F Salmon, 'British Architects, Italian Fine Arts Academies, and the Foundation of the RIBA' *Architectural History*, Volume 39 (1996), p. 6.
[33] J M Crook, 'The pre-Victorian architect: professionalism & patronage', *Architectural History*, Volume 12 (1969), p.62.

> designer is the product of the first change; the professional organisation through which he fulfils an increasingly specialist role it the result of the second; and the inherent conflict between these two aspects remains unresolved."[34]

As a result of the attempt to disassociate the genius of the architect from its history in building services, the profession of architect as we know it today was beginning to take shape. "The architect as we know him [or her] today is a product of the Renaissance… the Medieval architect was a master craftsman (usually a mason or a carpenter by trade) one who could build as well as design…He was a master workman whose skill was based on a technical experience…"[35] The architect was evolving from a tradesman to more of a professional artist, and the responsibilities once bestowed to that profession were now becoming professions in themselves respectively. This fragmentation of the profession is cited as the result of the industrial economy. The architect's responsibilities were becoming limited to the design of a building, and the coordination of the required tradesmen, much like the practice today — and the assertion of any trade connotations to a practicing architect was met with disapproval. Even John Britton, practicing outside the profession, highlights the problematic nature of the way the architect is perceived not as an artist, but as a tradesman.[36] This fragmentation came to a head by the 1830s, but was far along at the time of *The Union*'s publication, resulting in the architect's role defined as the most distinguished within a "competitive quartet"; it is arguably the early ancestor of what is known as the architect-led design team.[37]

Because of the close ties between the Royal Academy and the new architectural profession, those lacking in the specific education offered by the Academy, or even having taken on a certain title in their profession, were often excluded due to their ties to a more 'craft' or 'trade' background. In one of his Royal Academy lectures, Sir John Soane postulated that "[i]n this country, we have long too much reason to complain of mechanics of every description, from the *brick-layer* to the paper hanger, being identified with Architects; and, of what is equally fatal to the advancement of the Art, that architects, who ought always to be the intermediate persons between the employer and the employed, lose that high distinction and degrade themselves and the Profession by becoming Contractors… prostituting the credit of their Profession, sometimes by taking large tracts of Ground and parcelling it out to the

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[34] J Wilton-Ely, 'The Rise of the Professional Architect in England', *The Architect* (ed. S Kostof), Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1977, p. 180.
[35] H M Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects* 4th ed., New Haven, Yale University Press, 2007, p. 22.
[36] J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: exemplified by a series of illustrations, with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane*, London, Printed for author, 1827, pp. xiii - xiv - cited previously, Britton's statement calling for the founding of a separate academy for architecture.
[37] J M Crook, 'The pre-Victorian architect: professionalism & patronage', *Architectural History,* Volume 12 (1969), p. 62.

Tradesmen employed by them, and at other times by taking the Ground and becoming the builders themselves."[38] Whilst this quote is strongly worded ("prostituting the credit of their Profession") and seemingly discriminatory (even towards his own father's profession), Soane's attitude is the result of the mistreatment of architecture within the Academy, something that many would try to remedy by founding various institutions solely for the advancement of architecture. This is a sentiment Soane expressed almost 20 years prior to taking up the post of professor of architecture, in *Plans, Elevations and Sections of Buildings (1788):* "The architect," wrote Soane, "is the intermediate agent between the employer, whose honour and interest he is to study, and the mechanic, whose right 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 the architect, with what propriety can his situation and that of the builder or the contractor be united?"[39] There were several attempts to organise an institution outside of the Royal Academy before the founding of the Royal Institute of British Architects, a process that began in 1791 with the Architect's Club. However, these institutions were lacking an educational element, and acted more as professional bodies. For example, in 1834 a group of architects drew up proposals for the establishment of such an organisation and invited Sir John Soane to become the first president. He was reluctantly forced to decline because his membership of the Royal Academy prevented him from joining any other society of artists.

It is interesting that both Soane and Britton both expressed their concerns about the state of British architectural education considering their positions within the Academy itself. On the one hand, Soane was a Royal Academy silver medal recipient for a measured drawing of the façade of Banqueting House in 1772, his gold medal as previously mentioned, and filled the role of Professor of Architecture from 1806, for over thirty years. Adversely, John Britton experienced a very different relationship with the Academy. He had applied and was rejected for the role of Registrar, and experienced further rejection from a certain Royal Academy dinner as outlined in the below correspondence from Britton to Soane:

> "Tavistock Place
> June 5, 1812

[38] A T Bolton (ed.) *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,* Sir John Soane's Museum, London, 1929, p. 24.
[39] J Soane, *Plans, elevations, and sections of buildings executed in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Yorkshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Hertfordshire, et caetera,* London, Published by Messrs. Taylor at the Architectural Library, 1788, p. 7.

Dear Sir,

You having kindly promised me your ticket for the / annual "academy Dinner" of yesterday, I was induced to attend; / because I hoped to pass two or three hours in a rational, / delightful, and intelligent manner. It is with much concern however / I have to inform you that instead of pleasure, I experienced / mortification, and in the place of personal civility, something like / personal insult. I am sorry to trouble you with a recital of / any petty occurrence, and certainly should not do it now if your / name was not implicated in the event and had not been mentioned in / a public room. I'll be as short as possible in my story.

On entering the waiting room I presented your ticket with / my name on it. Soon afterwards I was called to the door, and told / by the Porter that I could not dine there, as my ticket was not / regular, correct, or something to this effect. Concerning this to arise / from some misunderstanding of the Porter, I soon afterwards / passed to the dining room, where Mr. Turner accosted me, and / said there was no plate or seat for me. Knowing this Gentleman / to be one of the Council I concluded this his notification / to me was the result of some previous consultation, and therefore / that I was an improper person to be admitted to join, or / associate with R. A.'s. Much chagrined, I was going to leave / the room when the same Gentleman told me I might take a / seat at the bottom of the table. From the persuasion of some / Gentlemen present I consented to remain and take my humbled / station. In the course of the evening I learnt that one Gentleman / had purchased a ticket off the Porter at the Academy, that / another had paid his 15 shillings after coming to the Tavern.

I explained to Mr. Turner that as I came with your / Ticket and as your friend, I was entitled to occupy the seat / appropriated to you; but he still persists that I could / have no other place than the one he had pointed out.

Though I feel myself very seriously insulted by this / treatment, I shall forbear to make any comments - you are / hereby [furnished?] with a plain statement of the fact, and / may act as you deem most discreet. It only remains to / ascertain if Mr. Turner meant to insult you, or myself / individually or both jointly.

Believe me yours very truly,

J. Britton"[40]

This series of events is indicative of a struggle that Britton experienced throughout the entirety of his professional career, and one that those on the fringes of the professional architectural sphere were familiar with as well. "The atmosphere must have been excessive," writes Neil Bingham, "for entry was difficult, the students ambitious and competitive, with the whole stimulated by the social cachet of rubbing shoulders with many of the greatest architects of the day."[41] This competitive and elite academic environment was surely mimicked after one's

[40] Soane library reference Priv corr. III B 1. 6.
[41] N Bingham (ed.), *The Education of the Architect,* Proceedings of the 22nd Annual Symposium of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain, London, 1992, pp. 5-6.

education was complete, saturating the profession with determination, privilege and ultimately discrimination.

A professional perspective

At the outset of this chapter, I asserted that the architectural drawing is a direct output of the architecture studio, rather than the built form, and as such, is influenced by the social patterns and practice conventions in place. In the case of Sir John Soane and John Britton, it is the failings of the educational system, the discriminatory nature of the Royal Academy, as well as the changing definition of what it means to be an architect in the early nineteenth century that influences the outputs of their respective offices. Sir John Soane and John Britton, when considered as a partnership, offer an interesting snapshot of this specific and critical time in the history of architecture. On the one hand, John Britton expressed his disdain with the Academy and was not an architect, meanwhile Sir John Soane was employed by the Academy; perhaps Soane sought to remedy the problems with their system from within.

When Frank Jenkins, practicing architect, set out to write a comprehensive description of British architectural education and practice from the sixteenth century to the 1960s, he acknowledged that it was simple to find a common tangent among the distinguished architects of the second half of the eighteenth century and the early part of the nineteenth: "…we are instantly struck by a remarkable change in pattern. By the 1770s the characters of the profession had altered profoundly. The looseness and informality, with regard to both training and practice, which had characterised the profession in the early eighteenth century, were replaced by something approaching much more closely the pattern which we accept today."[42] It is in this way that Jenkins differentiates this specific period from those that came before; this is the first time in British history that social, educational and professional practices become strict, and as evinced by several anecdotes within this chapter, more preferential. Now that this specific historical context has been established for the discussion of architectural illustrations, I can now begin to discuss the graphic conventions that Britton has employed in his guide to the Sir John Soane Museum.

Mainstream architectural thought

I would like to end this chapter with an account of a specific exhibition series, those of Decimus Burton's designs for the completion of King's College, Cambridge (1823). This particular account, originally sourced from Dana Arnold's PhD thesis, demonstrates the coming together

[42] F Jenkins, *Architect and Patron: A Survey of Professional Relations and Practice in England from the Sixteenth Century to the Present Day*, London, Oxford University Press, 1961, p. 9.

of the professional and the public, or the reception of the architectural design drawing (albeit modified for exhibition purposes) by the public. Explaining that there is a lack of evidence that relates to Burton's views on architectural theory and practice, this particular indirect dealing with the Royal Academy[43] suggests that he had an interest in "...raising the status of the profession..."[44] Arnold refers to what she has defined as *mainstream architectural thinking* in reference to his competition designs, which indicates that Burton was in tune with this particular way of thinking as evinced by the exhibition catalogue, which Arnold describes as "...like a manifesto," which "...has resonance with the way in which many architects were thinking about the nature and status of architectural drawing at this time."[45] The catalogue entry implies that "[t]he object of architecture as we all know, is the building and not the drawing which represents it, the latter is quite the secondary object."[46]

Organisers instructed visitors at the exhibition to envision the schemes as finished products, or the built form, asserting that "...without this act of mind, architectural drawings can communicate comparatively little pleasure."[47] Arnold explains that although the Royal Academy understood that some individuals would be incapable of carrying out this "delightful mental exercise", they recognised that the mental building blocks necessary for the capable viewer consisted of plans, elevations, as well as perspective views. The architectural exhibition is herein acting as an intermediary and catalyst in the translation from drawing to building for the public, setting the standard for the conventions of drawings that, in combination, convey the fabric of the built form to the viewer. With the standard of architectural drawing and convention being set by an institution that is fundamentally exclusive, and perhaps even more so authoritative, John Britton's employment of similar methods of representation in this guidebook can be understood as an attempt to appease and impress the academy that had rejected him on more than one occasion. They certainly are not typical of an early nineteenth-century guidebooks; can we therefore glean from this single divergence that Britton viewed Sir John Soane as an active member of this institution, and was therefore directly trying to satisfy

[43] Although the designs were intended for exhibition at the Royal Academy, they never were: "The scheme was extensive involving the design of several buildings requiring many drawings. There were not returned in time for submission to the Royal Academy and in any case a series of this sort was too large for the kind of architectural drawings usually exhibited there." D Arnold, *The Architect and the Metropolis: The work of James and Decimus Burton in London and Dublin, c.1800-1840* (unpublished doctoral thesis), The Bartlett School of Graduate Studies, University College, London, 1997, p. 45.
[44] Ibid., p. 44.
[45] Ibid., p. 45.
[46] *Exhibition of designs for completing King's College, Cambridge, submitted to the provost and fellows; and of designs for rebuilding London Bridge, submitted to the Bridge House Committee, and to the House of Commons; in the Great Room, at the Western Exchange, Old Bond Street. Admittance one shilling. -- Catalogue sixpence.* London, printed by T. Cope, 1823, Soane reference PC 55/2.
[47] Ibid.

his expectations as an Academician, despite his ongoing dispute with the Royal Academy over the content of his lectures?

The examination of the institution of architecture, which encompasses the main educational and governing body associated with the practice, is fundamental to this study not only due to the fact that both Soane and Britton's output was influenced by its practices, but also because the Royal Academy is representative of the union after which the publication this study is concerned with is titled; that of architecture, sculpture and painting. Whilst it has been said that Sir John Soane's Museum is a representation of this supposed union, it is notable that the rift between the fine arts was tangible in Soane's time, and the founding of his house museum can be understood as an effort to widen this rift.[48]

[48] D Willkens, 'Reading Words and Images in the *Description(s)* of Sir John Soane's Museum' in *Architectural Histories*, Volume 4, No 1 (2016), p. 1, 6 and 20.

4. John Britton; craftsmanship and topography

The following is a chronological, biographical and stylistic survey of a number of John Britton's works, including topographical publications and guides to private collections —essentially all close relations to the typology of the focus of this thesis. Each of the following examples has been chosen as a prime example of a specific quality of his work that will be examined further to enhance the study of the first guide to the Sir John Soane's Museum, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting* (1827). In this chapter, particular representational conventions utilised by Britton for certain purposes and various audiences will be distinguished for the eventual visual analysis of the guidebook.

Soane's library a No. 14 Lincoln's Inn Fields houses a vast collection of Sir John Soane's books, drawings, and private correspondence.[1] From this collection we can elucidate for certain that Sir John Soane and John Britton, antiquarian and topographer, exchanged a great deal of letters. The museum holds 126 letters composed by Soane, Britton, and on occasion Britton's wife ("Mrs. B"). As a point of comparison, the archive also contains the letters exchanged between Soane and Joseph Michael Gandy, Soane's preferred draughtsman, amounting to a substantially smaller collection of 88 documents. In terms of personal correspondence, the only individual with more letters than John Britton housed at the museum is the architect James Spiller, with 138 letters. Soane and Britton's letters elucidate a very personal, but at times tumultuous relationship, in which Soane advised and provided Britton with architectural drawings, and Britton recommended Soane various literary titles to add to his library.[2]

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[1] Soane's library is much revered — it acts as much as a learning resource as the collection of the museum itself. The safeguarding of his own archive is a topic acknowledged in the next chapter of this thesis. For more information on the helpful complexity of this unique resource:
A T Bolton (ed.), The portrait of Sir John Soane, R. A. (1753-1837): set forth in letters from his friends (1775-1837), London, Sir John Soane's Museum, 1927.
E Harris, 'Sir John Soane's Library: 'O, Books! Ye Monuments of Mind!', Apollo, Volume 81 (April 1990), pp.242-47.
S Palmer, 'The Papers of Sir John Soane', *Sir John Soane's Museum; A Special Issue of Apollo*, Volume 81 (April 1990), pp. 248-251.
S Palmer, 'Sir John Soane: Rewriting a Life', *Libraries and the Cultural Record*, Volume 44, No.1 (2009), pp. 65- 81.
S Palmer, 'Building a Library: Evidence from Sir John Soane's Archive', *Publishing the Fine and Applied Arts 1500-2000* (eds. Myers, Harris and Mandelbrote), London, British Library, 2012, pp. xv + 194.
N Savage, *Hooked on Books: The Library of Sir John Soane, Architect,* London, Sir John Soane Museum, 2004.

[2] "Both men (Soane and Britton) were prickly and egocentric. They also quarrelled in 1821 over a review in The Magazine of the Fine Arts and in 1836 over Britton's non-appointment as Registrar of the Royal Academy. On the first occasion Soane endorsed Britton's apology 'no answer, silent contempt'. On the second, Britton answered: 'We shall never meet again". The coquettish Mrs Britton ('Little B') acted as mediator on such occasions, sending 'half a dozen bottles of... Whiltshire ale and a few Portugal onions' to Lincoln's Inn Fields" J M Crook, 'John Britton and the genesis of the Gothic Revival', *Concerning Architecture (*ed. J Summerson), London, Penguin, 1968, p. 114.

There are many sources to consult on Soane's personal and professional life (See: Bolton, Stroud, Du Prey, etc.) but for many, John Britton remains relatively unknown, and what we do know is taken from his autobiography; a self portrait, which most likely exaggerates his hardships, glamorises his work, and has been referred to as "ramblings", a problematic source as discussed in the previous chapter concerning nineteenth-century architectural education and practice.[3] Nonetheless, the fundamental texts regarding the antiquarian in combination with a few choice secondary sources, as well as his numerous correspondences with Soane will paint a more appropriate, impartial depiction for the sake of this study. An understanding of the evolution of his topographic technique as well as the typical elements in various publications are fundamental to this examination.

Introduction to topography: *The Beauties of Wiltshire* Vol I, II and III

John Britton's topographical career began in 1798 when he was approached by his acquaintance John Wheble regarding the possibility of a topographic publication that would focus on Britton's home county of Wiltshire. In his own words, Britton found the prospect of topography "not only wholly uninteresting, but almost unintelligible, so peculiar, technical, and distinctive… when compared with the classes of miscellaneous literature to which [he] had been previously devoted."[4] Nevertheless, he set off with "…maps, a pocket-compass, a small camera-obscura…two or three portable volumes, an umbrella, and a scanty packet of body-linen, etc."[5] This excursion commenced on the 20 June 1798, and he did not return to London until the 30 September, after visiting Windsor, Oxford, Woodstock, Stratford-upon-Avon, Warwick, Kenilworth, Birmingham, Hagely, the Leasowes, Church Stretton, Shrewsbury, Welshpool, Ludlow, Leominster, Hereford, Ross, the Wye, Chepstow, Bristol and Bath, and other destinations. The fruits of his labours, *The Beauties of Wiltshire*, were bound in three volumes of which two were published in 1801 and the last in 1825. The evolution of his expertise is unmistakable in the differences between the first two and the last volume.[6]

It has been suggested that Britton was as integral to the Gothic as Stuart and Revett were to the Greek Revival.[7] Considering how Britton describes his own upbringing, this is quite the accomplishment; his autobiography portrays his hometown of Kington St Michael, Wiltshire

[3] J M Crook, 'John Britton and the genesis of the Gothic Revival', *Concerning Architecture (*ed. J Summerson), London, Penguin, 1968, p.118.
[4] J Britton, *The beauties of Wiltshire, displayed in statistical, historical, and descriptive sketches: interspersed with anecdotes of the arts. Vol.III*, London, printed by J.D. Dewick, for Vernor and Hood; J. Wheble; J. Britton, 1825, p. xxxiii.
[5] J Britton, *The Autobiography of John Britton: Personal and literary memoir of the author,* London, printed for the author, 1850, p.137.
[6] Ibid., p.40.
[7] Ibid., p.98.

as a place void of books, a particularly harsh obstacle for any budding bibliophile. Despite this, Britton certainly knew what he wanted to achieve with his first literary publication, and described a sixth sense that those with a taste for the polite arts might possess. It is a love and understanding of drawing and documentation that "induces new ideas, and quickens the perceptive faculties almost to the creation of a new sense."[8] Perhaps what is most revealing about the first two volumes of *Beauties* is the fact that Britton executed the illustrations himself, whilst volume III is a combination of his own drawings and those of others. It becomes clear, even at this early stage of his career, that Britton is aware of his own talents as well as shortcomings: "Though I am conscious that these sketches are defective, I know likewise that they contain much original information, and which, to my judgement, seems both important and interesting; and I cannot avoid flattering myself with the hope that they will be satisfactory to the majority of my readers."[9] He foreshadows the characteristic outsourcing of illustrations for his subsequent volumes, remarking that, "the present work does not pretend to any higher honors than mere sketches of the county, and that I wished to see the picture completed by more able hands."[10] Britton somehow manages to inflate his ego whist simultaneously highlighting potential points of improvement, however T.E. Jones, Britton's friend and author of the second part of his autobiography, writes that "[l]ittle can be said in favour of the fourteen engravings which illustrate this work…", and Britton himself retrospectively describes the volume as a "juvenile and very imperfect work"[11].

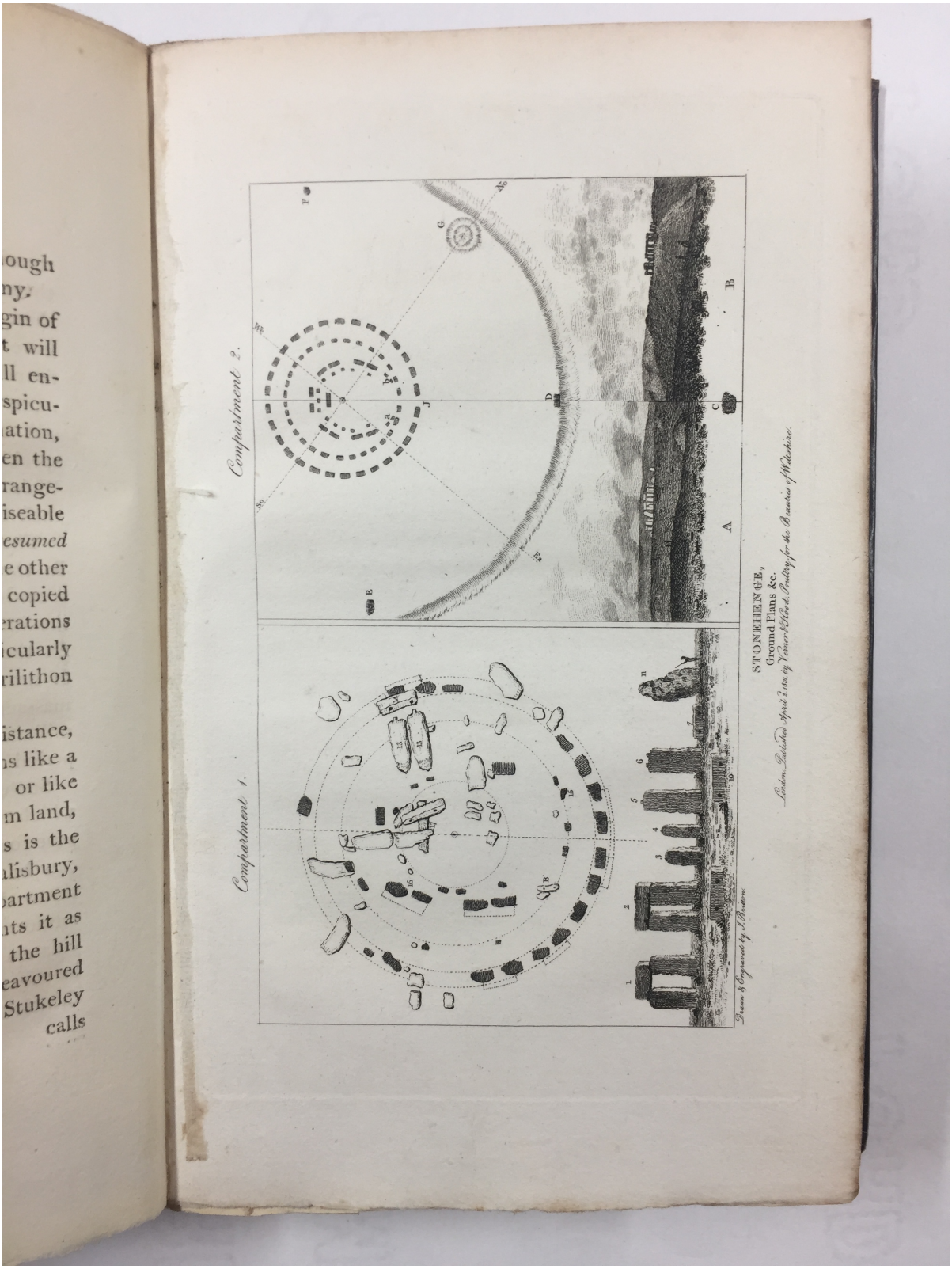
The purpose of these volumes is set out in the first chapter of the first volume. Britton explains that topography and history are "intimately connected", and that "to obtain clear ideas of the one, we must have constant reference to the other."[12] With his descriptive visual accompaniments, Britton hopes the public will form "an accurate opinion on the importance of a county, whose statistical history no author had yet completed."[13] While he is clear in noting a gap in publications that examine his home county, he lacks the persuasion and book-selling

[8] J Britton, *The Autobiography of John Britton: Personal and literary memoir of the author,* London, printed for the author, 1850, p.vii.
[9] Ibid., p. xi.
[10] Ibid., p. xviii.
[11] J Britton, *The Autobiography of John Britton: Personal and literary memoir of the author,* London, printed for the author, 1850, p.7.
J Britton, *An Essay on Topographical Literature: Its Province, Attributes, and Varied Utility; with Accounts of the Sources, Objects, and Uses of National and Local Records, and Glossaries of Words Used in Ancient Writings*, Wiltshire Topographical Society, 1843, p.viii.
[12] J Britton, *The beauties of Wiltshire, displayed in statistical, historical, and descriptive sketches: interspersed with anecdotes of the arts. Vol.I*, London, printed by J.D. Dewick, for Vernor and Hood; J. Wheble; J. Britton, p.xiii, 1.
[13] Ibid., p. 1.

skills he is renowned for later in his career.[14] The engravings of various landmarks in Wiltshire are infrequent and interspersed throughout. They are very much akin to what we see in his later, more successful *Cathedral Antiquities* series; picturesque views of great ecclesiastic edifices taken from a distance. Britton knows that this style of architectural representation, the perspective view, is popular among the public; a reality that will be discussed in greater detail in subsequent chapters. Furthermore, Britton is not yet acquainted with or trained to execute a more technical and linear style of representation that we will see in his later volumes. Having said this, there is a sense of visual foreshadowing in one of Britton's drawings of Stonehenge in volume II [figure. 1]. In this image, he speculates the original formation of the stones, executing this illustration in the graphic style of a scientific diagram to emit a sense of authority, and persuade the reader that his theories regarding the origins of Stonehenge are correct as supplemented by the amount of firsthand information outlined on the corresponding pages of text. Compared to his following image of the same subject [figure 2], an illustration more akin to the rest in this publication, striking differences in representation can be noted. Perhaps most remarkable is Britton's bird's eye view of his fantastical arrangement of the stones. Later in his career, Britton consults Soane on depictions of Stonehenge, requesting to view some of Soane's own drawings of the site; John Britton demonstrates an interest in this subject from his home county over the course of his career.[15] His custom cabinet [figure 3], created in 1824, is a further testament to his evident obsession with Stonehenge.

The interesting characteristic of Britton's early depiction of Stonehenge [figure 1] is the use of the line, void of sciagraphy in the diagrammatic illustrations at the top of each page. As outlined below, almost the entirety of Brittons topographic repertoire is supported by shaded perspectives. When considering the line, Alexis Cohen argues that linearity is equated with utility in architectural and design publications that are concerned with the Neoclassical, such as Thomas Hope's *Household Furniture,* which is discussed at length in chapter 5 of this thesis. A line drawing can also be tied to nineteenth-century empiricism when considered the binary of a picturesque perspective that features a great deal of shading (like those that appear in other topography volumes). Cohen references Dora and Erin Panofsky in noting that, "the very origins of the outline drawing can be traced to the use of simple contours in the illustration of

[14] "...managed to combine the egoism of a born actor with the verbosity of a self-taught pedant." J M Crook, 'John Britton and the genesis of the Gothic Revival', *Concerning Architecture (*ed. J Summerson), London, Penguin, 1968, p.102.
[15] Soane library reference Priv Corr. III B 1. 12 (Britton also tries to elucidate the origins of Stonehenge in his *Architectural Antiquities* series).



Chapter 4 figure 1. Stonehenge, Ground Plans &c. J Britton, *The Beauties of Wiltshire, displayed in statistical, historical, and descriptive sketches: interspersed with anecdotes of the arts. Vol. II.*, 1801. Sir John Soane's Museum.

Chapter 4 figure 2. Stonehenge. J Britton, *The Beauties of Wiltshire, displayed in statistical, historical, and descriptive sketches: interspersed with anecdotes of the arts. Vol. II.*, 1801. Sir John Soane's Museum.

Chapter 4 figure 3. John Britton's Stonehenge Cabinet. The Wiltshire Museum, Devizes. Photograph courtesy of The Wiltshire Museum.

early modern scientific treatises"[16]

The Union is inclusive of both linear illustrations as well as perspective views, however, these perspectives are also rendered almost completely void of shading apart from a few examples. Also of interest is the combination of multiple graphic conventions on a single page; arguably a sophisticated and meaningful composition, a feature that is explored in detail in the last chapter of this thesis. The appearance of a perspective view horizontally depicted at the bottom of this page [figure 1] with the diagrammatic birds eye view or ground plan of the stones at the top is an advanced method of representation that is evocative of the coming together of the arts and science in the nineteenth century.[17]

Although Britton is forthright about the adversity he overcame in collecting the information for *Beauties*, Britton found his vocation; while critics passed judgment on his illustrations, it was commonly known that Britton was a thorough investigator, if not at least peripatetic. Often, however, Britton's own expectations of his publications, especially the graphic element therein, far exceeded his own drawing capabilities. The most notable review of the first volume of *The Beauties of Wiltshire* is by antiquarian Richard Gough from the July 1801 edition of *The Gentleman's Magazine*. Gough writes that the volume contains useful information however, he highlights some errors in terms of facts and names and raises some personal issues with the composition of the book. The following edition of *The Gentleman's Magazine* included a letter from Britton to Gough in which he thanks him, "for his typographical corrections..." and further, "for the honor he has done me by appropriating so much space to my humble, juvenile specimen of topography; and am pleased to find that my opinions on one or two subjects should merit the commendation and with my fine writing. If I have inadvertently sinned in that particular, I knew it not ; nor do I believe I shall ever be guilty again of the like offence; at least I fear that no discriminating critic will discover a superabundance of that article in ray productions."[18] Britton is open to criticism at this point of his career, and is uncertain of his own talents as a topographer.

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[16] A Cohen, 'Domestic Utility and Useful Lines: Jean-Charles Krafft's and Thomas Hope's Outlines', *Journal of Art Historiography*, Issue 9 (December 2013), p.4, taken from Dora and Erwin Panofsky *Pandora's Box: The Changing Aspects of a Mythical Symbol*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1956, p. 90.

[17] "Rather than stressing the separation between art and science in the nineteenth century, it is important to see how they were both part of a single interlocking field of knowledge and practice." J Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*; *on vision and modernity in the nineteenth century*, Cambridge, The MIT Press, 1992, p.9.

[18] *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle* Vol. LXXI, 1801, p. 906.

Corsham House and Cleveland House

Soon after Britton's initiation to topography in 1801, he wrote and published two guides to private collections from 1806-1808: those of Corsham and Cleveland House. These are of great interest to this study as these volumes are both examples of Britton's early work, as well as his method of encapsulating and disseminating his accounts of interior architecture and private collections on paper.

Soane's copy of *An Historical Account of Corsham House* (1806) includes a message from the author, which reads:

> "To John Soane, esq. / from the Author / presents on the 28th of March 1809 / and intended to record, in a trifling memorial, / the pleasure and instruction which the Author / of this work derived from Mr. Soane's / interesting and eloquent lecture on Architecture / delivered by him at the Royal Academy / the preceding evening."[19]

On 27 March 1809, Soane delivered his inaugural lecture at the Royal Academy, indicating that this volume was gifted in congratulations.

What is of interest here is Britton's textual treatment of the private collection as a visitor destination, much like *The Beauties of Wiltshire*. Differentially, there are only two illustrations included in this volume; one of the North Front viewpoint and a floor plan of which a great deal of the text references [figure 4]. This lack of accompanying imagery emphasises the visiting process, and the idea that this guidebook accompanied the visitor on their tour of Corsham House, the visual supplement for this text being the collection and house. This volume begins very practically with an outline of the collection's accessibility, followed by a dedication that traces the great patrons of history from Alexander the Great to Charles V. This is followed by an introduction, Britton's very own *Story of Art,* which outlines all the great, post-Renaissance national schools, and England's specialised geographic ability to collect from the continent. A comprehensive list of pictures housed at Corsham House with an outline of their location and description remains largely unopened. In Britton's introduction to his next chapter, biographical sketches of the artists whose works feature in the collection, he outlines the purpose of this publication: "to discriminate the professional characteristics of each; and to

[19] J Britton, *An historical account of Corsham House, in Wiltshire; the seat of Paul Cobb Methuen, Esq. with a catalogue of his celebrated collection of pictures. Dedicated to the patrons of the British Institution; and embracing a concise historical essay on the fine arts. With a brief account of the different schools; and a review of the progressive state of the arts in England. ... By John Britton. Embellished with a view and plan of the house,* London, printed for the author, and Joseph Barrett, Bath, 1806, Soane reference 1786.

Chapter 4 figure 4. View and Ground Plan of Corsham House, Wiltshire. J Britton, *An historical account of Corsham House, in Wiltshire; the seat of Paul Cobb Methuen, Esq... By John Britton. Embellished with a view and plan of the house,* 1806. Sir John Soane's Museum.

render the whole a useful vade-mecum to those visitors who are desirous of having some information relating to the painters whose pictures they have been examining."[22] Although this chapter is also unopened in Soane's copy, the text within is a revealing description of Britton's intent in publishing this book. By comparing this guide to Britton's first guide to Soane's house, we can elucidate his intent therein, and identify its shortcomings. Ultimately, Britton's *An Historical Account of Corsham House* was a commercial success with 700 copies printed in three sizes, all sold within about three years of its publication.

Following an history of Corsham House ("...like the memoirs of individuals, furnish[es] much curious matter for speculative investigation, and a fruitful theme for narrative"), Britton closes the volume by explaining that, "[s]hould another edition be hereafter required, [he] will cheerfully attend to, and endeavour to profit by, the advice of any intelligent friends, liberal critics, or generous strangers", insinuating his self-awareness, and the fact that this publication is a "small work"[24]. Conceivably, he had intended the book to be small, a "vade-mecum" to be brought from room-to-room just as one does to this day at Sir John Soane's Museum, and many other collections; but Britton does not reference this fact in his closing remarks, and only highlights his inadequacy.[25]

An Historical Account of Corsham House, published in 1806, predates *The Union* by over twenty years, and yet the first (and sole) engraving in this volume is a combination of a perspective of the North façade and a ground plan on a single page [figure 4] . Each room on the ground plan is clearly labelled. The formation of the ground plan is simplistic compared to that of Sir John Soane's Museum; it is symmetrical, it is centralised around a grand hall, and it has far fewer rooms. Surrounding trees as well as two figures directly in front of the 'Saloon, or Drawing Room' are included as staffage. This combination of a strictly objective ground plan and subjective perspective view seemingly portrays the necessary features of a building for the purpose of a guidebook, as it is the exact same combination of images that he uses in his guidebook for Cleveland House.[26]

Two years after the publication of *An Historical Account of Corsham House*, Britton published his *Catalogue Raisonné of the pictures belonging to the most honourable the Marquis of Stafford, in the gallery of Cleveland House* (1808), of which three copies are held in the Soane

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[22] J Britton, *An historical account of Corsham House, in Wiltshire; the seat of Paul Cobb Methuen, Esq...By John Britton. Embellished with a view and plan of the house,* London, printed for the author, and Joseph Barrett, Bath, 1806, p. 61.
[24] Ibid., p. 101, 108, 108.
[25] Ibid., p. 61.
[26] The concept of the subjective perspective image is explained in chapter 7 of this thesis. See also: B Schneider 'Perspective Refers to the Viewer, Axonometry Refers to the Object', *Daidalos,* Volume 1 (1981): The perspective view can be understood as subjective as it represents a singular, individual viewpoint at one given time, therefore selective in the information it transmits.

library. He stipulates that this private collection is the first of all noblemen to allow access by the public to his pictures gallery. It begins like his guide to Corsham House with an outline of admission, accompanied by a floor plan and an interior view of the New Gallery [figures 5 & 6]. *Cleveland House* hastily branches off the beaten path as Britton stipulates that "[t]he extent and arrangement of the suite of rooms which contain the pictures usually exhibited, will be better understood by the annexed engraving, than by any verbal description."[27] While Britton instructs the reader to examine the images therein, *Cleveland House* contains analogous imagery to *An Historical Account of Corsham House*; one perspective and one floor plan. It is difficult to make any assertions regarding this instruction as it shares many formalistic qualities with *Cleveland House*, yet requires the reader to use the book in a different manner. Fortunately, as Britton often outlines his intent, he clarifies:

> "The following catalogue I have endeavoured to render as clear and perspicuous as the nature of such a work will admit; and have, in the first line, given the labelled number attached to each painting with the name of the artist, in capital letters. The next line contains the title, of subject of the picture; and subjoined to that is some account of it, either descriptive or critical. This is printed in smaller type, and may either be perused by the reader while viewing the pictures, or at home: at a time and in a place better adapted for reflection and abstraction."[28]

Therein lies the fundamental difference between these two early examples of guidebooks, which play a large role in the study of the consumption and reception of Britton's guide to Sir John Soane's Museum. One is intended to act as a companion to a visit to the collection, the other a standalone, or a textual/visual two-dimensional representation of the gallery. This is also evident in Britton's choice of subject matter for these volumes' sole images respectively; whilst *An Historical Account of Corsham House* offers a viewpoint of the edifice from the eyes of an outsider, *Cleveland House* is a more familiar sight for the visitor, with an interior view.

Britton opens the volume with an interior perspective of the New Gallery. The ground plan is located on a separate page, the title page separating the two images. Still, the formula previously seen in Corsham House prevails; the ground plan is simplistic and labelled, the perspective includes figures as staffage, etc. The prevalence of this formula in Britton's older private collection guides is symptomatic of a successful template; this is also the way he chooses to represent ecclesiastic buildings in his topographic volumes. In his opening texts of *The Union*, Britton alludes to the complexities and ultimately superiority of Soane's interior in comparison to other public collections. He writes, "We have undoubtedly, in this country, many noble

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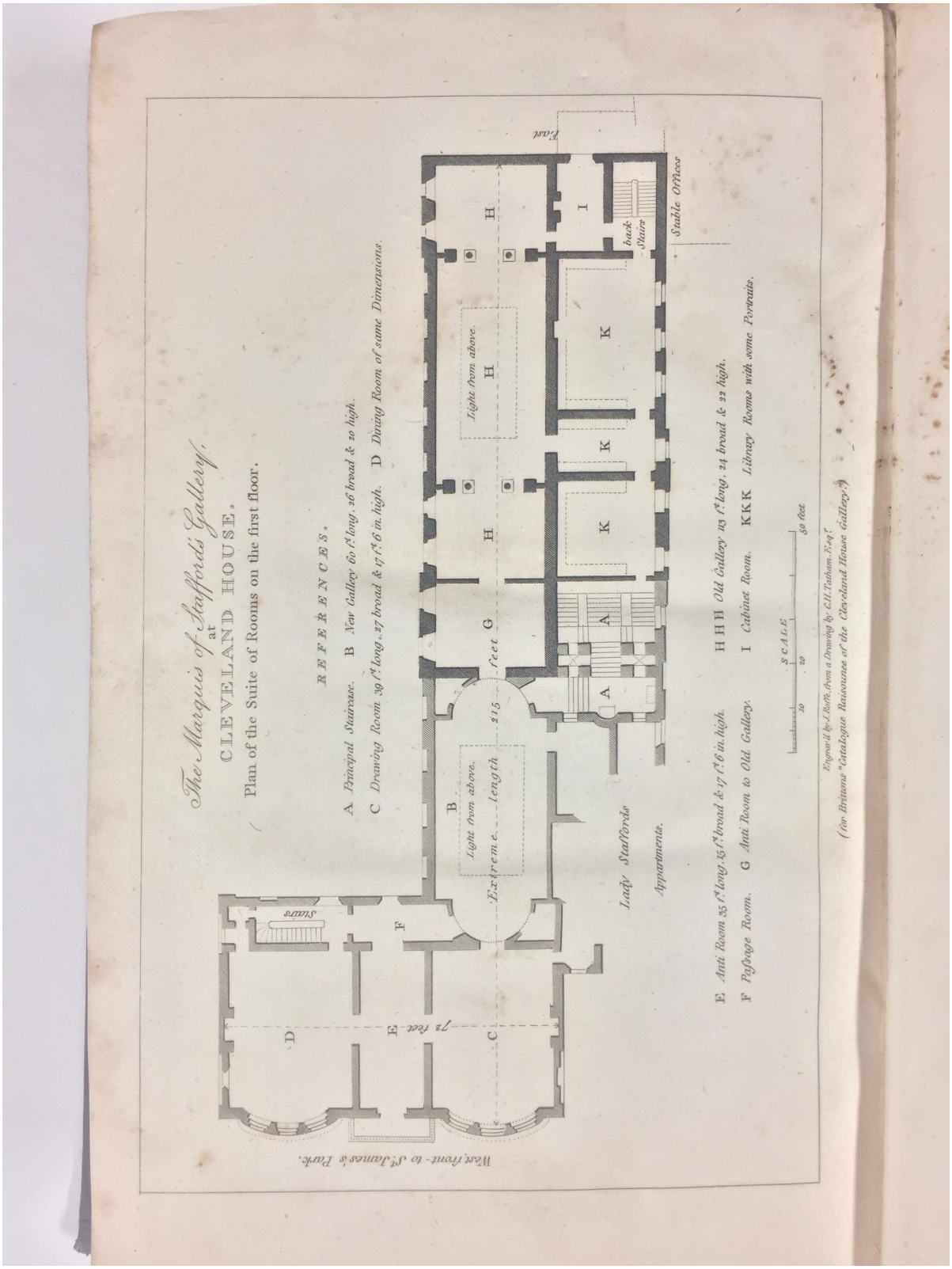
[27] J Britton, *Catalogue raisonné of the pictures belonging to the most honourable the Marquis of Stafford, in the gallery of Cleveland House. Comprising a list of the pictures, with illustrative anecdotes, and descriptive accounts of the execution, composition, and characteristic merits of the principal paintings,* London, printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme; and for the author, 1808, p. iv.
[28] Ibid., p. 1.

Chapter 4 figure 5. View of the New Gallery Cleveland House. J Britton, *Catalogue raisonné of the pictures belonging to the most honourable the Marquis of Stafford, in the gallery of Cleveland House. Comprising a list of the pictures, with illustrative anecdotes, and descriptive accounts of the execution, composition, and characteristic merits of the principal paintings,* 1808. Sir John Soane's Museum.



Chapter 4 figure 6. Plan of the Suite of Rooms on the First Floor. J Britton, *Catalogue raisonné of the pictures belonging to the most honourable the Marquis of Stafford, in the gallery of Cleveland House. Comprising a list of the pictures, with illustrative anecdotes, and descriptive accounts of the execution, composition, and characteristic merits of the principal paintings,* 1808. Sir John Soane's Museum.

mansions, fitted up with all the costly decorations that opulence can command, and possessing almost every embellishment that the most luxurious fancy could devise; yet in point of interior architecture, they present, with very few exceptions, little that is original or striking, imposing or picturesque; and that which they do display is generally confined to their vestibules and staircases. In the apartments themselves, architecture holds but a subordinate rank: to rich hangings and draperies, with expensive and fashionable furniture, they are chiefly indebted to their effect…"[29] What this suggests is that the inferior qualities of the interiors Britton transcribes onto paper facilitates a more simplistic and typical method of representation than those of Sir John Soane's Museum.

The History and Antiquities of the See and Cathedral Church of Lichfield

By 1820, Britton was considered an experienced topographist and, as laid out in many of his prefaces, had a very laborious and strict method of gathering primary details for his volumes. It is at this time that he was working on his *Cathedral Antiquities* series, and from this I have selected *The history and antiquities of the see and cathedral church of Lichfield; illustrated by a series of engravings, of views, plans, and details of the architecture of the church: with biographical anecdotes of the bishops of Lichfield and Coventry* as an example of the apex of his career, at least under his own consideration. It is a typical topographical volume; at the outset, Britton emphasises the fact that he refuses to jeopardise scientific assiduousness for a style of representation that caters to the general public and, furthermore, potentially results in higher book sales as a result. He simultaneously outlines his intent, as well as anticipated audience:

> "…the purchaser of this work, whether architect or antiquary, will be satisfied with nothing less than accurate delineations of the geometrical forms of arches, and other parts of the edifice by which alone substantial knowledge can be obtained. Many persons, no doubt, prefer pretty picturesque views and artificial effects of light and shade; they seek only to please the eye, and do not wish to trouble the thinking faculties with doubts and investigations. To such persons, however, the *Cathedral Antiquities* is not addressed; for this is intended to elucidate and define the ecclesiastical architecture and antiquities of our native country, which can only be done by plans, sections, and elevations of buildings."[30]

[29] J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: exemplified by a series of illustrations, with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane,* London, Printed for author, 1827, p. 2.
[30] J Britton*, The history and antiquities of the see and cathedral church of Lichfield; illustrated by a series of engravings, of views, plans, and details of the architecture of the church: with biographical anecdotes of the bishops of Lichfield and Coventry,* London, published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown; the author; and J. Taylor, 1820, pp. 5-6.

It is interesting that Britton establishes a standard for methods of representation, yet a number of the depictions included in this volume could be described as "pretty picturesque view[s]". Although he might textually assert that his aims are to please a more specialised audience, it is understood that Britton was fundamentally a bookseller. This characteristic is also evident in plate xvi of *Lichfield*. It has been asserted that Britton had a clear vision and dedicated work ethic, but often lacked the artistic skills required to execute publications of the standard he expected.[31] This resulted in close quality control and detailed direction for his illustrators, and in the case of *Lichfield*, publicly shaming them by highlighting his "disappointments from draughtsmen and engravers" in this case, Mackenzie and Le Keux, who felt threatened by the prospect of Britton hiring "from the number of young artists now coming forward [from who] it is hoped that there will be less liability to similar disappointments hereafter."[32] Britton quickly retracted this statement on the wrapper of the following volume by explaining "although the former notice had given extraordinary offence to certain artists, he had never meant, either individually or generally, to injure them, or to wound their feelings."[33] Britton's renunciation was delivered after Mackenzie had taken retaliatory action within Plate xvi [figures 7 & 8]: this volume's view of the monument 'The Sleeping Children' by Chantray includes an inscription within a painted glass window that reads "[a] fine drawing spoilt by John Britton." This is a testament to Britton's true character, as well as his sense of responsibility and authorship regarding the images that he did not necessarily execute by hand, but certainly had a final say in their appearance. Although he expressed some disappointment with the artists of *Lichfield*, Britton generally praised the work executed for the *Cathedral Antiquities* series, especially in comparison to some of his works that followed.

Graphical and Literary Illustrations of Fonthill Abbey

Fonthill Abbey is a prime example of a work that Britton expressed disappointment in, specifically in light of the standard of research and diagram in his other recent topographical

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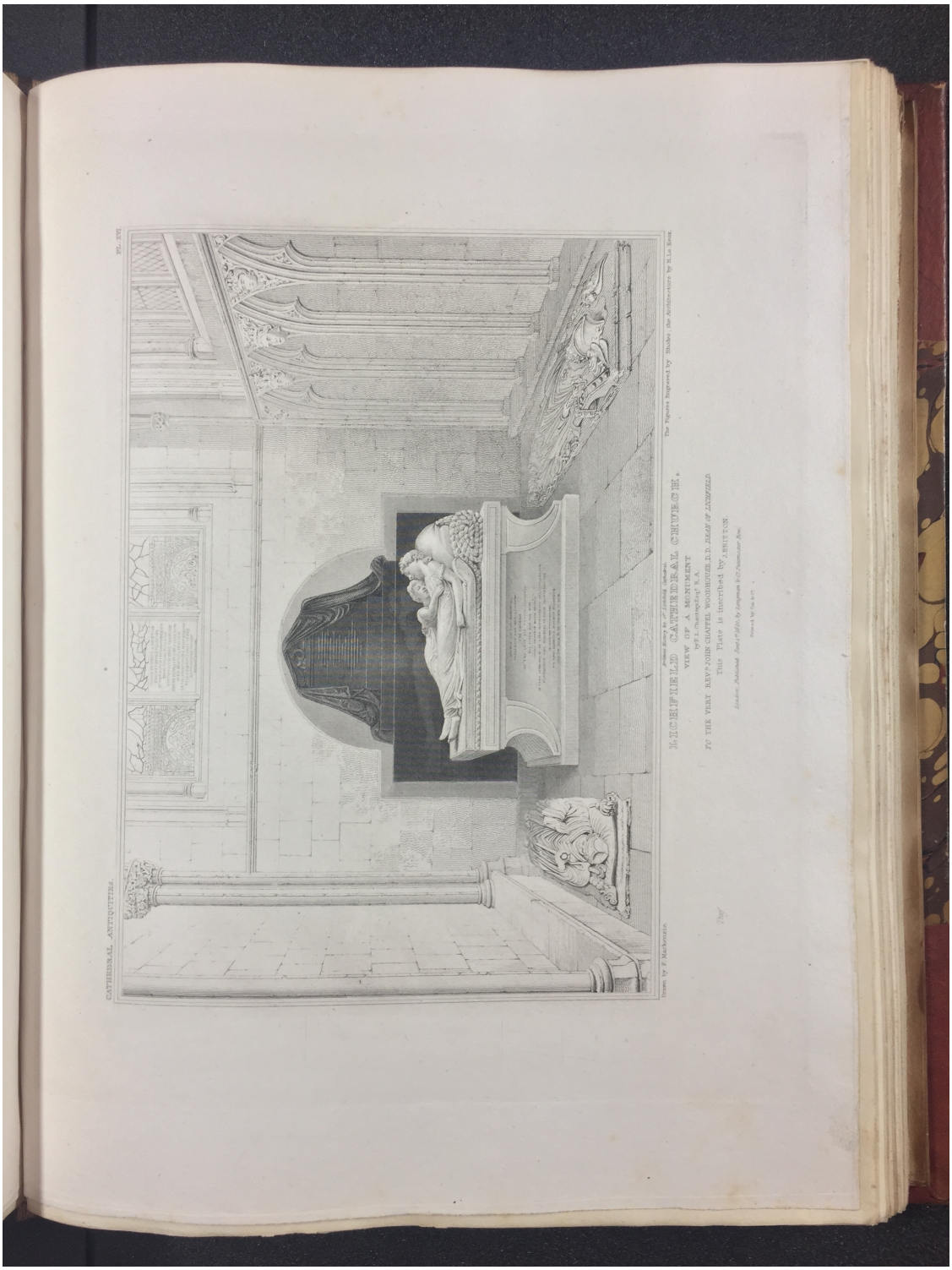
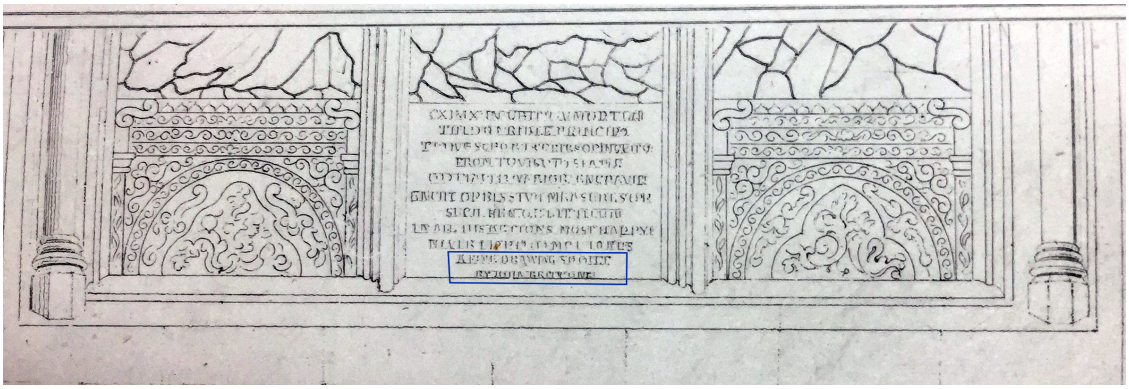
[31] "Britton's own drawings were seldom more than competent. But his standards as an editor were rigid and exacting: the early sketches of Prout and Cattermole were rejected and insufficiently accurate. His combination of enthusiasm and discipline certainly brought out the best in his pupils. And by merely uniting the names of Mackenzie and Le Keux he came near to making himself immortal."
"He lacked an original mind. He was strongest in precise dating and documentation, and in the presentation of visual evidence. The sections of mouldings, capitals and spandrels, the spires and arches arranged in stylistic sequence, the scaled-down drawings of windows, fonts and piscinas, all were superbly engraved in outline, mostly by John Le Keux. As an architect's textbook, the volume was invaluable." J M Crook, 'John Britton and the genesis of the Gothic Revival', *Concerning Architecture (*ed. J Summerson), London, Penguin, 1968, pp. 109-110, p. 112.
[32] J Britton, *The Autobiography of John Britton: Personal and literary memoir of the author,* London, printed for the author, 1850, p. 131.
[33] Ibid.



Chapter 4 figure 7. Lichfield Cathedral Church — View of a Monument. J Britton, *The history and antiquities of the see and cathedral church of Lichfield; illustrated by a series of engravings, of views, plans, and details of the architecture of the church: with biographical anecdotes of the bishops of Lichfield and Coventry*, 1820. Sir John Soane's Museum.



Chapter 4 figure 8. Lichfield Cathedral Church — View of a Monument (detail, with highlight by the author). J Britton, *The history and antiquities of the see and cathedral church of Lichfield; illustrated by a series of engravings, of views, plans, and details of the architecture of the church: with biographical anecdotes of the bishops of Lichfield and Coventry*, 1820. Sir John Soane's Museum.

books. It is also the volume that put my worries of authorship at ease; although his hand is not directly responsible for the images therein, Britton apologises to his readership for their poor quality.

There are two copies of Britton's description of William Beckford's *Fonthill Abbey* housed in Sir John Soane's Museum library. Soane subscribed to this publication, and of the two copies in Soane's library, a great deal of the essays in one remains largely unopened. This is probably of little consequence as Soane would have opened and read the other copy in its entirety, but simultaneously could indicate a preference for Britton's graphic content, rather than literary. This is not the first time Britton has written about Fonthill; he dedicates a chapter of the first volume of *Beauties of Wiltshire* to it, however, this description is focused on a pre-existing house built by William Beckford's father.

Britton begins his topographical volume in his typical manner, with an apology, followed by excuses disguised as the hardships of a topographist, consistent with every preface in each of his topographical publications. At the time of *Fonthill Abbey*'s publication, there was much interest in "The Beckford Folly". As John Harris stipulates, William Beckford sought to avoid the common tourist route and visitor ritual by erecting his "everlasting barrier" on a hill far from the classical portico of Fonthill Splendens, a much-frequented destination that had "long been regarded the most attractive and splendid seat in the West of England."[34] As a result of the public's speculations of the interior of Fonthill Abbey, a number of guides were written, including that of James Storer of 1812, years before the completion of the edifice. By September

[34] J Harris, 'English Country House Guides, 1740-1840', *Concerning Architecture* (ed. J Summerson), London, Penguin, 1968, p. 69.

1823, the Abbey had welcomed a surge of curious onlookers as a result of the Phillips sale for John Farquhar, the purchaser of the Abbey, which "meant an incursion of thousands of visitors and brought the guide writers hurrying to the Wiltshire downs."[35] Britton recognises the curiosity of the public within the first pages of his publication:

> "Of Fonthill Abbey a feverish curiosity has been excited – the public eye and ear have been disseminated through the country – several eloquent writers for the periodical press visited the Abbey in the autumn of 1822, for the express purpose of administering to and still further provoking that curiosity. Marvellous tales of the place, and of its intellectual owner have been reiterated by the babbling tongue of rumour, and by the seducing pen of the essayist. Among such competitors the humble historian and scrupulous topographer has but little chance of obtaining applause, or even securing a patient hearing. His dress is too plain and homely, his action and tones too simple and unimpressive to be recognised amidst the gay, the volatile, the glittering throng."[36]

As a result of the pervasiveness of this type of publication, Britton was "desirous of making a volume unique in its style of embellishment and in the literary department: one that should reflect some degree of credit on himself, as well as on the artists and artisans jointly and severally engaged in its execution."[37] The result of his endeavour is a typical Britton topographical publication, including an address to the subscribers, a description of the engraved title page, 10 plates with corresponding descriptions, a preface, an address to John Broadley, a history of the Abbey, and remarks on the building. What is missing from this publication is a catalogue raisonné, as one would expect when describing a private residence and the collection within. Britton explains that such a list has already been published in Mr. Christies Sale Catalogue, and to include such a section would be redundant.[38] It is of interest that Britton claims his own catalogue raisonné could never rival that of Mr. Christie, but nonetheless attempts to compile lists for other residential collections, such as Cleveland House.

Perhaps the most interesting and unique illustration in this collection is that of the frontispiece [figure 9]. It becomes clear from the title of the work that the lineage of the Beckford family is integral to this volume, and this fact is reinforced by this imagery. Britton describes the engraved title page in text following the note to subscribers and before the preface, explaining that his research into the Beckford family lineage as well as its associated

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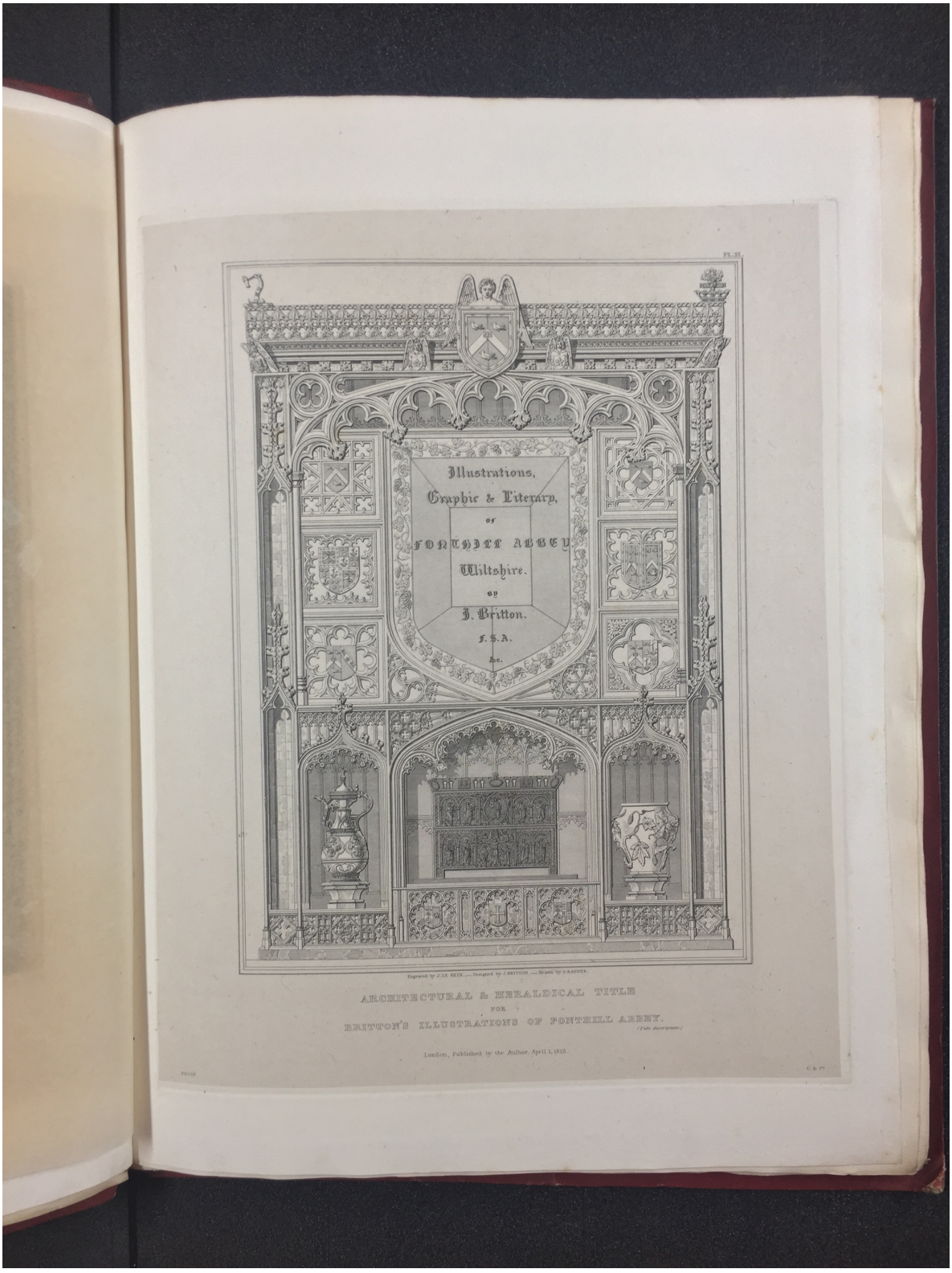
[35] J Harris, 'English Country House Guides, 1740-1840', *Concerning Architecture* (ed. J Summerson), London, Penguin, 1968, p. 69.
[36] J Britton, *Graphical and literary illustrations of Fonthill Abbey, Wiltshire; with heraldical and genealogical notices of the Beckford family*. London, printed for the author, 1823, pp. 15-16.
[37] Ibid., p. v.
[38] Ibid., p. 10.



Chapter 4 figure 9. Frontispiece — Architectural and Heraldical Title for Britton's Illustrations of Fonthill Abbey. J Britton, *Graphical and literary illustrations of Fonthill abbey, Wiltshire : with heraldical and genealogical notices of the Beckford family*, 1823. Sir John Soane's Museum.

symbols inspired him to create an "architectural design".[39] The title page is "supposed to be one side of an octagonal museum, or cabinet room" and features Beckford family heraldic insignia, which had been "ascertained after much laborious research and critical investigation by the professional heralds".[40] He then speculates that this room would feature a liberal use of mirrors. This fancy of interior design imagined by Britton was heavily inspired by the interior architecture of Sir John Soane's Museum, as explained in a footnote:

> "In the very interesting house and museum of Mr. Soane, Lincoln's Inn Fields, are many exemplifications of the beauty, variety, and pleasing effects that may be produced by the admission of light, and by the employment of numerous mirrors. The skilful mode of lighting his English gallery, museum, &c, is admirably adapted to display pictures and sculpture to advantage."[41]

In light of this, a visual comparison of this engraving with that of the Breakfast Parlour from *The Union* will be executed to deduce commonalities in Britton's treatment of mirrored rooms, whether imagined or existing. Visually, this representation of one eighth of an interior is typical of a detailed depiction of ecclesiastical architecture in, for example, Britton and Pugin's *Specimens of Gothic Architecture*, published in the same year. What is unique and striking is the isolation of this wall combined with the use of shading, but with a very linear and graphic shield at the centre and focal point. Although Britton implies that the room would be adorned by mirrors much like those found at Sir John Soane's Museum, he has omitted these. Britton's graphic treatment of mirrors is addressed at large in chapter 7 of this work. Interestingly, in terms of public reception Britton asserts that for the reader, this image "[w]il not require any great exertion of imagination to conceive the effect of such a room on the eye, and the varied associations and images which it must create in the vivid mind."[42] It can be said that the inclusion of mirrors in this design would ease the demands Britton is making on his readers; the drawn reflection of the other 7 sides of this room reflected on the surface of Britton's imagined wall would impart with the reader a more holistic idea of this octagonal room.

This image appears opposite a perspective of the Hall from the Octagon [figure 10], which has been executed with a great deal of shading to emphasise the effects of dark and light, and also features a few figures as staffage. The following plates include a floor plan, multiple views of the exterior from various locations around Fonthill Abbey, as well as views of the interior including a few colour plates [figures 11 & 12]. This publication is of utmost significance

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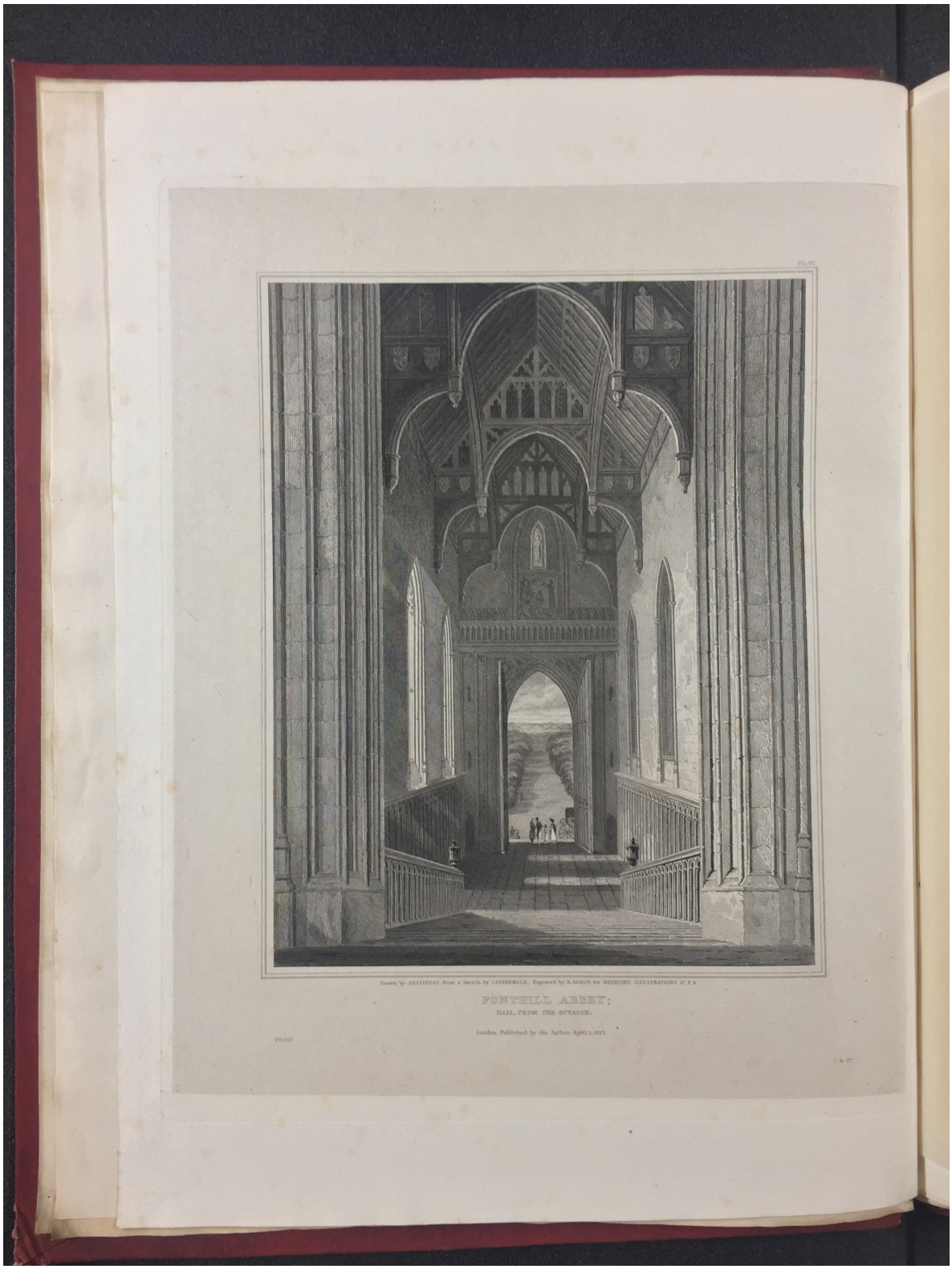
[39] J Britton, *Graphical and literary illustrations of Fonthill Abbey, Wiltshire; with heraldical and genealogical notices of the Beckford family*. London, printed for the author, 1823, p. 5.
[40] Ibid., pp. 6-7, 5.
[41] Ibid., p. 7.
[42] Ibid.



Chapter 4 figure 10. Fonthill Abbey: Hall from the Octagon. J Britton, *Graphical and literary illustrations of Fonthill abbey, Wiltshire : with heraldical and genealogical notices of the Beckford family*, 1823. Sir John Soane's Museum.

Chapter 4 figure 11. Fonthill Abbey, South end of St Michael's Gallery. J Britton, *Graphical and literary illustrations of Fonthill abbey, Wiltshire : with heraldical and genealogical notices of the Beckford family*, 1823. Sir John Soane's Museum.

Chapter 4 figure 12. Fonthill Abbey, Window &c in St Michael's Gallery. J Britton, *Graphical and literary illustrations of Fonthill abbey, Wiltshire : with heraldical and genealogical notices of the Beckford family*, 1823. Sir John Soane's Museum.

regarding the matter of authorship and a sense of responsibility for Britton's publications, whether successes or failures. He explains that "...the author and publisher of an embellished work is necessarily at the mercy of others: and as all persons have not the same feelings – the same zeal – and the same *responsibility* [author's emphasis], it is not surprising that there be carelessness in one – want of judgement in a second – defective taste in a third – and dishonesty in a fourth."[44] He then expresses his appreciation to the engravers involved in the work, including his old friend Henry Le Keux, preceded by a quote: "To err is human, to forgive is divine."[45] Whilst Britton's inflated sense of self captured in these words is undeniable, we can deduce that no matter whose hand drew the images in his publications, Britton will often artistically direct the artists, as evident in other works; but regardless of his involvement, he takes full responsibility for the outcome. This is evocative of a particular idea taken from Robin Evans's 1997 essay 'Translations from Drawing to Building'; that of all the art forms (painting, sculpture and architecture, for the purpose of this study) architecture is unique in that the artist's hand is never in direct contact with the finished product — the building.

Britton's topographic formula

As the next chapter argues, Britton's *The Union* deviates from the formulas evolved over his topographic career. This is further enhanced by his textual outline of what a topographic volume should be, his 'An Essay on topographical literature : its province, attributes, and varied utility; with Accounts of the Sources, Objects, and Uses of National and Local Records, and Glossaries of Words Used in Ancient Writings' (1843). Although this essay is mostly comprised of a list of literary sources and definitions of words used in *The Domesday Book*, what we can glean from some of his introductory texts is what the important elements of a topographic volume are. Britton's aim for this essay is similar to those of Sir John Soane's house and collection; Britton outlines at the outset that he wishes his essay to be a didactic tool, a learning resource for "whence authentic and original information is to be obtained...", and continues that "[t]he present essay is written to aid the less experienced author, and impart to him the best information and advice which long and diligent inquiry into the sources and principles of Topography and Archaeology will enable me to give."[46] Written after 45 years of experience as a

[44] J Britton, *Graphical and literary illustrations of Fonthill Abbey, Wiltshire; with heraldical and genealogical notices of the Beckford family*. London: printed for the author, 1823, , p. 13.
[45] Ibid., p. 14.
[46] J Britton, *An Essay on Topographical Literature: Its Province, Attributes, and Varied Utility; with Accounts of the Sources, Objects, and Uses of National and Local Records, and Glossaries of Words Used in Ancient Writings*, Wiltshire Topographical Society, 1843, p. iii, ix.

topographic writer, it is the first publication of the Wiltshire Topographical Society, which later became the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society. Notably, throughout the publication topography is considered a scientific practice. The first chapter is titled 'embracing a review of the essential characteristics and utility of that science', it's opening mimics the sentiments put forward by Crary regarding science and art in the nineteenth century:

> "If the Study of Antiquities and Topography be judiciously pursued and tastefully directed, it tends to develope the fluctuations of science, art, and literature: it carries the mind back to remote ages, and displays the condition, customs, and manners of men in former times. Hence this peculiar branch of literature becomes the most positive and incontrovertible data for historical deduction; as it shows what man has been by his works, and teaches us the important lesson of knowing ourselves by contrast and comparison with our ancestors."[49]

The essay hopes to "animate others to prosecute inquiries diligently and zealously; and to arrange and digest their materials for future publication."[50] What is important here is the use of the word *arrange* — as mentioned, the concept of arrangement is fundamental to this study in terms of the arrangement of Soane's collection, the arrangement of Soane's spaces and, perhaps most crucially, the arrangement of Britton's images and texts bound in *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*. Britton here recognises the importance of arrangement in topographic publications. It is for this reason that the conventional arrangement of his topographic publications outlined above fit a formula that Britton deemed suitable for the presentation of his material, and that this arrangement was not utilised for *The Union*.

Further to arrangement, without the aid of Britton's topographic treatise, there is an indication of a preferred graphic convention to be gleaned from the survey of his popular volumes. Similarly, within the pages of *The Union*, Britton writes of the merits of sciagraphy: "We have attempted to point out above, the importance of studying the effect of light and shade, upon which so much of the beauty of architecture depends, and which contributes so essentially to variety of surface and to picturesque character."[51] He continues,

> "We ought not to confound the architect with the builder : the latter is too generally a mere mechanic, but in the former we expect to find the artist, — one whose works are impressed with the indubitable stamp of genius and of taste ; who " snatches a grace beyond the rules of art," and can impart even to the

[49] J Britton, *An Essay on Topographical Literature: Its Province, Attributes, and Varied Utility; with Accounts of the Sources, Objects, and Uses of National and Local Records, and Glossaries of Words Used in Ancient Writings*, Wiltshire Topographical Society, 1843, p. v.
[50] Ibid., p. vi.
[51] J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: exemplified by a series of illustrations, with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane*, London, Printed for author, 1827, p. 12.

> simplest forms a high degree of elegance and beauty, and that indescribable quality which is beyond the reach of rules. The aphorism, " poeta nascitur non jit" is to a great degree applicable to him who would attain eminence in the art of which we are speaking; which, although it certainly requires much severe and dry elementary study, demands also no little share of genius and feeling : not to admit this is to deny that it is art. It would be unreasonable to expect that every builder should be an architect, in this high import of the term ; yet even the mere builder may at least display science and even taste, however humble the work on which he is employed. Even if devoid of all ornament or pretension, a structure may please by its proportions and graceful simplicity."[52]

It is with these topographic manifestos in mind that Britton's use of linear representation within *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting* becomes even more questionable within the context of his established oeuvre.

Conclusion: applications to *The Union*

Now that we have had the opportunity to survey and assess a variety of John Britton's publications, *The Union of Sculpture, Painting, and Architecture* can be comparatively considered. What makes this publication unique is the nature of the subject it aims to capture; represented within its pages is a domestic interior and private collection, highly unique and mostly decorated with Neoclassical fragments, within the metropolis, partially open to the public. The distinctive methods Sir John Soane utilised to represent the history of architecture within his museum poses problems of representation within a literary source, and it is no surprise that Britton's *The Union* does not follow his archetypal plan for topographical books nor private collection guides. However, due to his limited scope of preferred representational conventions as evinced in the above survey, to compare the engravings within *The Union* to Britton's other publications isolates various similarities and differences. The following chapters deal with the translation from drawing to building, as coined by Robin Evans, but by drawing, for this particular study, I refer to the the conventions of documentation, rather than the architectural design drawing exclusively. Evans has elsewhere explored this reversed documentation process:

> "Similar diversions and reversals occur at a different tempo in the making of topographical records, where it is normally assumed that the subject will be *unaffected by its portrayal*. Draw a building, and it will be the same building when you have finished drawing it, neither more nor less. Visual knowledge alights on its subject without taxing it, without expropriating anything from it.

[52] J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: exemplified by a series of illustrations, with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane*, London, Printed for author, 1827,, p. 11.

Obtaining it can be, and often is, a very gentle, considerate, subtle affair, although there are stories to suggest otherwise ..." [53]

[53] R Evans, 'Architectural Projection', *Architecture and Its Image; Four Centuries of Architectural Representation* (eds. E Blau and E Kaufman), London, The MIT Press, 1989, p. 20.

5. Guiding Versus Safeguarding; The elevated function of Soane's guidebooks

Sir John Soane's Museum is often described as unique, idiosyncratic, unparalleled; but what is it about the house-museum that prompts such descriptions? Arguably, it is the manner with which the museum is *arranged*, whether that be in terms of the objects within, or the rooms throughout, that is cited and celebrated for its exceptionality. Arrangement is vital to this study in terms of the museum and the objects therein, but further, the way that its guidebooks are arranged. Similar to the previous chapter's study of Britton's other volumes and his professional journey as a topographer, this chapter will examine several publications arguably more closely related to Britton's *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, and will construct a system of arrangement that one would expect an early nineteenth-century guide for a London collection to follow. [1] Whilst it has been established that Britton's publications mostly utilise certain conventions and adhere to a specific formula, to construct an even more comprehensive understanding of Britton's guidebook we must examine the books published for visitors of other London collections. This exercise is valuable in that the collections for which these books were published often do not exist anymore. From Thomas Hope's Duchess Street residence, to Sir John Fleming's gallery at Hill street — it has been suggested that by studying the guidebooks to these destinations, one might rebuild the collection and the experience of the visitor from the contents of their respective publications. As Anne Nellis Richter writes in reference to the collections of Sir John Fleming of Leicester and Mr. Fawkes, "[i]mages of interiors such as these [guidebook engravings] are frequently used by scholars as literal documents of the spaces they represent. This is understandable since little evidence remains to indicate precisely how they looked and what furnishings they contained."[2] Indeed, this sentiment is shared by David Watkin in his investigation of Thomas Hope's *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration* of 1807: "[i]t is possible to piece together a very clear picture of [Duchess Street]'s appearance from Hope's own thorough record of it in the text and illustrations to *Household Furniture*."[3] In

[1] Danielle Willkens, when writing about Soane's various *Descriptions*, argues that "[t]he two most relevant contemporary examples in London that had accompanying guides depicting the physical experience of exploring the collections through the use of text and image were James Parkinson's Leverian Museum, a reconfigured presentation of the collections from Lever's Holophusicon in Leicester Square that Parkinson won in a public lottery, and Hope's Duchess Street Mansion - D Willkens, 'Reading Words and Images in the *Description(s)* of Sir John Soane's Museum' in *Architectural Histories*, Volume 4, No 1 (2016), p. 3.

[2] A Richter, 'Improving Public Taste in the Private Interior: Gentlemen's Galleries in Post-Napoleonic London', *Architectural Space in Eighteenth-Century Europe: Constructing Identities and Interiors (*eds. Baxter, D Amy and M Martin), Farnham, Ashgate, 2010, p. 176.

[3] D Watkin, *Thomas Hope, 1769-1831 and the Neo-classical Idea*, London, Murray, 1968, p. 101.

the unique case of Britton's *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting* we have the material collection itself, or the primary source, as a resource to consider in tandem with the guidebook, thus a new opportunity presents itself; the opportunity to directly compare to, rather than rebuild from, and to form an understanding of the layer of representation, rather than attempting to erase it. Through examining the museum as well as its representations, my hope is to discern the role of Britton's *The Union* in the visitor experience. In a way, this approach is similar to Tom Stoppard's *Arcadia* (1993), a play set at the fictional English country house known as Sidley Park in 1809/1812 and the present. The spectator of the play is offered the simultaneous past and present representation of the day-to-day affairs at this particular historical setting. In 1993, historians attempt to decipher a particular set of events that are unfolding simultaneously on stage in the past, and as such the audience is offered the benefit of hindsight. The issue of the misinterpretation of historical archives is brought to the fore through the synchronous depiction of dichotomies (past and present).

Guides to London collections and the object

Sir John Soane's Museum is unique in many ways; from his use of space, the placement of mirrors and other objects, its didactic qualities, and in its situation within the metropolis of London, but most crucially, that it still exists today. In an attempt to safeguard his own legacy, Sir John Soane passed a Private Act of Parliament in 1833. Upon his death in 1837, the responsibility of the house and collection was transferred to a board of Trustees and ownership bequeathed to the nation. The Act stipulates that Nos 12-14 Lincoln's Inn Fields be kept as Soane left them. With efforts being made to conserve Soane's arrangement as it was at the time of his death, we can be certain that the collection as it exists today is akin to what John Britton encapsulated within the pages of *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting* in 1827.[4]

An exploration of John Britton's other guidebooks to private collections reveals the specific formula with which he has captured the aspects that he deems necessary to comprise such a volume. They are a resource with which we can establish Britton's own conventions in terms of representational methods as well as content. Problematically, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting* is one of only two London-based collections that Britton published a guidebook for, therefore it is difficult to establish a well-executed formula for this

[4] It should be noted that the collection certainly is not *exactly* as Soane had left it. Many curators have taken the liberty of adding features to the museum in an attempt to facilitate a simpler visitor experience, for example, the north, south, east and west placards scattered across the walls. The *Opening Up The Soane* (OUTS) programme, which began in 2011, is an attempt to undo some of the more prominent interventions, and restore the house-museum back to its original state. Further, Soane himself would have made changes to his house-museum from 1827 to his death in 1837.

specific publication type. Britton's other London-based publications focus solely on public architecture, ranging from various entries in his *Architectural Antiquities* series (1805-1826), to *The Public Buildings of London* in two volumes (1823, 1828). His guides to private collections are generally descriptions of estates in his home county of Wiltshire including those described in the previous chapter. Apart from *The Union*, there exists one exception to this, and that is Britton's *Catalogue raisonné of the pictures belonging to the most honourable the Marquis of Stafford, in the gallery of Cleveland House* (1808), which *was* located on the site of present-day Bridgewater House in St James's. As established in the previous chapter, Britton's publications will adhere to a specific formula, and this formula is similar to that which is used for the following examples.

I will now discuss two London-based gallery publications that have been examined by Anne Nellis Richter who theorises that the act of making these collections open to the public was an attempt to improve public taste. She "examine[s] both written and visual representations of the Fawkes and Leicester galleries to show that the moral qualities with which they were subtly attributed, such as domesticity, masculinity, and patriotism, were characteristics… that allowed them to be understood… as centres of culture for the empire."[5] Walter Ramsden Fawkes opened his private collection to the public in 1819, allowing visitors to examine his collection of specifically British works located at Grosvenor Place. Guidebooks were widely dispersed when the gallery opened to the public as written in a review that appeared in the *London Chronicle*. Richter postulates that the sole purpose of the catalogue was to "…remind visitors that they were not merely there for pleasure, but rather to 'improve' themselves by learning about the artists represented and the subjects portrayed."[6] While it is the presence of these catalogues that might attribute a less pleasurable and more constructive gallery visit, Richter neglects to consider the contents of the publication, or any other purpose it might serve, whether being considered within the context of Fawkes's gallery or elsewhere as a takeaway volume. Reflecting upon the publication's physical attributes, it becomes clear that this book was meant to accompany its reader on their gallery visit. Measuring 18.9cm x 25.3cm, it is lightweight, printed using chine-collé to allow for more delicate, lightweight paper, and its contents are comprised of the fundamental basics we would expect from a typical early nineteenth-century vade mecum, unlike the folio-size *The Union. A Collection Of Water Colour Drawings In The Possession Of Walter Fawkes, Esq.* (1819) contains two illustrations, the first

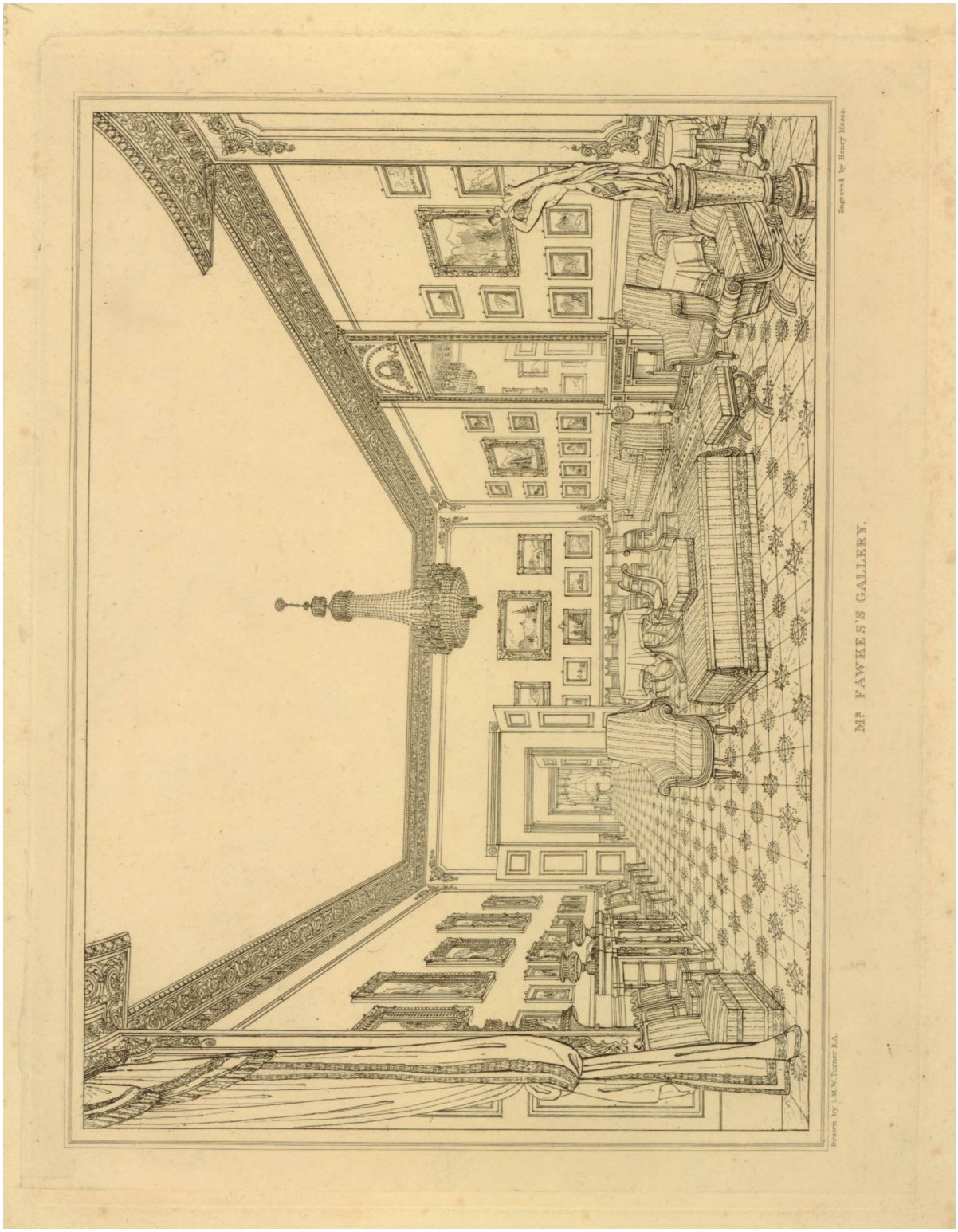
[5] A Richter, 'Improving Public Taste in the Private Interior: Gentlemen's Galleries in Post-Napoleonic London', *Architectural Space in Eighteenth-Century Europe: Constructing Identities and Interiors (*eds. Baxter, D Amy and M Martin), Farnham, Ashgate, 2010, p. 171.
[6] Ibid., p. 170.

being an engraved frontispiece drawn by J.M.W. Turner that depicts a perspective view of Fawkes's gallery [figure 1], and the second, which is a plate that shows a mountain stream with a list of British watercolour painters. The accompanying text is 'remarks', or reviews of the gallery from various newspapers during the months of May and June 1819 - all of which, unsurprisingly, shine a positive light on many aspects of the gallery, from Fawkes's patronage of British artists exclusively, to Turner's skills as a watercolourist. The remaining pages are numbered lists of the artworks split up by room. A lack of floorplan is a discernible void in this publication, but would perhaps be deemed unnecessary as, according to the guidebook, only four of Fawkes's rooms were open to visitors: the Front Drawing Room, the Small Bow Drawing Room, the Music Room, and the Large Drawing Room. Without a floorplan, the visitor is unable to situate themselves within the property as a whole, perhaps indicating a closely monitored and facilitated visiting experience.

Similarly, Sir John Leicester opened up his London residence to the public, allowing visitors to examine his collection of British works at Hill Street, Berkeley Square. Much like Soane, Sir John Leicester had various guidebooks published from 1808 to 1821, and these books became more and more comprehensive in their content with each iteration. For the purpose of this study I will focus on the last guidebook, written by William Carey in 1819. It is of prime interest for this study as it was commissioned to be written by, arguably, an outsider; Carey is widely published, but his repertoire is mostly comprised of translations to and from Bengali and other Indian vernaculars, and is better known as a missionary. Carey highlights this in his opening letter to the Noblemen and Gentlemen of the British Institution, noting that he is "conscious that this duty might have been placed in abler hands."[7] However, noted antiquarian Sir Richard Hoare states that "[i]t is truly gratifying to [him], as a lover and admirer of British Art, to be informed that [Sir John Fleming of Leicester has] commissioned Mr. W. Carey to write a description of [his] Collection of Paintings, confined wholly to British Artists…"[8] This outsider sentiment is repeated throughout his address.

In terms of content, Carey's descriptive catalogue is heavy on the text and light on visual representations. It is comprised of introductory texts such as a letter to Sir John from antiquarian and artist Sir Richard Hoare expressing his anticipation for the publication, as well as a text in which Carey addresses the British Institution. What follows is the catalogue itself, which is split up by room: the Gallery, the Ante-Room, the Tent Room, the Drawing Room, and then leaves Berkeley Square to capture the contents of Sir John's country home, the gallery at

[7] W Carey, *A descriptive catalogue of a collection of paintings by British artists in the possession of Sir John Fleming Leicester, Bart*. London, J. Nichols and Son, 1819, p. vii.
[8] Ibid., p. iii.



Chapter 5 figure 1. Mr Fawkes's Gallery. Walter Ramsden Hawkesworth Fawkes, *A Collection Of Water Colour Drawings In The Possession Of Walter Fawkes, Esq.*, 1819. ©Trustees of the British Museum.

Tabley House. Each room is described by the contents therein, not in terms of interior architecture, and it may be said that Carey's style of writing is "exaggerated and polemical, but passionate and eloquent."[9] Carey meticulously describes each piece of British artwork contained in each room, some descriptions exceeding six pages for a single painting. This suggests that this publication was intended to act as a souvenir, as it is unlikely that a visitor to Sir John's gallery would read through these lengthy descriptions in situ.

Much like Fawkes's publication, there is a single visual aid in Carey's description that is similar in terms of stylistic execution. It is a linear perspective view that is situated next to the title page depicting the Picture Gallery [figure 2]. Whilst this sort of standalone illustration allows a reader to imagine an artwork in situ based off the description, with a lack of floorplan and/or other conventions of representation, it is difficult to piece together Fawkes's and Fleming's collections as a whole. There is no indication of the arrangement of the series of public rooms, or even the arrangement of the works within each room, with the exception of the rooms depicted in each single illustration respectively. This is suggestive of a focus on the objects, rather than the collection as a whole; being galleries for British works only, these collections are unique in the *nature* of their collection, rather than how it is brought together and displayed, nor the nature of the interior architecture featured within Sir John's residence. This is further evinced in William Carey's address to the British Institution, in which he refers to the collection as a "great national object", and focuses on *what* Sir John has collected, rather than *how* he has displayed it.[10]

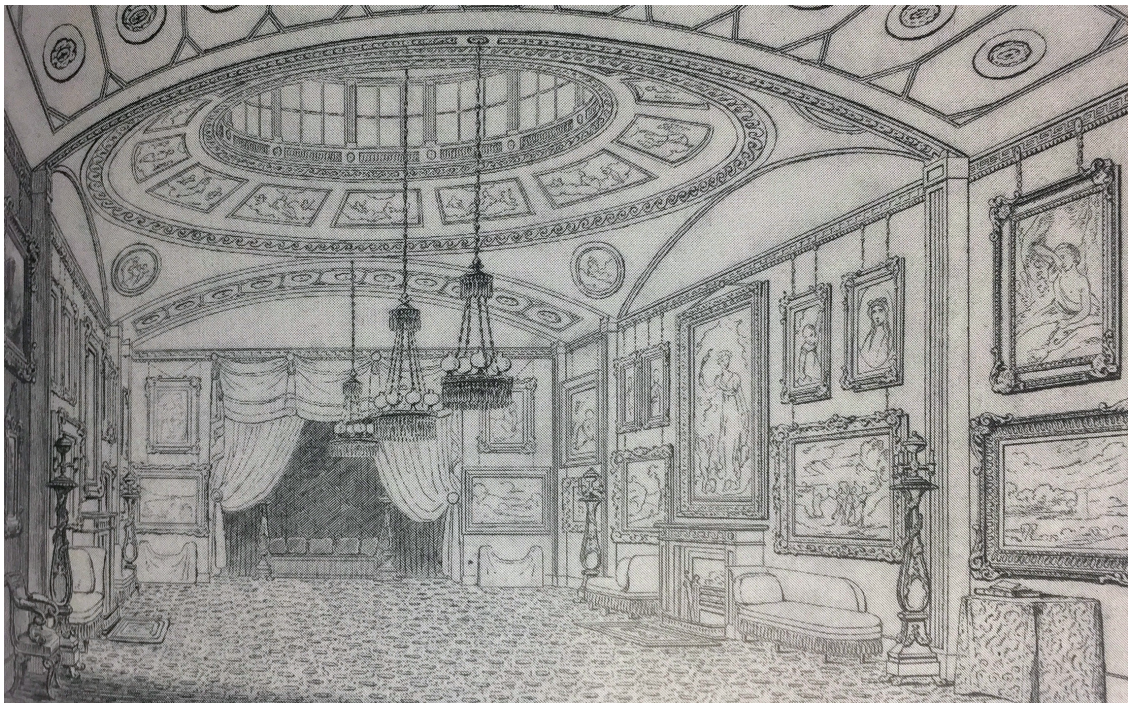
Thomas Hope's *Household Furniture* and taste making

Although the previous two collections discussed are akin to Soane's house-museum in that they are early nineteenth-century private-gone-public galleries in London, Thomas Hope's Duchess Street residence is considered to have been on par with the idiosyncrasy of Soane's house-museum, a fact so integrated within studies of this collection that Watkin references Soane's house in his introduction to the 1971 republication of Hope's *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration* (1807).[11] Like the other London collections, Thomas Hope's residence no longer

[9] D Chun, 'Public display, private glory; Sir John Fleming Leicester's gallery of British art in early nineteenth-century England', *Journal of the History of Collections*, Volume 13, Issue 2 (January 2001), p. 183.

[10] W Carey, *A descriptive catalogue of a collection of paintings by British artists in the possession of Sir John Fleming Leicester, Bart.* London, J. Nichols and Son, 1819, p. vii.

[11] "Sir John Soane was an admirer of the house and, indeed, his own house-cum-museum in Lincoln's Inn Fields afforded the closest parallel to it in London... He further echoed Hope by publishing in 1830 a handsome volume of plates and text illustrating his own house. Such self-conscious gestures are extremely rare in the history of architecture." David Watkin, 'Introduction to the Dover edition of



Chapter 5 figure 2. Frontispiece. W Carey, *A Descriptive Catalogue Of A Collection Of Paintings By British Artists, In The Possession Of Sir John Fleming Leicester, Bart*. 1819.

exists — it was demolished in 1851 and the contents moved to his country house, The Deepdene — but was, during Soane's time, a Robert Adam house adorned with furniture that the Dutch tastemaker had himself designed. What makes this enquiry even more closely tied to *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting* is that in 1825, Britton began works on an *Historical and descriptive account of the Deepdene*, which was never published. Gillian Darley asserts that Britton's accounts of Deepdene and Fonthill provoked Soane to entrust Britton with the task of creating the first published aid to his collection.[13] Watkin suggests that "the Deepdene was as challenging a product of the Picturesque theory as Sir John Soane's house and museum in Lincoln's Inn Fields... Britton's aim was to show how the Picturesque could be achieved in the country at the Deepdene and in town at John Soane's architecturally experimental house and

Thomas Hope's *Household Furniture*', *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration*, New York, Dover Publications inc., pp. vi-vii.

[13] G Darley, *John Soane: An Accidental Romantic*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1999, p. 286.

museum in Lincoln's Inn Fields."[14] It is still unknown to this day whether Sir John Soane himself visited Thomas Hope's Duchess Street residence.[15]

Whether Thomas Hope's *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration* is a guide to his collection specifically for his visitors is questionable. The purpose of this volume is to improve public taste, much like those for the collections of Sir John Fleming of Leicester and Mr. Fawkes, however the intention for improvement is much more evident in this particular case; rather than acting as a didactic publication that describes and praises British works, *Household Furniture* is more about the physicality of the objects therein. Thomas Hope's furniture designs were so fashionable that Hope himself predicted that copies would be produced once his gallery was open to the public, therefore the aim of this publication was to rectify the potential modification of his designs. With measurements clearly marked on the engravings that fill the pages of *Household Furniture*, one could decorate their home in the manner of Thomas Hope, and most importantly could do so accurately. It is a folio-sized volume comprised of a lengthy introduction, followed by descriptions paired with 60 plates, culminating in a bibliography, a unique feature of this publication.

Household Furniture and Interior Decoration is without a floor plan, or any other sort of non-perspectival representation of space. It is a collection of linear views of a selection of the rooms within his Duchess Street residence, followed by several engravings of objects, whether it be a number on a single plane, or an entire page devoted to a sole piece of furniture. The latter graphic convention is reminiscent of Britton and Pugin's *Specimens of Gothic Architecture* (1825); published two years before Britton's *The Union* and eighteen years after Hope's *Household Furniture*, this is not a guidebook to a specific collection, but an empirical and precise exploration of Gothic features. Much like *Specimens of Gothic Architecture*, Hope's publication is something akin to a pattern book, but specific to his own collection, rather than a number of objects from various collections.

Within the text of *Household Furniture*, Hope acknowledges his use of linear depiction and why it is well-suited to this collection: "The work might, perhaps, have been rendered more copious and more shewy, by offering, in addition to the representations of such pieces of furniture as actually have been executed, the designs of such other more gaudy and more splendid articles of decoration…I beg however to observe that, though in general this effect is left rendered on paper, by a mere lineal engraving, this circumstance is not universally the

[14] D Watkin, *Thomas Hope: Regency Designer* (eds. D Watkin and P Hewat-Jabooreds), London and New Haven, Yale University Press, 2008, p. 219.
[15] B De Divitis, 'New Drawings for the interiors of the Breakfast Room and Library at Pitzhanger Manor', *Architectural History,* Volume 48 (2005), p. 164.

case."[16] Hope explains that the use of light and shade in representation is necessary with ornaments featuring bold projections and recesses, not the shallow relief featured on his own furniture designs. What we can say, in terms of comparing *Household Furniture* to *The Union* is that, in terms of content and stylistic execution, the two are similar; both Hope and Britton have captured these two unique private collections without sciagraphy, opting instead for linear depictions. However, in terms of representational conventions, Hope's book is quite different. By neglecting to include a floor plan and other architechtonic graphic illustrations, Hope does not situate the reader within the walls of his Duchess Street residence. Each perspective depiction of a room, of which there are eight, can never be considered by the viewer as a part of the whole, and it is in this way that *The Union* stands out as unique in terms of other nineteenth-century London-based guidebooks. Whilst Watkin does acknowledge that the engravings offer purely a snapshot in time, and an idealised one at that, he is still confident that this resource as a standalone publication contains the building blocks with which to resurrect Hope's now destroyed public galleries.[17]

But perhaps the reconstruction of Hope's house is an easier task due to the nature of its arrangement, especially compared to Soane's house and museum. Take for example the first floor plan of Hope's house [figure 3]. In terms of a floorplan, it is what we would expect from an Adam domestic plan; a simple collection of rooms in a circuit.[18] A comparison of the unique features of an Adam plan compared to that of, for example, James Gibbs, is described in Evans' 'The Developed Surface', which focuses on the relationship between rooms as indicated by different methods of visual representation. In a circuit such as this, the hierarchy between rooms is lost: "Wherever you may be in the circuit, like a mouse in a wheel, you do not change the way the rest of the ring relates to you. You are always, as in certain recent cosmologies, looking at the back of your own head, so to speak. If you walk out of a door on one side of an apartment, you will presently return through the door on the opposite side."[19]

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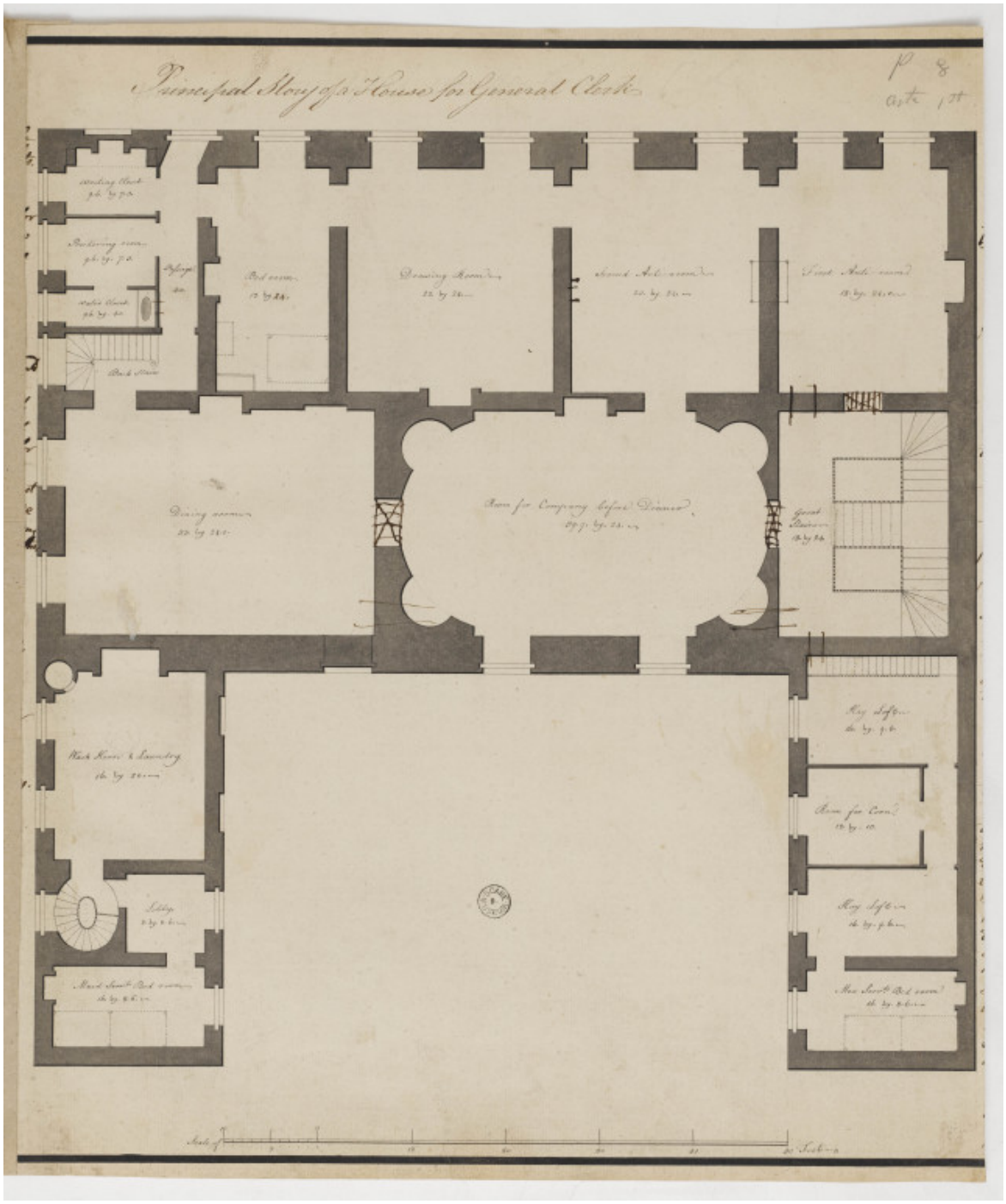
[16] Thomas Hope, *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration*, New York, Dover Publications inc., 1971, p. 15.

[17] "A false impression, however, can be given by the plates in *Household Furniture*, because the rooms were doubtless tidied up before being engraved. Also, each plate of a room shows at most three sides of it, omitting one quarter, and some objects may have been added after 1807, when the plates were published." D Watkin, *Thomas Hope: Regency Designer* (eds. D Watkin and P Hewat-Jabooreds), London and New Haven, Yale University Press, 2008, p. 23.

[18] Sir John Soane's Museum is the foremost centre for study of the Adam brothers drawings, boasting 9,000 works, which "...comprise over 80% of the surviving Adam drawings anywhere in the world." F Sands, 'Highlighting Sir John Soane's Architectural Drawings Collection', *Teatro Marittimo*, Issue 5 (Spring 2016), p. 140.
For more on the collection, please refer to the final segment of the bibliography of this thesis.

[19] R Evans, 'The Developed Surface', *Translations from Drawing to Building,* London, Architectural Association Publications, 1997, p.206.



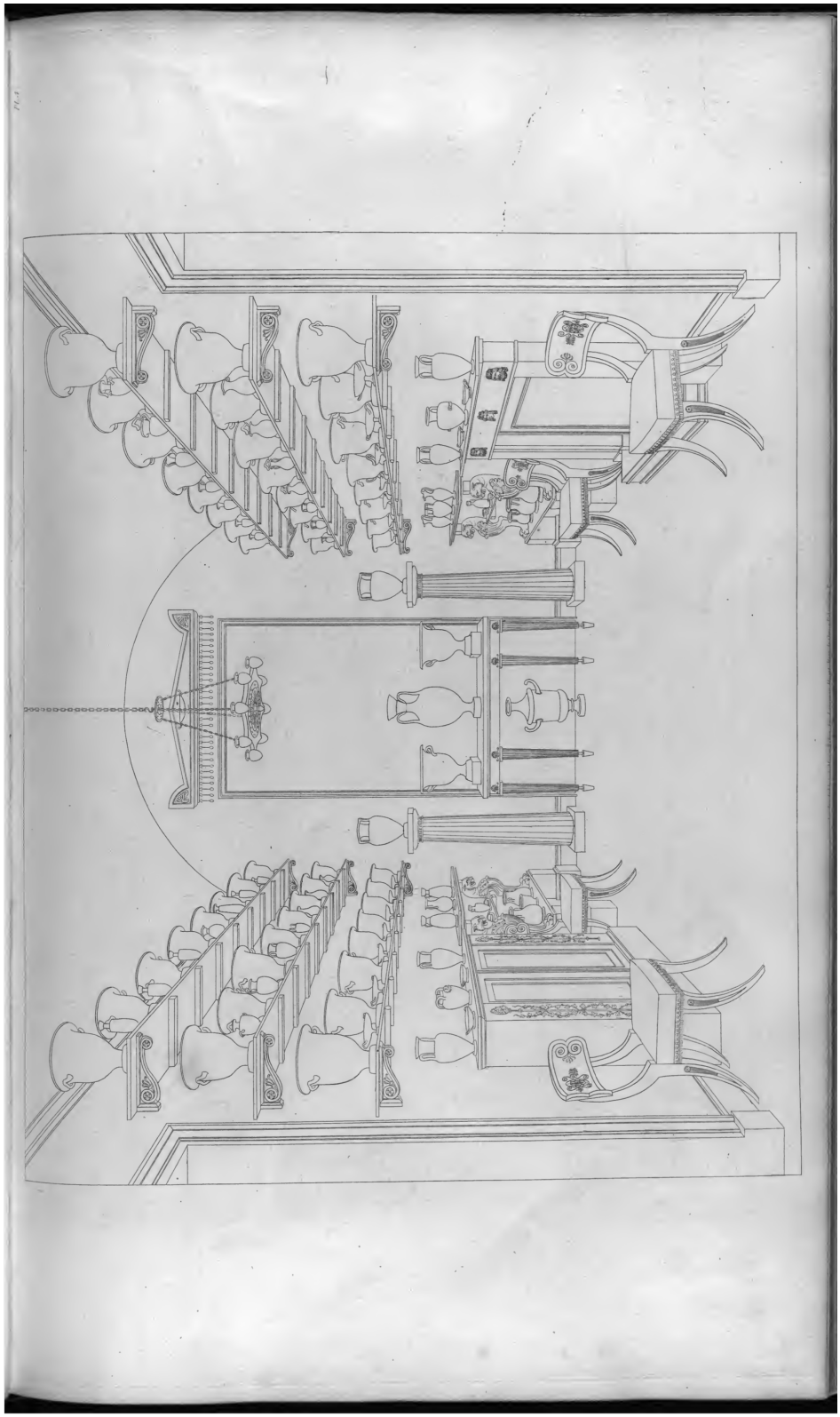
Chapter 5 figure 3. Adam Office, First Floor Plan of the Duchess Street House. SM Adam Volume 44/8. Sir John Soane's Museum.

There is a unity brought to these rooms in size and shape and even point of entry. As Evans explains, each room is now, a generation after Gibbs, defined by distinctive use, like Hope's Lararium, or even decorative theme, like Hope's Egyptian Room. When Hope himself suggests within his introduction that linear engravings fall short of capturing the essence of his collection, Hope is alluding to a void that becomes more obvious when *Household Furniture* is compared to other collection guidebooks, such as *The Union*. The reconstruction of Hope's Duchess Street residence is a task that requires "portraits" of each room, as, whilst these rooms are seemingly uniform, their unique character and interior architecture requires much more complex and detailed depiction.[21]

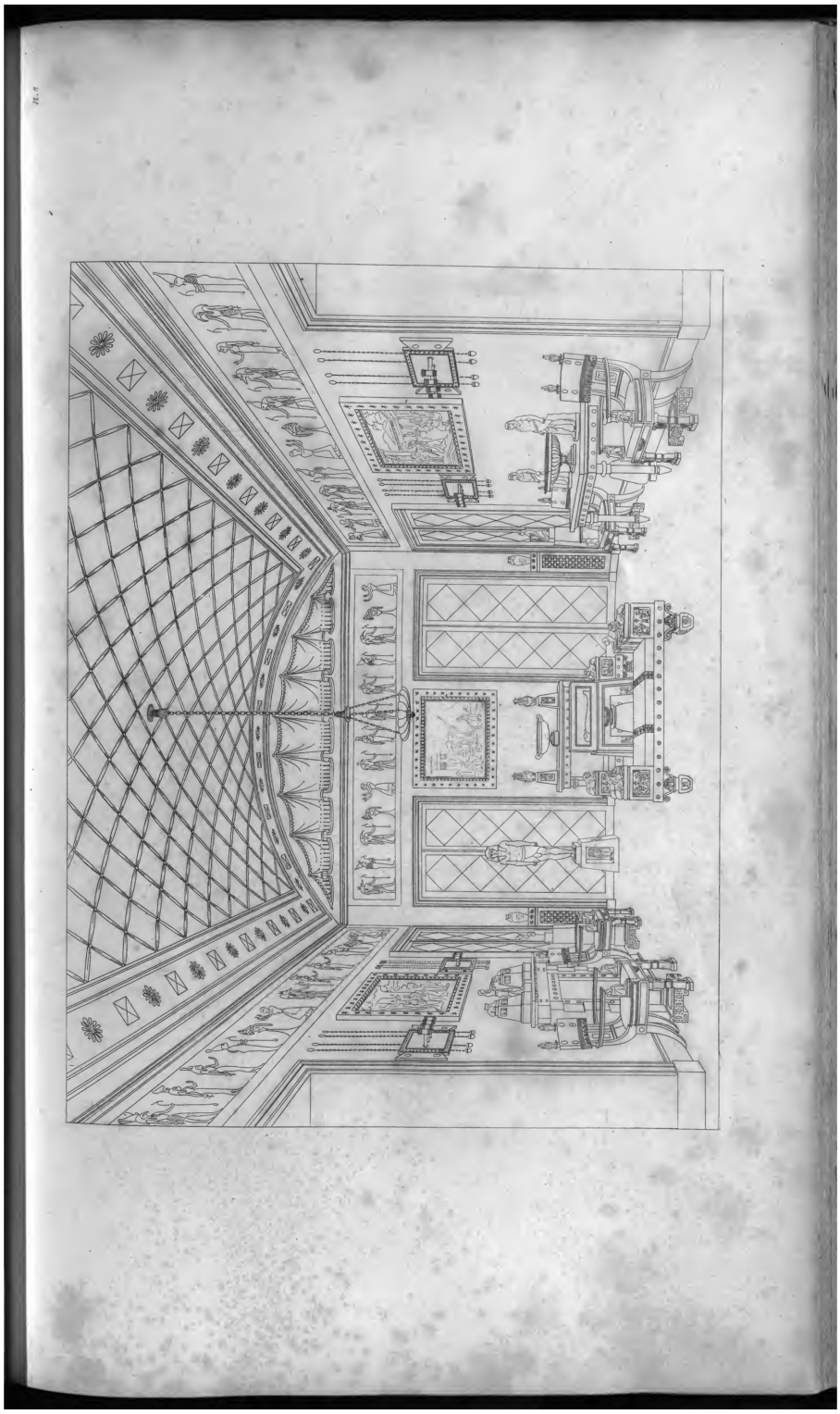
There are hints of each room's individual character throughout *Household Furniture*. When describing each plate, Hope often traces the origins of his interior architecture and/or the objects within each room, such as plate iv [figure 4] which depicts a room containing Greek vases, or plate viii [figure 5], a perspective of the Egyptian Room. Further, it is necessary for Hope to include colour when describing his collection, as the images lack this feature; but colour evidently was a main feature of Hope's interiors. Whilst each room was thematically different, the stylistic method utilised to capture each room brings a visual unity to them, and Watkin notes this shortcoming within his introduction: "...the adoption of this technique for the plates in *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration* makes the representation of depth and shadow impossible and lessens the stylistic contrasts between differently designed objects, while the absence of colour further drains them of life. So it is a curiously disembodied, cold, spaceless effect that the book gives us..."[23] What we might expect, in terms of capturing the individuality of each of Hope's rooms, would be some sort of developed surface depiction, which, as a convention, came into popular circulation in the 1750s, and was often employed by Robert Adam. This is indicative of a change of focus at the time, from an interest in a building's exterior, to the individual character of the interior, from wall coverings, to furniture, etc. This method of representation was used to capture Soane's architecture, including within the pages of Britton's *The Union*.

Arguably, the discrepancy between *Household Furniture* and *The Union* indicates a difference between the two residences, or at least the characteristics that John Britton and Thomas Hope wished to be conserved within the pages of their respective publications. Hope's

[21] Referring to a developed surface depiction as a portrait of a room is borrowed from Robin Evans, in 'The Developed Surface', *Translations from Drawing to Building,* London, Architectural Association Publications, 1997.
[23] D Watkin, 'Introduction', *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration*, New York, Dover Publications inc. 1971, p. vii.



Chapter 5 figure 4. Second Room Containing Greek Vases. T Hope, *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration*, 1807. Smithsonian Libraries via The Internet Archive.



Chapter 5 figure 5. Third Room Containing Greek Vases. T Hope, *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration*, 1807. Smithsonian Libraries via The Internet Archive.

Household Furniture was not published as a vade mecum, indicated by its size and text, nor is it a standalone description. Arrangement is vital to this comparison; Soane's house-museum is praised for its arrangement of space, whilst Hope did not see a floorplan as a necessary feature for his guidebook, let alone any other visual depiction of the interrelation between spaces at Duchess Street.

In terms of these books making demands on the public, there are two types of demands worth discussing: financial demands, and visual demands, and between the two there exists a balancing act that may determine the success of the publication. On the one hand, Thomas Hope's *Household Furniture* was affordable, enticing a craftsman readership with the intent to safeguard the integrity of his designs. Differentially, Hope's methods of depiction are simplistic and selective- a fact that he himself highlights in his own introduction, which resulted in the equalisation of the character of his spaces through linear engraving and perspective. Britton's *The Union* is debatably the opposite in terms of affordability, as well as complexity of visual aid. If we refer back to a publication in which Britton uses a similar method of representation, *Specimens of Gothic Architecture*, it becomes clear that Hope's *Household Furniture* is about the object, and accuracy of reproduction, rather than situating the viewer within Hope's spaces, or representing Hope's Duchess Street residence in its entirety.

The Deepdene, the country and beyond

Allegedly, John Britton's attempt to encapsulate Thomas Hope's country estate, The Deepdene, inspired Soane to commission *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*; a surprising revelation when considering the differences between both the nature of these buildings and the execution of their respective volumes. What Britton's guide to the Deepdene represents is contrary to that of the other guidebooks that have been examined in this chapter. Not only does the collection no longer exist, but the manuscript was never published, and perhaps was not intended to be.[24] The work herein examined offers unrivalled insight into John Britton's process. Additionally, its focus is a country estate and the collection therein, but in this unique example the scope is wider and encapsulates various aspects of the area covering the Deepdene all the way to the south-west of London.

Britton began compiling this large-scale manuscript in 1825. It opens with a list of the main goals of the volume in order of importance, with "a description of the present Mansion, its

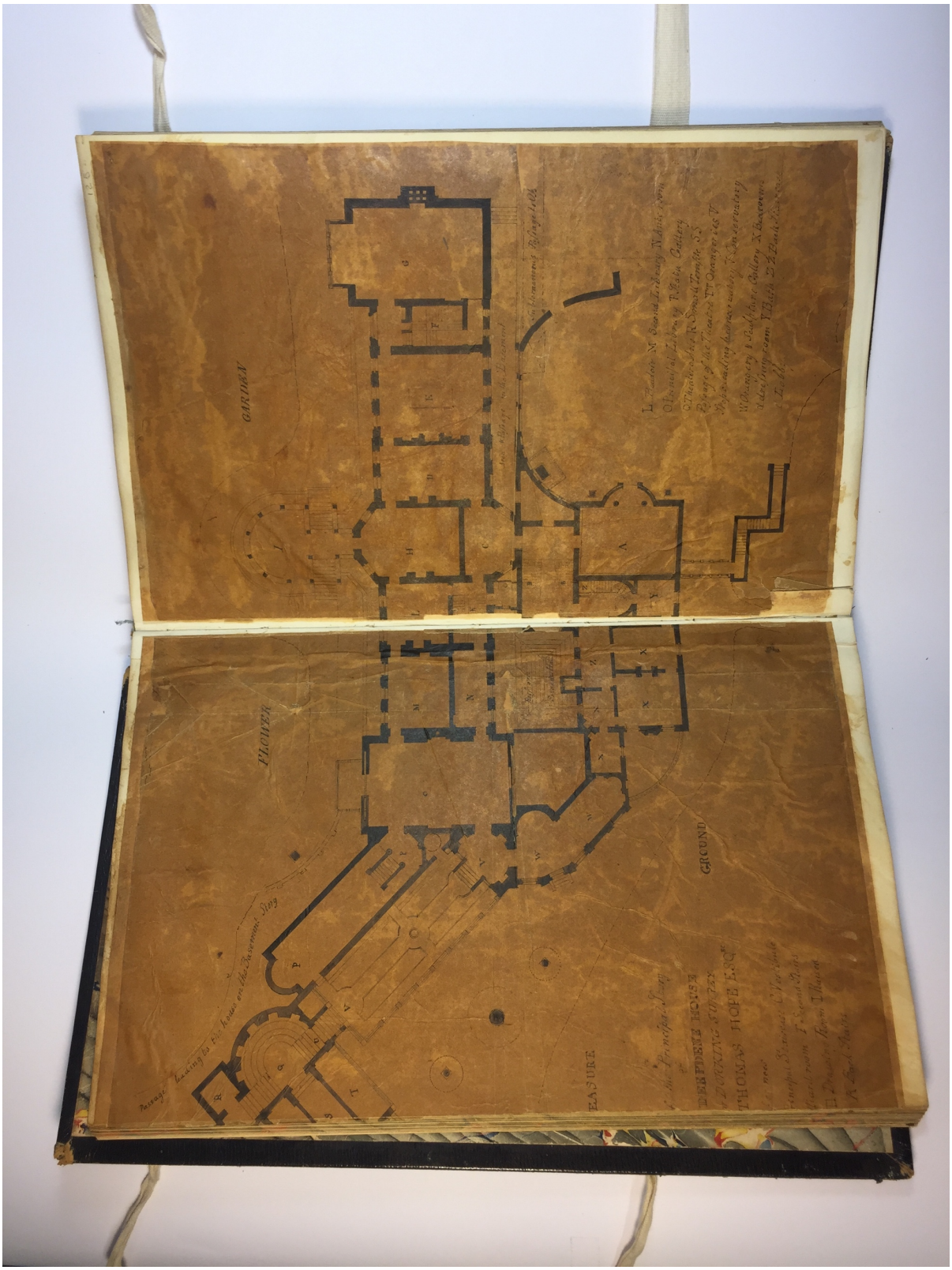
[24]J Britton, *The Autobiography of John Britton: Personal and literary memoir of the author,* London, printed for the author, 1850, p. 201: "This was not intended for publication; but as a manuscript volume, to accompany a series of highly-finished drawings of that seat, which had been made for Mr. Hope, under Mr. Britton's direction, by Barlett, Penry Williams, &c."

varied features and most interesting contents" listed as fifth on his list, after other features such as biographical information on previous occupants of the site of Deepdene, and descriptions of those other properties. The text within is incomplete, however plans for its execution are outlined in the table of contents: a dedication to Thomas Hope, a preface explaining Britton's intent and the proposed nature of the volume, a description of the scenic features of Deepdene's surrounding country, historical particulars of the Manor of the Deepdene and its successive possessors, biographical anecdotes of the most eminent of the preceding, and a description of the Manor of the Deepdene and its contents. Unfortunately, the latter has not been begun. Within this content list, Britton outlines the limits of his country survey that spans London to Dorking and outlines areas of the metropolis including Clapham and Tooting. Accompanying illustrations are numerous watercolours, drawings and sketches, some unfinished, executed by Mr. P. Williams and Mr. W.H. Bartlett explicitly under the supervision and instruction of Britton, and were "intended to display the characteristic features of the Country, generally, and more particularly those of the Park Gardens and Mansion."[25] In laying out his intent in the introductory texts, Britton simplifies the process of determining why this manuscript was assembled, and for what purpose. Further to this, he outright characterises his bounded arrangement as original: he asserts that "there is not such another work as the present attached to any English Mansion…", and admits that he "felt more than commonly solicitous about its style of execution, as well as in the fidelity and arrangement of the contents."[26]

An examination of the nature of Britton's chosen illustrations and the manner in which they are arranged reveals the unique character of this manuscript. Britton's "guidebook" to Thomas Hope's country seat sits somewhere between his topographic volumes outlined in the previous chapter, as well as his metropolis guidebooks. It is inclusive of non-perspectival illustrations, such as a coloured map entitled *Mapping the Deepdene sketch with Survey, Seat of Thomas Hope Esq*. [figure 6], as well as the *Plan of the Principal Story of The Deepdene House, Dorking, Surrey, The Seat of Thomas Hope Esq* [figure 7]. The plan is a recycled presentation drawing pasted into the folio with a section on the left folded over as the plan is too large for the spread, giving the manuscript a scrapbook-like quality. The inclusion of a map that includes various routes from Deepdene to other areas of interest, such as Dorking or Brighton, situates the estate within its country surroundings and beyond, whilst the plan redirects the focus back to Hope's estate. This push/pull, or rather, intermingling of nature and architecture is enhanced by the collection of watercolours and sketches that range from picturesque

[25] J Britton, *A historical and descriptive account by John Britton of The Deepdene, Surrey, the seat of Thomas Hope,* unpublished manuscript: 1825-26, p. 15.
[26] Ibid., p. 17.

Chapter 5 figure 6. Mapping the Deepdene Sketch. J Britton, *Historical and descriptive account of the Deepdene, Dorking Surrey*. Unpublished manuscript. RIBA Drawings & Archives Collection.



Chapter 5 figure 7. Plan of the Principal Story of the Deepdene House. J Britton, *Historical and descriptive account of the Deepdene, Dorking Surrey*. Unpublished manuscript. RIBA Drawings & Archives Collection.

depictions of the building's exterior elements (terraces, conservatories, entrances, and other exterior architectural features) to unfinished studies of trees, as well as a number of views of Deepdene's tower embedded in surrounding foliage. Being void of interior perspectives entirely, the manuscript does not situate its reader within the estate apart from providing a plan, resulting in the impression of a building void of any interior architecture or decoration, let alone objects. Rather than a view of Hope's kitchen, the reader is offered a view of the kitchen roof parapet [figure 8].

It is difficult to analyse this manuscript in the same manner as the other literature considered in this study as the intention was never publication and circulation, therefore the aim here is not to decipher what the public would attain from the volume, and how it was used. It can be said that this assemblage is large in format and laden with text, suggesting that it would not accompany a visit, whether to the Deepdene Mansion, or further, its surrounding areas. The notion that this manuscript serves as a standalone book is further emphasized by its all-encompassing contents, not only describing the estate and the collection therein, but furthermore, the exterior gardens and beyond, this manuscript belongs firmly within, for example, the library of Sir John Soane, between *The Beauties of Wiltshire* and *The Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*. But why then has it been suggested that Britton's book on The Deepdene was compiled in partnership with *The Union*?[27] Apart from similar timing, if the two volumes were embarked upon as related projects, their dissimilar manifestations are a testament to the vast difference between a work that concerns a country estate versus a London townhouse.

Interestingly, a second manuscript of Britton's description of Deepdene exists, and features a different title and a different collection of images. The title, *The Union of the Picturesque in Scenery and Architecture with Domestic Beauties*, indicates that this specific version might have been compiled with the intent to publish alongside Britton's guide to Soane's house museum. It features a number of interior perspective views, which are explored in chapter 7 of this work.

Crude Hints and the potential for misinterpretation

Although the main purpose of the aforementioned volumes at the time of their publication was not to be the main source of reference long after the buildings they represent

[27] The manuscript, held in the RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum, is described as such in the V&A's website entry *Thomas Hope & the Regency style*, Victoria and Albert Museum, Online Museum, Web Team, webmaster@vam.ac.uk http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/t/thomas-hope/ (accessed 15 January 2017.)

Chapter 5 figure 8. View of the Kitchen Parapet. J Britton, *Historical and descriptive account of the Deepdene, Dorking Surrey*. Unpublished manuscript. RIBA Drawings & Archives Collection.

had been demolished, this is often how historians understand them. However, Richter argues that the suggestion of a reconstruction based on these publications is flawed. Her argument is rooted in a social study concluding that the volumes' illustrations are, in essence, an idealised snapshot of these collections. She cites the level of detail included in these illustrations as enticing for scholars, however, she successfully highlights differences in, for example, object placement in different depictions of the same collections.

It is my intention to take this argument further, in terms of what has been lost in these depictions, and what we know certain graphic conventions can convey on the pages of a book, within the lines of an engraving. There is potential in other methods of representation in circulation at the time, and certain attributes included in various guidebooks, such as a ground plan, are necessary for the actual act of construction itself. If Soane's house-museum had been published in the same manner as the volumes described in this chapter, and subsequently the collection was dispersed, what would our understanding of Soane's spatial arrangement be today?

I would like to end with a consideration of yet another unique publication, one that was compiled in reference to Sir John Soane's Museum, and is described as "one of the strangest and most perplexing documents in the history of English architecture."[28] Although it was never published, Sir John Soane's *Crude hints towards an history of my House in Lincoln's Inn Fields* (1812) was written for public consumption. In his manuscript, Soane imagines his house in ruin, in the process of being discovered and analysed by a future antiquarian. This was likely inspired by the vision of his house in intentional ruins, a reality at the time, as the demolition work on the pre-existing and recently acquired No. 13 Lincoln's Inn Fields had recently begun.[29] Amongst his fictional character's speculations about this archaeological site are his assumptions regarding the purpose of the collection of fragments. Soane's futuristic historian perceives the collection of ancient works as "a strange and mixed assemblage".[30] Appropriating this fantastical voice, Soane declares that No.13 Lincoln's Inn Fields "might have been for the advancement of Architectural knowledge by making young Students in that noble & useful Art who had no means of visiting Greece and Italy some better ideas of ancient Works than would be conveyed thro: the medium of drawings or prints", concluding that "this proposition… does

[28] J Soane, *Crude hints towards an history of my house in Lincoln's Inn Fields*; introduction by Helen Dorey, Oxford, Archaeopress, 2015, p. 1.

[29] Helen Dorey offers invaluable details on the state of the building site at the time of the writing of *Crude hints*: "The front part of the house was therefore a construction site which could be viewed imaginatively as either partly built or partly ruined. Visible behind it were Soane's earlier buildings - his purpose-design single-storey 'museum' and office running across the back of the No. 13 site…" Ibid.

[30] Ibid., p. 27.

appear in some degree to remove the obscurity & veil of darkness which at present envelopes the subject".[31]

Although void of illustration, there is a reference to a drawing in one of his alternative endings to *Crude hints*: "taken in the year 1830 - compare these with representations of its original appearance. [As shewn with drawing No... Oh what a falling off - the subject becomes too gloomy to be pursued further - the pen drops from my almost paralised hand (del.)]"[32] Soane here is suggesting that there would be existing illustrations of the building before its demolishment, however, we cannot know exactly which illustrations these might be.[33] He also suggests that this exercise in antiquarianism includes a survey and recording of the current site with visual observations executed in 1830. Had this manuscript been published, it is likely that accompanying illustrations would have been included, and speculating that Soane would have had his house imagined in ruins by Joseph Gandy is reasonable indeed.

Still, minus any visual accompaniment, this manuscript is valuable for this study, and helps explain why Soane commissioned *The Union* in the first place. The text is, in essence, the record of a visitor to a collection that no longer exists who is lacking literature that encapsulates what the collection was before its demise. The struggle is evident:

> "we are so completely in the dark on the subject of this structure, that to ascertain with any hope of precision either the periods in which it was founded - its extent, or on what occasions or for what purposes it was originally destined will be found to be no moderate task & such as will require no small portion of penetration and reflexion [sic]:- for this undertaken [sic] we have but <u>few data</u>, except the scanty materials which the present remains of this building offer <u>together with</u> some few traditionary [sic] memorials."[34]

One cannot help but think of formulaic John Britton topographic publication when Soane queries when the ruins were founded (historical accounts), its extent (a ground plan/survey) and what purpose it served (descriptions). With slow and confused trains of thought supported by broken (ruinous) material evidence, Soane demonstrates for us his awareness of misinterpretation without guidance - an awareness that ultimately resulted in the steadfast safeguarding of his house-museum with the passing of his Act of Parliament in 1833. When Soane began writing *Crude Hints*, it was becoming clear that his sons would not be following in

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[31] J Soane, *Crude hints towards an history of my house in Lincoln's Inn Fields*; introduction by Helen Dorey, Oxford, Archaeopress, 2015, p. 27.
[32] Ibid., p. 32.
[33] Helen Dorey speculates that these would include some works by Gandy. Ibid., p. 52.
[34] Ibid., pp. 19-20.

his footsteps, with John showing limited progress in his studies as well as ill-health, and George's disinterest in the subject altogether. Without the guarantee of his architectural dynasty, the fate of Soane's didactic and comprehensive collection was uncertain. The act of writing *Crude Hints* can be read as an exercise in interpretation, and perhaps we have the vision of No. 13 in "ruins" in 1812 to thank for the house-museum still existing today. In this way, Soane is thinking far beyond the scope of other collectors mentioned in this study, such as Thomas Hope. He is aware of the transience of a building, versus the potential permanence of literature. We also see evidence of Soane's reckoning with the accurate representation of demolished buildings in his lecture drawings. "For many of the historic buildings [featured in Soane's lecture drawings], Soane himself could probably have attested to the accuracy of their representation thanks to his own Grand Tour. However, in instances of archaeological reconstruction for buildings which had been lost or changed out of all recognition, the problematic nature of Soane's reliance on printed sources becomes apparent."[35]

When considering this selection of early nineteenth-century guidebooks, it becomes clear that each volume was arranged with a particular lens, from the objects within the collection, to the rural space surrounding the containing estate. With such a limited scope of knowledge being conserved on the pages of these books, the act of reimagining and resurrecting these collections with no other materials is rendered impossible. A further understanding is required, and could arguably be imparted to readers through different graphic conventions.

[35] F Sands, 'Highlighting Sir John Soane's Architectural Drawings Collection', *Teatro Marittimo*, Issue 5 (Spring 2016), p. 133.

6. From the Ground Up
An introduction to graphic conventions in Britton's *The Union*

Now that a historical context has been compiled, comprised of a history of the museum, the publication, and Soane and Britton practicing within the architectural realm of the early nineteenth century derived from historical documents and more biographical/history-based texts, the focus can now shift to the crux of this piece of work: Britton's methods of representation in *The Union*. This is of particular interest because Britton deviates from his set formula derived from his oeuvre as well as typical early nineteenth-century guidebooks, incorporating a good deal of illustrations more commonly associated with architectural practice and design rather than the presentation of the built form. This chapter will reference a certain type of architectural theory; one that, in light of the importance of architectural representation in terms of practice and education, is useful and meaningful. I would argue that the advent of digital rendering technology sparked the interest in the 1980s, and that interest has since wavered as professionals grow more accustomed to these advancements. My focus is on texts that are often used to teach architectural representation, and therefore focus on the fundamental characteristics of certain conventions and why they might be used, whether that be in the nineteenth century or today. A focus on the information transmitted through graphic conventions underpins this portion of the study.

It is not necessarily the collection at the Sir John Soane's Museum itself that has inspired this study, but more ways in which it could and is represented on paper. Further to this, the following chapters aim to elucidate why the collection been represented in this particular manner by John Britton, and what this mean in terms of the consumption of *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting* by its intended audience, both the architectural realm as well as the general public. Moving forward, these images will be understood not merely as representations of the Sir John Soane's Museum, but also as a record of mainstream architectural thinking that was referred to in chapter three; how does this collection of illustrations convey information, ideas and attitudes about nineteenth-century architectural education and practice?

Soane himself recognised the value in the representation of architecture; in addition to his library of architectural publications and his display of architectural casts, Soane's own collection of architectural drawings is worthy of mention indeed, as arguably one of the most comprehensive.[2] Soane was an avid collector of drawings, and this collection was fundamental

[2] For more on Soane's drawing collection, see:

to both his professorship and his practice. A testament to Soane's own value of architectural drawing is his unique method with which he displays so many of them in his house, from within the leaves hinged to the walls in the North Drawing Room to the Picture Room itself, and elsewhere.

Architecture and its Image, Montreal, 1989

Ten years after the founding of the Centre Canadien d'Architecture/Canadian Centre for Architecture, *Architecture and its Image: Four Centuries of Architectural Representation*, an exhibition highlighting the nature and subsequently the importance of architectural representation, opened at the CCA. The demand for this exhibition was symptomatic of voids within architectural historiography that had come to the fore at the International Confederation of Architecture Museums in Helsinki, 1979. Being the first exhibition of its kind, *Architecture and its Image* constructed a framework with which to treat architectural representation and grouping, whether it be in terms of deriving meaning from groupings of images, or the way in which images *can* be grouped. The latter, for the sake of this ground-breaking exhibition, was necessary to lay down the foundational knowledge needed to understand the basics regarding architectural representation. Thus, the exhibition was split into several categories; Architecture in Three Dimensions, which deals with collections of architectural representations utilising various conventions with which to construct a building, be it mentally or physically; Architecture in Place and Time, a collection of works in the exhibition that demonstrate how architectural representation can situate the building within a specific city or townscape, as well as a specific timeframe; and Architecture in Process, which is concerned with the design process and more contemporary (and often digital) methods of

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B De Divitiis, 'A Newly Discovered volume from the office of Sir John Soane', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXLV (March 2003), pp. 180-198.
L Fairburn, *Italian Renaissance Drawings from the Collection of Sir John Soane's Museum*, London, Azimuth Editions, 1998.
L Fairbairn, *The North Italian Album*, Exhibition Catalogue, London, Sir John Soane's Museum, 1998.
J Lever, *Catalogue of the Drawings of George Dance the Younger (1741-1825) and of George Dance the Elder (1695-1768) from the collection of Sir John Soane's Museum*, London, Azimuth Editions, 2003.
P Du Prey, 'Soane Drawings – A Laying on of Hands', *Architecture and Ideas*, Volume 3 (Winter/Spring 2001), pp. 10-23.
M Richardson, 'Soane's Use of Drawings', *Sir John Soane's Museum; A Special Issue of Apollo*, vol.81, April 1990, pp. 234-241.
F Sands, 'Collections in Focus: Sir John Soane's Drawings Collection', *The Architectural Historian*, Issue 3 (August 2016), pp. 10-11.
F Sands, 'Highlighting Sir John Soane's Architectural Drawings Collection', *Teatro Marittimo*, Issue 5 (Spring 2016), pp. 130-145.
Soane: Connoisseur & Collector; A Selection of Drawings from Sir John Soane's Collection, Exhibition Catalogue, London, Sir John Soane's Museum, 1995.

representation. Crucially, the exhibition was entirely focused on representation itself, rather than the built form,"... invit[ing] viewers to look not only *through* these representations to the objects they depict, but also *at* the representations themselves and the ways in which they convey information, ideas, and attitudes about architecture."[13] More specifically, Architecture in Three Dimensions introduces the method with which *The Union* shall be treated, and symptomatically the exhibition catalogue is inclusive of a Robin Evans essay entitled 'Architectural Projection' which explores the role of the observer's imagination when it comes to deciphering projective images versus orthographic.

It is at this point that this journey deviates from the methodical, historical and biographical trace that I have been delineating, and to move on a more architectonic way of understanding Britton's volume. What we can deduce from the above traces and treatments of architectural representation is that it is the relationship with the built form that confuses the study. By citing works that inform training in architectural representation, it is my aim to investigate the fundamental qualities of Britton's illustrations, however, there is a disconnect between the non-architect and architect, a distinction that underpins this study in its entirety in terms of John Britton, Sir John Soane, and their respective backgrounds. Both men were visual thinkers expressing themselves in visual ways, but differentially Soane had benefitted from professional training at the time, whereas Britton had emerged from a career dominated by architectural views; their mainstream architectural ways of thinking are therefore at odds, adding another level of complexity to the graphic conventions Britton includes in his guidebook. Rooting this study in basic qualities of architectural graphic convention enables the close examination of the representation of the unique qualities of Soane's interior architecture explored in chapter two of this thesis.

From the ground, up; the ground plan

"The close resemblance between wall surface and paper surface has never been entirely overcome in architecture, any more than has the geometrical equivalence of plan and floor."[14]

In treating *The Union* in terms of graphic conventions, it is best to build my discussion from the ground up, and to begin by exploring the first illustration that appears in the publication, the ground plan. In considering the ground plan, I mean to include both the physical makeup of the museum itself as portrayed in the illustration as well as the footpath of the visitor and, as a result, the connection between the two. I will also focus on the physicality of the ground plan as

[13] E Blau & E Kaufman (ed.) *Architecture and Its Image: Works from the Canadian Centre for Architecture*, Montréal, Canadian Centre for Architecture, 1989.p. 13.
[14] R Evans, *The Projective Cast; architecture and its three geometries*, Cambridge, MIT Press, 1995, p. 116.

an architectural drawing within the design process as well, and therefore the implications of a ground plan appearing in this particular book (although not uncommon), as well as other John Britton topographical volumes; the implicit meaning and instructional simplicity of a design/concept drawing is skewed when it appears in a book published after the building's construction, and as such these implications will be explored. Certain elements that appear in *The Union*'s ground plan prompt a discussion of simultaneous objectivity and subjectivity in reference to both the ground plan as a two-dimensional footprint of the museum, as well as the prescribed path of the museum visitor and/or the habits of the museum prime inhabitant, Sir John Soane.

As explored in chapter two of this thesis, one of the most unique qualities of Sir John Soane's Museum is the complexity in the arrangement of his real and virtual spaces. The most telling example of Soane's composition of his various apartments as a whole is the visual rendering of the museum's ground plan on paper. In contrast to typical late eighteenth-century domestic ground plans, form certainly surpasses function; if one considers the 'museum' area of Soane's house (Britton makes a clear distinction between domestic and didactic), one would expect a ground plan with routes that clearly predict footfall greater than that of a private residence, avoiding irregularities and promoting traffic with spacious paths. Such ground plans can be found in other nineteenth century institutions/house-museums, for example, the British Museum and Thomas Hope's Duchess Street residence. If a prospective visitor gains access to the ground plan before entering, it is unlikely that they would predict the amount of symmetry visually present in the arrangement of the museum's objects, indicating a disconnect between the aesthetics of the arrangement of space with that of the collection.

As Robin Evans writes in his essay 'Figures, Doors and Passages', what sets architecture apart from the other fine arts is not only the fact that it must be useful and functional, but also that it "encompasses everyday reality, and in so doing inevitably provides a format for social life."[15] Evans's article begins by explaining that even an ordinary, conventional housing plan holds the "deepest mysteries"; he cites the origins of such an arrangement, as well as the ways these seemingly conventional arrangements shape our everyday life, as two crucial elements.[16] From this viewpoint, the complexities of Soane's ground plan must contain a multiplicity of such enigmas. "A different kind of link has been sought," he explains, "plans have been scrutinised for characteristics that could provide the preconditions for the way people occupy space, on the assumption that buildings accommodate what pictures illustrate and what words

[15] R Evans, 'Figures, doors and passages', *Translations from drawing to building and other essays*, London, Architectural Association, 1997, p. 88.
[16] Ibid., p. 56.

describe in the field of human relationship."[17] In the same way that Evans sought to uncover the unexpected within the ordinary and superficially simplistic ground plan, this chapter will explore the deeper complexities of the ground plan in Britton's *The Union*.

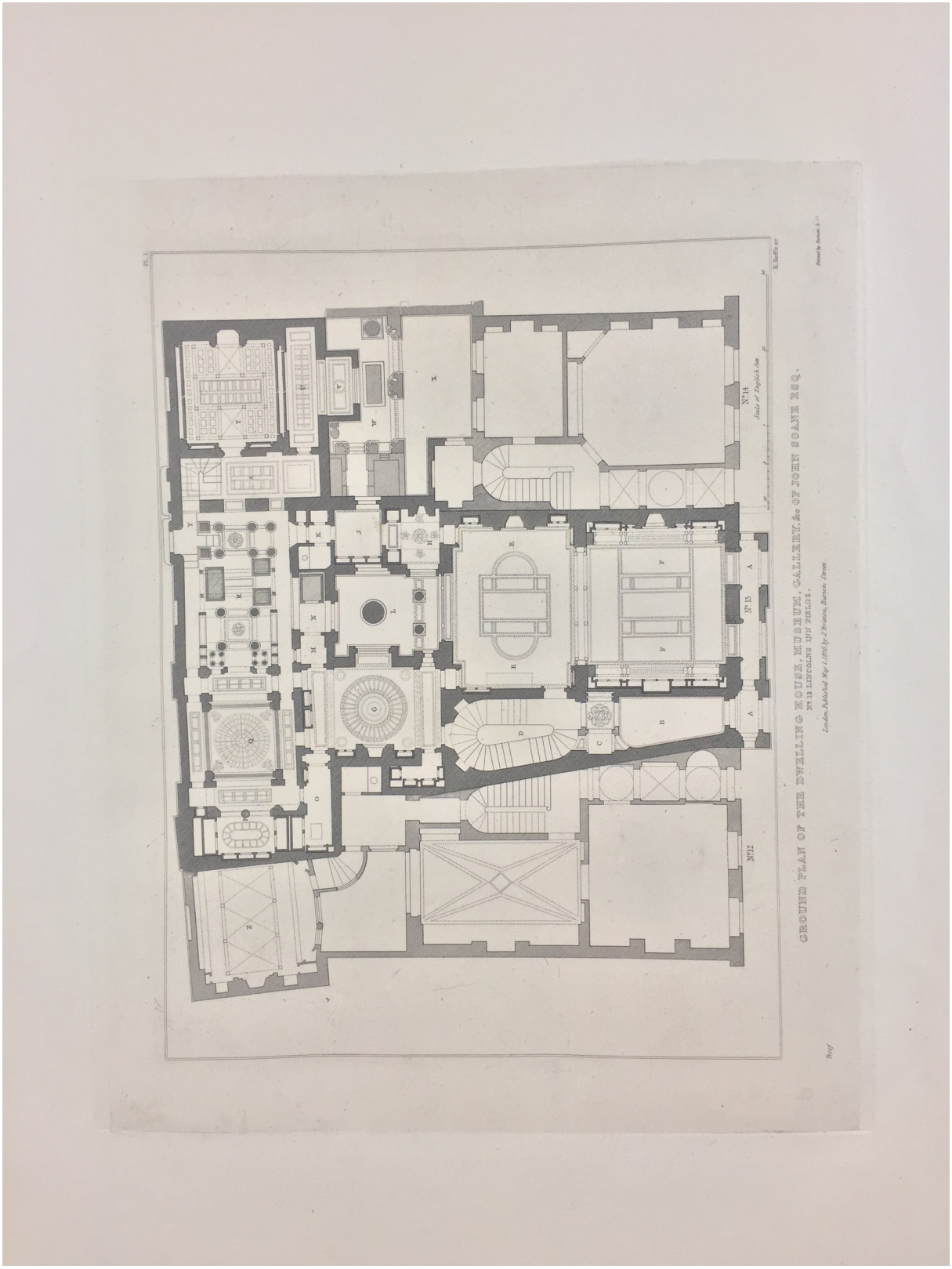
Ground plans, Soane and Britton

The Union follows the same formula as other Britton topographic volumes in that the ground plan [figure 1] is the first illustration the reader encounters. Contrary to his other publications, there are two further floor plans featured in *The Union*; that of the basement level [figure 2], as well as one to help the reader understand the recess that connects the Monk's Parlour to the Picture Room, or the ground floor with the basement level [figure 3]. Each of these subsequent plan illustrations are paired with a second type of graphic convention, a section, on the same page.

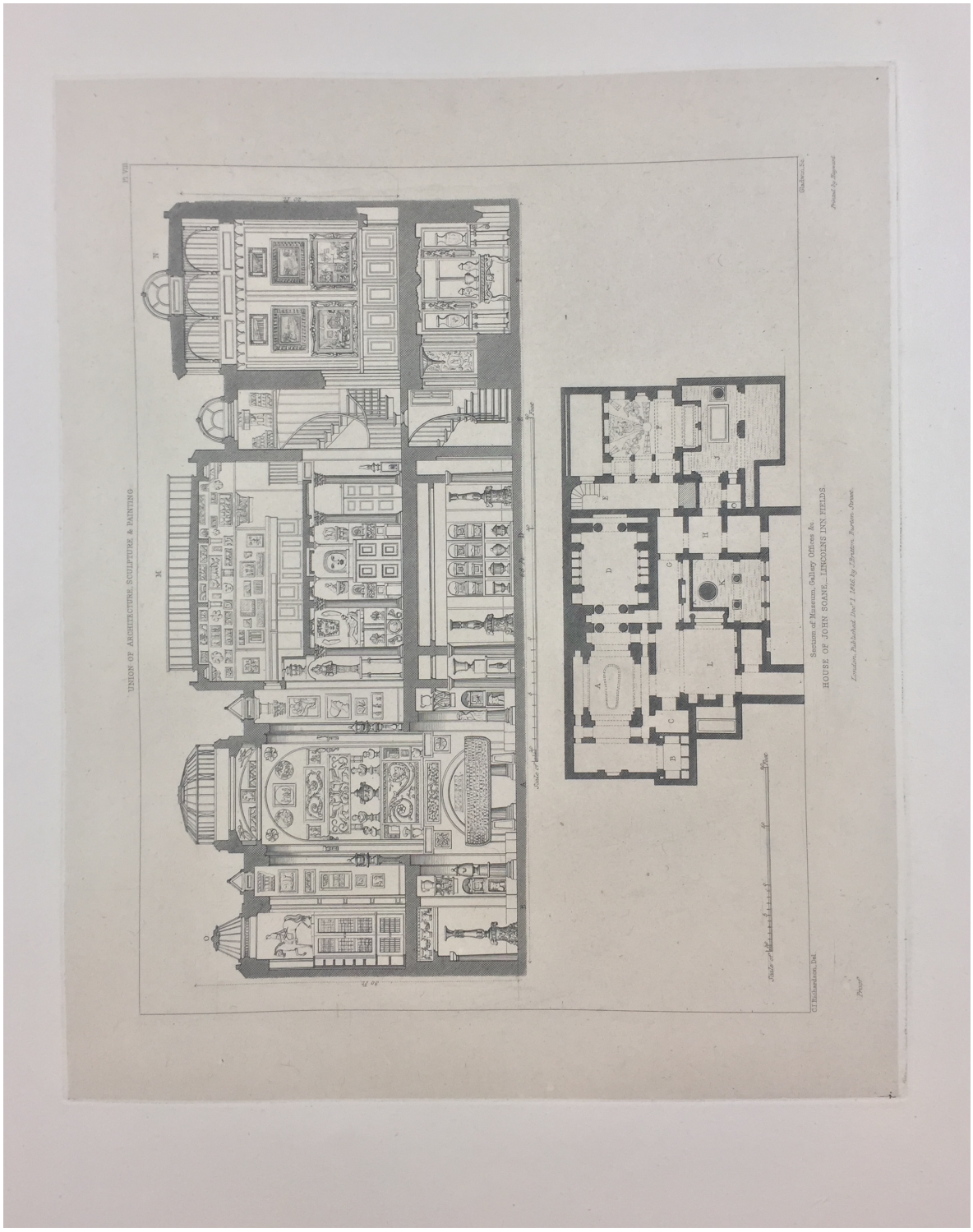
Although there is no evidence of the process involved in creating this ground plan in the correspondence between Soane and Britton, we do know that Britton was meticulous with his surveying and measuring from his other topographic volumes, in which he often outlines the various processes involved in gathering the correct information for his depictions. Although the ground plan reads "C.J. Richardson, Del.", one must read this engraving with the understanding that, if Britton did not measure the house himself, he would have been involved enough in the process of perfecting it to subsequently take responsibility for any errors found post-publication.

Although the fundamental concept of *The Union*, as indicated by the title, is that architecture is an art form and should be treated as such, specifically by the Royal Academy, we can also form a scientific understanding of Britton's illustrations - as in, a scientific method or approach, defined specifically by accuracy and meticulousness. Britton's systematic means of establishing authenticity are also rooted in his struggle for acceptance and respect amongst his peers, Soane included. Britton's work will often outline within the text the lengths he went to in order to accurately record the measurements of a building. He refers to the "perfection of [the topographer's] labours", and in *The Union* specifically, he asserts that "by referring to and studying the annexed plan, the reader will be able to obtain an accurate idea of the forms and arrangement of the ground floor; and will not fail to remark how ingeniously every portion of

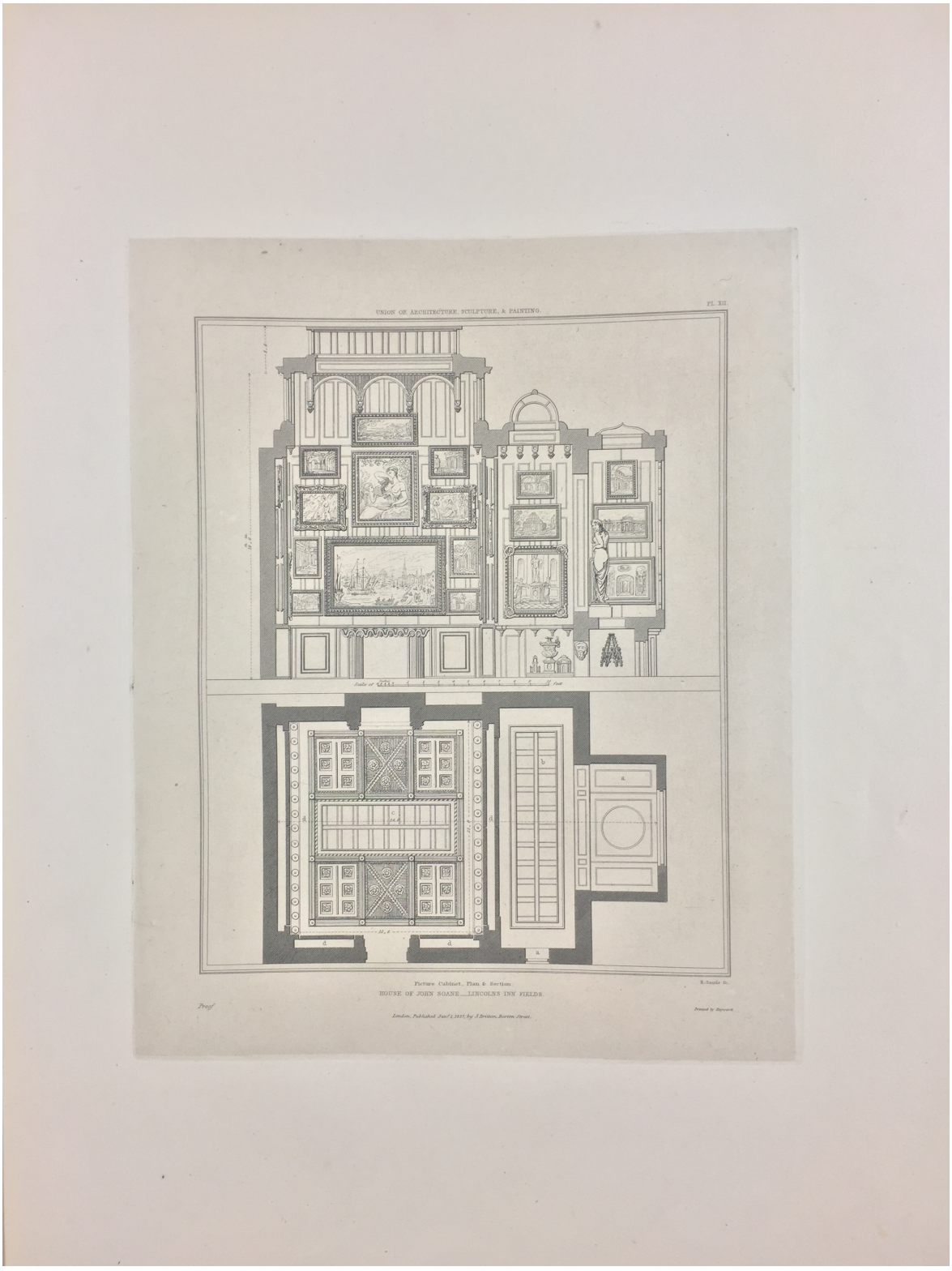
[17] R Evans, 'Figures, doors and passages', *Translations from drawing to building and other essays*, London, Architectural Association, 1997, pp. 88-89.



Chapter 6 figure 1. Ground Plan of the Dwelling House, Museum, Gallery, &c. Of John Soane Esq. J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, 1827. Sir John Soane's Museum.



Chapter 6 figure 2. Section of Museum, Gallery, Offices &c. J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, 1827. Sir John Soane's Museum.



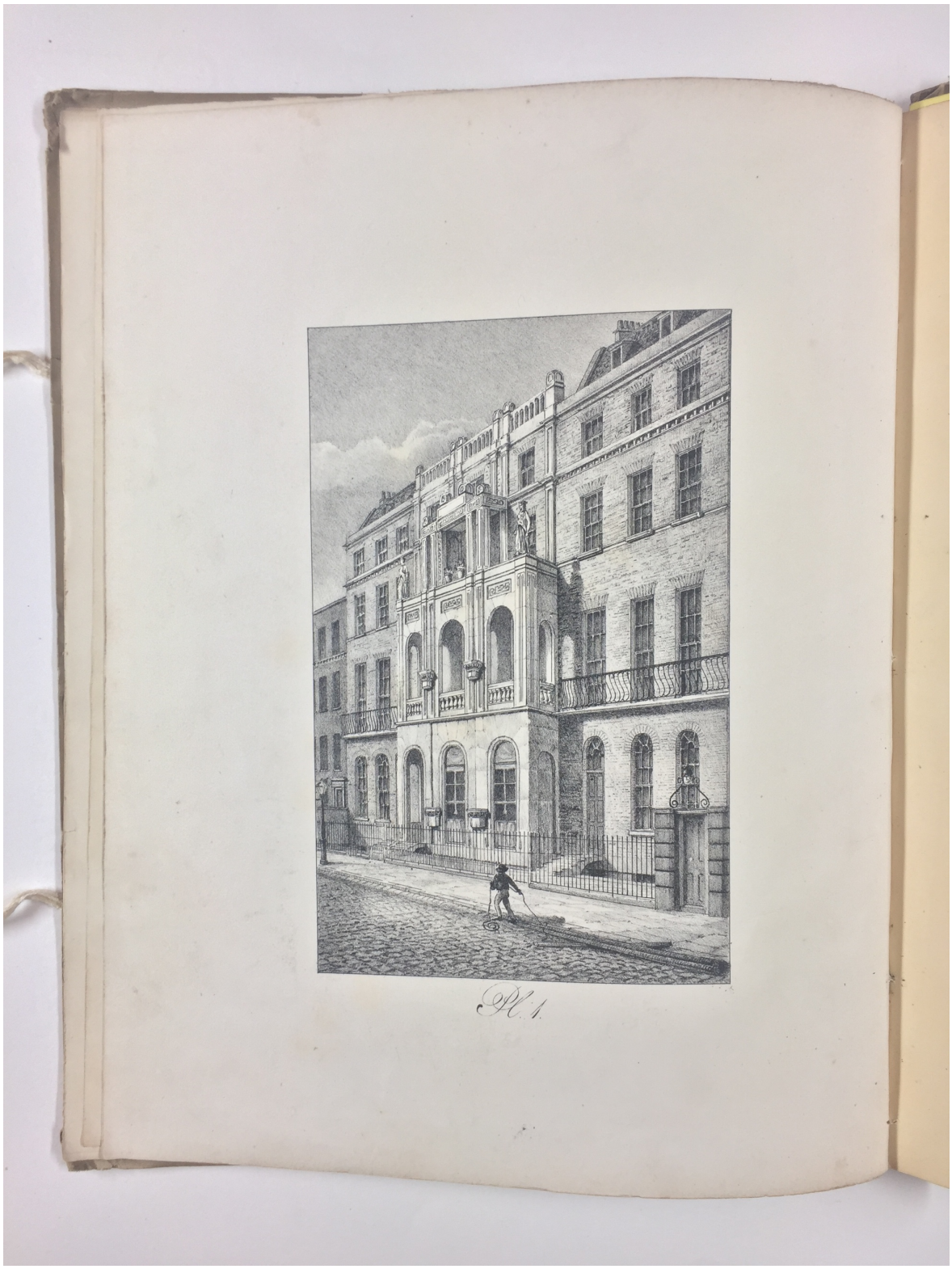
Chapter 6 figure 3. Picture Cabinet, Plan & Section. J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, 1827. Sir John Soane's Museum.

the space has been occupied and rendered beautiful; and how very irregularity of form is made to contribute to variety, and to produce picturesque effects."[18] Through this quote, it becomes clear how the plan was meant to function within the publication - it is an anchor, a constant point of reference, and a tool with which to construct a mental three-dimensional model of the house-museum.

As discussed in the third chapter of this work, after its commercial failure Soane decided to release his own guidebook. His attempts at acquiring some of Britton's images from *The Union* would prove a great strain in their friendship. Perhaps as a symbol of this rupture, contrary to Britton's formula, Soane opens his guidebook with a very different image, a view of the entrance to No. 13 Lincoln's Inn Fields as approached from the east [figure 4]. Not only does this represent the experience of the visitor to the museum from their point of view, Soane even includes a figure as staffage. This difference between Soane and Britton's guides is very significant in terms of what Soane perceived as imperfections and points of improvement in *The Union*. In general, Soane's description is supplemented with a great number of views that offer the viewer an impression, rather than a measured architectural representation like a ground plan or section. In this sense, a ground plan as an introductory illustration for a museum guidebook is ill-fitting and confusing, especially considering the complexity of the ground plan in question. Consider the typical ground plan of the early nineteenth-century private home. For this purpose, I will draw upon Britton's other private collection guides, those of Corsham and Cleveland House.

The first example, Corsham House, published in 1806, predates *The Union* by over twenty years, and yet the first (and sole) illustration in this volume is a composite of a perspective of the north façade and a ground plan [chapter 4, figure 4]. Each room on the ground plan is clearly labelled. Because the hexagonal tower is clearly the focal point of the perspective, and 'north' is clearly labelled on the ground plan, it is instinctual that the reader assembles these two images to gain a better idea of the layout of Corsham House, as well as its aesthetic features. The formation of the ground plan is simplistic compared to that of the Sir John Soane's Museum; it is symmetrical, it is centralised around a grand hall, and it has far fewer rooms and nondescript features. Surrounding trees as well as two figures directly in front of the 'Saloon, or Drawing Room' appear as staffage. This combination of a ground plan and perspective view portrays the necessary characteristics of a building for a guidebook. Of course,

[18] J Britton, *The beauties of Wiltshire, displayed in statistical, historical, and descriptive sketches: interspersed with anecdotes of the arts. Vol. I.*, London, printed by J.D. Dewick, for Vernor and Hood; J. Wheble; J. Britton, 1801, p. vi.
J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: exemplified by a series of illustrations, with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane*, London, Printed for author, 1827, p. 25.



Chapter 6 figure 4. Exterior view of Sir John Soane's Museum. *Description of The Residence of John Soane, Architect*, 1830. Sir John Soane Museum collection reference Soane Case 34, copy 3. Sir John Soane's Museum.

this is not to say that the two illustrations of Corsham House convey every aspect of the building two-dimensionally. In *Architectural Representation and the Perspective Hinge*, Alberto Pérez-Gòmez and Louise Pelletier explore the relationship between architectural drawings and their intended product, but strictly in this order, with the drawing determining the end product. They assert that "[t]he process of creation prevalent in architecture today assumes that a conventional set of projections, at various scales from site to detail, adds up to a complete objective idea of a building...These projective representations rely on reductive synaptic connections; each projection constitutes part of a dissected whole. They are expected to be absolutely unambiguous to avoid possible (mis)interpretations, as well as functioning as efficient neutral instruments devoid of inherent value other than their capacity for accurate transcription."[21] Of course, the reader is not attempting to construct Corsham House from these two images, however, this ⅔ of the architectural drawing triad imbues the reader with the ability to construct an axis in their mind - it is a "horizontal footprint" and "vertical effigy", which combined "[disclose] a symbolic order in time through rituals and programs", or the three-dimensional. [22]

The same can be said in reference to the illustrations in Britton's guide to Cleveland House, published in 1808, just shy of twenty years prior to *The Union*, however, his choice of drawing style differs slightly from Corhsam House. Britton opens the volume with an interior perspective of the New Gallery [Chapter 4, figure 5]. The ground plan [Chapter 4 figure 6] is located on a separate page, the title page separating the two images. Still, the formula previously seen in Corsham House prevails; the ground plan is simplistic and labelled, staffage in the form of figures are included, the mental axis constructed, with an added bonus of an impression of the interior characteristics - despite the ground plan suggesting in writing that the New Gallery features overhead lighting. The prevalence of this formula in Britton's older private collection guides is symptomatic of a successful template; this is also the way he chooses to represent ecclesiastic buildings in his topographic volumes, so why does he deviate in *The Union*? Could the publication serve as a more comprehensive reproduction of a building than, say, a three-dimensional model?

If we consider what a building is, the built form in its most simplistic form, its fundamental components are a floor, walls, and a ceiling - like a three-dimensional cube, when all constituents are combined. But this is, of course, a building in its most reduced format.

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[21] A Pérez-Gómez and L Pelletier, *Architectural Representation and the Perspective Hinge*, Cambridge, MIT University Press, 2000, pp. 3-4.
[22] Ibid., pp. 6-7.

Different interiors, different contexts, and different histories can introduce new dimensions in the reading of a building, and consequently in the translation of the building from its physical manifestation to paper. For example, if we consider the Sir John Soane Museum, there are various elements involved that are unaccounted for in this three-dimensional model, specifically the visitor experience, his or her astonishment in the surprising arrangement of rooms and objects, etc.

The nineteenth-century ground plan

I would like to consider the ground plan in relation to the publication of Edwin A. Abbot's *Flatland; A Romance of Many Dimensions* in 1884, and draw from this the Victorian understanding of dimensional transitioning. Although *Flatland* was written as a social satire, for the purpose of this study, it is the fundamental comprehension of a two-dimensional individual writing about a three-dimensional world that is of interest.

Flatland is a narrative from the perspective of a "Square" - a character who exists on a two-dimensional plane called Flatland. He recognises the confines and restrictions of his land, and acknowledges that his readers exist in Spaceland, a universe of three dimensions. He also recognises Lineland, a universe in one dimension, and Pointland, non-dimensional. "Place a penny on the middle of one of your tables in Space", explains "Square", "and leaning over it, look down upon it. It will appear a circle. But now, drawing back to the edge of the table, gradually lower your eye (thus bringing yourself more and more into the condition of the inhabitants of Flatland)"[25] This is the three-dimensional explanation of the second dimension. With such a novel being published, and spatiality being so succinctly written about, it can be said that society had a grasp, or the ability to grasp, envisioning dimensions from the perspective of another dimension. Such an act is fundamental in reading ground plans, especially in tandem with perspectives (like those illustrations for Corsham and Cleveland House). Whilst "Square" imagines existing in Spaceland, the onlookers of a ground plan must envision the opposite, or have a deeper understanding of dimensions in order to construct a three-dimensional model from the two-dimensional illustration they are faced with.

The documentation ground plan

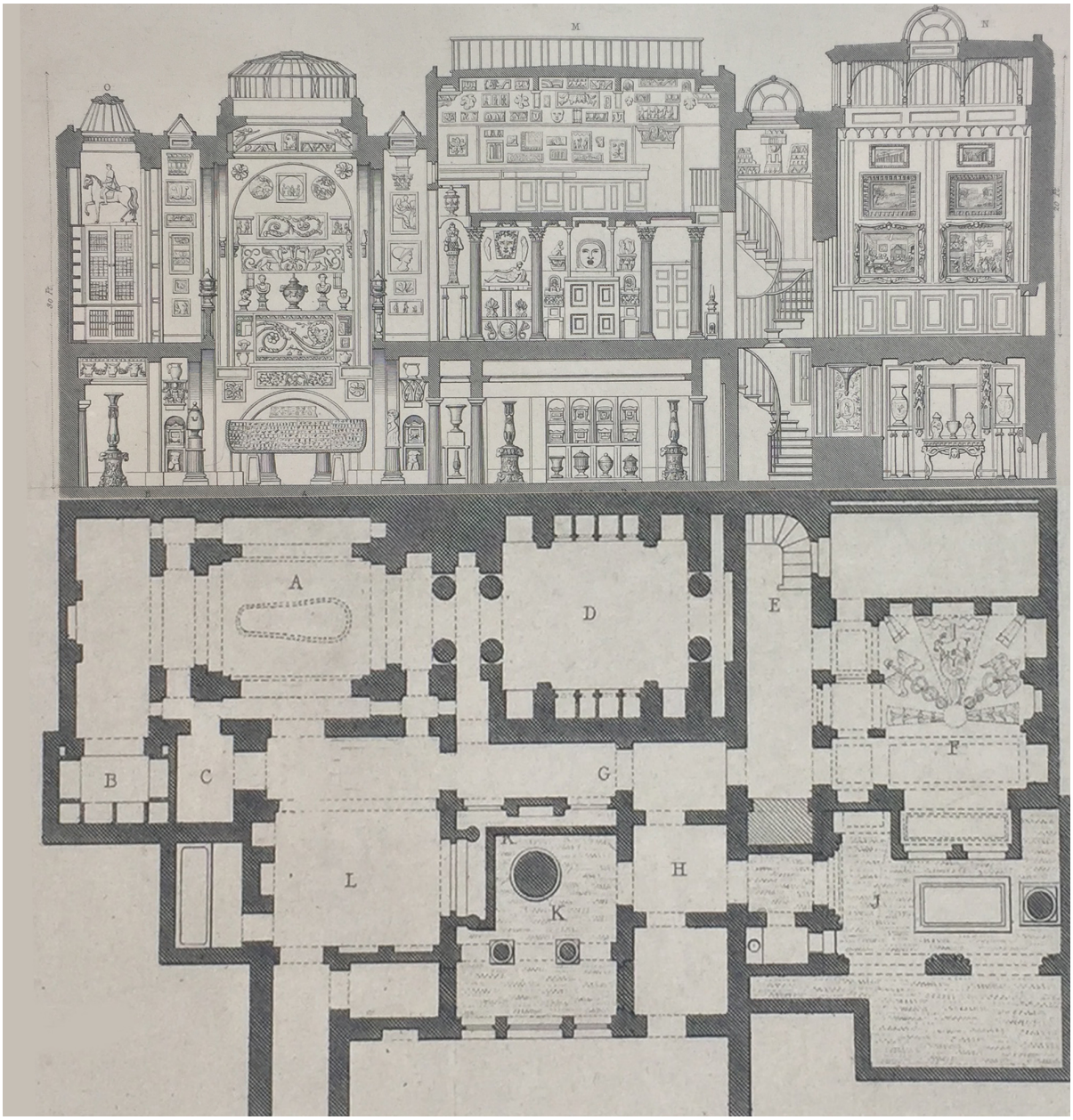
In researching topography and topographic illustrations, it became apparent that there is a sufficient void within the relevant text: why are topographers presenting what are primarily designs for construction, post-construction, specifically in the unique case of *The Union*? This is

[25] E Abbott, *Flatland: A Romance in Many Dimensions,* Marston Gate, 2012, pp. 10-11.

a typical inclusion in any nineteenth century topographic publication, however, the usefulness of this illustration has never been explored, especially in light of its other purpose: architectural production. It is simple to determine the function of a ground plan for design purposes; it is an instructional demarcation of space and measurements. But how does it function outside the design process? *The Union* features such architechtonic graphic conventions as sections, elevations, and floor plans; we might not know specifically how this publication was intended to function, but we do know that its intended audience was the public, such as friends of Soane, students of architecture, and visitors to his museum. With images like a ground plan included as a constant point of reference, how does this serve its readers? There are various visual cues integrated in *The Union* that reveal that it is not the conventional guidebook, but considering some of the features included within the ground plan, the ability of the reader to understand visual dimension translation, as well as the other floor plans included within the same publication, I propose that this specific image is not merely a reference point to aid in the understanding of the text of the book, and subsequently, the layout of the museum - it is something more.

As previously mentioned, Pérez-Gòmez and Pelletier have asserted that in architectural representation, "each projection constitutes a part of a dissected whole" , the "whole" in this case being not the idea of the building, as it would with pre-construction design drawings, but the building itself. [26] This process of construction is easily applied to instructional architectural drawings - an engineer or architect can gaze upon a ground plan, and in tandem with other drawings can mentally, or even physically construct a building. However, the same cannot be said for the museum visitor, unaided. With the inclusion of other ground plans presented in conjunction with sections, as is the case for the plan and section of the basement level [figure 2] and the plan and section of the Picture Room [figure 3], the reader is instructed to combine the ground plan with other illustrations, such as various elevations and sections, to mentally construct an idea of the museum. The plan and section of the basement level is particularly helpful in this process, as a reader simply cross references this image with the ground plan and superimposes the ground plan on a two dimensional plane with the ground level of the section on a vertical axis [figure 5] - the "horizontal footprint" and "vertical effigy", which combined "[disclose] a symbolic order in time through rituals and programs"(please note: my alterations are an attempt to depict the third dimension using perspective). [27] This reliance on the reader brings truth to Britton's treatise on the architectural drawing versus a three-dimensional model:

[26] A Pérez-Gómez and L Pelletier, *Architectural Representation and the Perspective Hinge*, Cambridge, MIT University Press, 2000, pp. 3-4.
[27] Ibid., pp. 6-7.



Chapter 6 figure 5. Section of Museum, Gallery, Offices &c. (new arrangement by author). J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, 1827. Sir John Soane's Museum.

> "...we by no means intend to deny the utility of drawings, which, for some purposes, are even preferable to models; for a mere model, however satisfactory in other respects, will not enable us to judge of the appearance of the structure itself when placed in any particular situation: for this purpose, perspective views, exhibiting not only the building but its locality, are indispensable. Besides, a model is seldom so placed as to be seen from the same point of sight as a real building, since those parts of the latter, which are considerably above the

> horizontal line of the spectator, are on a level with, or even below the eye in small models." [28]

The ending of this quote, which references the "horizontal line of the spectator", is especially of interest considering a number of symbols appearing on the ground plan that confuse the perspective of the reader/visitor. In referring to the plans for Corsham House, Cleveland House, or those featured in Britton's other topographical volumes, one will find that the only feature of "interior architecture" that is referred to visually is stairs, indicated by a series of horizontal lines. Britton will also include room labels for ease of navigation. Differentially, the ground plan in *The Union* includes features that are affixed to the ceiling of the museum, and only visible to a spectator inside the building, looking up. Such features include the overlit dome in the Breakfast Parlour, the hanging pendentive arches in the Library and Dining Room, as well as the Picture Room. The inclusion of such features confirms that the ground plan only functions with previous knowledge gained from having visited the museum, and supports the theory that the book served as a mnemonic. Similarly, these features compliment the text in *The Union*, specifically Britton's treatise on "interior architecture".

Although not uncommon, the inclusion of a reflected ceiling plan is problematic when we consider the ground plan as a single aspect of the building as a whole to be constructed. A ground plan is, in essence, a bird's eye view. Imagine if, theoretically, the visitor somehow managed to approach the museum from above; still, the information relayed by a ground plan would be lacking from this viewpoint. As seen by satellite, the roof of the building hinders the ability to comprehend where certain rooms are delineated, or rather, where the walls of the museum are located. This touches on the idea of simultaneity and subjectivity - the ground plan thus relies on the reader's own experience within the museum, and yet dissolves their experience by allowing he/she to view the entire museum at one time.

In his book *The Projective Cast*, Robin Evans discusses the prevalence of simultaneity in the laid-out elevation drawings of the nineteenth century. This drawing convention appears in an engraving in *The Union* and will be discussed at length in further chapters, however, it is important to understand what Evans is implying when discussing simultaneity, and I will introduce the concept in terms of the ground plan. Simultaneity on a spectator fluid enough to accept omnipresence, or at least multiple perspectives. This is true of the ground plan as the viewer is experiencing the museum as a whole, from each room and all rooms at once. There is another way of reading a traditional ground plan that is void of simultaneity, and focuses on the

[28] J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: exemplified by a series of illustrations, with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane*, London, Printed for author, 1827, p. 38.

subjective experience of navigating through a floor plan, room by room, and how the repetition of this action forms meaning in the habitual.

Footprints

In 'Architecture, Life, and Habit', Andrew Ballantyne introduces two ways of discussing architecture, borrowed from Walter Benjamin; in terms of aesthetic interest, rooted in the art world, and alternatively in terms of utility, or how life-habits are accommodated. Ballantyne focuses on the latter, concluding that "[w]ithout its inhabitants investing the dwelling with their ethos, the building becomes precisely as lifeless as an empty shell, which is not without interest - it can be used to a decorative effect…"[29] This differentiation in ways of perceiving architecture can be applied to architectural representation, and it can be said that it is the ground plan that offers a sense of habit, and largely ignores what Britton refers to as "interior architecture", or those aspects of a building that would be appreciated for their aesthetic worth, mimicking Ballantyne's "empty shell" and "decorative effect". It is the ground plan, in tandem with the text of the guidebook, that instructs the visitor on the prescribed footpath of the museum. In a setting such as Sir John Soane's Museum, it is the items affixed to the wall that the tourist feels obligated to photograph. It is with this in mind that the ground plan is representative of the habitual, the empty shell without the inhabitant nor the objects, whereas the aesthetic is represented by means of views, another method of representation to be discussed in later chapters.

Ballantyne argues that the aesthetic method of discussing architecture is more appropriate for the likes of public buildings, galleries, museums and the like, but when it comes to the homes that we inhabit, they are part of our "system of habits".[30] Even Britton himself writes of habit in his preface, but more in terms of the profession of the inhabitant facilitating the domestic form:

> "As the construction and arrangement of the honey-comb manifest in the instinctive sagacity of its uneducated builder - as the position and formation of the dwelling of the beaver evince a degree of skill and foresight almost rational - as the geometric symmetry of the spider's suspended and outstretched web shews the cunning of its wily weaver - so does the house of the Architect, the gallery of the painter, and the library of the Author, exhibit some prominent characteristic trait of its respective owner." [31]

[29] A Ballantyne, 'Architecture, Life, and Habit', *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Volume 69, Issue 1 (Winter 2011), p. 48.
[30] Ibid., p. 43.
[31] J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: exemplified by a series of illustrations, with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane*, London, Printed for author, 1827, p. vii.

Of course, in the unique case of Sir John Soane's Museum and house-museums in general, the public and private is intermingled. It is when one encounters these barriers between the public and private that a house-museum becomes contentious and complicated; the tourist certainly appreciates the aesthetics of the museum, but there is also an appreciation of habit, especially within certain rooms; the non-museum rooms, such as the Dining Room and Breakfast Parlour, the Little Study, which invokes images of Soane, the professional, and most evidently in the Monk's Parlour.

The Monk's Parlour is exempt from the ground plan as it is located on the basement level of the house, but also partially encapsulates an area of space on the ground floor adjacent to the Picture Room: "We have already spoken of the truly extraordinary view here obtained on looking down into the Monk's Parlour, the splendid bay window of which, entirely filled with painted glass, is immediately below."[32] The Monk's Parlour is unique within Sir John Soane's Museum, as well as house-museums on the whole, in that it presents a narrative of habit constructed by Soane himself. Soane's alter ego Padre Giovanni, a fictional monk, inhabited the lower level of the museum. In experiencing rooms laid-out and arranged with the intention of habit, but with no one to inhabit the rooms, just the idea of a character, the representation of habit becomes even more vital as it does not form from repetition and day-to-day life. Utility is lost - the Monk does not have a Dining Room or Breakfast Parlour. Padre Giovanni's rooms are filled with Soane's Gothic objects, a ruined cloister and tomb in an outdoor courtyard, visible from the Parlour, and a skeleton in the Monk's Cell. The simplicity of a tourist footpath is restored within these rooms and remains untouched by the sense of Soane's day-to-day life, as is the rest of the "museum" section of his home, a distinction that has been lost as the "house" aspect of No. 13 Lincoln's Inn Fields has become a museum in itself. If we consider Sir John Soane's Museum, or the house-museum in general, it becomes obvious that the barrier between aesthetic and habit become blurred.

Ballantyne addresses the two different ways of appreciating architecture, as defined by Walter Benjamin; as an art form, which we absorb, and as a vessel of habit. The former is manifested as a photograph, or perspective view, taken by a tourist "to help preserve the memory of having been at that place, which will be experienced for only a brief interlude."[33] Arguably, the simplest means of capturing these secondary characteristics is through the utility of the ground plan. Unlike the skewing of the dimensions of things and the omission of a fourth

[32] J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: exemplified by a series of illustrations, with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane*, London, Printed for author, 1827, p. 41.
[33] A Ballantyne, 'Architecture, Life, and Habit', *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Volume 69, Issue 1 (Winter 2011), p.43.

wall in a perspective view, the ground plan is measured and imparted with the same sense of truth and value as Britton's early attempts of orthographic imaging. The difficulty presented with representing the vessel of habit in the case of the Sir John Soane's Museum is that the museum serves a multitude of functions, as explored in chapter 2 of this thesis. How does one suggest the public and private, the ancient and modern, the museum, the domestic and the professional habits of Sir John Soane? This problem becomes even more complicated when we consider the ground plan after the museumification of the house, which adds another level of complexity to the habits of the visitor.

In a way, when we visit the house of Sir John Soane, we inherit the habits of Sir John Soane through the ground plan and its facilitation of the prescribed route. It is, however, not possible for this act to form a habit, and in this sense the house-museum becomes a stage in which re re-enact rather than inherit Soane's domestic life.[34] A direct inheritance summons thoughts of Soane's offspring inhabiting the house, playing a similar role to Soane — that of the architect — but we know this was not a part of Soane's final vision, his potential inheritors lack of interest in architecture inspiring Soane's Act of Parliament. However, with the ground plan to help us form an understanding of the whole of the fragmented house, we can navigate through the complexities, Soane's habits in the domestic rooms, and the history of architecture in the museum proper. In terms of Benjamin's original more artistic and museological method of architectural appreciation, even this is captured in Britton's ground plan, within the ornamentation of the reflected ceiling plan and the inclusion of the columns in the museum colonnade, represented as solid disks; arguably a structural aspect of the building, but only in terms of the pupil's room above, which they support.

Poché and epoché

These columns, it can be said, are not felicitous, but decorative features; the same can be said of the Pasticcio in the Monument Court, also rendered as a dark sphere on the ground plan. The ground plan also illustrates the Breakfast Parlour's pendentive dome, the plaster rose on the ceiling at the Entrance Hall and the Dome, hanging pendentive arches in the Library and Dining Room, and the Picture Room. Such inclusions surpass the idea of a mere 'letter to a builder', and are charged with a personal experience and emotional response. If we consider these forms with a lens of Bachelard's phenomenologist approach to architecture, it is these features that evoke an emotional response in the viewer, not the precise form of the built fabric

[34] Helen Furjàn argues the case for Soane's House Museum as a stage in H Furján, 'The Spectacular Spectacle of the House of the Collector', *Toward a New Interior* (ed. L Weinthal), New York, Princeton Architectural Press, 2011, pp. 505-518.

itself, also rendered as poché. Of note, however, is the visual lack of the more didactic, functional qualities of the house-museum, such as the desk in Soane's Little Study; although this is not purely a depiction of the built form, there are expressions of the interior, however, these are not "images of intimacy".[35]

In light of certain inclusions of less structural objects depicted as a reflected ceiling plan, the reader is imparted with architectural epoché, or more subjective elements that are intended to prompt certain lines of thinking. The visitor thus suspends their expectations, which in the case of Sir John Soane's Museum might be a cluttered, asymmetrical aesthetic, and is primed for a reflective and theoretical idea of architectural history. On a more reductive level, in terms of phenomenology, if the visitor enters Sir John Soane's Museum void of expectation and equipped with this ground plan as a means of navigating Soane's spaces, it is these decorative features that suggest the careful consideration of Soane's interior elements, versus their arrangement, thus erasing the initial astonishment and allowing for careful contemplation and the formation of an architectural history based on the combination of fragments. The ground plan is the tool with which the element of astonishment can be suspended; it situates the visitor within the whole, imparting a knowledge of the spatial arrangement that cannot be communicated from inside the house.

The ground plan and the self portrait

It has been said that Sir John Soane's Museum is, at its core, a self-portrait of Sir John Soane.[36] Ballantyne asserts that "[t]he house cannot be understood without the person"[37], but without the ground plan, there is no indication of a person, whether Sir John Soane or otherwise, in the illustrations of Britton's *The Union*. There are hints of life within the museum walls in, for example, the frontispiece featuring a *The Union* resting on a desk in the Monk's Parlour, its cover open suggestive of an individual consulting its pages, or the open leaves in the perspective view of the Picture Room, as if opened to demonstrate to the spectator Soane's invention of hanging space. However, unlike Soane's *Description* and its exterior view of No. 13 Lincoln's Inn Fields which features a figure, Britton's suggestions of life in the building are far subtler.

In Dana Arnold's '(Auto)biographies and space', she explores the application of Lacanian theory to the built environment, asserting that "[a]rchitecture does indeed create an

[35] G Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, Boston, Beacon Press, 1994, p. 74.
[36] See: S Feinberg, 'The Genesis of Sir John Soane's Museum Idea: 1801-1810', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* Volume 43 (October 1984) in which she traces the origins of Sir John Soane's ambitions for his house from museum in the earlier years to "a complicated metaphor of Sir John Soane's ideals and ambitions." p. 237.
[37] A Ballantyne, 'Architecture, Life, and Habit', *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Volume 69, Issue 1 (Winter 2011), p. 46.

enclosure that can be seen as enclosing emptiness, but does it in fact enclose an ordinary lost object?"[38] Although Arnold's exploration is focussed on the physical spaces of the built environment, it is interesting to translate this to representations of Sir John Soane's Museum. If the enclosure of Soane's space is represented by the ground plan, the spaces as blank voids and the built form as the shaded poché, what has here been lost if the collection has (within reason) been conserved by an Act of Parliament? With the arrangement of the collection, decorative details and spaces preserved as they were upon Soane's death, arguably the lost object here is Soane himself, with the ground plan as a sort of biography or record of his life. "To localise a memory in time," writes Bachelard, "is merely a matter for the biographer and only corresponds to a sort of external history, for external use, to be communicated with others."[39] Despite there being no figural suggestion of a person in these images, the ground plan — arguably the most abstract of the images within this publication in terms of figural representation— is the closest thing to a biography of Soane by Britton.[40] To take this argument further, there are more allusions to Sir John Soane's life in the ground plan, especially when several ground plans from different points in his arrangement and acquisition of his home are considered in tandem.[41]

The skin of the Soane

In considering the ground plan as a representation of the built form, rather than a means to an end, there are a number of ways in which the suggested flatness of what is represented deviates from what is actually presented on paper. The components of the built form are not flat, especially in the example of Sir John Soane's Museum, therefore there is three-dimensionality in the walls and floor and their representation. Britton himself writes of the complexities of interior architecture, a combination of the *arrangement* of the various rooms (as outlined in the ground plan) combined with various decorative elements:

> "Who may calculate all the varied combinations arising from arrangement and plan alone, setting aside those which are produced by decoration and detail, and the other elements of design; In fact, so far is it from being barren or limited in this respect, that architecture may be termed the most fertile of all the fine arts;

[38] D Arnold, '(Auto)biographies and space', *Biographies & Space: Placing the Subject in Art and Architecture* (eds. D Arnold & J Derevenski), London, Taylor & Francis Ltd, 2008, p. 14.
[39] G Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, Boston, Beacon Press, 1994 p. 9.
[40] That is, other than J Britton's *Brief memoir of Sir John Soane, R.A. F.R. & A.S. professor of architecture in the Royal Academy, etc. etc. etc. By John Britton, F. S. A. From Fisher's National Portrait Gallery.* London, Fisher, Son & Co., 1834.
[41] The reader of *A New Description of Sir John Soane's Museum* is granted this opportunity, pp. vii - xi are different iterations of the various floor plans of the house museum from 1796, 1810, 1822, 1837 and present. Formally, they differ in terms of the interior architecture rendered through the reflected ceiling plan - only the present plans are inclusive of this feature.

> and the changes of which it is susceptible must be computed not by thousands, but by millions!"[42]

It is almost as if Britton is setting out reasoning for the combination of objects represented in the ground plan, rather than just the stamp of the built form; even the fundamental quality of the arrangement of rooms is so complex in this particular example that the addition of "decoration and detail" is of no particular consequence.

Further to the decorative elements that are adhered to the built form, one must consider the interior in terms of the exterior, and their relationship, and further, the poché as the margin between the two. In 'Of the Hollow Spaces in the Skin of the Architectural Body" by Wolfgang Meisenheimer, we are reminded that, in fact, some elements of poché have more complex functions than pure built form: "The surrounding space outside the building-covering, the interior, which it surrounds, and thirdly the body of the building itself with its interior and exterior relief, its hollow spaces, niches, and projections- these three zones have three different spatial qualities for us to experience."[43] Although his essay focuses on the increase in the transparency of poché due to new technology, he still recognises the history of poché and its role as not only the built form, but also a three-dimensional space with its own functional qualities. It is for these reasons that the poché in *The Union* is not so straightforward. Furthermore, this transparency in the built form via windows is acknowledged by Britton in his text, in which he asserts that "…[b]y the means of glass, we repel the inclemency of the elements, may be said to render our walls transparent, and can enjoy the distant prospect from our fire-sides."[44]

In this particular ground plan, the varying degrees of opacity in the shading of the poché are signifiers of different variables. In some cases, for example the lighter shade of the walls of No. 12 and 14 compared to No. 13 indicates the user experience, once again a testament to this convention's focus on the whole whilst still highlighting the public passages throughout the house-museum. Rather than rectilinear forms comprising the building's walls, the solid forms are mottled with aspects of interior design, from the bookcases of the Library, to various fireplaces and other niches. When the representation of the material mass is considered in detail, the variations of the "flat" surfaces, or the walls, come to the fore; interest is created by

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[42] J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: exemplified by a series of illustrations, with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane*, London, Printed for author, 1827, p. 13.
[43] W Meisenheimer, 'Of the Hollow Spaces in the Skin of the Architectural Body', *Toward a New Interior* (ed. L Weinthal), New York, Princeton Architectural Press, 2011, p. 626.
[44] J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: exemplified by a series of illustrations, with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane*, London, Printed for author, 1827, p. 17.

adding (adhering objects and other projections), or subtracting (opening up niches, fireplaces, windows) mass.

Meisenheimer also explores the skin of a building as a threshold that outside elements such as air and light must permeate, and in the case of the ground plan in Britton's publication, there are very evident breaks in the dark poché where there is a window or door. However, because of the nature of the lighting at Sir John Soane's Museum, there is an indication of the natural light that flows through the signature overhead windows in the line delineations of the reflected dome, arguably paradoxical as an opening in the ceiling is indicated through a visual addition, rather than the erasing of mass.

Conclusion

The ground plan in *The Union* can be understood in many different ways; as an outline of an "empty shell" in which Soane performs his habits, as a means for the visitor to (re)construct their visit to the museum, as a tool to understand the layout of the building as a whole rather than room-by-room, but simultaneously as a featureless canvas onto which ceiling fixtures can be adhered. What we can conclude is that it is unique in its complexity due to the built form it represents, its inclusion of Soane's trademark aesthetic features, and its lack of other supplemental graphic conventions on the same page, such as a perspective view. With its inherent two-dimensionality, both in the physicality of the paper as well as the museum's existence in Flatland, it is easy to overlook the complexity of such an illustration.

The "simple" method with which Evans explores the ground plan is by comparing the portrayal of human figures to ground plans from the same figure.[45] When considering the passage within a domestic plan, he traces its origins from 1597 at John Thorpe's Beaufort House, citing Soane's own approach to passages more akin to what has become more familiar in the twentieth century, specifically in reference to Lincoln's Inn Fields. Evans identifies Soane's unique ability to layer spaces "so that the eye was no longer constrained into a telescopic recession of portals and could wander wide, up, across and through from one place to another."[46] This unique aspect of Soane's spaces is also clearly indicated by the ground plan in *The Union*, with several breaks in the poché indicating Soane's extending virtual passages to the outside, and most notably surrounding the Monument Court. Evans, like Meisenheimer, relates the built form to the body in the context of the ground plan.

[45] R Evans, 'Figures, doors and passages', *Translations from drawing to building and other essays*, London, Architectural Association, 1997, p. 57.
[46] Ibid., p. 75.

The Little Study, Dressing Room are unconventional passages, charged with meaning in their transition from the more recently museumified portion of Soane's house, and Soane's identified museum-proper. The Little Study was often occupied by Soane, where he would produce drawings, and the Dressing Room was a space for Soane to prepare himself before meeting professional acquaintances who had entered his house through the Library and Dining Room. The depiction of the spaces is inclusive of the plaster roses that appear here affixed to the ceiling, fragments that comprise his didactic collection, as well as the fireplace, a more domestic fixture. Britton's *The Union* is lacking in any further depiction of these spaces. It can thus be argued that, in light of the complex nature of the reading of a ground plan, and the heightened meaning that can be imparted to it, the many characteristics of Soane; from professor and professional to occupant and collector, are represented most clearly in this portion of the ground plan.

7. The Developed Surface
Flattening Soane's projections, recesses and virtual spaces

"...it is not surprising that orthographic projections are more commonly encountered on the way to buildings, while perspectives are more commonly encountered coming from buildings." [1]

In surveying the history of the guidebook it becomes apparent that an engraving of an interior elevation has no place in such a publication.[2] The last chapter dealt with the ground plan of the Sir John Soane's Museum, and as evident in examinations of other related publications, a floor plan is a staple of this publication type. However, in terms of the visual accompaniment we would come to expect from a John Britton guidebook and further, a typical early nineteenth-century guidebook, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting* deviates quite dramatically. An investigation of Britton's brief but meaningful deviation from the norm, this study will highlight the ways with which viewers of these illustrations form an understanding of Soane's unique spaces. Further, consideration of the ways in which the illustrations depart from the architechtonic convention Britton employs, in terms of incorporating both flatness and depth simultaneously, will demonstrate the complexities of the spaces herein, often unsuccessfully translated to the book.

Orthography and perspective

Much like the way readers interpret a ground plan, an elevation, although seemingly straightforward, is imbued with complex meaning. Britton's *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting* is inclusive of a number of sections inclusive of orthogonal elevations. Plate ii is a page filled with three sections and elevations of the Library and Dining Room at Lincoln's Inn Fields [figure 1]. As a crude comparison, the perspective image, of which there are eight in *The Union* (including the frontispiece) is, as both Evans and Savage explain, fit for the purpose of recording an existing building, and disseminating an understanding of that building to an audience of laymen.[3]

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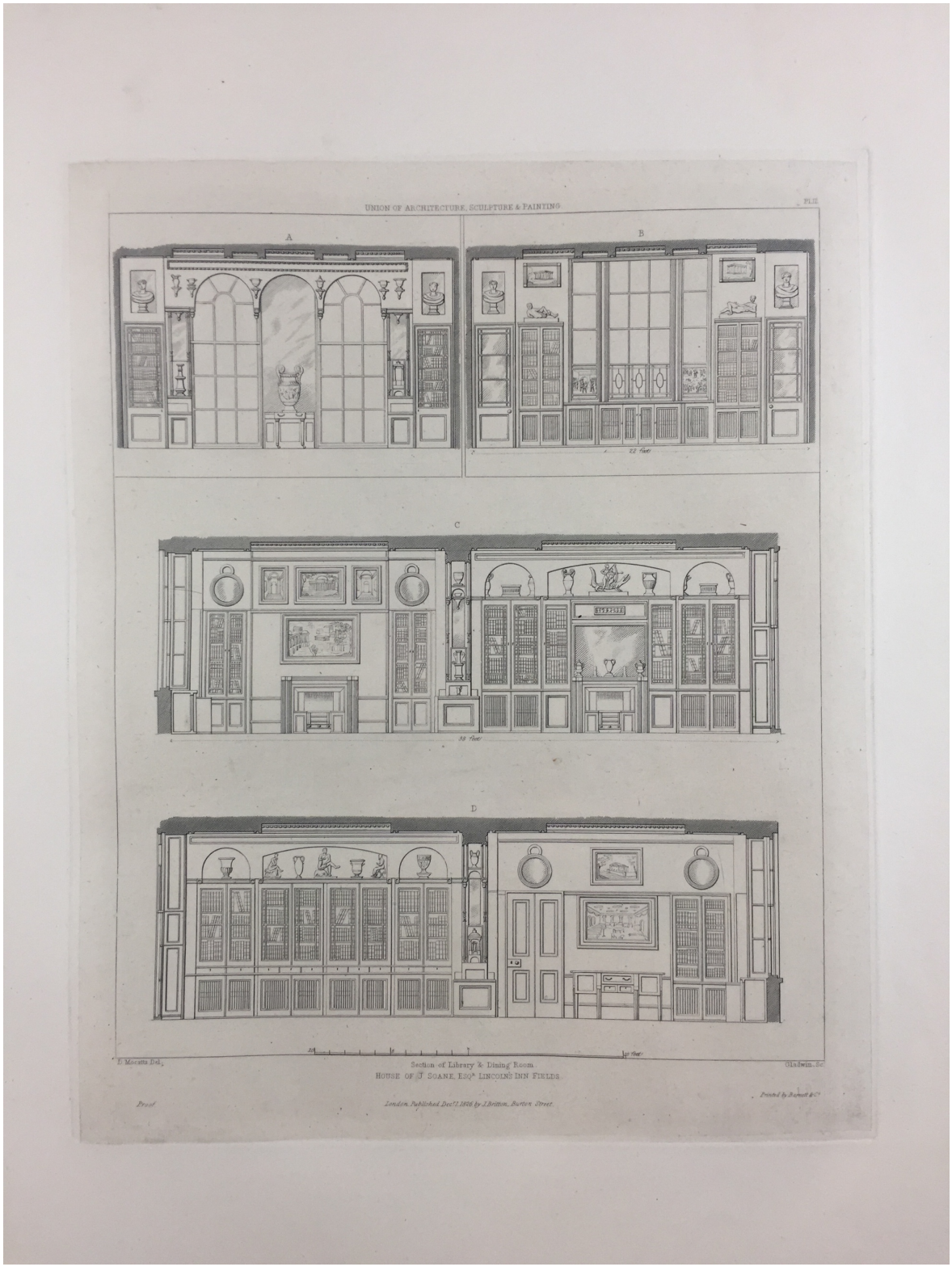
[1] R Evans, 'Architectural Projection', *Architecture and Its Image; Four Centuries of Architectural Representation* (eds. E Blau and E Kaufman), London, The MIT Press, 1989, p. 21.
[2] "Although guidebooks employ both plans and equivalent verbal descriptions to inform readers of houses' layouts and functions, not one offers an elevation J Anderson, *Remaking the country house: country-house guidebooks in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries* (unpublished doctoral thesis), The Courtauld Institute of Art, 2013, p. 124.
[3] N Savage, 'Exhibiting Architecture: Strategies of Representation in English Architectural Exhibition Drawings, 1760-1836', *Art on the line: The Royal Academy Exhibitions*, London, Courtauld Institute of Art, 2001, p. 205: In the context of the Royal Academy hang (attracting a varied audience), Savage asserts that the perspective view was the preferred method of representation for architectural schemes from 1780 onward.



Chapter 7 figure 1. Sections and Elevations of Library & Dining Room. J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, 1827. Sir John Soane's Museum.

The perspective view, although seemingly effortless to convey an understanding of and therefore popular in architectural presentation drawings, poses certain problems when attempting to holistically and accurately capture a building on paper. It has been asserted that the perspective view is selective; for example, Thomas Hope's *Household Furniture and Interior Decoration* (1807). As discussed previously, it has been hypothesised that the purpose of Hope's publication is to allow for accurate copies of his furniture design to be made, ultimately improving public taste. In light of this, it is curious that a great deal of the illustrations in the volume are perspective drawings. Granted, the publication does contain images that are object-focused, some spreads featuring a single delineation of a single object in his collection shown in great detail from many viewpoints. However, there are eight perspective views included in the volume. The implications of the inclusion of a perspective view are two-fold; firstly, in taking on a single viewpoint, there are only so many surfaces that can be viewed at one time, and thusly the perspective view in Hope's illustration is crucially void of what lies behind the particular chosen viewpoint. Secondly, in rendering the appearance of projection on a flat surface, measurements of objects become skewed.[4] Although Hope's illustrations give the impression of meticulous measurement through the utility of the line, in practice, these illustrations do not provide a model with which to copy his design.[5]

It is for this reason that the architectural profession prefers orthography for design drawings.[6] The triad of orthogonal architectural representational methods combined conveys a great deal of information including the "fourth wall" located behind the viewpoint of any perspective image. A perspective image "...renders the illustration somewhat transparent, if not invisible...", erasing the layer of representation in an attempt to break down the flatness of the paper plane with the illusion of depth. [7] If we apply the same concept of the translation from drawing to building to a perspective view, what we find is that the translation is one-way and irreversible. We can easily translate a view to paper, but this process is visually selective and ignores certain aspects of the built form, thus rendering the possibility of reversing the translation impossible. It is interesting that visual trickery and the illusion of the three-

[4] L Jacobus, 'On "Whether a man could see before him and behind him both at once": the role of drawing in the design of interior space in England c.1600-1800', *Architectural History*, Volume 31 (1988), p. 149.
[5] See: A Cohen, 'Domestic Utility and Useful Lines: Jean-Charles Krafft's and Thomas Hope's Outlines', *Journal of Art Historiography*, Issue 9 (December 2013).
[6] This sentiment, taken from Evans' quote at the beginning of this chapter, is also repeated in L Jacobus, 'On "Whether a man could see before him and behind him both at once": the role of drawing in the design of interior space in England c.1600-1800', *Architectural History*, Volume 31 (1988). See also: B Schneider 'Perspective Refers to the Viewer, Axonometry Refers to the Object', *Daidalos,* Volume 1 (1981).
[7] Schneider, p. 85.

dimensional on paper is lacking the necessary building blocks that orthography successfully transmits to the viewer, whilst accepting conformance to its intrinsic two-dimensionality.

If we look back at the selected examples of guidebooks that are closely related to *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, whether an example by John Britton or another example of an early nineteenth-century guidebook, if there is only one visual aid offered to the viewer, that single illustration will be a perspective of a room. Although it is understood that this method of representation will offer the viewer the atmospheric effects of a single viewpoint of the interior, what is necessary to form an understanding of the built form requires more than just seeing. Through perspective views, little is required of the viewer, and subsequently little information is transmitted to the viewer.

The elevation; syntax for surfaces

In 'On "Whether a man could see before him and behind him both at once"', Laura Jacobus examines neo-Palladian architect and writer Isaac Ware's *Complete Body of Architecture* (1768), which Soane had a copy of in his library. In his chapter entitled 'On suiting the ornaments to one another', Ware highlights the shortcomings of a single viewpoint specifically in the design process, noting that for an interior to be consistent, and each wall complimentary of the other walls in a room, an architect must design on a flat plane that accommodates *all* viewpoints, rather than just one. With reference to drawings that precede the built form, rather than an illustration that records a pre-existing building, Ware suggests that the architect must "upon paper [design] the whole together…"[8] What concerns Ware here is a drawing convention that remains nameless in his chapter, but what is known as the 'developed surface' as defined by Robin Evans in his article of the same name: "In descriptive geometry, folding out the adjacent surfaces of a three-dimensional body so that all its faces can be shown on a sheet of paper is called developing a surface, so we will call [this] kind of drawing… the *developed surface interior*."[9] For Ware, decorative unity within the design process is the prime consideration, and more crucially the experience of the interior space is not. Whilst Evans was examining this specific drawing type, so too was Laura Jacobus, a fact pointed out by Evans within his notes. [10]

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[8] I Ware, *A complete body of architecture. Adorned with plans and elevations, from original designs. By Isaac Ware, Esq. … In which are interspersed some designs of Inigo Jones, never before published,* London, printed for J. Rivington, L. Davis and C. Reymer, R. Baldwin, W. Owen, H. Woodfall, W. Strahan, and B. Collins, 1768, Soane reference 3549, quoted from L Jacobus, 'On "Whether a man could see before him and behind him both at once": the role of drawing in the design of interior space in England c.1600-1800', *Architectural History*, Volume 31 (1988), p. 154.

[9] R Evans, 'The Developed Surface', *Translations from Drawing to Building,* London, Architectural Association Publications, 1997, p. 202.

[10] R Evans, 'The Developed Surface', *Translations from Drawing to Building,* London, Architectural Association Publications, 1997, p. 230.

It is important to note that whilst a developed surface illustration is not expected to be included in a guidebook, an exterior elevation, concerned with developing the exterior surface, is certainly not out of the ordinary. Britton almost wholly ignores the exterior of Soane's house, offering the reader this short textual description of the façade: "The elevation towards Lincoln's Inn Square, although too small to form a prominent object, and although rather fanciful for street architecture, must be admitted to exhibit a novelty which at once attracts attention and excited comment."[11] Britton continues, concluding that "[i]t is not, however, on the external appearance of the house that we need dwell, when there is so much more originality and invention displayed in every part of the interior."[12] It is therefore not surprising that, following the failure of Britton's publication, Soane's own description of his house is inclusive of an exterior perspective view [chapter 6 figure 4]. Britton's exclusion highlights the fact that *The Union* is mainly concerned with Soane's interior architecture, and in this sense, it is perhaps unsurprising that he would develop the interior surfaces of the Sir John Soane's Museum. Although the flatness of a sheet of paper lends itself to the representation of a flat surface, in the particular case of *The Union* the exterior surface is not included.

Unconventional passages

There are two engravings in *The Union* that are specifically pertinent to this discussion, Plates ii [figure 1] and iii [figure 2], the first depicting the four sides of the Library and Dining Room in various sections and elevations, the latter the Breakfast Parlour represented as two sections and elevations. Of note is their seemingly strict two-dimensionality and use of line, entirely void of sciagraphy - characteristics we have now come to expect from this publication, but not necessarily other volumes of this genre. Before fully analysing these illustrations, it is important to gain an understanding of these choice rooms as they are unique within the museum in terms of form and use. Acknowledging their function and composition will help us gain an understanding as to why they have been represented in this manner.

The Library and Dining Room [chapter 2, figures 5 & 6] is the first room a visitor will encounter past the Entrance Hall, and introduces the visitor to the image of Soane; his portrait

[11] J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: exemplified by a series of illustrations, with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane*, London, Printed for author, 1827, p. 24.
[12] Ibid., p. 25.

Chapter 7 figure 2. Sections of Breakfast Parlour. J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, 1827. Sir John Soane's Museum.

by Sir Thomas Lawrence hangs above a fireplace on the east wall. Soane considered these two rooms as a single entity separated by two projecting piers that function as bookcases, with the possibility of extending the dining table to span the two areas with leaves, accommodating a large group of guests. It is in this way that the room is dominated by the potential for domesticity. A dining room table as an object gives the visitor the sense of a lived-in space, or as Benjamin puts it, an accommodation of life-habits, whilst it also functions as a passage from the domestic and the museum proper; interestingly enough, it is one of the most spacious rooms in the house, and yet, when Soane's house also functioned as his private residence, this was not a focal point of the museum tour. The museum proper itself is much more difficult to manoeuvre through due to a lack of space. Whilst the dining table is retracted, it is the Library and Dining Room's spaciousness, rectilinear ground plan and lack of centralised objects that make it unique. The same can be said of the Breakfast Parlour. Rectilinear in shape, this room lacks space to meander due to the presence of the round breakfast table, an object suggestive of domesticity. However, in Soane's prescribed route of the house-museum as described in his own guidebook, the Breakfast Parlour is the connecting space between the museum and the staircase that leads to the Entrance Hall.

To summarise, the Breakfast Parlour and the Library and Dining Room are two rooms that fall outside of the "museum" portion of the house that Britton has distinguished in the text of *The Union*, asserting that there is a divide between the domestic and the didactic within No. 13 Lincoln's Inn Fields. Further, they both function as passages to the museum proper, and as such take on an entirely unique function from the rest of the house.[13] Evans encroaches the topic of passages in his essay 'Figures, Doors and Passages' during which he directly explores Soane's passages, concluding that a typical "Soanian" passage, at least in terms of his house-museum, "lies on the edge of modernity."[14] The Breakfast Parlour and Dining and Library Room are passages in that the visitor passes through them on their way to and from the museum, however, the objects therein, namely tables, are indicative of a domestic use, rather than a straightforward walkway.

Not only does the unique style of Soane's passages influence the visitor's experience, but further these passages facilitate the vistas that a visitor comes across. The house-museum is praised for its design that, through navigating its spaces, composes interesting juxtapositions

[13] The Little Study and Dressing Room also fit this description, but Britton's text never thoroughly marks the end of the 'museum' portion of the house. In Britton's circuit, however, the Breakfast Parlour and Library and Dining Room come before the museum, and are therefore transitional almost prepatory rooms. The Little Study and Dressing Room are also significantly smaller in scale.
[14] R Evans, 'Figures, doors and passages', *Translations from drawing to building and other essays*, London, Architectural Association, 1997, p. 75.

through complex sightlines. The potential sightlines within the route of the museum have been largely explored and illustrated by Sophia Psarra in her essay 'Soane through the looking-glass'. An exploration of the spatial and optical mechanisms in the house, Psarra has illustrated the interconnectivity of Soane's spaces with several versions of the ground plan [figure 3]. Of particular interest is the direct, highly visible vista of the dome from the Library and Dining Room, through the Breakfast Parlour. At any given point in the museum, one is able to see a kaleidoscope of spaces simultaneously, whether through broken down walls or outdoor courts.

Seemingly flat surfaces; "elevations"

Although it has been established that the flatness of a wall is often associated with the flatness of a picture plane, Britton has chosen to include a plate that is *seemingly* void of perspective, bestowing the title 'elevations' on [figure 1] in his list of figures, thus making demands on the public eye.[15] However, a closer investigation reveals that Britton's illustration not only deviates from the rules of the convention itself, but also includes suggestions of depth and excludes the element of arrangement that is necessary for the image to be read as a true orthographic representation. Although Evans and Jacobus acknowledge that the developed surface convention has its limitations in terms of representations of space, what is left unacknowledged is the representation of virtual space. The inclusion of such spaces within Soane's design results in a confusing visual representation that indicates projection, as well as the rejection of three-dimensionality simultaneously.

There are many features included in these sections and elevations that break down the flatness of the wall surface, including the objects of Soane's collection that are affixed to it. This includes a number of sculptural pieces, such as busts and vases, that are in reality set on top of the book cases, behind hanging pendentive arches that project from the wall surface. In the illustration, this projection is lost, and the location of these objects is confused. But, when considered as a projection, the book cases and arches meet on the same plane, while the vases, busts and funerary urns recede into the distance along with the wall surface. As explained by Wolfgang Meisenheimer in 'Of the hollow spaces in the skin of the architectural body', there are several levels of space within a building, and to categorise them often makes the discussion of their representation clearer. Meisenheimer acknowledges three categories: "The surrounding space outside the building-covering, the interior, which it surrounds, and thirdly the body of the building itself with its interior and exterior relief, its hollow spaces,

[15] "The close resemblance between wall surface and paper surface has never been entirely overcome in architecture…" R Evans, *The Projective Cast; architecture and its three geometries*, Cambridge, MIT Press, 1995, p. 116.

Figure 5.10
Sophia Psarra/Architecture and Narrative

Chapter 7 figure 3. Soane's Museum, London. Diagram of maximum isovist radials. The lightest tones represent spatial locations offering views that extend along the longest lines through the house. Note that the Library and the Dome are at the end of the longest vistas. S Psarra, *Architecture and Narrative*, *The Formation of Space and Cultural Meaning*, 2009. Courtesy of Sophia Psarra with permission from Routledge.

niches, and projections- these three zones have three different spatial qualities for us to experience."[16] It is the hollow spaces, niches and projections that muddle this particular image.

Further to physical niches and projections, Soane has affixed both mirrors and drawings to the wall surfaces in the Library and Dining Room, thus confusing the composition further. Hung above the fireplace on the elevation labelled C are three architectural drawings in perspective that break down the illusion of flatness even further. When we discuss why the perspective image is better suited for the public eye, we can conclude that this is because it is what they are accustomed to in the fine arts. An individual reading *The Union* might have also visited the Royal Academy Annual Exhibition, where he or she would have largely come across images in perspective; such is the nature of pictorial arts in the early nineteenth century. Although the drawings in the elevation are physically flat, they represent a virtual space, and the physicality of this space is represented in perspective. It is common to see works of art in perspective represented as such as they hang in a gallery space as line drawings, such as in the perspective images of the galleries of Sir John Fleming and Fawkes; however, the images of the galleries are drawn in perspective themselves, therefore there is no confusing intermingling of conventions on a single picture plane.

The indications of depth within this plate are evocative of a straightforward dissemination of understanding. As Evans explains in terms of architectural design drawings, "[t]here is always a touch of illustration in even the most abstruse and diagrammatic visual instruction, and illustration always prompts us to envisage what it portrays as if it were already real, even when we know it is not. This suggests that some aspects of the imagination are sufficiently similar to projection to be compared with it, or even confused with it."[20] The inclusion of illusionistic elements in this plate could potentially aid the architecturally uneducated in forming an understanding of Soane's spaces, both physical and virtual. The introduction of sciagraphy to orthography is a technique explored by Savage in reference to Royal Academy exhibition drawings: "Bathing geometrical elevations in gradations of light and shade, however, is a way of reintroducing the missing dimension (that is, depth) by indicating relative distances from the picture plane; the texture of various materials and surfaces; the curvature of convex and concave masses; and the degree of relief pertaining to certain complex forms such as ornament and sculpture."[21] By mixing conventions like a section and elevation,

[16] W Meisenheimer, 'Of the Hollow Spaces in the Skin of the Architectural Body', *Toward a New Interior* (ed. L Weinthal), New York, Princeton Architectural Press, 2011, p. 626.
[20] R Evans, *The Projective Cast; architecture and its three geometries*, Cambridge, MIT Press, 1995, p. 116, p. 20.
[21] N Savage, 'Shadow, shading and outline in architectural engraving from Fréart to Letarouilly', *Dealing with the visual: art history, aesthetics and visual culture* (eds. C van Eck & E Winters), Aldershot, Hants, Ashgate, 2005, p. 244.

this graphic aid would potentially offer a level of understanding to a varied audience that a rigid elevation would not. However, although this illustration deviates from its convention within the elevation itself, it fails to represent the characteristics of the Library and Dining Room that distinguish it, as well as the rest of Soane's house.

Soane's virtual spaces

Another element included in these elevations is mirrors, and this is not surprising as Soane incorporated a number of mirrors into his house-museum. There is a great deal written about the use of mirrors in the house-museum, and what they mean in terms of fragmentation and vistas. Of particular interest is Donald Preziosi's 'Seeing Soane Seeing You' and Helene Furjàn's *Glorious Visions: John Soane's Spectacular Theater.*[22] Preziosi also acknowledges that Sir John Soane's Museum is made up of physically complex spaces, and further, he differentiates between different space typologies in terms of accessibility: "...Soane's Museum is differentially accessible, in three ways: 1. Some spaces are fully accessible, physically or kinesthetically, to the visitor: you can walk into and/or through them. 2. Others are only virtually accessible to the visitor: they can only be seen and not touched or physically entered. 3. Yet some spaces are virtually accessible from one level in the building...and physically accessible from another."[23] After defining these varying levels of accessibility, he confronts the use of mirrors in the museum, arguing that the mirrors add another dimension to the spatial order of the museum. It is when we take these unique aspects of the museum into consideration that the illustration [figure1] becomes even more confused. Because the elevation as a convention lends itself to a flattened surface, Soane's virtual spaces are lost when translated from the built form to paper. It is in this way that the elevation falls short of representing what arguably Soane had intended to portray to his visitors. Psarra offers her reader a series of visual aids that demonstrate the sightlines and reflections from each room of the ground floor of the museum, and through these depictions it becomes clear that the Library and Dining Room are not only physical passages; they are seminal spaces in terms of visual connections to the rest of the museum and the exterior spaces. Figure 5.8 [figure 4] depicts the ground floor plan with visual lines meeting outside. Note that the majority of these lines of vision are placed within the Library and Dining Room. Considering this diagram in tandem with *The Union* sections and elevations, the windows that allow for these sightlines are rendered useless and flattened. There is no suggestion of what lies beyond the south side of this room (Lincoln's Inn Fields) or,

[22] H Furján, 'The Spectacular Spectacle of the House of the Collector', *Toward a New Interior* (ed. Lois Weinthal), New York, Princeton Architectural Press, 2011.
[23] D Preziosi, 'Seeing Soane Seeing You', *Compelling Visuality: The Work of Art in and out of History*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2003, p. 224.

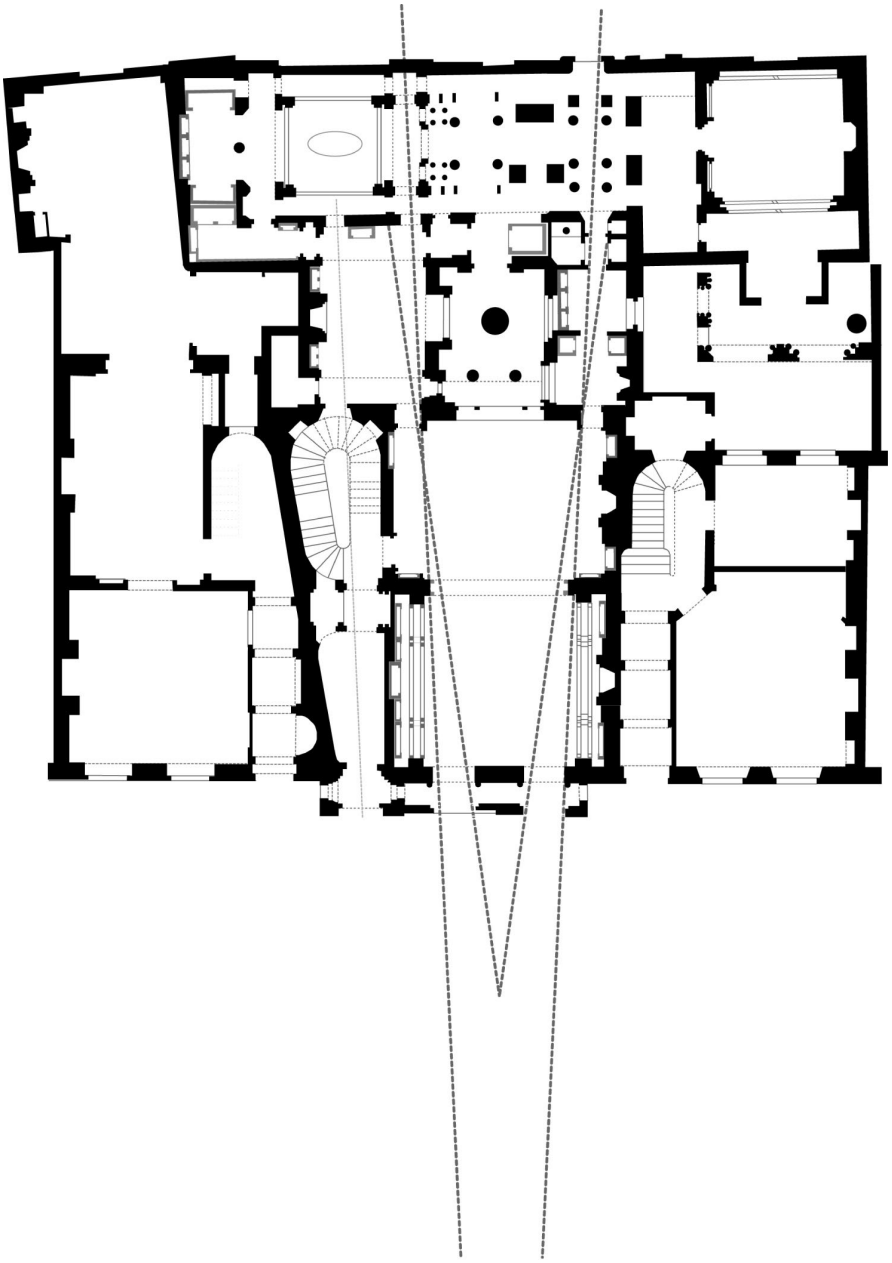


Figure 5.8
Sophia Psarra/Architecture and Narrative

Chapter 7 figure 4. Soane's Museum, London. Ground floor plan with visual lines meeting outside. S Psarra, *Architecture and Narrative*, *The Formation of Space and Cultural Meaning*, 2009. Courtesy of Sophia Psarra with permission from Routledge.

perhaps more importantly, there is no indication of what lies beyond the north side of the room, which in reality is the Monument Court, arguably the symbolic and physical centre of the house-museum.[24] Thus, regardless of the visitor's awareness of the Library and Dining Room's surrounding spaces, the sections and elevations neglect this unique and praised characteristic of the house-museum. This view to the Monument Court is shared by several spaces, on the ground floor being the Little Study, the Dressing Room, the Breakfast Parlour and the South wall of the Colonnade. These physical spaces will eventually be accessed by the visitor, but it is this unique use of windows that allows for the simultaneous contemplation of two spaces at once, as well as two times; the visitor has the ability to visually access successive rooms in Soane's sequence. By removing the space from behind the windows in the Library and Dining Room, this element of visual and temporal simultaneity is lost.

Arrangement

Additionally, the mirrors in the elevations are lacking in a reflection - even without the viewer of this particular flattened perspective being refracted by the mirror's surface, there is still the opportunity for the mirror to reflect, for example, the vase placed before it in elevation A as well as the right-hand section of elevation C, above the fireplace. Sophia Psarra offers an in-depth investigation of the use of mirrors in Soane's house as well, offering her reader diagrams of possible sightlines much like the preceding image, but the complexities of Soane's sightlines are further explored when Psarra incorporates mirror reflections in her diagrams; Psarra has comprehensively illustrated the isovists and reflected views from the centre of the Library [figure 5] and Dining Room [figure 6]. Here we can see the potential for virtual space, as produced through the optical mechanism of the mirrors, from one single point in each room. In the elevation, the mirrors do not function as such - they are not reflecting their opposite surface, even further indicating a lack of arrangement and order - perhaps a mirror image of what is opposite would help the viewer to construct the room and radial of elevations. While this discussion might seem pedantic, there is something to be said of arrangement in the preparation of such drawings. Jacobus acknowledges the shortcomings of such an illustration:

> "Alternatively, several or all uprights will be shown on the same sheet but they will remain disconnected, their relationship never expressed visually because never acknowledged [sic]. A room, such drawings imply, is no more than

[24] A Politis, *Soane, Gandy, and the Origins of Architecture* (unpublished masters dissertation), The Courtauld Institute of Art, 2011, p. 8, 16.

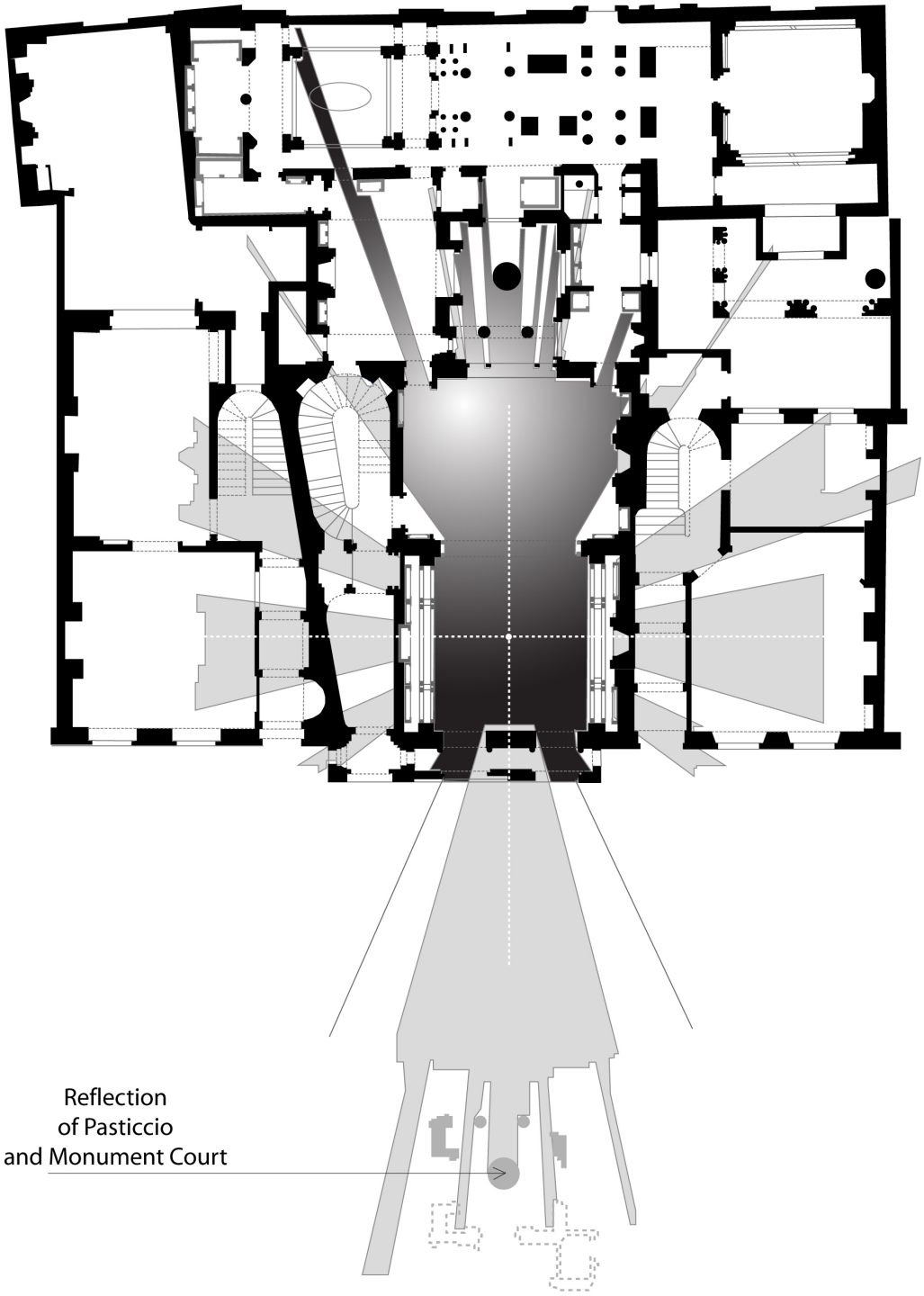


Figure 12a
Sophia Psarra/Architecture and Narrative

Chapter 7 figure 5. Isovists and reflected views (light grey) produced from: (a) The centre of the Library. S Psarra, *Architecture and Narrative*, *The Formation of Space and Cultural Meaning*, 2009. Courtesy of Sophia Psarra with permission from Routledge.

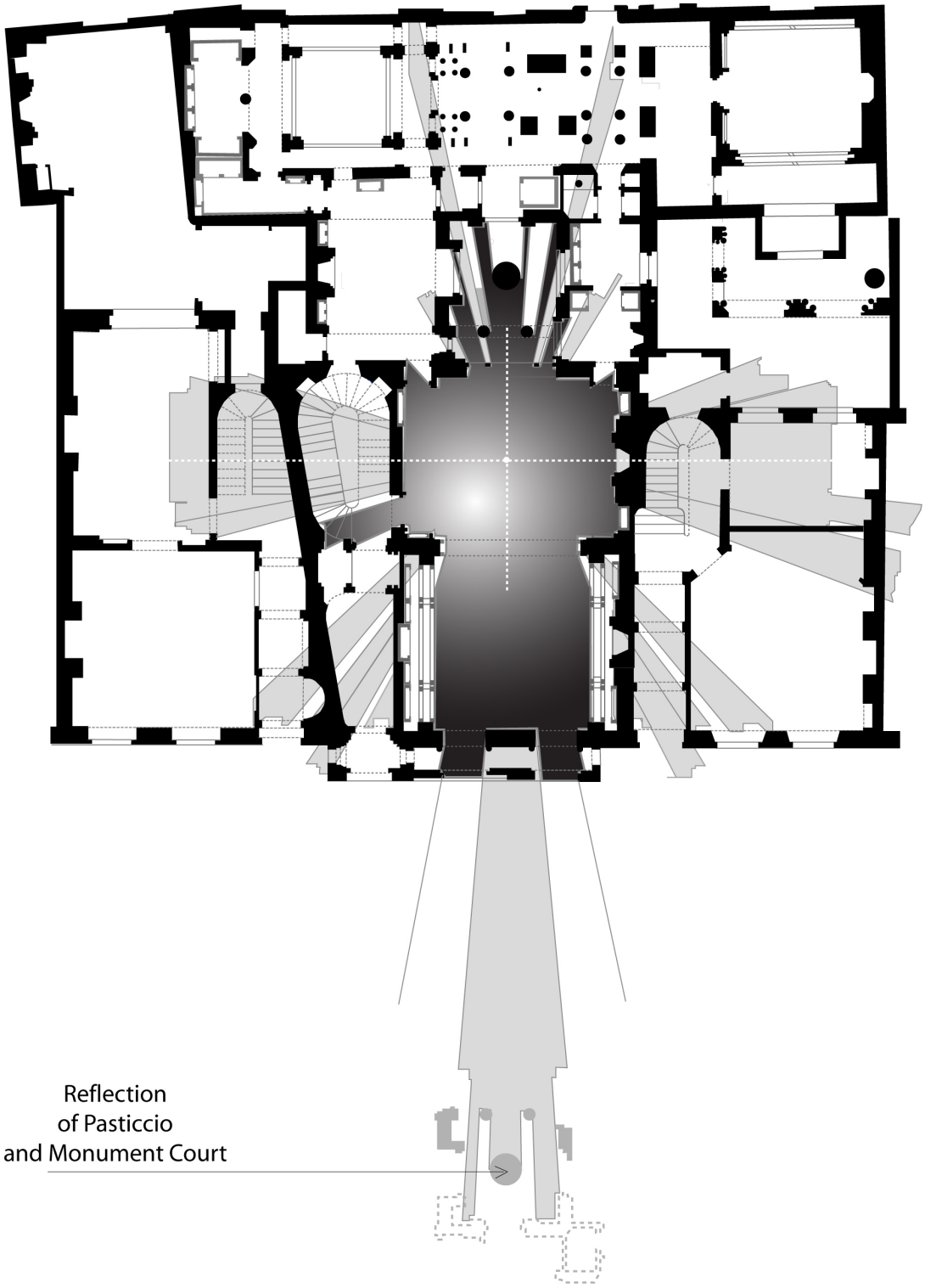


Figure 5.12b
Sophia Psarra/Architecture and Narrative

Chapter 7 figure 6. Isovists and reflected views (light grey) produced from: (b) Dining Room. S Psarra, *Architecture and Narrative*, *The Formation of Space and Cultural Meaning*, 2009. Courtesy of Sophia Psarra with permission from Routledge.

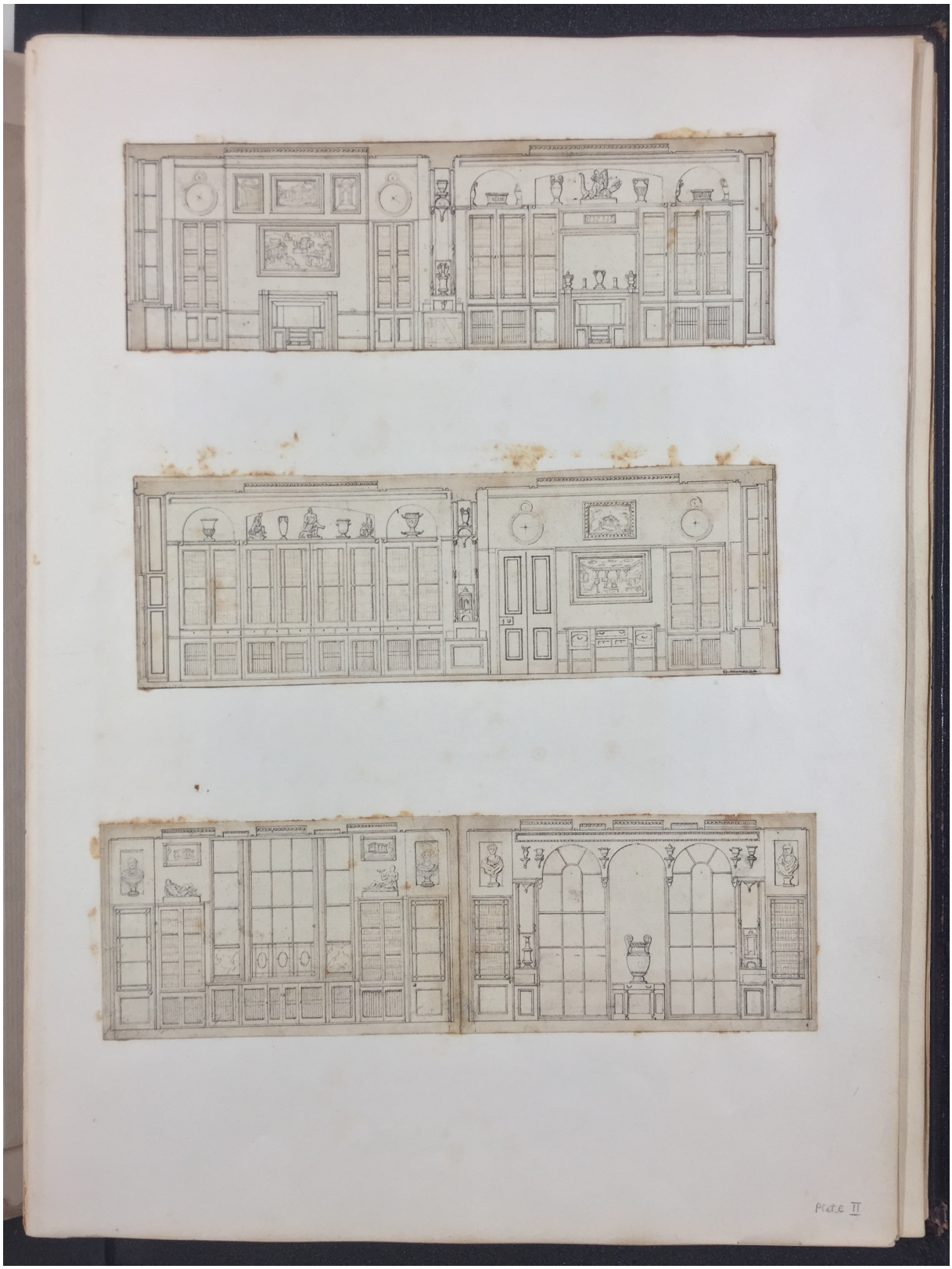
> the sum of its walls; nothing is created by the act of addition which was not there before."[25]

In the case of Britton's *The Union* there is strong evidence that the assemblage of several sections and elevations on a single sheet of an architectural book is considered. This is especially evident when comparing the image included in Soane's proof version of the publication [figure 7] to the image that was finally published and circulated [figure 1]. What we can see is that the order in which the sections and elevations are arranged differs, suggesting uncertainty in their order and an awareness of the importance of their arrangement. In the proof version, the sections and elevations have been pasted to the sheet, indicating that Britton had contemplated various possibilities. The composition that Britton chose for the final piece is as follows: a) the south end (the Library, looking out on Lincoln's Inn Fields), b) the north end (the Dining Room, looking out on the Monument Court), c) the east side of the Library and Dining Room, and d) the west side of the Library and Dining Room. The south and north elevations are merged into one strip, whereas east and west, being wider sections, make up one row of the composition respectively. In his accompanying text, Britton refers to the north and south sections and elevations as 'ends', and the east and west sections and elevations and 'sides'[26]. Although this textual description might assist the reader in understanding how the walls are arranged in reality, it is a complex process of understanding. In discussing this drawing convention, especially this example from *The Union*, it becomes evident that it is not capable of disseminating an understanding of the built form in its own. In light of the complexities of Soane's spaces, both physical and virtual, the elevation falls short of capturing what makes the house-museum unique. Although the flatness of a picture plane does lend itself to the representation of a flat wall, Soane's Library and Dining Room is beyond this flatness.

The section

As mentioned, the Breakfast Parlour is densely populated with mirrors. It is thus both interesting as well as expected that Britton's depiction of this space as sections and elevations is the next sequential illustration in *The Union*, but also represented in a similar manner - that is, *seemingly* void of perspective within the elevation. An exploration of this image with the same

[25] L Jacobus, 'On "Whether a man could see before him and behind him both at once": the role of drawing in the design of interior space in England c.1600-1800', *Architectural History*, Volume 31 (1988), pp. 152-153.
[26] J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: exemplified by a series of illustrations, with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane*, London, Printed for author, 1827, p. 33.



Chapter 7 figure 7. Sections and Elevations of Library & Dining Room (from Soane's proof version). J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, 1827. Sir John Soane's Museum.

treatment applied to the Library and Dining Room demonstrates the shortcomings of another drawing convention, the section.

When considering the developed surface drawing, Jacobus highlights the fact that often drawings termed as such contain no "true"[30] elevations at all, and it is not surprising that Britton's images deviate from the true flatness of an elevation. We saw this in the Library and Dining Room "elevations", and the mixed flatness and perspective can be seen again in the Sections of the Breakfast Parlour [figure 2]. Notably, these two images that appear consecutively within the publication are titled as individual conventions, but in reality, are alike. Rather than depicting the four walls of the Breakfast Parlour, in order to convey the Soanian pendentive dome that dominates the ceiling of this room, it has been executed as a section. This arguably allows for more depth to be conveyed; it is the built form sliced in half, and there is evidence of this act of slicing in the presence of poché. However, once the viewer moves past the physicality of the walls indicated by the dark portions of the illustration, the east and west wall surfaces are depicted equally as flat as the Library and Dining room with the same spatial confusion. Architectural drawings hung on the walls are depicted in perspective, however, the walls that flank the window into the Monument Court on the east side of the room are depicted as flat when, in reality, they slant toward the outdoor space. There are hints of depth in the niches under the desk on the east wall, and in the fireplace on the west, which are depicted in shadow. Perhaps most confused of all, the surface of the pendentive dome has been flattened, its convex mirrors non-reflective.

The Breakfast Parlour features views into the museum proper, serving as an intermediary room between the entrance and the didactic portion of the house. In terms of the visibility of the museum from the Breakfast Parlour, the section is selective as it splits the room down a north-south partition, thus eliminating the potential to view the north side of the room that sits next to the museum. Although the sections do not include the sides of the room that break through to the museum via windows, Britton does acknowledge this visual mechanism in his coinciding text:

> "Opposite the fire-place is a window opening to the court, the centre compartment of which is formed by a large sheet of plate glass. Some of the doors are pannelled with mirrors,' which serve to give the appearance of greater extent : and these being opened, the museum is seen through other doors glazed with stained glass; by which means views are obtained into that apartment without any inconvenience or draught of air ; while, on the other hand, the objection to which doors of this description are liable, is obviated by having an

[30] L Jacobus, 'On "Whether a man could see before him and behind him both at once": the role of drawing in the design of interior space in England c.1600-1800', *Architectural History*, Volume 31 (1988), p. 148.

> inner door... As already noticed, there are no less than seven doors in this room, four of which communicate with the museum, as indicated in the plan, Plate I. Two of these open laterally to small cabinets. That marked o in the Ground Plan, is profusely ornamented with small bronzes, bassi-relievi, casts, fragments, &c. Turning to the right the stranger next enters THE MUSEUM..."[31]

With non-reflective mirrors, the omission of the Monument Court through the window on the east wall, and the complete exclusion of the views of the museum from the Breakfast Parlour, this section is insufficient in depicting the room's fundamental elements. Furthermore, in combining a section with elevations of the east and west well, the flatness of these elevations fails to express the complexity and depth of the pendentive dome. Much like the elevations of the Library and Dining Room, the arrangement of this image has been considered, or at least the decision to split the room on a north-south axis and exclude the north and south walls, resulting in the prevention a complete understanding of the built form.

Connecting surfaces

Interestingly, both Jacobus and Evans cite Soane's work in reference to the developed surface, however Jacobus' examples are Soane's design drawings for the hall at Tyringham, whereas Evans examines a depiction of the *existing* vestibule at Pitzhanger Hall. Whilst Jacobus concludes that Soane's use of the developed surface in the design process "permitted - perhaps suggested - his imaginative leap", Evans concludes that Soane's attempt to capture his existing space that "broke through walls to achieve real and extended depth" was "futile."[32] While the purposes of this drawing and illustration differ, in terms of arrangement they are similar in that their sections/elevations are arranged radially upon a floor plan. Known as a laid-out elevation, it is evident that, when depicting Soane's spaces, this particular convention is contentious.

What we can conclude is that, in order to disseminate an understanding of the physical built form, it is the orthographic triad that conveys this knowledge to the viewer. By mixing representational conventions on a single plane, it is demonstrable that a deeper understanding of the structure can be passed on to the reader. With all of the missing elements and confusion of perspective described in reference to the depictions of the Breakfast Parlour and the Library and Dining Room, this raises the question: how could these rooms be better translated to paper?

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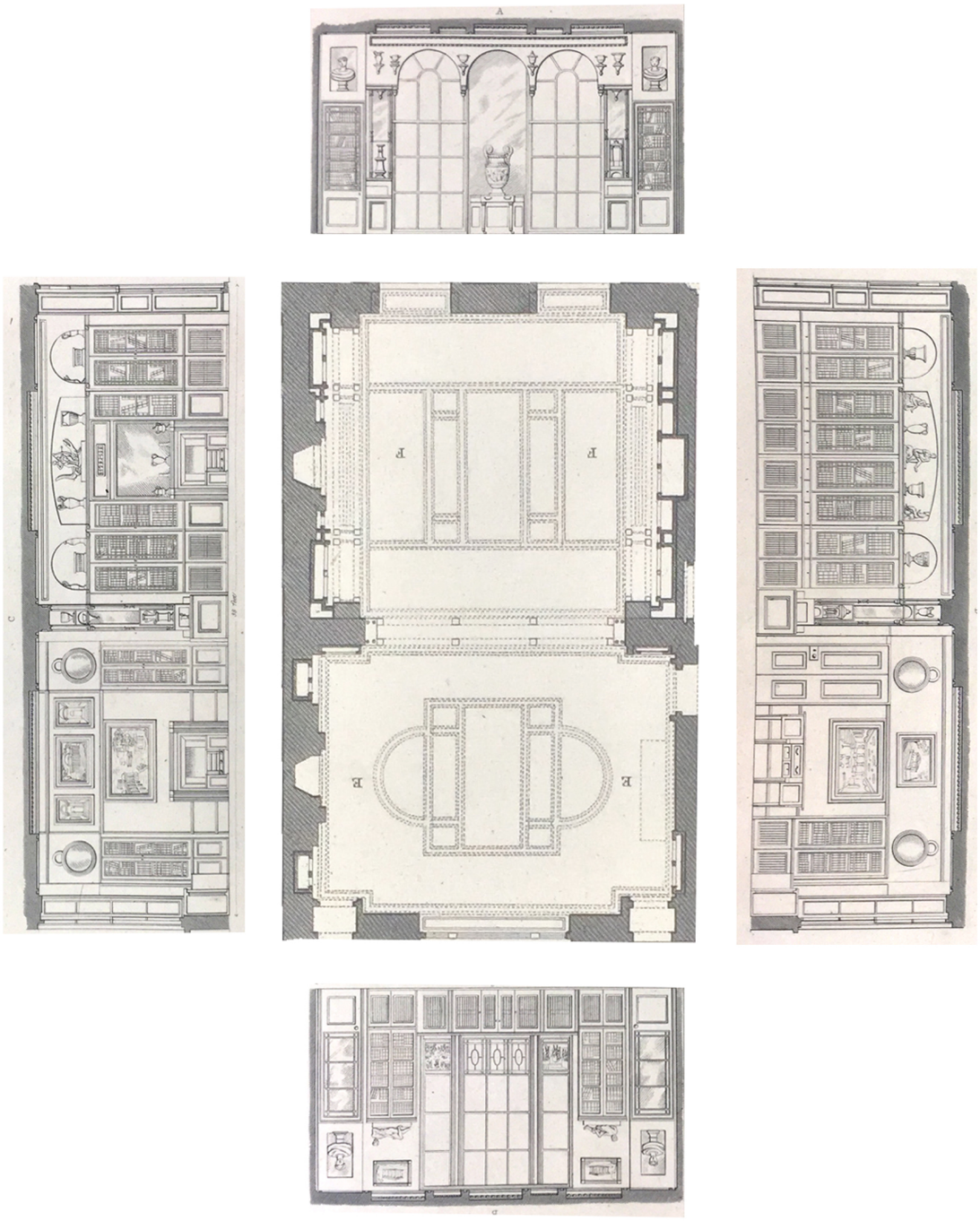
[31] J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: exemplified by a series of illustrations, with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane*, London, Printed for author, 1827, p. 36.
[32] L Jacobus, 'On "Whether a man could see before him and behind him both at once": the role of drawing in the design of interior space in England c.1600-1800', *Architectural History*, Volume 31 (1988), p. 158.
R Evans, 'The Developed Surface', *Translations from Drawing to Building,* London, Architectural Association Publications, 1997, p. 223.
Ibid., p. 224.

A reader might look to Britton's accompanying description of the Library and Dining Room for an indication of the three-dimensional arrangement of the wall surfaces:

> "The annexed engraving exhibits elevations of the two sides and ends of the front apartment, forming the library and eating-room, the southern division being appropriated to the former, and the northern to the latter destination. Singular as the plan of this double room is in many respects, the effect it produces is both surprising and pleasing : every thing that is novel produces the former, though not always the latter effect. The advantage of considerable space is thus obtained, while the lines of demarcation between the two divisions are sufficiently marked to give to each of them its due proportions ; whereas, had these been omitted, the room would have appeared too low for its other dimensions, it being only about thirteen feet high, by forty feet in length. This disparity of proportion is effectually remedied by the pendent arches between the two divisions, which we thus perceive are not introduced without some motive, although their intrinsic beauty would of itself have been sufficient to justify their application. The walls are painted of a deep red colour, in imitation of the walls at Herculaneum and Pompeii, as are likewise the arches and the pannelled compartments of the ceiling ; whilst, in some parts, the mouldings are of a light bronze colour. Notwithstanding the richness of the ensemble, the pervading characteristics of this apartment are chasteness and simplicity. Very few mouldings are introduced, and those consist of mere lines : even the cornice, if such it may be termed, is remarkable for its extreme plainness, being in fact nothing more than a fillet ; yet such is the variety of well contrasted outlines, and the happy arrangement of the various parts, that the eye is amused and the mind interested by the novelty and intricacy of the forms and effects. Had the architectural contours been more enriched, — for instance, the arches above the book-cases, they would have disturbed the repose requisite to give effect to the ornamental sculpture, and to the vases, and bronzes which they contain."[33]

Although this lengthy description does impart the reader with some knowledge of the composition and decorative elements of the room, the combination of conventions, the ground plan and elevations superimposed on a single plane, is another non-textual means of representing the room. As an exercise that explores a specific convention that is the true subject of Evans and Jacobus's essays on the developed surface, the Library and Dining Room has here [figure 8] been represented as a laid-out interior drawing. This specific image combines the ground plan and sections/elevations hitherto explored in this and the previous chapter. Although this image still neglects to convey to the viewer the virtual aspects of Soane's room, such as those refracted/created in the mirrored surfaces, what can be understood with ease is the wall surface projections and recesses, and these become apparent where the projecting poché meets the room divider pedestals. The most successful aspect of this radial arrangement

[33] J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: exemplified by a series of illustrations, with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane*, London, Printed for author, 1827, p. 33.



Chapter 7 figure 8. Laid-out interior of the Library and Dining Room, Sir John Soane's Museum, composed of Chapter 6 figure 1. & Chapter 7 figure 1. Originally composed by the author, rearranged by and reproduced courtesy of Hamish Warren.

of the sections/elevations is that the reader now has an idea of the shape of the room, as well as the organisation of the walls. In order to gain an understanding of Britton's representation of mirrors, it is helpful to look again at his guide to Thomas Hope's Deepdene.

The problem with *The Deepdene*

In chapter five of this work, Britton's unpublished manuscript for a guidebook to Thomas Hope's *The Deepdene*, held at the RIBA Drawings and Archives Collection, was considered. For the purpose of exploring the translation of virtual space to paper, Britton's second unpublished manuscript for this very same guidebook is of great interest. The differences between Soane's house at Lincoln's Inn Fields and Hope's country seat have been outlined, therefore the insistence of Britton's *The Union* being influenced by his previous work on *The Deepdene* seem unsupported. The second manuscript, titled *The Union of the Picturesque in Scenery and Architecture with Domestic Beauties*, indicates that this specific version might have been compiled with the intent to publish alongside Britton's guide to Soane's house-museum. It features several perspective views, of which a number depict a much different treatment of mirrors, and thus, virtual space.

As discussed in terms of Soane's passages, Evans uses Soane's architecture, specifically that at Lincoln's Inn Fields, as an example of a modern application of passages:

> "...in other people's houses, the yearning for extension was often held in check by an equal persuasion that all rooms should be sufficiently enclosed to be independent of one another for the purpose of daily use. As the room closed in, so the aesthetic of space unfolded, as if the extensive library of the eye were a consolation for the closer confinement of the body and soul; a form of compensation was to become more familiar and more pronounced in twentieth-century architecture. Thus, when characteristically Soanian vistas occurred, they did so most often in circulation space or out of windows, not in occupied space."[34]

The opening up of rooms to one another is something that is done with a variety of mechanisms in Soane's own house, from enfilades to mirrors. It is therefore surprising to find a publication that is capable of capturing such virtual spaces, or even visual connections between rooms created in refractions, which was intended to be published as a partner to Britton's *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting. The Union of the Picturesque in Scenery and Architecture with Domestic Beauties*, half finished, has been described as a theoretical manuscript, which depicts the "[p]icturesque, in which variety in nature was a central principle, along with

[34] R Evans, 'Figures, doors and passages', *Translations from drawing to building and other essays*, London, Architectural Association, 1997, p. 76.

variation in architectural elements," and "[t]he use of mirrors, light, ornamentation, stairs and variety," as well as "vistas, framing devices, contrast and interaction of architecture and nature."[37]

Curiously, in Paula Riddy's exploration of this manuscript, she quotes Britton's guide to Soane's house, but in reference to Penry Williams's illustrations in the Deepdene guide: "The use of mirrors in these representations demonstrates the effects that John Britton described at Soane's house, where he wrote that mirrors 'extend the apparent dimensions of the room, and create the most magical effects'."[38] The illustrations in question, particularly those that are inclusive of mirrors, are two perspective views of Thomas Hope's Boudoir and Library, both watercolours [figures 9 & 10].

The first view of the Boudoir features a mirror above a chimneypiece, which refracts elements of the room from a different perspective, arranging a new viewpoint for the reader of this guidebook. The second, a detail of another chimneypiece in the Library, is arguably of more interest for the sake of this study. As Riddy describes, "[i]n the view of the Library chimneypiece the image is mainly of the huge mirror over the fireplace, which reflects back the wall opposite; almost the entire view is therefore a reflected one. This use of mirrors creates a variety of effects."[39] Riddy's first effect is perhaps unsurprisingly reminiscent of the elevations of *The Union*'s Sections and Elevations of two sides of the Breakfast Parlour, specifically the depictions of various artworks adhered to the room's walls: "First, to view a room partially through a mirror gives the sense of looking at a picture on the wall, and so the room itself becomes a piece of art within a piece of art…"[40] This description highlights the potential of representation, and that in choosing to depict a mirror's reflection, Britton is offering the readers of this particular Union, *The Union of the Picturesque in Scenery and Architecture with Domestic Beauties*, a limited but nonetheless effective multiplicity of spaces and objects; limited in the sense that the viewpoint is fixed, thus the kaleidoscopic nature of a mirror is lost.

The second effect Riddy cites is "[the] unusual effect created in the repetition of images in the view above the chimney piece."[41] This is truly reminiscent of Britton's text in *The Union* in relation to the use of mirrors, in which he stipulates that "[b]y the aid of mirrors we multiply the costly embellishments that surround us, extend the apparent dimensions of our rooms, and

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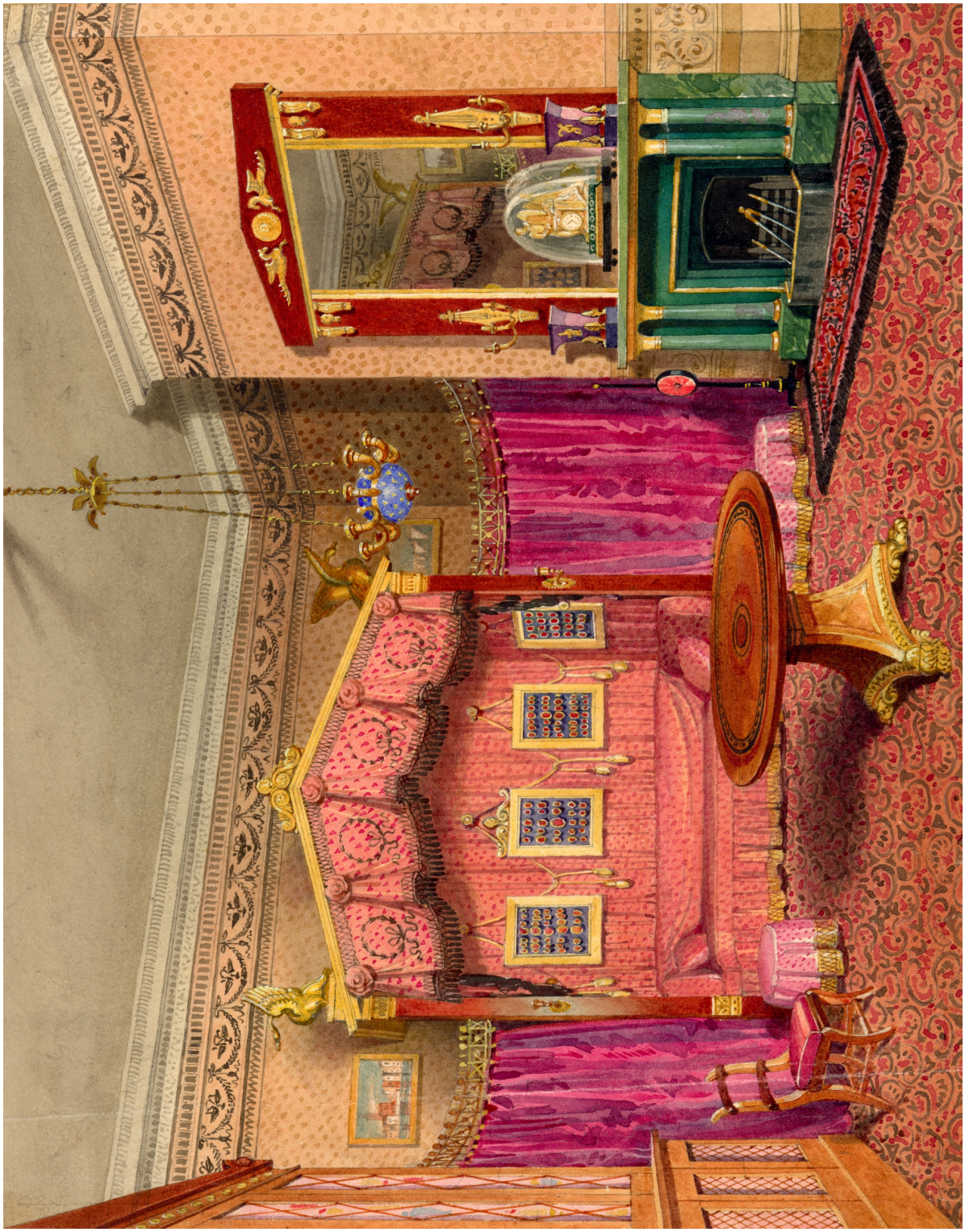
[37] P Riddy, 'The Guidebook and the Picturesque: Thomas Hope and the Deepdene', *Georgian Group Journal*, Volume XXIV (2016), p. 159.
[38] Ibid., p. 163, quoting J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: exemplified by a series of illustrations, with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane*, London, Printed for author, 1827, p. 17.
[39] Ibid., p. 163.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid.



Chapter 7 figure 9. View of the Boudoir, J Britton, *The Union of the Picturesque in Scenery and Architecture with Domestic Beauties*, 1825. Courtesy of Lambeth Archives.

Chapter 7 figure 10. View of the Library, J Britton, *The Union of the Picturesque in Scenery and Architecture with Domestic Beauties*, 1825. Courtesy of Lambeth Archives.

create the most magical effects."[42] When these effects are considered in tandem with the built form of Thomas Hope's countryseat, it is surprising that these elements of architectural interior are featured in this guidebook, and not that of Sir John Soane's Museum. If we consider the typical Soanian vista, as described by Evans, this is the opening up of space and the breaking down of walls by means of the exterior, or the virtual. Britton's second depiction of a mirror at Deepdene is exactly this; it is the effects of the mirror translated to paper, the depths of the virtual space captured through the repetition of enfilade; one is reminded of, for example, Soane's use of space and enfilade at Dulwich Picture Gallery, the repetition of archways prompting the visitor to wander further and further into the depths of the space.

Further to the complexity of virtual spaces represented in these watercolours, the depiction of mirrors in these perspective views allow the reader to see what is before them, as well as what is behind them, simultaneously.

The representation of reflexies

Of course, a vital difference between these mirrors at Hope's Deepdene and those at Soane's house-museum is that a great deal of Soane's mirrors are convex and on a small scale, thus further skewing and shrinking the reflections of Soane's collection. Interestingly, two years before Soane announced the opening up his home and museum to his students, JMW Turner had executed a drawing for one of his lectures of perspective at the Royal Academy. This lecture explored reflection and refraction, or 'reflexies', and we know that Soane was present for Turner's delivery of this particular lecture in 1812.[47] Helen Dorey suspects that Turner's perspective lectures, particularly this one concerning reflections, inspired Soane to incorporate convex mirrors in his interiors. This particular lecture drawing [figure 11] *Reflections in a Single Polished Metal Globe and in a Pair of Polished Metal Globes*, not only depicts the interesting skewing of spaces through a curved, reflective surface, but also perhaps more crucially, is an example of an effective way of capturing such a reflection on the flat surface of a paper. What this demonstrates is that, although Soane's house and museum is praised for its unique use of mirrors, and further, that these mirrors were inspired by a perspective view by Turner, Britton failed to capture this element in his guidebook, although his guidebook for the Deepdene was inclusive of such reflections. It might be safe to assume that John Britton did not attend

[42] J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: exemplified by a series of illustrations, with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane*, London, Printed for author, 1827, p. 17.
[47] H Dorey, 'John Soane and J.M.W Turner: Illuminating a Friendship', Exhibition Catalogue, Sir John Soane's Museum, 2007, p. 25.

Chapter 7 figure 11. Joseph Mallord William Turner, *Lecture Diagram: Reflections in a Single Polished Metal Globe and in a Pair of Polished Metal Globes*, c. 1810. © Tate, London.

Turner's perspective lecture on reflexies, considering Turner and Britton's interaction five months after.[48]

Conclusion; the simplicity of a single convention

In exploring the limitations of the elevation drawing convention, it becomes apparent that it does not feature heavily in nineteenth-century guidebooks for a reason. Although the objects affixed to Soane's walls are an element of great interest, the signature mechanisms that truly make Soane's house-museum unique, and subsequently their effects, are not represented to the best of their ability; this is evident in other examples, including those of Britton's second manuscript for Thomas Hope, as well as JMW Turner's perspective diagram. Although Britton included the elevation in his publication, subsequent plates illustrate his ability to comprehend and translate Soane's more complex spatial arrangements to paper, and this is through the combination of conventions, much like the laid-out sections and elevations of the Dining and Library Room. The combination of conventions is the focus of the next chapter, which explores these "composites" as complex representations of Soane's spaces that prompt the reader's imagination, and the mental rebuilding of Lincoln's Inn Fields with the aid of one's memory, a sort of 'letter to the spectator'.

[48] Soane library reference Priv corr. III B 1. 6.

8. The Composite and The Imagination

Building upon an unexpected guidebook illustration explored in the previous chapter, a more sophisticated way of translating the built form to paper will now be considered; by means of combining various graphic conventions on a single plane. This is a technique that manifests in many platforms, whether that be as a competition drawing on exhibition at the Royal Academy, or as a design drawing more closely associated with interior decoration. Ultimately, this technique is not associated with early nineteenth-century guidebooks. The arrangement of the pictorial elements of a guidebook can be considered within the lens of architectural design drawings, specifically in the example of Britton's *The Union*. In 'The Developed Surface', Evans articulates the reasons why a certain drawing type would be executed and included in, for example, an architectural publication, or more commonly for the purpose of design. He writes,

> "A technique of drawing does not compel designers to do this or that; there are too many ways round it. Its influence, though strong, is too local for long strings of instrumental effects to be hung on it. More likely is it a matter of things belonging in sets, of a type of drawing being conducive to a certain range of taste, lending itself to a certain kind of social practice, a certain arrangement of space, a certain pattern of planning. Such a set of related practices is described in this article, which sets out neither to increase, nor to diminish, the importance of drawing, but only to show it embedded in the nexus of other events. The subject of what follows is, therefore, as much the nexus in which the drawing technique was situated as the drawing itself."[1]

Whilst such variables as social practice and arrangement of space have been explored in previous chapters, what concerns this chapter is the "matter of things belonging to sets". The set that concerns this study is the architectural triad; plans, sections and elevations, which, when combined, are the tools with which the architect translates the built form to paper. Referring back to the methodology set out for the 1989 exhibition *Architecture and Its Image*, drawings were examined with different lenses and thus the exhibition was split into several categories; Architecture in Three Dimensions; Architecture in Place and Time and Architecture in Process. This final chapter will use all three lenses by illuminating the exceptional ability of architectural representations in sets to impart on its viewer a collection of meanings, and translate this to the documentation illustration within the guidebook.

[1] R Evans, 'The Developed Surface', *Translations from Drawing to Building,* London, Architectural Association Publications, 1997, p. 200

Sets and demands on the spectator; 'The Architect's Mirror'

Having already discussed the confines of arrangement within the architectural book and subsequently the meaning produced from such a contrived composition, in order to relate this to the visitor experience, so closely related to the function of the guidebook, the closest method of display to examine is the exhibition of architectural drawing. On the topic of mainstream architectural thought, specifically in reference to the adaptation of architectural drawings for a public audience, Nicholas Savage explores the review of the 1776 Royal Academy exhibition by Philo-Architectus in *The Morning Post and Daily Advertiser* (3 May 1776). Rather than a description of the exhibiting works, Philo-Architectus acts as an authority on how to approach the exhibition, an indication of the struggle of architecture as a fine art. Specifically referring to the rift rather than union of architecture, sculpture and painting, Philo-Architectus asserts that the works should be judged "not by the excellence of the *drawing*, but by that *design's* being, or supposed to be carried into execution, that the full and true effect ought to be estimated."[2] Savage highlights a distinction between graphics for architectural practice, books and print, and those exhibited to the public in exhibition, but it can be said that the guidebook illustration is akin to the exhibition drawing, specifically in terms of audience. Nevertheless, "the nature and purpose of architectural drawings were brought to the surface in the exhibition and were to affect both their reception and their evolution as an autonomous genre over the next half-century."[3] The crucial purpose of the exhibition drawing, as written by Philo-Architectus and elaborated on by Savage, is that the design might be executed:

> "What Philo-Architectus is registering here then is a quite new expectation that an architectural drawing should provide the means of judging how a design might appear in relation to an observer in a particular place once it has been carried into effect, rather than simply marking out and defining the organisation and dimensions of its constituent elements in relation to itself...independently of any single, and therefore necessarily partial and distorted, viewpoint [the perspective view] ."[4]

Philo-Architectus also writes about the transmission of a scheme via the combination of several drawing conventions. In the context of the architectural exhibition rather than the book, the conventions can appear within the confines of a single drawing frame, or even transcend the single picture plane and be hung next to each other. Interestingly, the spatial arrangement of

[2] N Savage, 'Exhibiting Architecture: Strategies of Representation in English Architectural Exhibition Drawings, 1760-1836', *Art on the line: The Royal Academy Exhibitions*, London, Courtauld Institute of Art, 2001, p. 201.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.

separate drawings in a single Royal Academy hang could be converted to a temporal arrangement, like Gandy's series of *Comparative Architecture* drawings, exhibited from 1836-1838. This method of display over a period of time makes too great a demand on spectators, particularly their ability to remember the drawing from the exhibition of the previous year. "Reliance on sequence", writes Savage, "even more than juxtaposition, stemmed from the conditions under which books and portfolios worked rather than from the needs and limitations of a public exhibition space."[5] The sequence of conventions, like Britton's ground plan followed by the sections and elevations of the Library and Dining Room, falls somewhere in between the spatial and temporal arrangement; the pages adjoined to each other, but unable to be viewed simultaneously.

If we are to apply Philo-Architectus's treatise on the display of architectural drawing to John Britton's guidebook illustrations, ultimately this translation from drawing to potential built form must be reversed, rendering the execute-ability to readability, and the imagination of the architect to the imagination of the reader. [7] However, this being an exhibition of the fine arts, there is an element of "grace" necessary for these drawings to be on display.[8] The "matter-of-fact" orthographic drawing executed as a letter to a builder (design drawing), although it has the potential of "convey[ing] the authority of the architect effectively enough in the workplace and on site", when displaced in an exhibition environment, must adhere to the aesthetic taste of the public in terms of fine arts; in this way, the architectural triad becomes something akin to a pictorial triptych.[9]

Britton and the composite drawing

An outline of Britton's understanding and opinion of the combination of conventions is vital to this study, and can be found within the pages of *The Union*. John Britton's employment of a composite convention dates back to his first topographic publication, his depiction of Stonehenge in his *The Beauties of Wiltshire* volume II (1801) [Chapter 4, figure 1]. *Groundplans, &c.*, as discussed in the fourth chapter of this thesis in terms of authority and the utility of the line, is comprised of two compartments, the first that depicts the monument as it was historically, based on his research, the latter as it was topographically at the time of the volume's publication in 1801. Each compartment combines a plan of the stones and views;

[5] N Savage, 'Exhibiting Architecture: Strategies of Representation in English Architectural Exhibition Drawings, 1760-1836', *Art on the line: The Royal Academy Exhibitions*, London, Courtauld Institute of Art, 2001, p. 204.
[7] Savage refers to the imagination of the architect, Ibid., p. 202.
[8] Ibid., p. 203.
[9] Ibid.

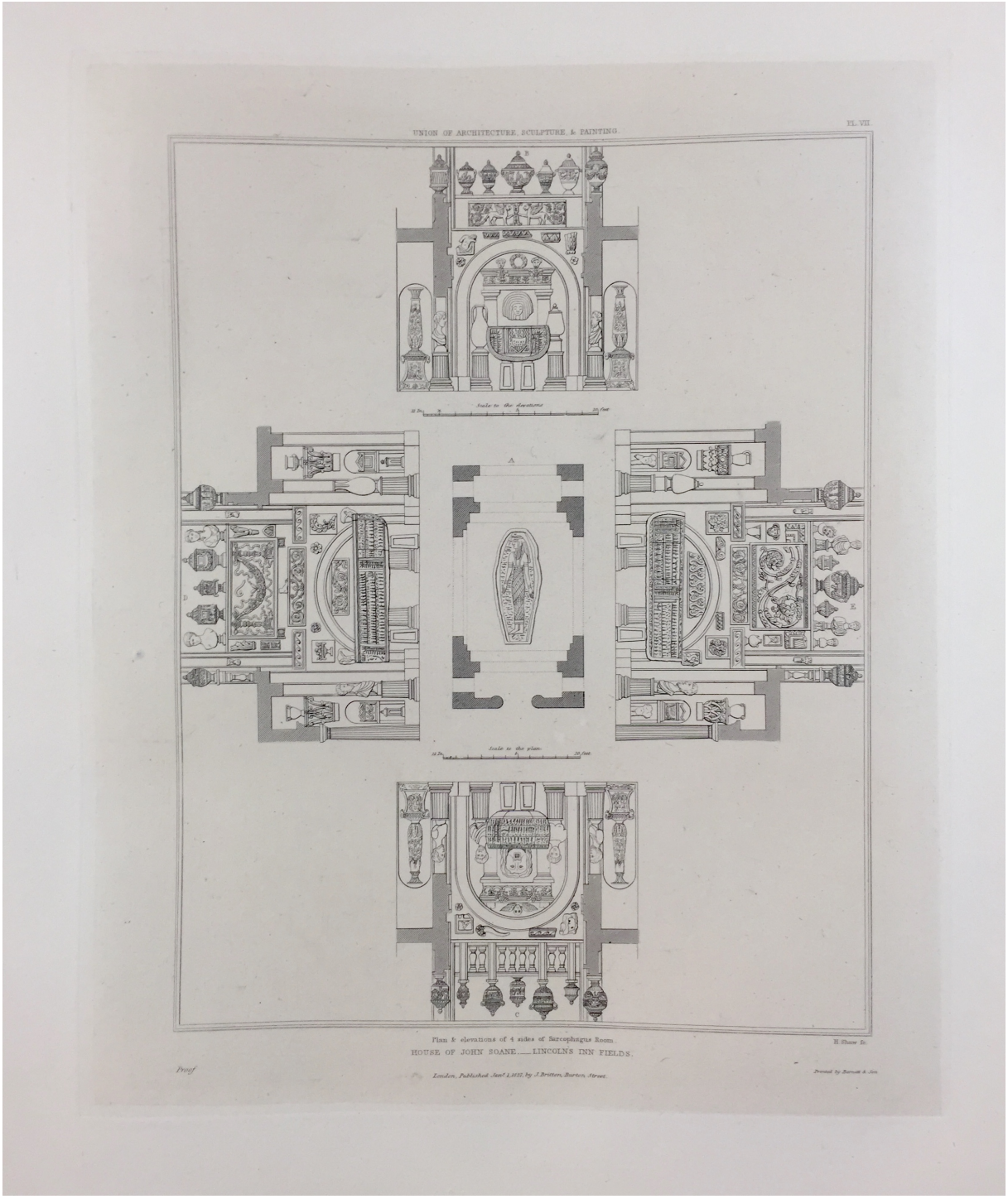
compartment 1 a single view with a figure as staffage, and compartment 2, two views, one from the "exciting" approach from Salisbury, the other from the north east. [10] This pair of views illustrates Britton's text, typically topographic in nature and referencing the various approaches from different routes:

> "Stonehenge, when viewed from a distance, appears but a diminutive object. It seems like a spot on the surface of an immense area, or like the sails of a ship when very remote from land, as seen by a person on the beech [sic]. This is the idea excited when approaching it from Salisbury, a small sketch of which is given in Compartment II. A. The other sketch, B, represents it as seen from the north-east, when rising the hill towards Bulford."

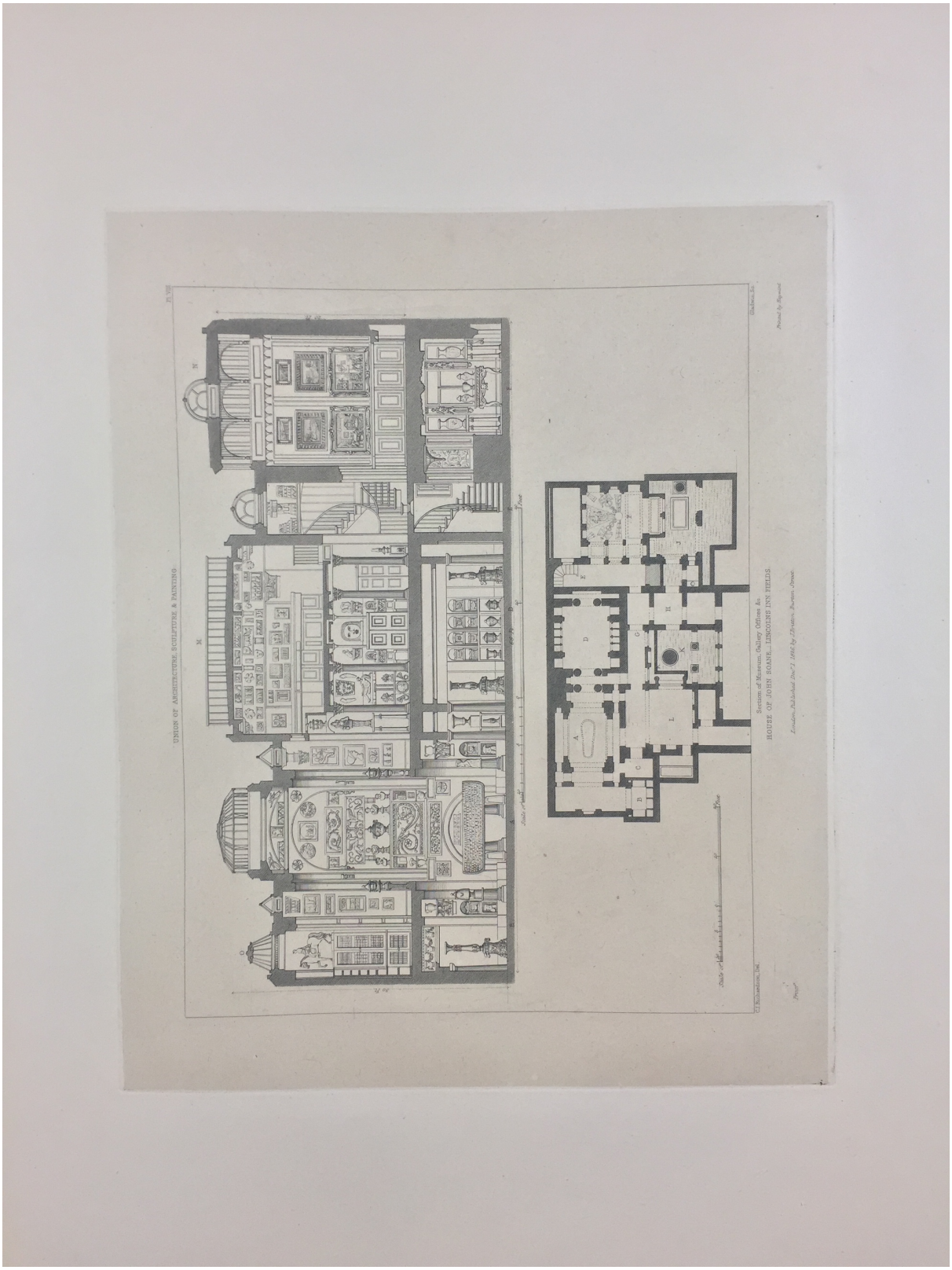
This image is steeped with imagination, not only from the reader in constructing a three-dimensional understanding of the stone formation through the combination of plans and views, but also Britton's imagining of the formation of Stonehenge as it was when first erected. It is a topographic image of ruins, and also simultaneously features the design for an arrangement that is not founded in reality. There are further examples of Britton depicting Stonehenge in complex and varied ways. His eclectic, bespoke Stonehenge cabinet [Chapter 4, figure 3] is a triumph of composite arrangement; its many panels are filled with various perspective views of the prehistoric monument, all topped with a three-dimensional model boxed in a mirrored case to allow for a multiplicity of views at once in addition to the images beneath.

There are a number of illustrations in Britton's *The Union* that surpass the simplicity of a single-convention; plates 7, 8, 12 and 15 [figures 1, 2, 3 & 4] are examples of a single page on which there is a combination of graphic conventions. Further to this, there are a number of pairs of illustrations on consecutive pages that rely on the reader's memory to construct a more holistic understanding of the built form therein represented, like the ground plan and subsequent sections of the Library and Dining Room that were explored in the previous chapter. Arguably, these combinations make more complex demands on the reader, relying on the power of arrangement to conjure a perspectival image and depth, which, it can been argued, is synonymous with the imagination. At odds here is the flatness of the fabric of the architectural book with the volume of the built form. Britton himself writes about the drawing versus the three-dimensional model; whilst a drawing is cheaper to produce, it also requires the ability to conjure the illusion of space from a two-dimensional image. It is in this sense that the combination of drawing conventions directly relates to the built form, dimensions and volume,

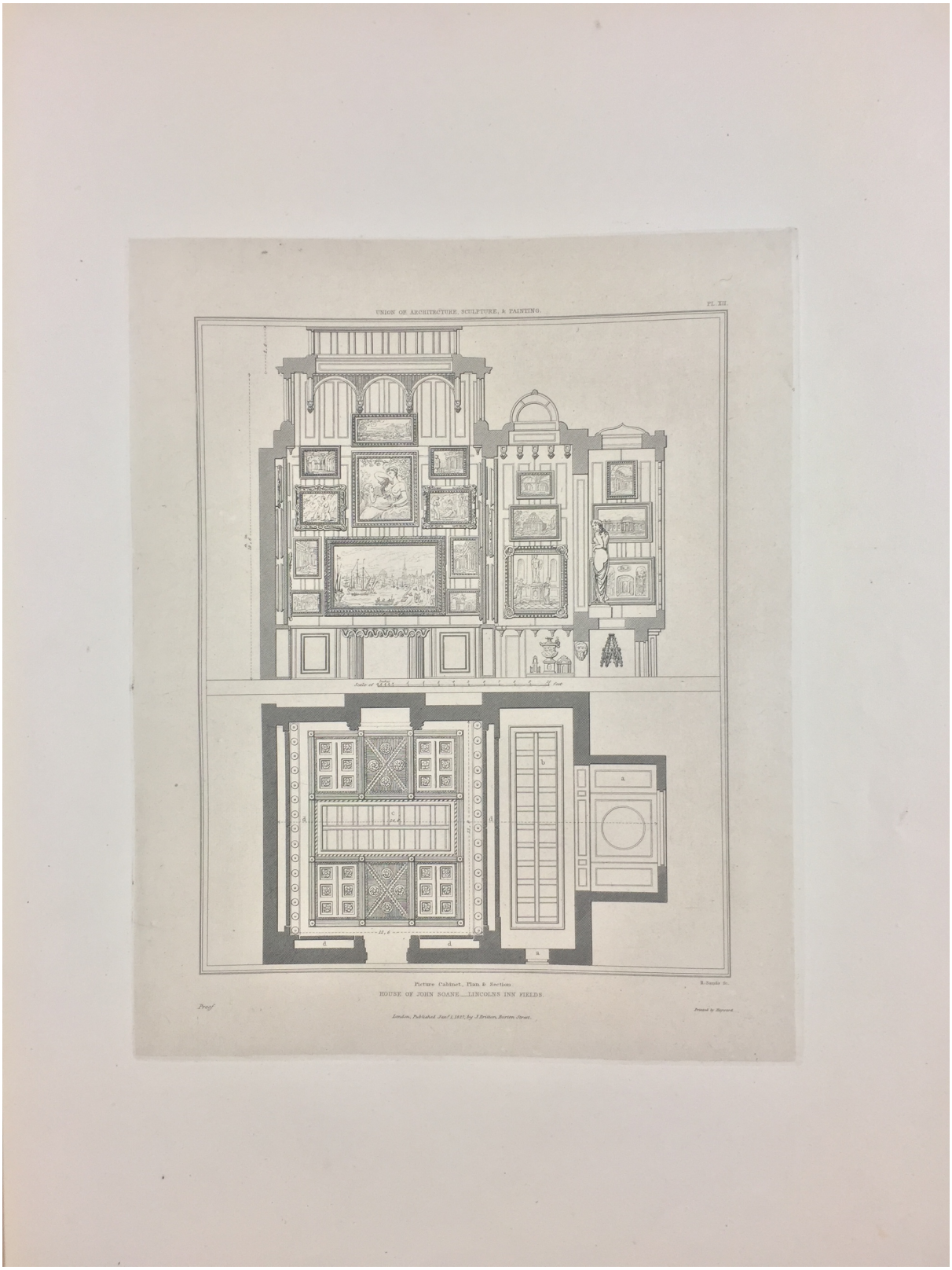
[10] J Britton, *The beauties of Wiltshire, displayed in statistical, historical, and descriptive sketches: interspersed with anecdotes of the arts. Vol.II,* London, printed by J.D. Dewick, for Vernor and Hood; J. Wheble; J. Britton, 1801, p. 134.



Chapter 8 figure 1. Plan & Sections of 4 sides of Sarcophagus Room. J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, 1827. Sir John Soane's Museum.



Chapter 8 figure 2. Section of Museum, Gallery, Offices &c. J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting,* 1827. Sir John Soane's Museum.



Chapter 8 figure 3. Picture Cabinet, Plan & Section. J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, 1827. Sir John Soane's Museum.

Chapter 8 figure 4. Sections and Elevations of the Egyptian Sarcophagus. J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, 1827. Sir John Soane's Museum.

whilst remaining flat within the limitations of the architectural book, the sequence a crucial factor. Because Sir John Soane's Museum is embellished by plaster casts, Britton offers his readership his treatise on these three-dimensional objects versus the two-dimensional illustration (specifically drawings), specifically their role in architectural education; however, his opinion oscillates. Britton writes,

> "It is therefore indispensable that the architect should study profoundly whatever relates to embellishment, and obtain an intimate acquaintance with those beautiful and tasteful forms which are preserved in the various remains of antiquity. Where these remains cannot be referred to, and studied, nothing less than casts, or models, will serve to supply their places. Drawings, however accurate, are inadequate to impart the necessary information. Hence such a collection, as that of Mr. Soane's, is of the first importance and of the greatest interest."[11]

Britton, in reference to Soane's collection as a learning resource, acknowledges the value of a three-dimensional model over a two-dimensional representation. However, if we refer back to Britton's treatise on representation explored previously in chapter 6, we find that his opinion is quite different:

> "Of the superiority of facsimiles, in relief, to any other mode of representation, there can be little doubt; for they show at once, in a tangible form, what cannot otherwise be at all satisfactorily understood without a great number of diagrams; and even though the actual effect is left in a great degree to the imagination. In saying this, we by no means intend to deny the utility of drawings, which, for some purposes, are even preferable to models; for a mere model, however satisfactory in other respects, will not enable us to judge of the appearance of the structure itself when placed in any particular situation: for this purpose perspective, views, exhibiting not only the building but its locality, are indispensable. Besides, a model is seldom so placed as to be seen from the same point of sight as a real building, since those parts of the latter, which are considerably above the horizontal line of the spectator, are on a level with, or even below the eye in small models."[12]

What is of particular interest here is that Britton acknowledges that a "great number of diagrams", although possibly inferior to the three-dimensional model, imparts the reader with a better understanding of what is therein represented. He also asserts that the drawing (or, two-

[11] J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: exemplified by a series of illustrations, with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane*, London, Printed for author, 1827, p. 10.
[12] Ibid., p. 38.

dimensional representation) has the ability to fix the viewpoint of the reader, whereas the model, due to scale, does not replicate the experience of the built form. Crucially, Britton acknowledges that "the actual effect is left in a great degree to the imagination". Whilst the first quote from Britton is directly in terms of the educational value of a drawing, the second is within a portion of the guidebook that treats Soane's collection as a national treasure and valuable collection, therefore the confusion in Britton's opinions is arguably rooted in the muddled identity of the house-museum itself. This confusion can be extrapolated to Britton's use of orthography in general, as an attempt to create a volume to appease the architectural echelons and evince mainstream architectural techniques. The combination of architechtonic conventions that we see in *The Union* is reminiscent of Soane's own publication *Plans, Elevations and Perspective Views of Pitzhanger Manor-House* (1833). Although it has been argued that the purpose of this volume was to shift the public's attention from Soane's professional life to his more personal issues, the combination of such conventions that feature in the book are arguably more associated with Soane's career: [13] "The nascent architectural profession tended to favour orthography for such working drawings; a section or elevation drawn to scale and combined with a plan could convey a far greater volume of information than a perspective drawing (in which measurements became distorted and angles ambiguous.)"[14] Although Soane himself opted to translate his own architecture through the means of orthography, in 1818 Soane's preferred draughtsman J.M. Gandy completed an imaginative composition, a large-scale watercolour that features several views and other representation conventions of several of Soane's works titled *Public and Private Buildings Executed by Sir John Soane between 1780 and 1815* [figure 5].[15] Two years later, Gandy completed a companion piece, *Architectural Visions of early fancy in the gay morning of youth and dreams in the evening of life' and Various designs for Public and Private buildings 1780-1815*. At the time of *The Union*'s publication, the first watercolour was situated in Library and Dining Room above the sideboard. Eventually, the companion piece would be hung above the chimneypiece opposite. Although *Public and Private* brings together several different works on the same picture plane, ("We here find portions of the Bank, the Dulwich Gallery, the House of Lords, Courts at Westminster, National Debt Office, the Board of Trade, and other structures, which have been executed during a long and

[13] B De Divitis, 'Plans, Elevations and Perspective Views of Pitzhanger Manor-House', *The Georgian Group Journal*, Volume 14 (2004), p. 70.
[14] L Jacobus, 'On "Whether a man could see before him and behind him both at once": the role of drawing in the design of interior space in England c.1600-1800', *Architectural History*, Volume 31 (1988), p. 149.
[15] The term comes from Margaret Richardson's article by the same name: M Richardson, 'Imaginative Compositions', *John Soane, architect: master of space and light* (eds. M Richardson and M Stevens), Royal Academy Publications, 1999.

Chapter 8 figure 5. J M Gandy, *Public and Private Buildings Executed by Sir John Soane between 1780 and 1815*, 1818. Courtesy of Sir John Soane's Museum.

successful professional career."[16]), it is nevertheless a composite drawing; the bottom right corner being of particular interest, with a draughtsman (either Soane or Gandy) sat at a table faced with a selection of ground plans for the corresponding models of works behind this scene.[17] In *The Union*, when describing *Public and Private Buildings*, Britton asserts that "[t]he idea of thus bringing together, in an abridged form, the principal features of the various works of a single architect, is both ingenious and interesting."[20] It is therefore unsurprising that Britton features the same technique within his volume, having found inspiration from J.M. Gandy, John Soane's Magician.[21] Gandy's methods of architectural drawing, it has been said, are best suited to Soane's architecture, and this is why Soane employed him to capture so much of his work.[22] Another example of such a drawing is Gandy's *Views of the Library, Breakfast Parlour, Study &c. at 13 Lincoln's Inn Fields* [figure 6]. Executed in 1822 for the Royal Academy exhibition, it is comprised of a plan of the ground floor and views of the Monument Court

[16] J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: exemplified by a series of illustrations, with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane*, London, Printed for author, 1827, p. 34.
[17] M Richardson, 'Imaginative Compositions', *John Soane, architect: master of space and light* (eds. M Richardson and M Stevens), Royal Academy Publications, 1999, p. 276.
[20] J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: exemplified by a series of illustrations, with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane*, London, Printed for author, 1827, p. 34.
[21] This is a title bestowed upon Gandy by Brian Lukacher.
[22] B Lukacher, 'John Soane and his Draughtsman Joseph Michael Gandy', *Daidalos: Architektur Kunst Kultur*, Volume 25 (September 1987), pp. 51-64.

Chapter 8 figure 6. J M Gandy, *Views of the Library, Breakfast Parlour, Study &c. at 13 Lincoln's Inn Fields*, 1822. Courtesy of Sir John Soane's Museum.

looking north, the façade, the Library and Dining Room looking north and south, the Study looking north and the Breakfast Parlour looking south. This depiction of Sir John Soane's Museum features a ground plan flanked by perspective views of apartments of interest, as well as exterior views, one of the façade from Lincoln's Inn Fields, and the other of the Monument Court.

Projection as imagination

"The observer's imagination, itself comparable to projection, complicates the simple two –way traffic between things and their pictures, causing unpredictable diversions and re-routings."[23]

Having already referred to the documentation drawing as a 'letter to the spectator', rather than Lutyen's architectural drawing as the letter to the builder, the statement that projection is synonymous with the imagination must be qualified. Although, like much of this thesis, the references I draw on will be in direct reference to the architectural drawing, the ideas can also be applied to the two-dimensional illustrations within Britton's guidebook. What has come to

[23] R Evans, 'Architectural Projection', *Architecture and Its Image; Four Centuries of Architectural Representation* (eds. E Blau and E Kaufman), London, The MIT Press, 1989, p. 20.

the fore in the preceding is that it is not only the images of architecture in their own right that intrinsically carry meaning, but more often a series of relationships, whether that be several images on a single plane or a series of images in a specific order, and meaning derived from that relationship; the conventions the architect chooses to employ in an image and its relationship to the way the reader interprets said image are intertwined. Although the discussion herein will eventually transcend the limits of reality, it can be argued that, in terms of geometry as the architect's paintbrush, the role of the imagination with combined convention images is similar to projection, a concept first penned by Robin Evans in his essay for the CCA's exhibition *Architecture and its Image* titled 'Architectural Projection'. Of the imagination for the architect, in terms of drawing and the conception of the built form, he writes,

> "The imagination looms large here, but it is imagination construed, I have to admit, in an odd way: an imagination not solely located in the mind of the architect. Reference has already been made to the active imagination of the observer of the drawing; there is also an active imagination *in* the drawing itself. This has nothing to do with the mental faculty of imagining. Obviously, drawings do not think. But, because a technique that orthographic projection was itself the product of intense imagination, this massive effort of imaginative intelligence lies dormant in it, animated to lesser or greater effect and to various ends every time the technique is used."[24]

Evans's distinction between the active imagination of the observer and the dormant imaginative intelligence is the foundation of this chapter, the latter explored in terms of memory, whereas the former will be explored as the translation from the building to the drawing, or a so-called "letter to the spectator". To build upon Evans's theory of projection as imagination, in terms of Britton's topography and the guidebook acting as a souvenir - a mnemonic device that encapsulates the experience of the visitor rather than the built form itself - the capability of the spectator to recall their experience becomes another factor. When memory is introduced to the architectural illustration by the nature of the subject (an existing building), the ability of the design to be executed referred to by Philo-Architectus transforms into the ability of the effects of the building to be recollected. It is in this way that design drawings and construction are related to topographic illustrations and the imagination; this relationship between the experience and the execution of designs, or constructability, is acknowledged by Bachelard: "We become aware of this dual vertical polarity of a house if we are sufficiently aware of the function of inhabiting to consider it as an imaginary response to the

[24] R Evans, 'Architectural Projection', *Architecture and Its Image; Four Centuries of Architectural Representation* (eds. E Blau and E Kaufman), London, The MIT Press, 1989, p. 21.

function of constructing."[25] The translation from drawing to building is reversed to the translation of building to illustration, and thus simultaneously the merit of an architectural illustration is found is not in the ease of construction, but rather synthesis and re-construction.

Arrangement and the laid-out convention

"Architecture is an art that does not disclose her charms at once, or even at all to the ordinary observer: she will not be won unwooed; and much study is necessary before we can fairly appreciate her beauties."[26]

Introducing the element of arrangement to a composite illustration eases the process of synthesis and reconstruction outlined above. A specific type of composite convention known as the laid-out interior is comprised of a ground plan with developed surfaces arranged radially around it, the perimeter of the floor adhered to the horizontal base of its corresponding wall surface. There exists variations of this convention, but what distinguishes it from other combinations is the introduction of a strict arrangement pattern. Images like Gandy's imaginary compositions are not adhered to a particular system of arrangement, and although the various images are associated to each other, their spatial composition is not fixed. The reasons for appropriating this method of representation in the early nineteenth century are varied, and have been explored by both Robin Evans ('The Developed Surface: An Enquiry into the Brief Life of an Eighteenth-Century Drawing Technique' 1989) and Laura Jacobus ('On "Whether a Man Could See before Him and behind Him Both at Once": The Role of Drawing in the Design of Interior Space in England c. 1600-1800' 1988), both of which include reference to different examples of representation of Soane's architecture. *The Union* is inclusive of a few examples of laid-out interior illustrations, however, each example does not strictly adhere to the parameters of the convention; they have been modified to exemplify certain aspects of Sir John Soane's Museum that transcend the built form.

This portion of the thesis will borrow terminology from Laura Jacobus's 'On "Whether a man could see before him and behind him both at once"', which succinctly labels different types of elevation drawings, mainly for the purpose of interior design, from 1600-1800. Jacobus asserts early on that drawings deemed a 'laid-out wall elevation' frequently contain no elevation at all, and in light of this she coins other phrases to define drawings sharing similar characteristics, but the all-encompassing phrase herein employed is 'laid-out interior', and therefore this terminology will also be used to describe the modified versions within *The Union*.

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[25] G Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, Boston, Beacon Press, 1994, p. 18.
[26] J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: exemplified by a series of illustrations, with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane*, London, Printed for author, 1827, p. 7.

In her article Laura Jacobus highlights the distinction between architecture and interior design, or professional and craft functions. She stipulates this divide came to fruition during the course of the seventeenth century, and is evinced within the shift between different prototypes in drawing; as the designer became more removed from the building process, the drawing became the main mode of communicating his intentions. Thus, the prevalence of a section or elevation, drawn to scale, combined with a plan became much more widely used. What is important to note is that the main function of a collection of developed surface drawings is to act as a building block in conveying the entire building as an object from all angles, not a singular viewpoint, as a means to an end of the building process, simultaneously providing cohesion in interior decoration. How does this translate to a guidebook illustration that follows the construction of the building, considering the assertion that it is perspectival drawing that is to be "used only to record existing buildings," and differentially, "orthography to design new ones", and further, how does this method compare to other nineteenth-century methods of *total*, objective representation? [27],

If we refer back to Isaac Ware's treatise on ornamentation, there are similarities in Ware's proposed usage of the laid-out interior drawing and Britton's own writings on the "geometrical representation of the sides of an apartment".[28] Ware postulates that the architect must "upon paper [design] the whole together..."[29] For Ware, decorative unity within the design process is the prime consideration, and more crucially the experience of the interior space is not. In reference to plate II of *The Union* [Chapter 7 figure 1], the sections and elevations of the Library and Dining Room, Britton writes,

> "The mode here adopted of giving geometrical representations of the sides of an apartment, with all its fittings-up and ornaments, will, it is hoped, be far more useful and satisfactory than that which has hitherto been generally employed, - of strictly architectural sections, showing only one side of a room, and that, too, quite unfurnished. Although this mode seems to exemplify the construction of a building, it conveys very little idea of the appearance of an apartment when furnished; and has certainly not contributed to render architectural works so generally interesting and inviting, as they might be made by a more popular and intelligible style of representation. Hence it has happened that, with the exception of professional men, and a few amateurs, hardly any one is attracted by publications of this description; while the exceedingly scanty letterpress with

[27] L Jacobus, 'On "Whether a man could see before him and behind him both at once": the role of drawing in the design of interior space in England c.1600-1800', *Architectural History*, Volume 31 (1988), p. 148.
[28] J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: exemplified by a series of illustrations, with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane*, London, Printed for author, 1827, p. 32.
[29] Ware, quoted from L Jacobus, 'On "Whether a man could see before him and behind him both at once": the role of drawing in the design of interior space in England c.1600-1800', *Architectural History*, Volume 31 (1988), p. 154.

> which they are usually accompanied, has by no means tended to heighten their claims to general notice."[30]

Britton himself recognizes that flattening conventions such as sections with interior elevations are more closely associated with "the construction of a building", however, his modified version of an elevation that incorporates "fittings ups and ornaments" — components which, according to Britton, evinces more of the "idea" of the apartment. Evidently, ornamentation is the key factor that Britton wishes to depict in his developed surface drawings, but not for the purpose of design, but instead documentation.

Both Jacobus and Evans explore this graphic convention in terms of works on paper that precede the final product (design drawings); Jacobus describes the laid-out interior drawing as "a standard form of interior drawing for much of the century and beyond."[31] The convention evolved out of the "gradual separation of professional and craft functions, so the designer tended to become removed from the scene of building activity and drawings became the primary means of communicating his intentions."[32] It is clear that these laid-out conventions were common when it came to the design process, as outlined by Ware in his *Complete Body of Architecture*, a publication housed at the Sir John Soane's Museum. He writes:

> "The architect may very frequently design an elegant side of a room, which may yet be improper for the place, or disagreeable to the rest of the ornaments. The remedy for this is to reduce no part into practice, till he has upon paper designed the whole together. A room of the usual construction has four sides and two ends; and it will disgust the eye if one side have ornaments, though ever so handsome, which do not correspond with those of the other."[33]

To build on this Jacobus theorises that drawings concerned with the arrangement of uprights, like this one, appear not in the work of professional architects, but in the work of those on the fringes of the profession; as in, a designer who is concerned with a sense of cohesion in a room, rather than the execution of the built form. Evans similarly does not refer to this drawing type as a tool used to capture a pre-existing building, but more an interior design tool. He refers to the generalised 'developed surface', rather than Jacobus's more commonly used, but equally tedious title. The developed surface refers to the unfolding of a three-dimensional object so

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[30] J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: exemplified by a series of illustrations, with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane*, London, Printed for author, 1827, pp. 32-33.

[31] L Jacobus, 'On "Whether a man could see before him and behind him both at once": the role of drawing in the design of interior space in England c.1600-1800', *Architectural History*, Volume 31 (1988), p. 148.

[32] Ibid., p. 149.

[33] Ibid., pp. 154-155.

that its sides, or faces, can be visualised on a sheet of two-dimensional paper. He offers a brief history of the drawing type, explaining that it came to be used frequently in the latter half of the eighteenth century by architects with domestic commissions. It was, however, the Adams brothers who transformed it into "a basic mode of apprehension."[34] He goes on to explain that it was common for the Adam brothers to design additional rooms on existing buildings, and in light of this, the developed surface drawing was apt - but why did they produce the same drawing type for entirely new buildings? The answer, writes Evans, is in the floorplan of the whole, and the prescribed route. Evans compares an Adam floorplan to that of James Gibbs, concluding that the fundamentally hierarchical arrangement of the Gibbs plan is missing in the Adam, and as a result, the transition from room to room is less remarkable: "only the major points of entry can be marked out as intrinsically unlike the others... You are always, as in certain recent cosmologies, looking at the back of your own head, so to speak."[35] The importance here is that because the rooms are nondescript on the Adam floorplan, they need to emit uniqueness in another drawing, hence the laid-out interior drawing becomes useful. This way of thinking does not apply to the Sir John Soane's Museum and the rooms therein, as the ground floorplan [Chapter 6, figure 1] reveals that each room features a distinguished shape and size, and therefore it is not solely the interior décor that distinguishes each room from the other. The way in which the floorplan in *The Union* does not fit this theory is demonstrative of the uniqueness of the space. Nevertheless, Evans stipulates that "[w]ith the four walls arranged on a single sheet... the developed surface and its derivatives offered an opportunity to saturate interior surfaces with ornament", which is ultimately very much applicable to Sir John Soane's Museum considering its use of wall space.[36] However, if one were to hypothetically attempt a developed surface drawing of, for example, the Picture Room, with all of its leaves of extra wall space for Soane's painting collection, how would this come to pass? How many walls does this interior boast, and subsequently, how would these be developed?

By introducing wall surfaces in tandem with ground plans, representations become more complex due to the advent of three-dimensionality. The ground plan on its own does not make these sorts of demands on its spectator. As Bachelard writes,

> "The plan of a house drawn on a reduced scale implies none of the problems that are inherent to a philosophy of the imagination. There is even no need to

[34] R Evans, 'The Developed Surface', *Translations from Drawing to Building,* London, Architectural Association Publications, 1997, p. 204.
[35] Ibid., p. 206.
[36] Ibid., p. 209.

> consider it from the general standpoint of representation, although it would be important, from this standpoint, to study the phenomenology of similarity."[37]

With the establishment of the suggestion/illusion of space on the surface of the pages of *The Union*, complications relating to the visitor experience and spatial understanding arise — is this a decisive way to represent the museum objectively? The viewer might take the laid-out interior for granted as it is tailor-made for easy consumption, therefore an in-depth analysis of Britton's combinations of representation is crucial in forming an understanding of the museum guide in its entirety, and how it relates to the built form.[38]

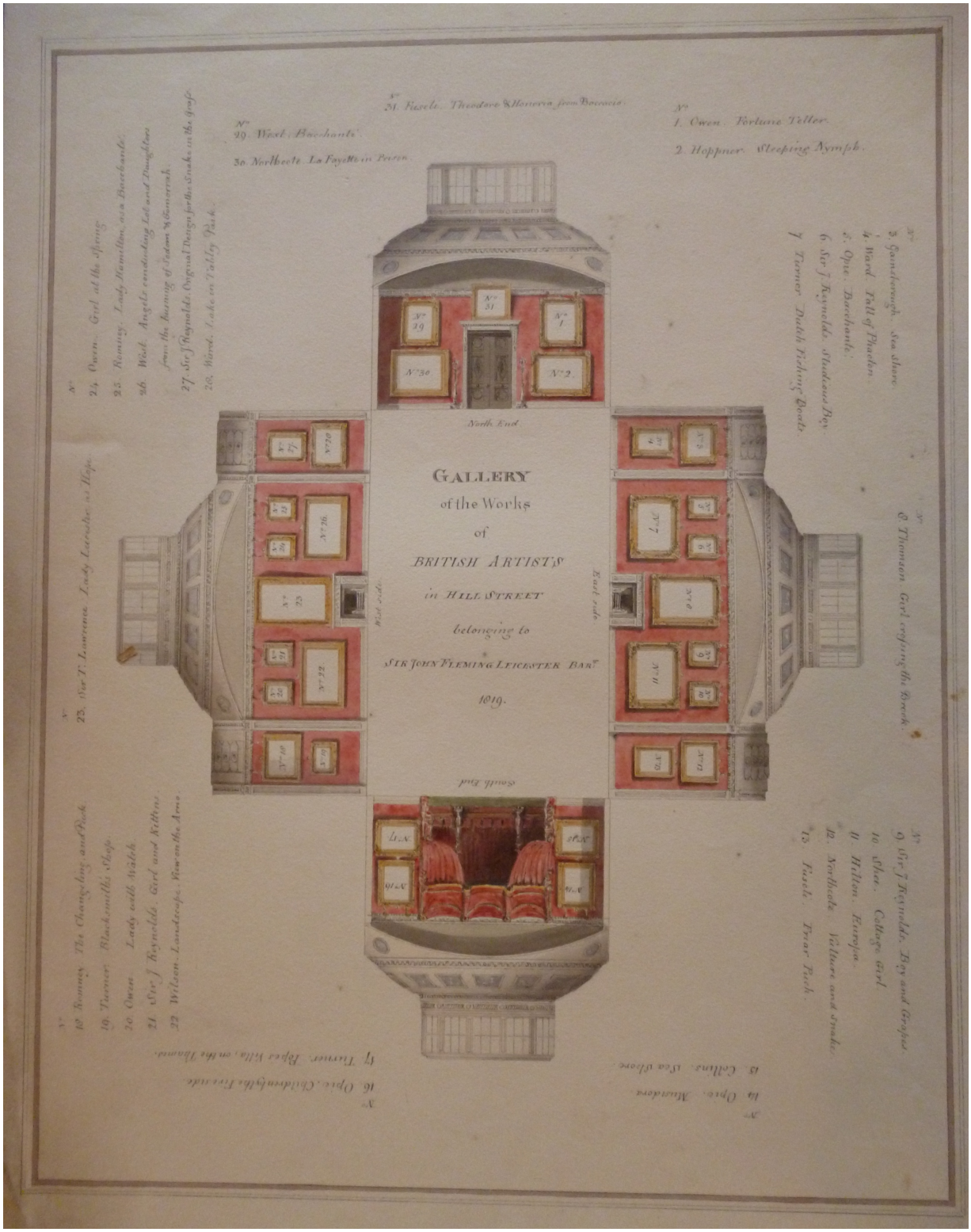
The laid-out interior and the object

In an attempt to define the most compelling characteristics of Sir John Soane's Museum in chapter two of this thesis, the collection itself came to the fore. This also can be said of the collections of Sir John Fleming of Leicester and Mr. Fawkes described in chapter 5, and subsequently the images in their respective guidebooks reflected this. The same can be said of the composite plates in *The Union*.

The first laid-out interior within the volume, plate 7. *A Plan of the Sarcophagus-room, with elevations of its four sides* [figure 1] reflects the focus on the object so much so that the sections (with interior elevations) of the "Sarcophagus-room" are arranged radially around an image of the sarcophagus itself, rather than the floor plan of the basement level. The walls of the so-called "sarcophagus-room" are delineated as poché, however, the floor is stamped with the image that has been inscribed into the bottom of the interior of the object. Whilst this sort of detailing that deviates from the built form included in a ground plan has previously been examined in reference to plate 1. the ground plan [Chapter 6, figure 1], these reflect the ornamental features of the ceiling by means of a reflected ceiling plan. In this particular example, there is no reflection here, but rather a horizontal section of the sarcophagus itself, the bottom image revealed through the sectioning.

Although it is not an example from a guidebook, an uncatalogued drawing from the basement of Sir John Fleming Leicester's Tabley House adheres to the same convention; [figure 7] is likely to be a presentation drawing for the patron from the architect. It was executed in 1819, the same year as William Carey's guidebook, however, it was not included in the publication. Further, this laid-out interior drawing has replaced the ground plan with what

[37] G Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, Boston, Beacon Press, 1994, pp. 148-149.
[38] On the Sir John Soane Museum website, a section entitled 'Understanding Architectural Drawings' reads: "This sort of model is easy for a client to understand and cheaper than a model" in reference to a laid-out interior drawing of Lady Williams Wynne's Room, St. James's Square, from the Robert Adam office in 1772.



Chapter 8 figure 7. Attributed to William Carey, Plan of the Main Gallery in Hill Street belonging to Sir John Fleming Leicester, 1819. Tabley House Collection.

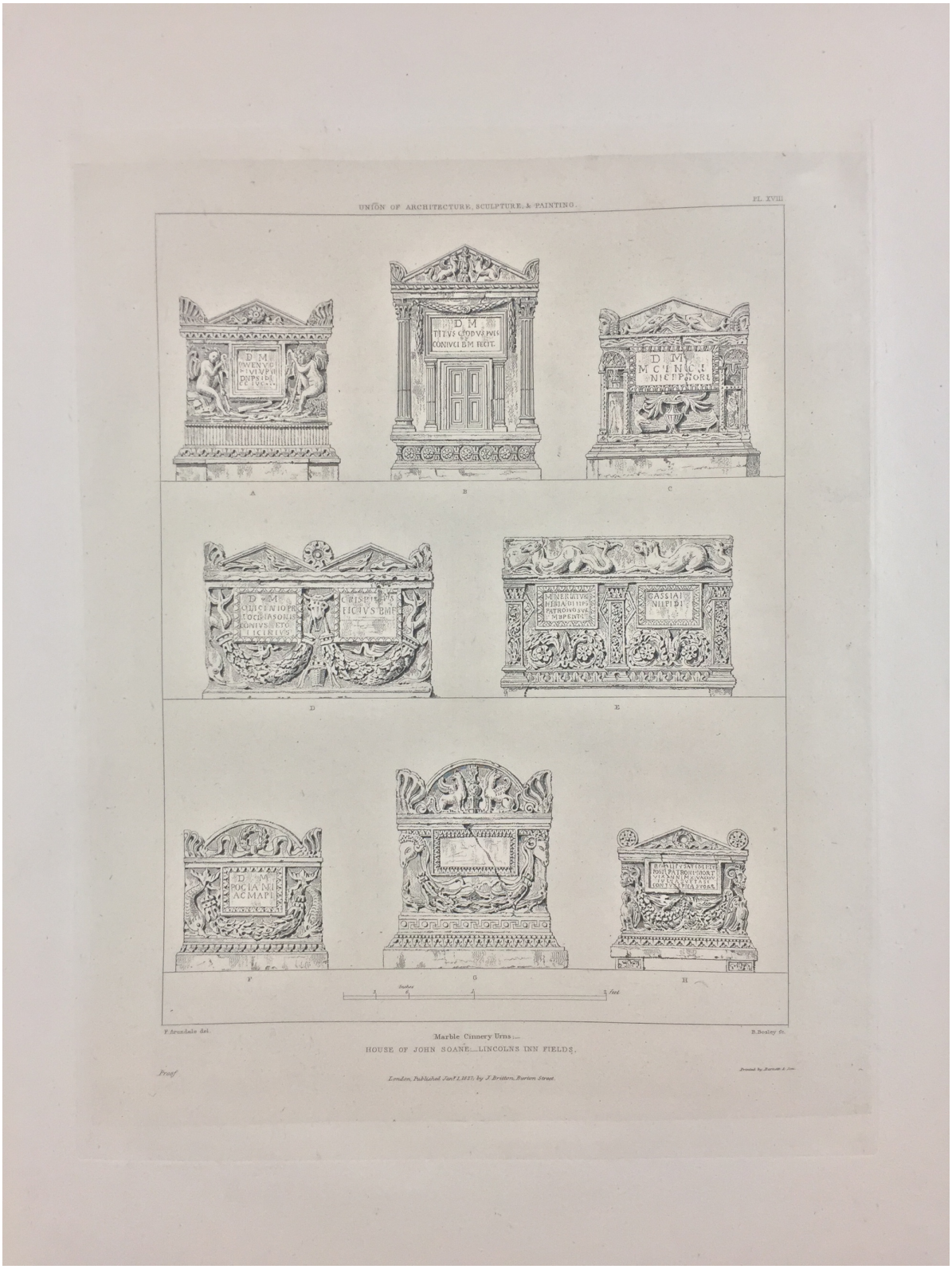
seems like a title page, *Gallery of the Works of British Artists in Hill Street belonging to Sir John Fleming Leicester, Bart. 1819*. Differentially, Carey's volume was titled *A Descriptive Catalogue Of A Collection Of Painting s By British Artists, In The Possession Of Sir John Fleming Leicester, Bart;* interestingly, though executed in the same year, the titles are at odds with each other. Regardless of the intended use of this drawing, what we can extrapolate is that, due to the quality of its presentation, it was likely a finished architect's drawing. What is of great interest is the adaptation of the laid-out interior drawing as a legend with which to guide oneself through Fleming's collection. It must be assumed that the room itself is rectilinear, and the interior secondary to the collection itself. It is as if a laid-out interior was delineated, and subsequently the ground plan erased to make way for a title plate.

In *The Union* the developed surface illustration has been used to represent the Sarcophagus Room but also the sarcophagus itself. This image allows the viewer to simultaneously see all four walls of the room, and also five angles of the sarcophagus, including a top down view. This cannot be a direct representation of any point within the visitor's experience. Instead, could this be an impression of the room as a whole, and how the visitor interprets it; from entering after the spatial shock of the Monk's Parlour, to the encircling of the sarcophagus, and finally, peering in over the lip of the Egyptian antiquity to catch a glimpse of the hieroglyphs therein.

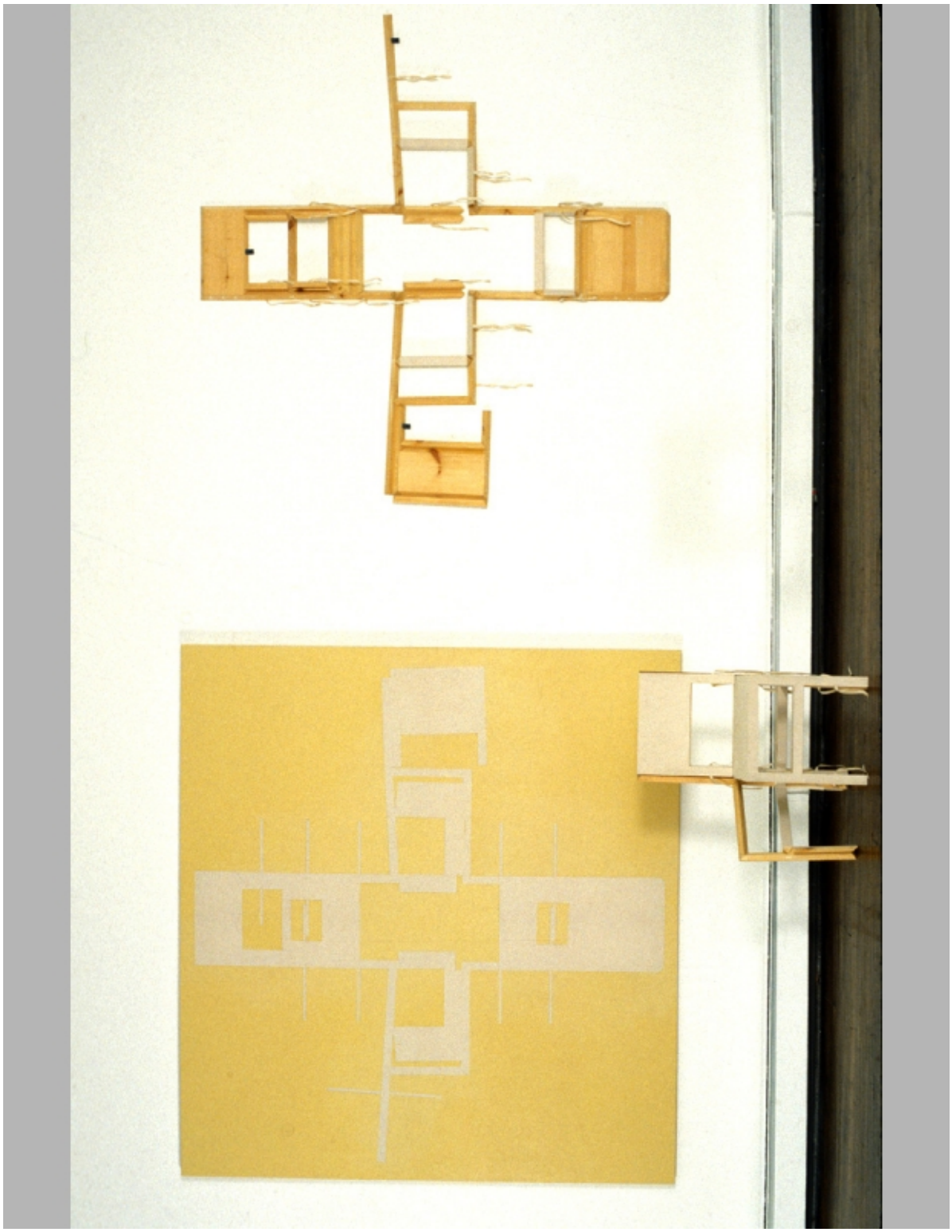
On the topic of objects, there are a few illustrations within the guidebook that are dedicated to the representation of specific objects within Soane's collection, rather than a specific room, plates 16 and 17 [figures 8 & 9]. This is also unique among Britton's published works, apart from *Specimens of Gothic Architecture*, a work compiled with Pugin and published in 1823. It features an extensive list of plates split into such object-focused categories as 'doorways' and 'windows'. These elements of gothic architecture have thusly been stripped of their environment, presented on a blank page in a similar manner to plates 16 and 17 of *The Union*. Although unique in Britton's oeuvre, this is typical of eighteenth and nineteenth century architectural treatise and pattern books such as Chippendale's *The Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Directoer (1754)*.

With the issue of arrangement in mind, the two object-focused laid-out illustrations that concern this study are anchored by the sarcophagus. In reference to 'Elevations &c. of an Egyptian Sarcophagus' [figure 4], although the elevations are not arranged radially around the 'plan' (bird's eye view of the interior), they are composed in such a way that the viewer can easily reconstruct the object; such labels as "foot, outside (G)" and "head, inside (H)" use anatomical references to assist in the orientation of each section as part of the whole. This image is immediately reminiscent of a more recent work, *Chairs* (1998) [figure 10] by Allan

Chapter 8 figure 8. Antique Marble Urns. J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting,* 1827. Sir John Soane's Museum.



Chapter 8 figure 9. Marble Cinerary Urns. J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting,* 1827. Sir John Soane's Museum.



Chapter 8 figure 10. Allan Wexler, *Chairs*, 1998.

Wexler — an artist who has worked in architecture, design, as well as fine arts. *Chairs* deconstruct the chair as a physical, three-dimensional object and translates it, in various ways, to a flat surface. Wexler explains that the work is about the ambiguity between drawing or painting as a flat medium, and how they could become three-dimensional volumes that can function as a structural chair. It is suggestive of the difference between representation and reality. His description reads, "[t]he generic chair form is investigated as simultaneously abstract shape and concrete form, as art and as function. By shifting our perceptions the non-objective is made object then translated back into abstract."[39] Whilst Britton's sections are not arranged radially, like Wexler's *Chairs*, it is interesting to see an object being represented in this manner, rather than a room. Arguably, because of this difference in arrangement, Britton's Sarcophagus drawing is more about Victorian empiricism, and the total representation of an object, rather than using one's imagination to rebuild the object as it exists in reality; without the specific arrangement, it lacks that perspective hinge that facilitates the imagination, or the mental construction of the sarcophagus as a three-dimensional object.[40] Wexler acknowledges the power of arrangement in another work in the *Chair* series, a work titled *12 Chairs* [figure 11] that depicts "shows 12 of many more possible ways you can flatten the same chair."[41] Ultimately, there are a number of way of reading a laid-out object much like a laid-out interior, but the imagination, arguably, is at the heart of this synthesis — both that of the spectator as well as its creator.

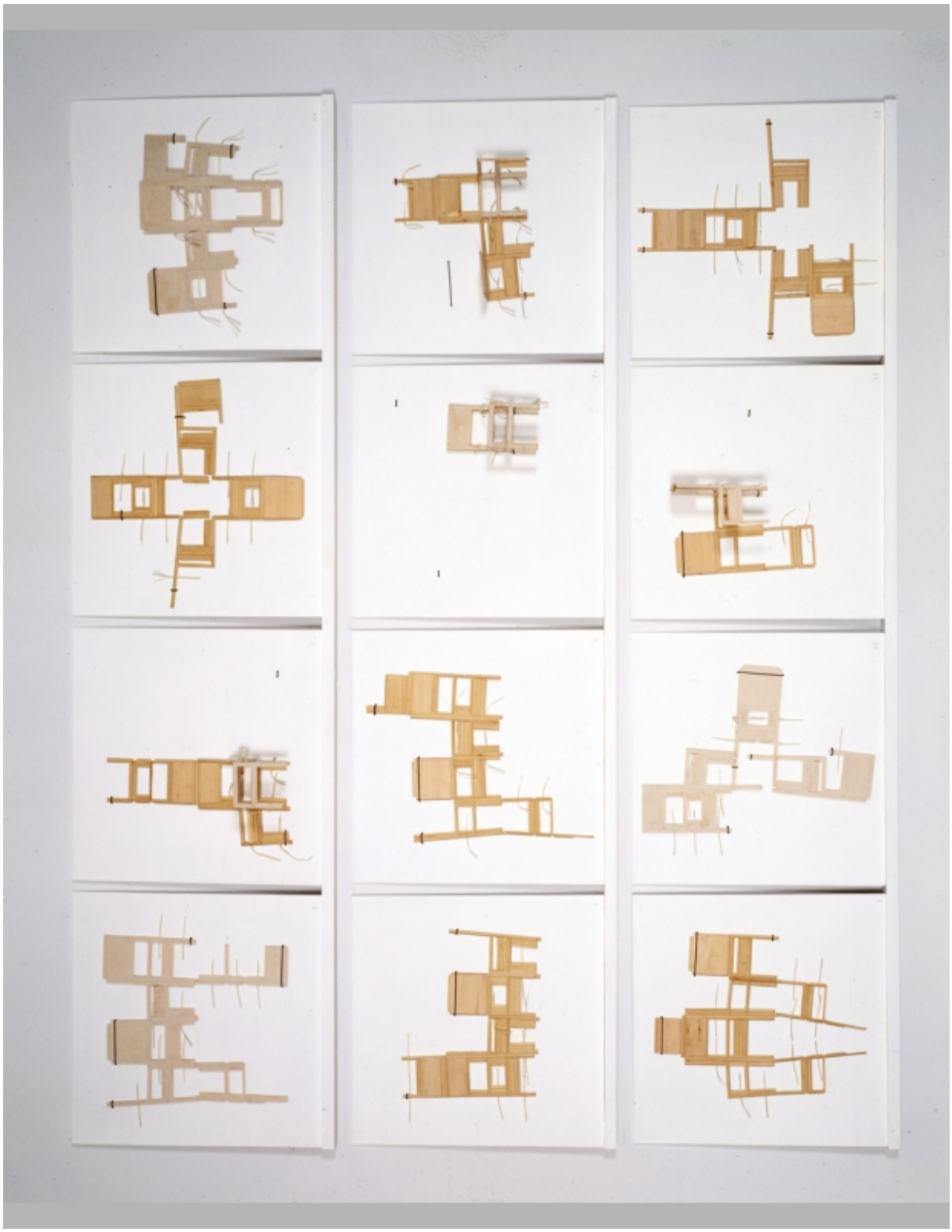
Soane's spaces and the spatiotemporal

When the laid-out interior is essentially "unlaid", it becomes a three-dimensional mental model of what it represents, aided by the imagination of the viewer and the specific arrangement of the sections and elevations. However, as explained by Evans, the translation from drawing (image) to building is complex, and something we still struggle with today, and there is a duality in meaning when it comes to this convention; that it is about surface and space simultaneously. Apart from context, there is further proof that some images from *The Union* are

[39] Wexler's descriptions of his work *Chairs* taken both from his website [Retrieved from http://www.allanwexlerstudio.com/projects/chairs] as well as emails between the author and Wexler, 10 June 2016.

[40] By Victorian empiricism, I refer to "…a level- headed commitment to solid facts, a practical apprehension of reality as it actually is, unmediated by the vicissitudes of language, interpretation or theory; a process of pure or literal transcription." P Garratt, *The Aesthetic of Empiricism: Self, Knowledge and Reality in Mid-Victorian Prose* (unpublished doctoral thesis), University of Edinburgh, 2006, p. 15. For more on Victorian empiricism, refer to P Garratt, *Victorian Empiricism: Self, Knowledge, and Reality in Ruskin, Bain, Lewes, Spencer, and George Eliot*, Madison, Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2005. This source acknowledges the 'slippery' nature of the term, offering a survey of its scholarship and debunking the idea that "empirical" is synonymous with "scientific".

[41] Email between the author and Wexler, 10 June 2016.

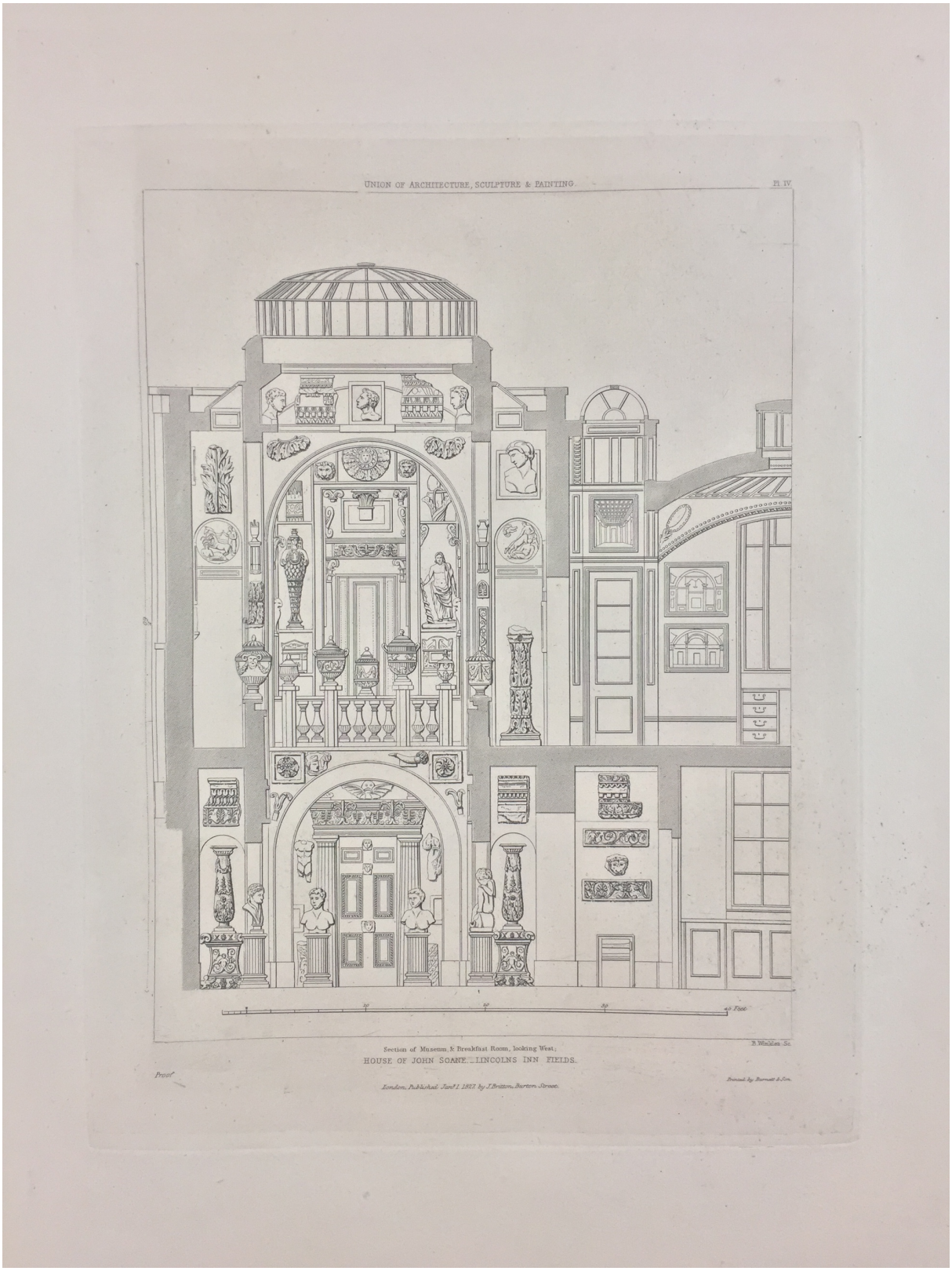


Chapter 8 figure 11. Allan Wexler, *12 Chairs*, 1998.

experiential and depict "fourth-dimensional" (the unification of both space *and time)* elements, and this is the inclusion of choice objects from the museum, generally not to scale, peppered over laid-out wall elevations, as well as sections and perspectives. For example, the section of the Museum and Breakfast Parlour, looking west [figure 12]: Unbeknownst to the reader not currently in the process of exploring the museum, the objects seemingly adhered to the walls of the museum are not as they appear in this image. Notably absent are the Apollo Belvedere as well as Soane's bust. As Evans puts it, "...techniques of representation, far from being of permanent value, are subject to alterations of sense. Architectural drawing affects what might be called the architect's field of visibility. It makes it possible to see some things more clearly by suppressing other things: something gained, something lost... It never gives, nor can give, a total picture of a project, so in consequence it tends to provide a range of subject-matter that is made visible in the drawing, as opposed to all the other possible subject matter that is left out of the drawing or is not so apparent from it."[42] By replacing the term "architect's field of visibility" with that of the visitor, and their alterations of sense, it can be argued that it is logical for the selection of objects included in this representation to not be entirely accurate. It is therefore my argument, in terms of this specific illustration, that what Britton has offered the reader is more a souvenir of their visit, rather than a guide. A souvenir is by definition a memento or keepsake, from the French verb meaning 'to remember'.

The conclusion to be drawn from this is that yes, one would not expect the spine on a copy of *The Union* to be damaged as if it had been handled a great deal in the Library and Dining Room, like the guides from Bailey and Soane that followed. It is my belief that what Britton offers the visitor is a complete two-dimensional rendering of a four-dimensional experience. This "fragmented" depiction is apt for an arguably "fragmented" interior, as argued by Middleton and explored in chapter 2 of this thesis: "Our eyes never traverse the image in a full apprehension of the three-dimensionality of the entire field, but in terms of a localised experience of separate areas."[43] We therefore have the fragmentation in plaster casts, the fragmented spaces and further, the fragmented representation of space in these illustrations. However, the image of the Sarcophagus Room [figure 1] allows the reader to see what could not be seen at once in reality; the room, like a cube, has been unfolded or deconstructed, for the consumption of the public, almost like a modern-day virtual tour, but

[42] R Evans, 'The Developed Surface', *Translations from Drawing to Building,* London, Architectural Association Publications, 1997, p. 199.
[43] R Middleton, 'Soane's Spaces and the Matter of Fragmentation', *John Soane, architect : master of space and light* (eds. M Richardson and M Stevens), London, Royal Academy of Arts, 1999, p.26.



Chapter 8 figure 12. Section of Museum and Breakfast Parlour Looking West. J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*, 1827. Sir John Soane's Museum.

even the virtual tour requires pivoting in order to take in the room in its entirety. In *The Projective Cast*, Evans discusses the idea of simultaneity in reference to cubism, which is applicable to this nineteenth-century graphic convention, in order to draw conclusions about its meaning, especially in reference to the spectator, their experience, and how the guidebook manages to capture this. This matter of fragmentation within architectural imaging is, again, explored by Robin Evans in a lecture he gave at the Southern California Institute of Architecture, during which he provided attendees with a comprehensive breakdown of architectural drawing, specifically in terms of geometry, perception, and dimensionality. He explained that when one sees an object, or say, an interior, perception is synthetic; one does not simply see the object, but one also remembers various aspects and characteristics of the object, things one already knew, and one projects these back on the object. Evans uses cubism to explain this phenomenon. The fragments that construct the face in a cubist portrait are extracts of views from different angles; a side and frontal projection are being combined on a single plane, or as Evans puts it, "a frontal view made of memories of side views". If the fragment of a cubist portrait is perceived by the viewer as a memory, the laid-out wall is perceived in the same manner, thus conjuring a seemingly holistic understanding of the built form, but in reality what is presented is rooted in the experience and synthesis of the spectator. It is, in essence, a handy tool for presenting a sense of unity across all surfaces within a single room, but specifically in the case of Sir John Soane's Museum, the artifacts displayed on said surfaces: "Soane gave all of himself to the house and to its fragments," asserts Psarra, "...but it is by assembling them that he could achieve completeness."[48] The oneiric characteristics of Soane's spaces are thusly represented in more sophisticated ways with a laid-out interior; not only through the memory of the spectator, but also, for example, those complex visual mechanisms such as mirrors and their ability to extend the viewer's field of vision are herein mimicked.

This reliance on imagination is not contained by the visual representation alone. In terms of the description of architecture using words *and* images, another aspect of Britton's guidebook, Pierre-Alain Croset, trained architect and architectural writer, asserts that:

> "In architecture, this fall of the value of experience clearly manifests itself in the present tendency of architects to underrate the problems tied to the spatial experience of the building while paying excessive attention to the *external* visual character of the object, of which I spoke above. To refer to an "art of narration" appears today to be one of the few workable ways to criticize and oppose this deemphasizing of experience. This does not necessarily mean introducing literal *narratives* into architectural magazines. What rather appears necessary is a

[48] S Psarra, *Architecture And Narrative: The Formation of Space and Cultural Meaning in Buildings*, Oxford, Routledge, 2009, p. 153.

> selection and organisation of the visual material that allows the reader to, at least, *imagine* the experience. One might, in a sense, conceive of a sort of "visual tale" capable of ordering a succession of images that refers to *one* possible actual experience. This might also necessitate the support of a descriptive verbal text, which could define a chronological order for reading the images that reflects the temporal sequence of perception in moving through the building[49]

Note Croset's emphasis on the order of things; not only the presentation of the images, but the accompanying text that would ideally support this sequence that corresponds to the individual experience. If we consider this individualistic way of reading an architectural image in terms of the wider scope of art history, it is evident that the complexities involved pose difficulties for the prospective writer, particularly in terms of the useful, perhaps even domestic qualities of architecture:

> "The work of architecture as *projection* is *space-matter*; it demands a synthesis of the material and spatial imaginations obviously beyond any traditional typology of artistic products. Philosophers of art have generally avoided speaking about architecture because of its added complexities, its questions of utility and program. Yet it is our contention that architecture must be understood as the paradigmatic cultural product of *representation* after the demise of Renaissance illusionism. It is the fragmentary artifact par excellence that may allow us to identify our opaque nature under the linguistic "house of being" while embracing use-values in our secular society. Architecture is the technological artifact that may reveal the horizon of beings that we recognize (in our wholeness), while we acknowledge that this horizon is never fully present."[50]

Descriptive geometry and stereometry

If we suspend the fragmentary notion of architectural representation and the experience of the individual and focus on the built-form itself, there are other examples of nineteenth-century architectural drawing conventions that are better suited for such translations to paper. These harken to a more technical architectural way of thinking and representing, something reserved for the architecturally-educated and certainly not intended for the public eye. However, with the potential assertion that the aim of a composite drawing or laid-out interior is to impart a viewer with a total understanding of the built form, it is important to acknowledge that there are more apt and precise ways of doing this available to Britton at the time.

In undertaking research on nineteenth-century architectural representation, two leading figures are unavoidable in the attempt to translate the built form *accurately* to paper, and more importantly, the reverse within the design process. If we refer back to Philo-

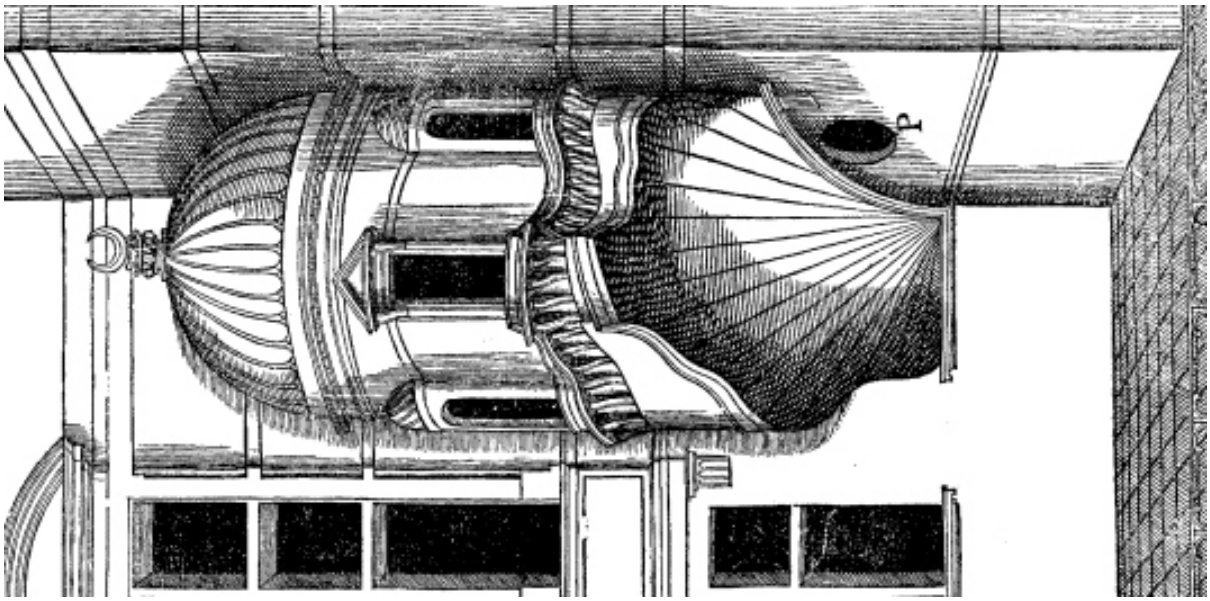
[49] P A Croset, 'The Narration of Architecture', *Architectureproduction,* New York, Princeton Architectural Press, 1988, p. 207.
[50] A Pérez-Gómez and L Pelletier, *Architectural Representation and the Perspective Hinge*, Cambridge, MIT University Press, 2000, p. 391.

Architectus's treatise on exhibiting architecture, but remove the "grace" element and adhere strictly to its ability to be carried to execution, this was the ideal method of representation for Jean Nicolas Durand and Gaspard Monge; an architect and professor at École Polytechnique, and a mathematician and the inventor of descriptive geometry. Notably, Sir John Soane held a copy of Durand's *Precis des Lecons d'Architecture* (1809) in his library; The 'Petit Durand' was specifically published as a textbook for his course, and eventually became fundamental reading for students of architecture in general. Soane's copy features translations of phrases written in pencil within the margins, indicating his close-study and consultation. Referring to Durand in terms of Evans's "matter of things belonging to sets", Pérez-Gòmez and Pelletier write,

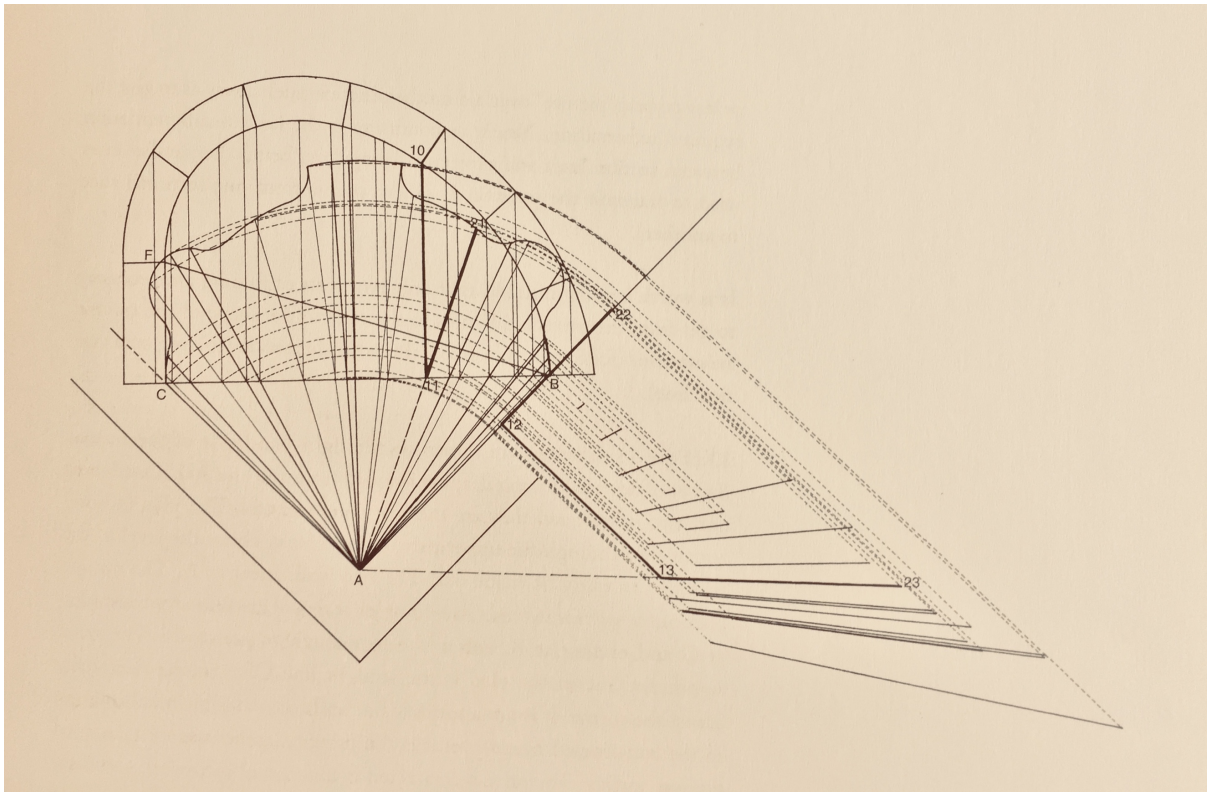
> "This descriptive set of projections that we today take for granted operate in a geometrized, homogeneous space... of the nineteenth century. Our implicit trust in the application of a scientific methodology to architecture derives directly from the techniques prescribed by Jacques Nicolas Durand in his *Precis des Lecons d'Architecture* (1802 and 1813). Durand's legacy is the objectification of style and technique, and the establishment of apparently irreconcilable alternatives: *technological* construction (functional) versus *artistic* architecture (formal), the false dichotomy of *necessary* structure and *contingent* ornaments."[51]

The removal of contingent ornaments thus manifests in drawing conventions that subscribe to a mathematical method of representation, known as descriptive geometry and stereometry, which was born out of the advent of "[t]he desire for precise measurement and comprehensive representation of building projects [that] became dominant in architectural theory at the turn of the nineteenth century."[52] Stereometry, or "the cutting of solids", is based on the fundamentals of masonry and the use of *traits*, the "layout drawings used to enable the precise cutting of component masonry blocks for complex architectural forms".[54] The origins of this drawing convention are rooted in a strictly professional practice, and therefore would require modification for its presentation to the public eye. Stereometry relies on a mathematical understanding, rather than spatial, or the synthesis of a flat image via the imagination. The best example of such an image is a trait for the trompe at Anet, Evans's primary example. Please refer to [figure 13], a perspective view of the trompe at Anet by Philibert Delorme, followed by his trait for the trompe redrawn by Robin Evans [figure 14]. I would argue it is unlikely that, if presented with both this view and *trait* as a composite image, the nineteenth-century spectator would be able to synthesize these two images to 'reconstruct' the trompe at Anet. As Evans

[51] A Pérez-Gómez and L Pelletier, *Architectural Representation and the Perspective Hinge*, Cambridge, MIT University Press, 2000, p. 5.
[52] Ibid., p. 298.
[54] R Evans, *The Projective Cast; architecture and its three geometries*, Cambridge, MIT Press, 1995, p. 180.



Chapter 8 figure 13. Perspective of the Trompe at Anet. Philibert Dolorme, *Le Premier Tome de l'Architecture*, 1567.



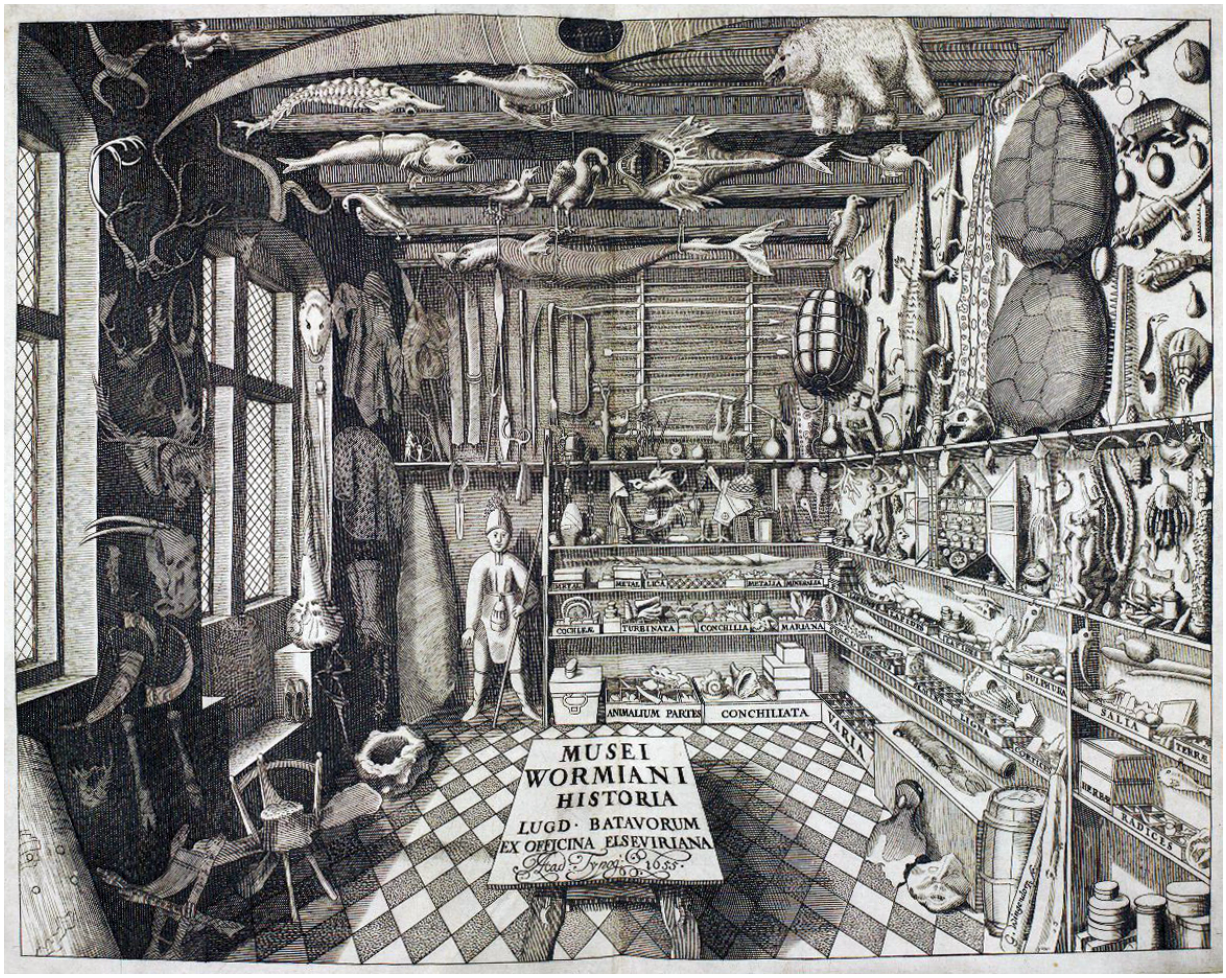
Chapter 8 figure 14. Trait for the trompe at Anet. R Evans, *The Projective Cast*, 1995.

writes, the *trait* is confusing because "there are 15 separate drawings superimposed." Further, "[e]ach of these 15 drawings represents a different horizontal or vertical slice through the *trompe*; each is therefore a more or less cryptic 'picture' overlaid on the others in such a way as to give the required information."[55] It is as if the observer is overcome with too much information that is rooted in the physical object itself, rather than the experience of seeing said object. In a way, it is not too dissimilar from the laid-out convention, the difference being the pure number of sections, as well as their arrangement. In light of the assertion that Soane's modulations of space are arguably modern, it is surprising that more "mathematical" processes were not undertaken to represent the museum, in this context. "Indeed, it is important to recognize that modern architecture's 'objective space' originated with descriptive geometry, and that perspective theory was the *invisible hinge* systematizing projections…", writes Pérez-Gòmez and Pelletier. "Monge's late-eighteenth-century descriptive geometry was not merely an abstract mathematical formulation: it was driven by a desire to *describe* reality with absolute precision. His often-expressed aim was to provide a truly efficient practical tool for technical and constructive operations."[56] This desire characterised by Monge's methods of representation was still part of mainstream architectural thought in the early nineteenth century. Further, the attempt to represent the three-dimensional accurately and thoroughly was based on the "epistemological model for the acquisition of truth", or scientific empiricism.[57]

I have focused on a few selected illustrations from *The Union* to demonstrate the influence that space and time has on architectural representations, specifically the idiosyncratic spaces and experience Soane has created at his house-museum. The framework that both Evans and Jacobus supply regarding specific representational conventions indicates quite clearly that the illustrations in *The Union* do not fit with the conventions set out by architectural practice, and aids us in concluding that the guidebook is exceptional for a number of reasons, the two most fundamental being that the images were produced after the building was created, as well as Britton's lack of architectural training and potential confusion regarding how to translate the existing spaces to paper.

It is clear that Britton's volume relies on the imagination, and this is evident on the first page of *The Union*; Britton has already broken down a sense of reality in his frontispiece. Much like the frontispiece of Olaus Worm's catalogue *Musei Wormiani Historia* (1655) [figure 15] in which the table within the scene carries the title of the catalogue, Britton's volume is

[55] R Evans, *The Projective Cast; architecture and its three geometries*, Cambridge, MIT Press, 1995, pp. 183-184.
[56] A Pérez-Gómez and L Pelletier, *Architectural Representation and the Perspective Hinge*, Cambridge, MIT University Press, 2000, p. 304.
[57] Ibid., p. 305.



Chapter 8 figure 15. Frontispiece Musei Wormiani Historia. Ole Worm, *Museum Wormianum*, 1655. Courtesy of Smithsonian Institution Libraries.

represented as a completed, published work set within the Monk's Parlour. As Ernst explains, "[t]his intersection of the space of the catalogue and the space of the museum as its vanishing point became the *mise-en-abîme* in the recent reconstruction, where the title page as a table was replaced by the actual title-page frontispiece on the table. The historical representation of the collection thus became the inner object of its reconstruction, a kind of museal hallucination-a mirror frame effect."[58] Akin to the vocabulary used in chapter 2 to describe the oneiric experience of Soane's spaces, this "mise-en-abîme" deconstructs any notion that the representations thereafter are based on the built form.

[58] W Ernst, 'Frames at work: Museological Imagination and Historical discourse in Neoclassical Britain', *Art Bulletin*, Volume 75 (1993), p. 493.

Relying on these extensively detailed architectonic representations as a basis for a spectrum of potential conventions, it can be concluded that what has been translated to the pages of *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting* is not the objective built form, but the individual experience of the built form as an architectural mnemonic for the visitor. Because of the subjective experience of Sir John Soane's Museum, or further the didactic qualities that have been museumified since Sir John Soane's death in 1837, Bachelard's theories on the poetics of inhabited space can thusly be applied to discern how these images are useful.

Collections and recollections

"A house that has been experienced is not an inert box. Inhabited space transcends geometrical space." [59]

I have focused on a few selected illustrations from *The Union* to demonstrate the influence that space and time has on architectural representations, specifically the idiosyncratic spaces and experience Soane has created at his house-museum. The framework that both Evans and Jacobus supply regarding specific representational conventions indicates quite clearly that the illustrations in *The Union* do not fit with the conventions set out by architectural practice, and aids us in concluding that the guidebook is exceptional for a number of reasons, the two most fundamental being that the illustrations were produced after the building was created, as well as Britton's lack of architectural training and potential confusion regarding how to translate the existing spaces to paper.

But perhaps Britton's talents lie elsewhere, on the fringes of mainstream architectural thought but firmly rooted in the representation of the poetic potential of and astonishment evoked by architecture. In his own words, "[t]hese descriptions are entirely addressed to such a class of persons [who love art], and to whom we would recommend an attentive examination of the accompanying Sections and Views, which interest the imagination and gratify the curiosity of the reader."[60] It is because of this elicited emotional response that we can begin to align Bachelard's ideas on the poetics of space with Britton's guidebook. His examination of the parallels between the built space, inhabitation and the imagination interact nicely with the elements that Britton has compiled in his volume. Arrangement is also of great importance to Bachelard's phenomenology of the house; at the heart of Bachelard's discussion is the experience of the inhabitant represented by the congregation of fragmentary images.

[59] G Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, Boston, Beacon Press, 1994, p. 47.
[60] J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: exemplified by a series of illustrations, with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane*, London, Printed for author, 1827, pp. 31-32.

Projection might be similar to the imagination when it comes to design drawings, but for an inhabited space – especially a museumified one – there is much more going on.

For example, in describing the poetic qualities of the house found in the cellar or garret, it is as if Bachelard is describing the characteristics of a laid-out interior drawing; the ground plan, the developed surfaces and its arrangement: "To bring order into these images, I believe that we should consider two principal connecting themes: 1) A house is imagined as a vertical being. It rises upward. It differentiates itself in terms of its verticality. It is one of the appeals to our consciousness of verticality. 2) A house is imagined as a concentrated being. It appeals to our consciousness of centrality."[61] The verticality of a house manifests in its walls, the centrality in its floor, and lastly, the bringing to order of these things in the radial arrangement of the latter around the former, thus connecting the themes.

Bachelard succinctly acknowledges the struggle of translating such spaces to paper, as detailed in chapter 2 of this thesis, 'The Impossible Brief':

> "[T]he real houses of memory, the houses to which we return in dreams, the houses that are rich in unalterable oneirism, do not readily lend themselves to description. To describe them would be like showing them to visitors. We can perhaps tell everything about the present, but about the past! The first, the oneirically definitive house, must retain its shadows. For it belongs to the literature of depth, that is, to poetry, and not to the fluent type of literature that, in order to analyze intimacy, needs other people's stories."[62]

And it is in this portion that the use of the images is uncovered; that to describe them would be like showing them to visitors. The illustrations in Britton's *The Union* are thusly reliant on having been there before, and memory. In a way, this guidebook belongs in Britton's topographic oeuvre; it is the "topography" of Soane's "intimate being".[63] Thus, the illustrations are not a record of the process of design, but rather a record of the process of discovery/memory. Bachelard's parallel between the arrangement of a house and one's ability to contemplate and visualise is comparable to John Britton's arrangement of his guidebook and the ability of the public to synthesize and imagine the memory of Soane's house and collection.

[61] G Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, Boston, Beacon Press, 1994, p. 17.
[62] Ibid., p. 13.
[63] Ibid., p. 36.

Coda

The ties between music and architecture are undeniable, especially within the various contexts of this thesis; firstly, in the nineteenth century, the Royal Academy of Music was established, receiving its Royal Charter in 1830 thus institutionalising music as an art form separate from the Royal Academy; secondly, just as the architect is arguably disconnected from the "ultimate" art piece, the built form, and is the maker of the architectural drawing, the composer is distanced from the final product, the performance, but creates and arranges the composition on two-dimensional sheet music; lastly, there is the concept of time in music, that temporal quality that we have seen demonstrated on the pages of a book, translated to leger lines:

> "Like music, realised in time from a more or less "open" notation and inscribed as an act of divination for a potential order, architecture is itself a projection of architectural ideas, horizontal footprints and vertical effigies, disclosing a symbolic order *in time*, through rituals and programmes. The architect's task, beyond the transformation of the world into a comfortable or pragmatic shelter, is the making of a physical, formal order that reflects the depth of our human condition, analogous in vision to the interiority communicated by speech and poetry and to the immeasurable harmony conveyed in music."[1]

The disconnect between the final product and the inventor is palpable, and is perhaps what underpins the institutional separation of this fine art from the supposed "Union". It is the *experience* of the final product, the time-related element and the subjective that is left engraved in the listener's ear.

In musical theory, a coda is the final passage to a piece of music:

> "Coda (*It.*) (1) The tail of a note. (2) The bars occasionally added to a contrapuntal movement after the close or finish of the *canto fermo*. (3) The few chords or bars attached to an infinite canon in order to render it finite; or a few chords *not in a canon*, added to a finite canon for the sake of obtaining a more harmonious conclusion. (4) That closing adjunct of any movement, or piece, specially intended to enforce a feeling of completeness and finality."[2]

In light of the final two definitions of a coda, it is this idea of forcing the finale of the infinite that especially rings true in concluding this study in more ways than one. Firstly, there are indications of Britton's urge to present more to the public in his volume. He writes that he originally intended to produce a catalogue raisonné "...with descriptive notices of the various

[1] A Pérez-Gómez and L Pelletier, *Architectural Representation and the Perspective Hinge*, Cambridge, MIT University Press, 2000, p. 7.
[2] J Stainer, W A Barrett, *Stainer and Barrett's Dictionary of Musical Terms*, London, Novello & Co., 1898, p. 100.

and numerous articles of art, virtu, and literature with which it is stored".[3] However, it was the sheer volume of objects in Soane's collection that prevented him from doing so, as he asserts that such a format would extend to "at least two large quarto volumes, and thus have been merely a book for reference, and not for reading."[4] Therefore, it is the needs of the public as well as the nature of Soane's collection that forced him to modify and ultimately shorten his work. The primary source that Britton is translating to paper is too fruitful for the physical limitations of such a volume.

I cannot help but compare my own work to Britton's; at the outset, I described chapter 2 of this thesis as akin to Britton's own guidebook in that my aim was to describe Sir John Soane's Museum using a combination of visual and textual information. But further to this, Britton's *The Union* has supplied the materials for a constructive and worthwhile endeavour, and in this sense this coda is fitting of its musical definition; that there is more to be said in terms of the volume in tandem with the built form, underpinned by the visitor experience. Upon reflection of the preceding findings and new applications, it is unsurprising that it is possible to bring unity to a multiplicity of contexts and theories within one multidisciplinary study, and that this largely due to its primary subject, Sir John Soane's Museum. The addition of the level of representation to Soane's spaces further complicates the interpretation of Britton's visual accompaniments, and yet Britton's own solution to the "Impossible Brief" is simple; to arrange images in a way that mimics the most astonishing aspects of a visit to No. 13 Lincoln's Inn Fields.

"A hermit's hut. What a subject for an engraving! Indeed real images are engravings, for it is the imagination that engraves them on our memories. They deepen the recollections we have experienced, which they replace, thus becoming imagined recollections."[5]

[3] J Britton, *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: exemplified by a series of illustrations, with descriptive accounts of the house and galleries of John Soane*, London, Printed for author, 1827, p. xiii.
[4] Ibid.
[5] G Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, Boston, Beacon Press, 1994, pp. 31-32: Bachelard's identification of a hermit is uncanny; it is inseparable from Sir John Soane's Padre Giovanni, a medieval Monk who resides in the Monk's Parlour at Sir John Soane's Museum.

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