The Influence of the Architectural Literature of Britain, 1715–1845, on the Architecture of Colonial Tasmania.

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The Literature of British Architecture, 1715–1845, and its Influence on the Architecture of Colonial Tasmania

Abstract

What inspires architecture? What fuels the generation and regeneration of architecture? Is it merely a printed image or is it a more complex set of influences.

This study analyses the architectural literature that influenced colonial Australian architecture, how it has been used by contemporary architectural historians, how texts (and literary sources generally) may have influenced architectural design, and how they may be interpreted in the physical form, detail and method used in colonial Australian architecture. It also looks closely at the design process and attempts to demonstrate where and how architectural publications can influence that process. In particular, it explores the influence the trades had on colonial Australian architecture and will suggest that this is a field that is poorly understood. While very much a work of architectural history, this study is also a work of architectural theory that is equally applicable to the present as to the past.

This study will suggest that contemporary architectural historians are interpreting the architectural literature of the colonial period in a limited manner and ignoring a whole range of other possibilities in the interpretation of the influence of these works. It will suggest that contemporary architectural historians only see the relationship between these works and the social and political elite and fail to see, or acknowledge, a relationship between the works and the working class people of England and colonial Australia. This study seeks to broaden out the way we view the architectural literature of the late 1700s and early 1800s and seeks to show that they could be and were used in many different ways by many different people.

Many contemporary writers have limited their understanding of these works to a simplistic 'matching' scenario where a completed building is matched to an image in what they refer to as a pattern book. This study suggests that the direct copy scenario, with no other source, could not exist without some form of active shaping taking place, rather, it will demonstrate other ways in which these works can influence the development of architecture, both directly and indirectly. It will suggest that if these works are to be used they should be used in a more intelligent manner where the broad range of possibilities are acknowledged .

This work is not a bibliographic study of potential sources of influence, nor is it a study which seeks to attribute the influences on any particular building. The primary aim of this

study is to demonstrate, in an abstract manner, the many ways the early architecture of Australia may have been influenced by the published material of the time. It does not limit its scope to architects or the social and political elite, but views building tradesmen as equals in the development of Australia's colonial Architecture.

This thesis will demonstrate that the printed architectural image was not nearly as important to classicism as was the social cohesion of the style. The 'patterns' that determined the Australian colonial Georgian architecture came here as part of the social and cultural fabric not simply as printed images.

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The Literature of British Architecture, 1715–1845, and its Influence on the Architecture of Colonial Tasmania

Introduction

This thesis is divided into four main sections:

Ch. 1   The establishment of the published sources available.

Ch. 2   A discussion of the potential of published sources to influence the design process.

Ch. 3   An exploration of how those works have been used in Australian architectural histories.

Ch. 4   Case Studies.

        The case studies will contrast the complex reality of the design process with earlier analyses that limited examination to a single published source and its relationship with a building, leaving all other potential influences invisible.

This study embraces the broadest possible definition of the word architecture. The architecture described by Cox and Lucas as 'high style'[1] is examined side by side with what they call the 'vernacular'.

The modest and slight brick cottages of colonial Australia with their central, panelled–doors, flanking double–hung windows, single or double pile plans, hipped roofs and boxed eaves are 'polite'[2] buildings. However modest and simple they are, they seek to be more than just shelter and thus are here considered worthy of the title of 'architecture'. As this study makes no distinction between the polite, the high style or the vernacular, likewise it makes no distinction between architects, other designers and the trades. It approaches all sources of information as being equally valid.

It attempts to view the design process as a complex and changing activity that cannot be simply explained by knowing the name of the designer, date of construction or the title of a pattern book. Importantly it begins to look at the information that is carried by the trades and gives this information source equal weighting against the other sources. By looking more broadly at the influence of published architectural writing and drawing of the colonial period, a much fuller and colourful picture can be painted of Australia's first architecture. The dates selected for the published sources, 1715–1845, have been used for the following reasons :

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[1]   P. Cox, & C. Lucas, *Australian Colonial Architecture*. Lansdowne Editions, Melbourne, 1978.

[2]   R. W. B runskill, *Illustrated Handbook of Vernacular Architecture*. Faber & Faber, London, 1971.

a. 1715 is the year that Colen Campbell published *Vitruvius Britanicus* and marks the beginning of English classical publications, and

b. by 1845 Joseph Gwilt had published his *Encyclopaedia of Architecture* after which there is no work that convincingly engaged the basic principles of the classical.

This thesis, while extensively using primary and secondary Australian historical sources is not only a study of Australian colonial architectural history, but a work of architectural theory looking at the expression of English Neo–Classicism in colonial Australia using a hermeneutical methodology and published architectural works as the major sources.

At this point it will be worthwhile defining several terms used in the study:

- *Neo–Classicism* is a term that is used to refer to the last stages of the classical tradition in architecture, sculpture, painting and architecture.[3] Broadly speaking, it is Classicism in the later 1700s and first years of the 1800s.

- *Classical* is a term referring to the ideas and attitudes derived from, but not wholly dependant on a respect for and a close study of the literary and artistic activities of the ancient Greeks and Romans.[4]

- *Georgian* refers to a period of time rather than a style, hence Australian Georgian architecture.

- *Georgian Style* and *Georgian Taste* refer to design generally, during the Georgian period.[5]

- *Colonial Australian architecture* refers to all Australian architecture prior to 1839 and is interchangeable with colonial Georgian architecture.

- *Colonial classical architecture* refers to that Australian architecture prior to 1839 which evolved from a Classical basis.

- *Picturesque* refers to those buildings, regardless of style, that are seen as part of a landscape aesthetic that is characterised by irregularity, roughness and variety.[6] The architecture of the picturesque tended to look for irregularity and interest and the *Revival* of architectural styles was a prominent part of Picturesque architecture. It is defined as occuring between the late 18th-century and the mid 19th - century.

  Tired as the term can be, 'picturesque ' effectively identifies a particular vision that attempts to access and inhabit the landscape.[7]

These definitions are expanded later in the text where necessary.

3   Jane Turner, (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art. Vol. 22.* Macmillan, London, 1996, p. 734.
4   Jane Turner, (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art. Vol. 7.* Macmillan, London, 1996, p. 380.
5   Jane Turner, (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art. Vol. 12.* Macmillan, London, 1996, p. 333.
6   Jane Turner, (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art. Vol. 24.* Macmillan, London, 1996, p. 740.
7   Jane Turner, (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art. Vol. 24.* Macmillan, London, 1996, p. 743.

Chapter One

The Genre of Architectural Publications

The literature of British architecture, 1715–1845, has been divided into three main categories for the purposes of this thesis.

The categories chosen are not designed to represent the full range of architectural literature published between 1715 and 1845, rather the categorisation is aimed at representing, in a practical way, those works relevant to Australian colonial architecture. The categorisation addresses the two major stylistic ideologies, classical and picturesque architecture, with the specifically technical publications making the third. The three categories are thus:

- literature which broadly represents classicism,
- literature which broadly represents Picturesque and Revival architectural styles, and
- technical literature demonstrating detail and method whether it be of classical or Picturesque architecture.

It will be noticed, later that there are several authors that are included in more than one category. This acknowledges that individual titles have their own specific identity and cannot be neatly pigeonholed under any all encompassing category. Batty Langley is such an author, with many of his works containing elements of the Classical, elements of the Picturesque, elements of a revival view of English architecture, while also having a technical bent as they were aimed at the common tradesman.

The technical pattern books were aimed at providing technical detail and methodological information to architects and, particularly, to the trades. The category will also cover some works of a technical nature that were aimed at informing the lay person. It includes works that contain or have a substantial element of technical detail, whether that detail is aimed at the interested amateur, the architect or the common builder or tradesman. The major authors of this group are Tredgold and Nicholson. These two authors wrote technically orientated works aimed at the architect, engineer, surveyor and builder. They are also clearly able to be isolated into their own specific category as they notably remain fairly neutral on current stylistic fashions. Peter Nicholson, while explaining much design theory such as the definition of differing qualities of Greek and Roman mouldings, did so from a technical point of view rather than in order to promote one style over another.

Other authors and texts will be mentioned within the technical category for their presentation of technical information along with specific style–based information, particularly several of the classical texts. Isaac Ware's *A Complete Body of Architecture,* 1756, is an example of this. The work essentially aims to further the understanding and

development of classicism,[8] however, it makes an important contribution to the technical knowledge and understanding of building in its extensive (for its time) glossary and detailed descriptions of building materials, foundations and construction methods.

Batty Langley also warrants a mention in the technical category not specifically for the technical content, but for the target audience of builders and tradespeople. The information given by Langley, particularly the constructional and ornamental detail, entered general trade knowledge and understanding. William Pain will also be looked at in this category, for the same reason.

Gwilt's *Encyclopaedia*[9] is not included despite being the most comprehensive study of architectural building method and detail published prior to 1880, for two reasons. Firstly, being published at the end of the period of interest the work reflects the period of interest rather than influencing it and secondly, it is examined separately (Appendix 1) as a counterpoint to Loudon's *Encyclopaedia*[10] in the hope of demonstrating the potential of the former and the limitations of the latter.

The published works of the Picturesque and Revival styles are those works that appeared in the later part of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth centuries containing Picturesque designs for cottages and villas illustrated only as rendered perspective prints. The major factors which differentiate these from the classical treatises are: they illustrate ornamental cottages and villas as elements in ornamental landscapes; on the whole, they did not enter into any deep theoretical debate; and lastly, the publications only contained the very briefest of technical information, making them substantially different from the works of a technical nature.

With Picturesque pattern books and technical literature categorised, the remaining titles and authors can be predominantly seen as representing the established classical architectural style of England between 1715 and 1842. Many minor subgroups can be identified within this category. For instance, works of aesthetic theory, such as Morris's *Lecture on Architecture*, archaeological and historical works such as those by Woods and Revett,

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[8]   E. Harris, & N. Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556–1785*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990. Harris, p. 23, describes Ware's *A Complete Body of Architecture* as a work principally devoted to the orders of architecture.

[9]   J. Gwilt, *An Encyclopaedia of Architecture: historical, theoretical & practical*. Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1881. First published in 1842.

[10]   J.C. Loudon, *An Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, Villa and Architecture and Furniture: containing numerous designs for dwellings, from the cottage to the villa...each design accompanied by analytical and critical remarks*. Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longman, London, 1835.

works on interior decoration and furniture, works on pricing and measuring, books of the orders, works on perspective, geometry and drawing as well as books of designs for new and untried buildings.

These subgroups are combined into one category as together they represent the collected body of work that typifies English classicism and thus is representative of colonial Australian classical architecture. While it is acknowledged that the majority of these texts cannot be directly, physically linked to colonial Australia, as can the Picturesque pattern books, it is contended here that to use one of the Picturesque texts, or any text for that matter, alone without acknowledging the context of the work is to view it out of context. Furthermore, many of the more important texts of the early to mid 1700s, such as Ware's *Encyclopaedia*, contributed to the general, popular, technical and trade perception of English classical architecture that then influenced colonial Australian architecture, as expressed in the physical form of the buildings.

Chapter two will look at the ways in which architectural literature can influence completed buildings and the process of architectural design and construction. This will demonstrate that the direct drawing board influence is only the most obvious mode of influence and not necessarily the most important, if important at all. It will be suggested that many of the early architectural publications, such as Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* of 1715, have had an influence, if indirectly, on colonial Australian architecture.

Classical Publications

This section looks at the publication of classical architectural treatises up to 1800, using secondary sources as well as some primary material. It establishes the major trends of early architectural publishing and the relevance of these works in the interpretation of Colonial Australia.

In 1711 the Tories imposed a tax on coal to fund the building of 50 new churches.[11] The monumental, awe–inspiring churches were meant to instil respect for the Tory high church establishment among the populace. The churches were generally constructed in the Baroque style of architecture. They were later criticised by the Burlington School as being incorrect in their use of ornament and generally foreign in style.

With the death of Queen Anne in 1714, Tory domination weakened and the Whigs managed to place a Hanoverian on the English throne. In the following year the ill–conceived Jacobite rebellion was put down. George I, 1714–1727, Elector of Hanover, was only distantly related to the English Royal Family but nonetheless he was the nearest Protestant heir and thus became the new King of England. He came from a German background and found his English inheritance strange and uncongenial. He was not a well–liked king but he had the good sense to leave governing to the Parliament, which smoothed his reign. George I's less influential role in Government along with increasing prosperity beckoned the re–introduction of 'Taste' and 'style' into English life. The Whig desire for a national taste in architecture was achieved by looking back to Inigo Jones and design in the early part of the 1600s. While using a British source for design inspiration, the Whig elite were in fact using Jones's interpretations of Palladio. The publishing of Colen Campbell's book *Vitruvius Britannicus* made the new style available, and understandable to all levels of English society. Thus a form of architecture exclusive to the Court and ruling classes and aimed at oppressing the populace was replaced with an architectural style that aimed to be socially inclusive.

The work of a 16th century Paduan, Andrea Palladio, had epitomised a style where a rational form of classical design had been developed. Function and design were related, simplicity was a virtue, the details and proportions of the classical orders were respected and a logical system of proportion had been developed that governed the relationship between elements. Classicism was an architectural style where studious scholarship reigned over individual creativity. English Classicism replaced the Baroque with its

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[11]   D. Cruickshank, *A Guide to the Georgian Buildings of Britain and Ireland*. Rizzoli, New York, 1985, p. 6.

whimsical and irreverent use of classical details and later, in turn, the studious Neo–classical was overtaken by the Picturesque and its individual creativity where variety, movement, irregularity, intricacy and roughness were the desired qualities.[12]

More than any other architectural style, Classicism required that a set of 'rules' or an appreciation of the basic tenets were understood and supported by a proportion of the population, both professional and amateur, who would adhere to them and enter into a discourse about them. Without a certain level of support for the emerging dogmas, they would have amounted to nothing. Thus, to gain widespread support, there needed to be a method of promoting and providing information about them. The primary method used to advance the cause of Classicism in England was the publication of treatises on the subject.

According to Wittkower, the publication of the first English architectural treatises provided a theoretical basis for architectural practice. It began with a few isolated translations of foreign works, however those 'early ripples soon became a tidal wave'.[13] The first professional architectural treatise was, arguably, John Shute's *The First and Chief Groundes of Architecture*, 1563.[14] There are two noteworthy things about this work. Firstly, that for 152 years Shute's remained the only truly architectural treatise written by an Englishman for Englishmen and, secondly, that the work seems to have had little influence on the production of architecture in England.[15]

In the early 1700s, education had become an essential attribute of the powerful. The gentry and professional classes sought new sources of learning (see fig. 1), and for the first time, treatises on architectural theory could affect taste and help to predetermine responses to the built environment. The relationship with the built environment that had previously been instinctively sensed on the basis of experience, was replaced with a set of beliefs that could be learned from texts.[16]

Between Shute's *First and Chief Groundes of Architecture*, 1563, and Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*, 1715, architectural theory was supplied by translations of foreign works, primarily Vitruvius, Serlio, Vignola and Palladio:

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[12]   D. Cruickshank, *A Guide to the Georgian Buildings of Britain and Ireland*. Rizzoli, New York, 1985, p. 6.

[13]   R. Wittkower, *Palladio and English Palladianism*. Thames & Hudson, London, 1974, p. 95.

[14]   Professional in that it does not include those works by mathematicians and surveyors such as Sir Richard Benese's *This boke sheweth the manner of measuring* ... 1537.

[15]   R. Wittkower, *Palladio and English Palladianism*. Thames & Hudson, London, 1974, p. 100.

[16]   John Onians, *Bearers of Meaning: the classical orders in the antiquity, the middle ages, and the renaissance*. Princeton University Press, Princeton New Jersey, 1990, p.6.

...the seventeenth century had no English treatise written by an architect. With one or two exceptions, translators and editors were hardly qualified for their tasks; as a rule they belonged to the book trade. Most English editions are translations of translations, i.e. they are twice removed from the Italian originals, and, worse, they are only partial translations of longer treatises, often semi–literate, and on occasions they merely present abstracts or even abstracts of abstracts. Interest is focused on the orders, but this primary material is often smothered in irrelevant frills.[17]

This situation ended with the publication of *Vitruvius Britannicus*. This book can be seen either as one of a series of architectural publications or as a work of individual importance and a beginning in itself. Although it was conceived prior to the commencement of the reign of the Georges it can be seen as defining a new British style commensurate with the reign of a new king. It represented a new standard both in architectural publication and architecture itself, as well as in the publishing trades. It was also to generate a whole genre of architectural publications that would plagiarise it and other subsequent works.

Gloag contends that during the Georgian period there was a confidence about English men and women.[18] This is supported by Wittkower's suggestion that the publication of Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*, 1715, and Leoni's *Palladio*, 1716, reveal a new confidence in English society. Both were large folio works, beautifully engraved and commanding high prices. This type of publication had not been seen before in England. The fact that their publication was seen as commercially viable demonstrates this new confidence.[19] For the first time in England, there were works which formed a standard for presentation of architectural treatises which would be copied, bettered, reissued and plagiarised for at least the next fifty years.

Vitruvius Britannicus is attributed to Colen Campbell (1675–1729), the one–time Scottish lawyer whose journey to architecture is unknown.[20] However, Harris[21] suggests that it may not have been completely attributable to, or initiated by him. The ambitious nature of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, with its 200 folio engravings, was at the cutting edge of publishing and engraving. The technology of printing, of the time, would have been beyond the experience of Campbell, newly arrived in London in 1713. The technical and logistical aspects of the project may well be attributable to others, such as some of the publishers

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[17] R. Wittkower, *Palladio and English Palladianism*, Thames & Hudson , London, 1974, p. 102.

[18] J. Gloag, *Georgian Grace: a social history of design from 1660 to 1830*. A & C Black, London, 1956, p. 7.

[19] R. Wittkower, *Palladio and English Palladianism*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1974, p. 103.

[20] H.Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840*. John Murray, London, 1978, p. 182.

[21] E. Harris, & N. Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556–1785*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990, p.140.

whose names appear in the proposal of 1714. Harris[22] suggests that a series of patriotic illustrated works on architectural scenes of Scotland and England by Capt. John Slezer *(Scotia Illustrated)* and David Knyff (*Britannicus Illustrated*)[23] set the scene for such a work. The publishers, Mortier, Dunoyer and Johnstone, were, prior to 1713, setting up a collaborative effort for a work on British architecture and, Harris suggests, Campbell, as an architect, was convenient to assist in the undertaking. It is interesting to note that the frontispiece to *Vitruvius Britannicus* is perfectly symmetrical, as one would expect for a work on classical proportion, except for the words 'by Colen Campbell', which are offset to the right, suggesting that the plate may have been prepared prior to his engagement.

The doubt as to the authorship of *Vitruvius Britannicus* is being raised here as it represents a much wider collective view of the past, present and future of British architecture in the early 1700s and not just the views of one person. Indeed, the most important aspect of English Classicism in the early eighteenth century is the social coherence of the theory. It was believed there was an ultimate architectural beauty that could be achieved by antiquarian study.

Vitruvius Britannicus met with considerable success when it was first published in 1715. It was republished several times and was followed by second and third volumes. Campbell's standing as an architect increased considerably. He was propelled from being a virtual unknown in London in 1713 to being the foremost Palladian architect by the end of the decade. He received numerous commissions, most importantly from Lord Burlington for his villa at Chiswick. By 1724, Campbell's prominence had begun to evaporate. The reason for Campbell's rise to prominence, his decline and his attempt to regain his reputation is not only important to Palladianism and Classicism, but also to the practice of architecture to this day because of the method he used.

It was the publication of *Vitruvius Britannicus* that established Colen Campbell as the foremost Palladian architect for the next decade. His decline in the early 1720s was due to the publication of architectural treatises by others, surpassing his work: Kent's *The Designs of Inigo Jones*, in the late 1720s and the new edition of Jones's *Stone Henge Restored*, in 1725, for instance (both emanating from the Burlington School). Campbell attempted to regain his position by the issue of a third volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* and a faithful edition of Palladio's *Quatro Libri*, not published till after his death. Thus the publication of architectural treatises as a method of establishing and maintaining a

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[22]   E. Harris, & N. Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556–1785*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990, p.140.

[23]   Slezer's *Scotia Illustrated*, c.1705, was never published. However, illustrations were used in other works and it was an important influence on the publishing trade.

professional reputation was firmly established and was to transcend classicism, continuing on through the Picturesque and Revival styles.

Summerson in his essay 'The classical Country House'[24] describes *Vitruvius Britannicus* as an essentially aristocratic work. Its chief influence was on the design of the 150 or so great country houses built between 1710 and 1740 for, primarily, the aristocracy but also some wealthy merchants and politicians. This frenzied building activity was brought on by factors unrelated to architecture, fashion or design. It was not until after this first spate of classical building that a work aimed at the ordinary, even cheap house was published.[25]

Vitruvius Britannicus set the standard in production and content, and in promoting both a style of architecture and the architect/author. From this point, the publication of classical architectural treatises took two distinct but parallel paths. First, there were more scholarly works that mirrored and developed the themes of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, by prominent, or soon to be prominent, architects and theorists, and second, works which used the information published in the former works and re packaged it for popular consumption, particularly for the building trades. The latter, although containing similar information, will be looked at in a later section, as their intent and influence was quite different from the scholarly works. The scholarly works can be divided, again, into two categories; those solely concerned with the orders and architectural theory, and works which could be described as general or complete treatises on architecture.

Prior to 1760, the major names in these fields were such people as Morris, Chambers and Ware. Of those attempting general treatises, only Ware, according to Archer, can be described as having completed a thorough exposition of the subject in his *Complete Body of Architecture* (1757).[26]

Campbell, as suggested above, had commenced a truly accurate translation of Palladio's *Quatro Libri* which was not complete at the time of his death in 1729. The project was brought to completion in 1738 by Isaac Ware with the patronage, again, of Lord Burlington. Ware used the work of Campbell and Leoni, but Ware's complete translation was more literal than previous ones and was considered until recently to be the definitive translation.

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[24]   J. Summerson, *The Unromantic Castle and other essays*. Thames & Hudson, London, 1990, p. 105.

[25]   Halfpenny, Hoppus, and Langley were all publishing prior to this; however, their works were of a technical nature and aimed at the artisan class rather than being of a purely architectural design and theory nature and aimed at the wealthy classes.

[26]   J. Archer, *The Literature of British Domestic Architecture 1715–1842*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1985, p. 24.

Fig. 1   Frontispiece
Isaac Ware's *Complete Body of Architecture.../.* 1756.

This frontispiece of Ware's *Complete Body of Architecture* well demonstrates the contemporary perception of good architecture. In it we see knowledge of architecture coming from the study of antiquities.

The majority of Campbell's clients were the landed gentry for whom he designed grand country estates, most of which had been established prior to 1740. The architects that came after this initial building boom, such as Ware, were merely left with additions or remodelling interiors for this client base. Towards the end of the 1700s, many of these grand mansions had turned into expensive white elephants. For the architects who followed in the footsteps of Campbell, a new client base emerged. Rather than the landed gentry, the clients of Isaac Ware, John Wood and Sir William Chambers etc. were the moneyed men from the towns who required a much more modest country seat, the 'villa'.[27]

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[27]   J.Summerson, *The Unromantic Castle and other Essays*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1990, p. 112.

This change in clientele between the early 1700s and mid 1700s is important, since those seeking patronage needed to adjust the direction of their published works to attract the new clients. The new patrons were part of the urbanisation that was under way in the 1700s and 1800s. The fortunes were being made in urban centres, such as London. It was the aim of these men to achieve a country seat, a villa in the green and verdant English countryside.

These changes can be clearly seen by comparing, for instance, Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* and Ware's *Complete Body of Architecture*. The former contains a preponderance of grand mansions with extensive palace fronts set on large estates, while the latter, although still containing grand houses, has a far greater focus on the villa; smaller buildings without grand palace fronts or flanking buildings.

Ware's *Complete Body of Architecture* (1757), is interesting as a representative publication of the period. It aimed to introduce the student to the materials of a building, the parts of the building (floor, walls, roof, etc.) and then systematically progress through the stages of construction from laying the foundations and drainage to measuring the cost, as well as provide some information on the garden. However, the work still contained the theoretical aspects of the classical treatise and it was these aspects that raised the most debate at the time of the publication of the complete compendium.[28]

As mentioned above, Ware had completed the publication of a translation of *Quatro Libri* started by Campbell under the patronage of Burlington. In the *Complete Body* he took a step back from the endorsement of a rule–based, stringent reliance on Palladio, which his translation of the work implies, and proposed a balance between rule and imagination; a balance, claimed Ware, that the 'ancients knew but is lost to us'. While he encouraged variety, fancy and imagination, he also stated that it should be used with the 'sober faculty of judgement'. [29] The question of the relative roles of imitation, rules, freedom of imagination and variety was a controversial issue in the English architectural and art world of the 1750s. Despite Ware's move away from the established rules of classical design he was still a firm supporter of the Burlington school. The opposing view, typified by William Hogarth,[30] sought the rejection of a wholly mathematical and mechanical rule–based system for an 'understandable' system of representing objects as they appear to the eye.

Ware's *Complete Body of Architecture* represents both the state of architecture and building in the years leading up to the 1750s, as well as the gradual, and inevitable, shift

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[28]   The work had been published in parts prior to 1757.

[29]   E. Harris, & N. Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556–1785.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990, p. 473.

[30]   W. Hogarth, *Analysis of Beauty.* J. Reeves, London, 1752.

away from the studious, rule–based approach to architectural design. It also demonstrates the growth and development of the architectural profession and the growth of the debate over competing architectural theories that developed in the general community as the 1700s progressed. The works on architectural style by the likes of Campbell, the works on pure architectural theory by the likes of Robert Morris and the practical work by Langley in the early part of the 1700s, can be seen to be summed up in encyclopaedic publications such as Ware's *Complete Body of Architecture,* (1757).

There had been several other major treatises on architecture prior to Ware's–by Aldrich, Rowland, and Chambers. Ware's, however, was the most comprehensive, respected and authoritative reference,[31] at least to the end of the century, despite the public debate at the time of its publication. It was also the only major encyclopaedic work published between 1756 and 1842. It was the major reference work for the latter part of the 1700s and was supported by the continuance of English Classicism. For the 30 years after its publication, up to the 1790s, there were no important progressive works on architectural theory published in the classical genre. We will see in the next section that during the latter part of the century, the theory debate would move towards the Picturesque with the next important works of theory published around the turn of the century.

The classical treatises were the first focused architectural works published in England. They established the careers of their authors, superseded the works of others and in turn were superseded themselves. They established the form of publishing that would eclipse the style itself and provided information that would be plagiarised by others. The works established the classical architectural style and they appear to have been used for many years after their last date of publication. These works, as a genre, established the knowledge base of the architectural and building industries that future architectural publications would add to rather than replacing.

The following is a list of classical works that may have influenced colonial Australian architecture. The list is by no means definitive, or representative of a specific style or date of publication. Rather, it is included here as a demonstration of the type of publication considered to have had the potential to be influential in the period under study:

Alberti, Leon Battista, *L'Architettura ...* 1556.

    Ten Books of Architecture, Leoni Giacomo trans., Reprint of 1739 ed.

Barozzi, Giacomo. *Il Vignola,* 1596.

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[31]   J. Archer, *The Literature of British Domestic Architecture, 1715–1842.* MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1985, p. 24.

Chambers, Sir W.	*A Treatise of the Decorated Part of Civil ... Architecture,* London, 1791.
	Designs of Chinese Buildings, ..., 1756.
Campbell, Colen.	*Vitruvius Britannicus,* 1717–25.
Campbell, R. Esq.	*The London Tradesman ...,* 1747.
Entick, John.	*A New and Accurate History and Survey of London, Westminster, Southwark and Places adjacent,* London, 1766.
Gibbs, James.	*A Book of Architecture, containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments,* London, 1728.
Le Clerc, Sebastian.	*Traite d'Architecture avec des Remparques et des Observation ...,* Paris, 1714.
Leoni, Giacomo.	*The Architecture of A. Palladio,* London, 1715.
Morris, Robert.	*The Architectural Remembrancer,* London, 1751.
	An Essay in Defence of Ancient Architecture, London, 1728.
	An Essay upon Harmony, London, 1739.
	Lectures on Architecture, Consisting of Rules founded upon Harmonick and Arithmetical Proportions in Building, London, 1759.
Palladio, A.	*I quattro Libri dell' Architettura,* Venetia, 1570.
Rawlins, Thomas.	*Familiar Architecture,* London, 1768.
Richardson, George.	*A Treatise on the Five Orders of Architecture,* London, 1787.
Salmon, William.	*Palladio Londinensis,* London, 1734.
Serlio, Sebastiano.	*The Five Books of Architecture, 1537–1547,* London edition, 1611.
Shute, John.	*The First and Chief Groundes of Architecture,* London, 1563.
Ware, Isaac.	*A Complete Body of Architecture,* London, 1756.
	Designs of Inigo Jones, London, 1735.
Wilkins, William.	*The Civil Architecture of Vitruvius,* London, 1812.
Wood, John.	*A Dissertation upon the Orders of Columns and their Appendages,* London, 1750.
Wood, Robert.	*The Ruins of Balbec, otherwise Neliopolsi in Coelosyria,* London, 1757.
Wotton, Sir Henry.	*The Grounde Rules of Architecture collected from the Best Authors and Examples,* London, 1686.

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Picturesque and Revival Publications

The published works of the Picturesque and Revival styles of specific interest here appeared in the later part of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth centuries. They contained Picturesque designs for cottages and villas illustrated only in the form of rendered perspective views. The major factors which differentiate these from the classical treatises are: they illustrate ornamental cottages and villas as elements in ornamental landscapes; on the whole, they did not enter into any deep theoretical debate; and lastly the publications only contain the very briefest technical information. But the story of the Picturesque movement did not start with these works, nor with architecture, but with gardens, the romantic 'natural' gardens of the early part of the eighteenth century.

'Taste',[32] according to Summerson, appeared in England in the early seventeenth century in the architecture of Palladio as interpreted through Inigo Jones, an architectural style imported into England. While the architecture of taste was imported, the designed landscape to go with it remained indigenous.[33] The landscape design of Italy and France, from which England's new taste in architecture had been taken, was derived through formal geometry.[34]

The landscape that the English architecture of Taste was to be part of was the 'improved',[35] natural English rural landscape. Prior to this period the great houses of the English aristocracy, such as Wanstead and Houghton, had been placed as 'ruling elements in a ruled environment'.[36] Later buildings, such as Burlington's temple at Chiswick, were objects placed pictorially in the landscape. Nature was no longer subservient to man, but rather an equal and comfortable friend. The composition of the improved Picturesque English countryside with architectural elements of high Taste was art on a grand scale. Castle Howard (1701), created by the dramatist and architect Sir John Vanbrugh

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[32] J. Summerson, *Georgian London*. Pleiades Books, London, 1945, p. 27. 'Taste', according to Summerson, reached London in the early part of the 1600s. Taste was a luxury import from the courts of Florence, Milan and Venice and had already expressed itself in Medieval England in the form of poetry, manners and theatre.

[33] S. Jellicoe, & G. Jellicoe, *The Landscape of Man: shaping the environment from prehistoric to the present day*. Viking Press, New York, 1975, p. 233.

[34] S. Jellicoe, & G. Jellicoe, *The Landscape of Man: shaping the environment from prehistoric to the present day*. Viking press, New York, 1975, p. 207.

[35] The word 'Improvement' was a word often used to describe the alteration of the landscape during the 18th century. For instance, Batty Langley's *Sure Method of Improving Estates*, 1729, John Plaw's *Rural Improvements*, 1795.

[36] J. Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530–1830*, Penguin Books, Baltimore, 1963, (c1953) p. 288.

(1664–1726), presented a grand canvas where the verdant undulating country seemed to offer locations for the monumental objects of architectural Taste.

Why the English adopted an imported Taste in architecture but created a landscape art indigenous to Britain is of pivotal interest here, as it will later relate to the rediscovery of the cottage as an object of Picturesque interest. The explanation may lie in the nature of English people during the early Georgian period. This is how English historian John Gloag described the national character of this period:

> The eighteenth century gentlemen were so much nearer to the Middle Ages than we are–their medieval virility and robust appetites had not been debilitated by a civilian century of respectability which separates us from them.[37]
>
> The country squire, coarse, frank, equipped with primitive appetites and entertained by rural pastimes, an open air lover of dogs and horses, would have been quite at home in the company of his medieval counterpart, the illiterate lord of the manor ... [38]

Gloag suggests that during the Georgian period there was a confidence about English men and women. Their society was nicely adjusted and the island could provide for all their needs. They believed in themselves and their abilities, and in war or peace they were a people to be reckoned with and respected.

The importation of taste in the form of Palladian architecture seems to have been acceptable to them while the importation of a foreign landscape may have challenged the essence of their English self–image. Walpole wrote that:

> ...one must have taste to be sensible to the beauties of Grecian Architecture; one only wants passion to feel Gothic.[39]

Here, by linking the imported architectural style with mere Taste, and the native Gothic with passion, Walpole is demonstrating that the import is a transient thing whereas there is something essential in those aspects of English life that are native to its shores such as Gothic or medieval English architecture or the English landscape.

This is an idea explored by Simon Schama in his recent book, *Landscape and Memory.*[40] Schama explores the English character of the period and its relationship with landscape,

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[37]   J. Gloag, *Georgian Grace: a social history of design from 1660 to 1830*, A & C Black, London, 1956, p. 5.

[38]   J. Gloag, *Georgian Grace: a social history of design from 1660 to 1830*. A & C Black. London, 1956, p. 7.

[39]   H. Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England, with Some Accounts of the Principle Artists, and Incidental Notes on Other Arts:.../.* Bohn, London, 1862, p. 200.

[40]   S. Schama, *Landscape and Memory*. A.A.Knopf, New York, 1995.

among other things in a chapter titled 'Greenmen'. In particular, he looks at Henry Hastings, second son of the Earl of Hastings, and his relationship to and influence on the English Picturesque theorist William Gilpin, using Gilpin's publications *Essays on Picturesque Beauty* and *Remarks on Forest Scenery and other Woodland Views*, as sources. In historical prose he describes Henry Hastings and his abode thus:

> Stepping into the great hall of Woodlands meant grinding the heels of one's boot on a carpet of half-gnawed marrow bones, while the evil-smelling chamber itself was filled with an inconceivable number of hunting, pointing, and retrieving dogs - spaniels, terriers, and hounds of every description. Hawks and falcons roosted from the sconces set in the panelled walls spattering the floor with their droppings. At the upper end of the room hung two seasons, worth of fox-skins with the occasional polecat pelt mixed in among them.[41]

William Gilpin wrote of Hastings:

> He lived to be a hundred and never lost his eye-sight nor used spectacles. He got on horseback and rode to the death of the stag till he was past fourscore.[42]

There is as much folklore about Hastings as there is truth. As an historical figure, Schama suggests, Hastings was an emblem of English incorrigibility, bloody mindedness and free fornicating earthiness. It was the earthiness of the English character that linked them to their landscape and made them unwilling to replace their 'natural' aesthetic with an imported formal aesthetic.

Hastings, the wild man of the English woods[43], provided the rustic character which Gilpin layered over the Picturesque qualities of landscape painters such as Gaspar Poussin and Salvator Rosa to arrive at a very English notion of the landscape.

The Picturesque movement was able to blend a range of disciplines into one complex Picturesque notion. It included poetry such as that by the architectural theorist Robert Morris; the gardening of Steven Switzer and later Loudon; architecture, travel and archaeology as expressed in the grand tours undertaken by many amateur and professional architects of the time. As importantly, the design of the Picturesque landscape reacted to and reflected the topography of the English countryside. Elements of all these were blended to produce a landscape of improved nature, art on a grand scale.

[41]   S. Schama, *Landscape and Memory*. A.A.Knopf, New York, p. 135.
[42]   W. Gilpin, *Remarks on Forest Scenery and other Woodland Views*. R. Blamaire, London, 1791, p.26.
[43]   S. Schama, *Landscape and Memory*. A.A.Knopf, New York, 1995, p. 137.

By the 1780s, the great estates of southern England joined to form one continuous parkland of verdant green vistas framed with copses of trees, of grottoes and wildernesses tucked in secluded corners, with grand mansions of the aristocracy placed as elements in an even grander landscape. A parkland of archaeological follies, the Chinese, Grecian and classical, all placed to surprise the passer-by or as elements in a grander vista, and of bodies of water that appeared to go on for ever.

Lancelot (Capability) Brown and Humphrey Repton, the two most prominent landscape gardeners of the later part of the 18th century, undertook a massive planting of trees. It has been calculated that they may have been responsible for the planting of up to 20 million, in the conversion of the English landscape to the Picturesque. Not only were these trees planted for reasons of private aesthetics, but it has also been suggested that there was an element of commercial interest which could be seen as a national necessity.[44]

Summerson suggests[45] that three important texts brought the Picturesque to architecture: Richard Payne Knight's *The Landscape, A Didactic Poem*; Uvedale Price's *Essay on the Picturesque*, a reply to Knight's essay; and Humphrey Repton's *Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening*, all published in 1794. While these books represent the theoretical side of the Picturesque, particularly the relationship between landscape and built form, they were not the publications that principally promoted and popularised Picturesque architecture during this period and later. They would, however, have influenced the professional architect and men of Taste. Picturesque villas, such as Cronkhill by Nash, and the landscapes in which they were sited would have been influenced by the theorising of Knight and Price, but it was the rediscovery of the cottage as a primary component in an improved landscape and as an object of interest in its own right which lent support to the middle class cause of the Picturesque. This interest led to a series of publications of designs for Picturesque cottages and villas.[46] The discovery of the cottage and its perception as something that naturally occurred as an English landscape element should be seen as distinctly different from the reasoned appreciation and study of Italian and Grecian antiquities.

The cottage, to the English, represented their own antiquities. Again, Walpole's distinction between the taste for the classical and the passion for the indigenous comes to mind. Again and again, the publications of the Picturesque in architecture revolve around the notion of the cottage as part of nature, for instance in the title to John Smith's Picturesque

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[44]   S. Jellicoe, & G. Jellicoe, *The Landscape of Man: shaping the environment from prehistoric to the present day.* Viking press, New York, 1975, p. 245.

[45]   J. Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530–1830*, Penguin Books, Baltimore, 1963, (c1953), pp. 288 –9.

[46]   J. Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530–1830*, Penguin Books, Baltimore, 1963, (c1953), p. 291.

pattern book, *Remarks on Rural Scenery, with Twenty Etchings of Cottages from Nature*, 1797. Other writers try to systematise the rustic randomness of the antique cottage; For instance James Malton's *An Essay on British Cottage Architecture: Being and Attempt to Perpetuate, on Principle, that Peculiar Mode of Buildings, which was Originally the Effect of Chance*, London, 1798, was a fundamental attempt to study the evolution, from nature, of the cottage. He stressed the importance of irregularity and of pictorial harmony with the environment.[47]

If Georgian classicism was typified by the studious, academic adoption of a set of principles that could be applied to all situations, then the emerging Picturesque styles could be typified by a confidence in 'design' and the architect's own creative 'genius'.[48] While classical treatises were preoccupied with the correct interpretation of the architectural artefact alone, Picturesque pattern books had a preoccupation with the situation and relationship between building and place.

These works, according to Michael McMordie, an English architectural historian, have a particular interest to the historian in that they are the evidence of a period of transition, the adaptation of Picturesque theories of landscape gardeners to architecture. They also bear witness to a period of great social change and upheaval.[49] Picturesque pattern books, suggests McMordie, are artefacts of urbanisation, industrialisation and growth of the middle class.[50] They addressed the growing middle classes with their desire for increased social standing and attainment of greater material possessions, particularly the country seat, retreat or villa.

John Plaw's *Rural Architecture* (1785), is noteworthy for its ability to demonstrate this transition in two ways. First, it was the earliest English publication to clearly express the future trend in British architectural publications and, second, Plaw was the first architect to employ the aquatint as a means of architectural illustration in a published work.[51] Plaw's *Rural Architecture* (1785), was presented as a thin quarto containing only brief descriptions accompanying the aquatint illustrations of villas, cottages and other small dwellings. While all his designs were uniform in style and symmetrical in form, they

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[47]   J. Archer, *The Literature of British Domestic Architecture: 1715–1842*. MIT Press, Massachusetts, 1985, p.29.

[48]   J. Archer, *The Literature of British Domestic Architecture: 1715–1842*. MIT Press, Massachusetts, 1985, p. 28.

[49]   M. McMordie, 'Picturesque pattern books of pre Victorian Designers, pattern books of Great Britain 1790–1835', *Architectural History*, Vol. 18, 1975, p. 43.

[50]   M. McMordie, 'Picturesque pattern books of pre Victorian Designers, pattern books of Great Britain 1790–1835', *Architectural History*, Vol. 18, 1975, p. 46.

[51]   J. Archer, *The Literature of British Domestic Architecture: 1715–1842*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1985, p. 31.

differed greatly from other publications of the time in that careful attention was paid to the co-ordination of the elegant architectural forms with the surrounding scenery. Archer suggests that this commitment to the Picturesque was clearly apparent in this early work.[52]

Before 1785, engraving and etching techniques had been used to illustrate classical treatises. These techniques were ideally suited to the illustration of classical villas where exact proportion and precise detail were required. However, these methods were unable to illustrate the subtle relationship between built form and landscape. In 1775, Paul Sandby published the first English work using aquatints. Sandby had introduced the method from France, where it had been developed by French printmaker Jean–Baptiste Le Prince in the 1760s. The method allowed greater attention to light and shadow and its appearance in England was timely for architects. It allowed the depiction of the subtlety of the Picturesque, the forming of place by light and shadow, advancement and recession that was not possible prior to this. The aquatint facilitated the illustration of trees and shrubs, lawns and stones and allowed the shading of buildings, to give them a three–dimensional quality and to link them with the surrounding landscape.

The use of this printing process allowed a series of handsomely illustrated and often hand–tinted volumes of cottage and villa designs to be published in this period (see fig. 2). According to McMordie, approximately sixty of these works were published between 1790 and 1835. However, it is difficult to ascertain exactly the number published, the print run of each issue and how profitable they were to the author. McMordie suggests these are 'questions that cannot easily be answered.'[53] This is due to the manner in which many were published. Often they would be issued firstly in parts, perhaps in a magazine such as Ackerman's *Repository of Arts*, or later in Loudon's *Architectural Magazine*, for instance. Once a body of work had been collected and the publication had been successful in parts, then the work would be collected together and issued with a new title page and perhaps an introduction and bound as a new volume. For example Papworth's *Rural Residences* was first published in parts in Ackerman's *Repository of Arts* during the years 1816 and 1817 under the title *Architectural Hints*, then the work was republished as *Rural Residences*, 1818.

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[52]   J. Archer, *The Literature of British Domestic Architecture: 1715–1842.* MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1985, p. 29.

[53]   M. McMordie, 'Picturesque pattern books of pre Victorian Designers, pattern books of Great Britain 1790–1835', *Architectural History*, Vol. 18, 1975, pp. 45.

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Fig. 2   Frontispiece, title page and plate XIII.
John Papworth's *Rural Residences.../*. 1818.
Rural Residences was typical of the sixty or so Picturesque pattern books published between 1790 and 1835.
They were illustrated with colour views and accompanying descriptions containing little theory or technical
information.

The Picturesque pattern book format appeared as a result of the increased sophistication and cost effectiveness of printing; the growth of a middle–class audience interested in, and prepared to buy books on design; and the existence of a group of designers with some training, experience and professional ambition, who wished to attract commissions from wealthy clients or to receive peer acclaim.[54] The rapid advancement of technology not only allowed this new type of publication to come about, it also brought an end to the self–published pattern books using hand–coloured aquatints and lithographs. The newer methods, typified by Loudon's *Encyclopaedia*, 1832, were cruder, but they allowed the minor architect to be published without the expense of self publication. They also were able to reach a much wider audience. These new advances, which superseded the Picturesque pattern book format, would eventually evolve into the architectural magazine in its present form. As well, for the first time, they gave architects the opportunity to be journalists and critics. J.C. Loudon can be seen in this light both for his publishing of *The Architectural Magazine* as well as possibly being the first identifiable architectural critic and journalist. However, developments in the architectural publishing industry after the 1840s are beyond the scope of this study.

The term Picturesque pattern book is used by both McMordie,[55] and Linda Smeins,[56] a Canadian architectural historian. However, they use the term to describe two slightly different sets of work; in McMordie's case between 1790 and 1835 and in Smeins's case between 1820 and 1900. All these publications are typified by coloured plates illustrating Picturesque structures as elements in a Picturesque landscape.

The list of works which McMordie cites as fitting into this group is a very complete list of works relevant to this study.[57] For instance, while not fitting his description of a Picturesque pattern book, because of its size, printing method and intended usage, Loudon's *Encyclopaedia* is still included. The only works that are not included in McMordie's list are a few publications prior to 1790 which can be seen as part of the evolution of the Picturesque pattern book, such as Timothy Lightoler's *The Gentleman's and Farmer's Architect* of 1762. In some respects the nature of Batty Langley's work

[54]   M. McMordie, 'Picturesque pattern books of pre Victorian designers; Pattern books of Great Britain 1790–1835', *Architectural History*, Vol. 18, 1975, p. 45.

[55]   M. McMordie, 'Picturesque pattern books of pre Victorian designers. Pattern books of Great Britain 1790–1835', *Architectural History*, Vol. 18, 1975. Mc Mordie suggest there were sixty of these types of works published in England.

[56]   L. E. Smeins, 'Pattern books and the Queen Anne style in America'. PhD., Uni of British Colombia, Vancouver, 1989.

[57]   M. McMordie, 'Picturesque Pattern Books of pre Victorian Designers. Pattern books of Great Britain, 1790–1835', *Architectural History*, Vol. 18, 1975, p. 43.

would also allow inclusion, with his views on the Revival of the English styles resulting from his Freemasonry[58] and support for the English working class.

McMordie's list is as follows:

Aikin, Edmund,   *Designs for Villas and Other Rural Buildings,* London, 1808.

Allen, C. Bruce,   *Cottage Building: or, Hints for the Improving of Dwellings of the Labouring Classes,* London, 1849–50.

Atkinson, William,   *Views of Picturesque Cottages With Plans,* London, 180.

Barber, William,   *Farm Buildings; or Rural Economy. Containing Designs for Cottages, Farm–Houses, Lodges, Farm Yards,* London, 1802.

Bartell, Edmund Jr.   *Hints for Picturesque improvements in Ornamental Cottages, and their Scenery: Including Some Observations on the Labourer and his Cottage,* London, 1804.

Brooks, S.H.   *Designs for Cottage and Villa Architecture,* London, 1839.

Brown, Richard.   *Domestic Architecture,* London, n.d., 1842.

Bushy, Charles Augustus.

                        A Series of Designs for Villas and Country–Houses, London, 1808.

Butler, William Dean.   *Model Farm Houses and Cottage for Ireland, and Other Improving Countries; Being a Series of Designs,* London, 1837.

Carlisle, Nicholas.   *Hints on Rural Residences,* London, 1825.

Clarke, Thomas Hutchins.

                        The Domestic Architecture of the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and James the First., London, 1833.

Cunningham, James.   *Designs for Farm Cottages and Steadings, with Descriptions, Specifications and Estimates: General Remarks on Farm Offices: and an Appendix of Practical Information,* Edinburgh and London, n.d., 1842.

Dean, G. A.   *Construction of Farm Buildings and Cottages,* Stratford, 1849.

Dearn, T. D. W.   *Designs of Lodges and Entrances to Parks, Paddocks and Pleasure–Grounds,* London, 1811.

                        Sketches in Architecture; Consisting of Original Designs of Cottage and Rural Dwellings, London, 1807.

Elsam, Richard.   *An Essay on Rural Architecture ... Being an Attempt, also, to Refute, by analogy ...Mr. James Malton's Essay,* London, 1803.

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58   E. Harris, 'Batty Langley: 'A Tutor to Freemasons (1696–1751)', *Burlington Magazine,* Vol. 119, No. 890, 1977, May, pp. 327–335.

Hints for Improving the Condition of Peasantry. Designs for Cottages, London, 1816.

Gandy, Michael Joseph.

Design for Cottages, Cottage Farms and other Rural Buildings, London, 1805.

The Rural Architect; Consisting of Various Designs for Country Buildings, London, 1806.

Goodwin, Francis.   *Domestic Architecture; Being a Series of Designs for Mansions, Villas, Rectory Houses,* London, 1833.

Domestic Architecture; Being a Second Series of Designs for Cottages, Lodges, Villas, in the Grecian, Italian, and Old English Styles of Architecture, London, 1834.

Rural architecture: First Series of Designs for Rustic, Peasants' and Ornamental Cottages, Lodges and Villas in Various Styles of Architecture, London, 1835.

Cottage Architecture, being a Supplement to the first Series of Goodwin's Rural Architecture, London, 1835.

Gyfford, Edward.   *Designs for Elegant Cottages and Small Villas,* London, 1806.

Designs for Small Picturesque Cottages and Hunting Boxes, London, 1806.

Hall, John.   *Novel Designs for Cottages and Schools,* London, 1825.

Hedgeland, J.   *First Part of a Series of Designs For Private Dwellings,* London, 1821.

Hine, T. C.   *Prize Model Cottages,* 2nd, ed., London, 1849.

Hunt, Thomas Frederick.

Architettura Campestre: Displayed in Lodges, Gardener's Houses, and Other Buildings ... in the Modern Italian Style, London, 1827.

Designs for Parsonage Houses, Almshouses etc., London, 1827.

Exemplars of Tudor Architecture, Adapted to Modern Habitations, London, 1830.

Half a Dozen Hints on Picturesque Domestic Architecture, 1825, 2nd edn., London, 1825.

Jackson, J.G.   *Designs for Villas,* London, 1829.

Johnson & Cresy.   *On the Cottage of Agricultural Labourers,* London, 1847.

Jones, Edward.   *Athenian or Grecian Villas: Being a Series of Original Designs for Villas or Country Residence,* London, 1835.

Kent, Nathaniel.   *Hints to Gentlemen of Landed Property,* 1775, 2nd ed., London, 1776.

Laing, David.   *Hints for Dwellings: Consisting of Original Designs for Cottages,*
                     Farm Houses, Villas, and Plain and ornamental ...Town Houses,
                     London, 1804.
                     Plans, Elevations and Sections, of Buildings, Executed in Various
                     Parts of England, London, 1818.

Lamb, Edward Buckton.
                     Studies in Ancient Domestic Architecture, London, 1846.

Lewis, James.   *Original Designs in Architecture: Consisting of Plans, Elevation,*
                     and Section, for villas, Mansions, Town Houses, 2 vols London,
                     1780–97.

Loudon, J.C.   *An Encyclopaedia of Agriculture,* London, 1825.
                     An Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, Villa Architecture and
                     Furniture, (with supplement), Longmans, London, 1835.
                     First Additional Supplement to Encyc. of Cottage ..., London,
                     1842.
                     Remarks on the Construction of Hot Houses, London, 1817.
                     The Suburban Gardener, and Villa Companion, London, 1838.
                     A Treatise of Forming, Improving and Managing Country
                     Residences, 2 vols., London, 1806.

Lugar, R.   *Architectural Sketches for Cottages, Rural Dwellings and Villas,*
                     London, 1805.
                     The Country Gentlemen's Architect; Designs for Farm Houses
                     and Yards, London, 1807.
                     Plans and Views of Buildings executed in England and Scotland,
                     London, 1811.
                     Villa Architecture ...Buildings Executed in England and Scotland
                     etc. London, 1828.

Malton, James.   *A Collection of Designs for Rural Retreats, as Villas, Principally in*
                     the Gothic and Castle Styles of Architecture, London, 1802.
                     An Essay on British Cottage Architecture: Being an Attempt to
                     Perpetuate, on Principle, that Peculiar Mode of Building, which
                     was Originally the Effect of Chance, London, 1798.

Matthews, James Tilly.
                     Useful Architecture, London, 1799.

Middleton, Thomas Charles.
                     The Architect and Builder's Miscellany, or Pocket Library, London,
                     1799.
                     Picturesque and Architectural Views of Cottages, and
                     Farm–Houses, and Country Villas, London, 1790.

Miller, John.	*The Country Gentlemen's Architect ... New Designs for Cottage, Farm Houses, Country Houses, Villas Lodges,* London, 1805.
Mitchell, Robert.	*Plans and Views ...of Buildings erected in England and Scotland,* London, 1801.
Morison, Robert.	*Designs in Perspective for Villas in the Ancient Castle and Grecian Style,* London, 1794.
Nicholl, S.J.	*Prize Model Cottages,* 2nd Edn., London, 1849.
Papworth, John B.	*Hints on Ornamental Gardening ... Designs of Garden Buildings,* London, 1823.
	Designs for Rural Residences. London. (1818).
Parker, Charles.	*Villa Rustica, Selected from Buildings and Scenes in the Vicinity of Rome and Florence; Arranged for Lodges and Domestic Buildings,* London, 1823.
Peacock, James.	*OIKIAIA, or, Nutshells: Being Ichnographic Distributions for Small Villas,* London, 1785.
Plaw, John.	*Ferme Ornée; or Rural Improvements. A Series of Domestic and Ornamental Design,* London, 1795.
	Rural Architecture; Or Designs from the simple Cottage to the Decorated Villa. London, 1785.
	Sketches of Country Houses, Villas, and Rural Dwellings ... Also some Designs for Cottages, London, 1800.
Pocock, William Fuller.	
	Architectural Designs for Rustic Cottages, Picturesque Dwellings, Villas & etc., London, 1807.
Randall, James.	*A Collection of Architectural Designs for Mansions, Casinos, Villas, Lodges and Cottages in Grecian, Gothic, Styles,* London, 1806.
Ricauti, T.J.	*Rustic Architecture,* London, 1840.
	Sketches for Rustic Work, London, 1848.
Richardson, George.	*The First Part of a Complete System of Architecture, or Original Designs for Country Seats or Villas,* London, 1794.
	New Designs in Architecture, London, 1792.
	A Series of Original Designs for Country Seats or Villas, London, 1794.
Roberts, Henry.	*Cottages on the Duke of Bedford's Estate,* London, 1849.
	The Dwelling of the Labouring Classes, London, 1850.
Robertson, William.	*Designs in Architecture, for Garden Chairs, Small Gates For Villas, Park Entrances,* London, 1800.
Robinson, Peter Frederick.	
	Designs for Farm Buildings, London, 1830.

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	Designs for Ornamental Villas, London, 1827.
	Designs for Lodges and Park Entrances, London, 1833.
	A new Series of Designs for Ornamental Cottages and Villas, London, 1838.
	Rural Architecture, or a series of Designs for Ornamental Cottages, London, 1823.
	Village Architecture, Being a Series of Designs for the Inn, the School House, Almshouses, Markethouses, Shambles, Workhouse, Parsonage, Town Hall, and Church, London, 1830.
Shaw, Edward.	*Rural Architecture: Consisting of Classic Dwellings, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian and Gothic*, Boston, 1843.
Smith, George.	*Essay on the Construction of Cottages Suited for the Dwellings of the Labouring Classes*, Glasgow, 1834.
Smith, John Thomas.	*Remarks on Rural Scenery, with twenty etchings of Cottages from Nature*, London, 1797.
Soane, John.	*Designs in Architecture*, London, 1778.
	Plans, Elevations and Sections of Buildings Erected in the Counties of Norfolk and Suffolk etc., London, 1788.
	Sketches in Architecture, Containing Plans and Elevations of Cottages and Villas and Other useful Buildings with Characteristic Scenery, London, 1793.
Stevens, Francis.	*Views of Cottages and Farm Houses in England and Wales*, London, 1815.
Thomson, James.	*Retreats: a Series of Designs, Consisting of Plans and Elevations for Cottages, Villas, and Ornamental Buildings*, London, 1827.
Tredall, Edward.	*Examples for Roofs ...for Stables, Cottages ...Schools, Churches, and other Public Buildings*, London, 1843.
Tredall, E.W.	*Original Designs for Cottages and Villas, in the Grecian, Gothic and Italian Style*, London, n.d., 1831.
Waistell, Charles.	*Designs for Architectural Buildings, Including Labourer's Cottages, Farm Houses and Out–offices ... to which are prefixed, an Essay on the Improvement of the Condition of Cottages*, London, 1827.
Weaver, Henry.	*Hints on Cottage Architecture*, Bath, n.d., 1848.
Wetten, Robert G.	*Designs for Villas in the Italian Style of Architecture*, London, 1830.
Wilds, William.	*Elementary and Practical Instruction on the Art of Building Cottages and Houses for the Humbler Classes*, London, 1835.
Wood, John.	*A Series of Plans, for Cottages or Habitation of the Labourer, either in Husbandry, or the Mechanical Arts*, London, 1781.

Wyatt, Lewis W.   *A Collection of Architectural Designs, Rural and Ornamental,* London, 1800. [59]

McMordie's list includes titles both before and after his stated period of 1790–1835 and also some titles that do not strictly meet his description of a Picturesque pattern book; however, they mostly appear to be associated with the movement in Picturesque architecture of the period.

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[59] M. McMordie, 'Picturesque pattern books of pre Victorian Designers, Pattern books of Great Britain, 1790–1835', *Architectural History.* Vol. 18, 1975, pp. 55–59.

Technical Publications

Of the three groups of publications looked at here, the third, technical publications, was spread over a much longer period of time and covered the greatest spectrum of subjects. In this thesis we will examine those published from the early part of the 1700s until the mid 1840s, starting with the small pocket books by authors such as Langley and Hoppus containing primarily proportional information on the orders. It will include the scholarly and ground breaking work of Peter Nicholson in the later part of the 1700s and the early part of 1800s, and finish with the complete and monumental survey of the state of building up to and including the 1830s by Joseph Gwilt. While the two previous categories of works were almost solely concerned with the aesthetics of architecture, the works in this category are more concerned with the mechanics of architecture, although they also often contain some design and theory information.

The first publication covering the mechanics of architecture was William Pope's selection of eight designs for the framing of roofs and partitions which was included in Godfrey Richards's version (1663) of Le Muet's pocket size vulgarisation of Palladio's first book, *Quatro Libri*. The success of this 'most useful work'[60] and its 12 reprints was, according to Harris, more associated with the fact that it contained Palladio's orders than the fact that it contained carpentry details. It appears that up until the 1700s, the traditional manner of transferring information from master to apprentice sufficed, as there was only this one work aimed at the mechanics of architecture.

While the professional architectural treatise of the early English classical period set the standard, and contributed to the academic debate, it was the flood of cheap 'vulgarisations' of the high–minded treatise, aimed at the artisan class of the building trades, which shifted popular opinion towards Palladianism and shaped it into a truly national (English) style and provided the English trade classes with the ability to realise the visions of the high–minded. The technical works from 1700 to at least 1840 were dramatically successful for several reasons: the emerging middle class; the growth of literacy among the masses; the democratic or semi–democratic character of the English classicism; and, of course, the rapid growth of London and other regional centres at the time.[61]

The most noteworthy writers in the area were Langley, Halfpenny, Pain and to some extent Nicholson.

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[60]   E. Harris, & N. Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556–1785.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990, p. 38.

Batty Langley,

> a leading spokesman of the opposition to the Burlington establishment, a champion of the English Craftsmen, and, above all, an avid freemason passionately devoted to the education of his brethren,[62]

and his engraver brother Thomas, were prolific publishers of architectural works aimed at the working craftsman and artisans of the 1700s and early 1800s. Despite their works generally being unoriginal, repetitive, slap–dash productions and much of their information and plates being pirated from their extensive architectural library, the influence they had on the standard of eighteenth century building all over Britain was enormous, according to Harris.[63] The list of subscribers to *The Builder's Complete Assistant*, (1738) and *The Country Builder's and Workman's Treasury*, (1740) was made up of carpenters, joiners, glaziers, masons, surveyors, carvers, the unknown men that did the daily work of building, and cabinet makers whom we do not normally associate with architectural books, such as Thomas Edwards and James Chippendale, joiner, probably the father of Thomas Chippendale. Some notable architects, such as James Paine and John Wood the elder, also subscribed. Harris suggests that because of the large and widely–distributed audiences, it is difficult to cite particular designs that have explicitly used Langely's patterns.[64] In addition, where a match can be made it will never be absolutely clear whether the design is quoting Langley, the work Langley copied or one of the subsequent publications that used Langley's work (such as William Pain). Charles Hind claims that many of Langley's designs can be seen executed in the front entries added to older buildings in many English towns.[65] He suggests that Langley's pattern books were used by common builders to modernise older buildings in the current taste of London, and many of these alterations might be matched to Langley.

Batty Langley and his publishing endeavours well demonstrate the early growth of the technical publication and the desire, on the part of the building trades, for this type of publication (see fig. 3).

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[61]   R. Wittkower, *Palladio and English Palladianism*. Thames & Hudson, London, 1974, p. 105.

[62]   E. Harris, & N Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556–1785*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990, p. 262.

[63]   E. Harris, & N. Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556–1785*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990, p. 268.

[64]   E. Harris, & N Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556–1785*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990, p. 169.

[65]   C. Hind, 'The influence of eighteenth century books on provincial vernacular architecture.' *Traditional Homes* Vol. 2, No. 11, 1986, Aug, pp. 8 – 14.

Batty Langley was born in Twickenham to parents Elizabeth and Daniel and was baptised on 14 September 1696. His father was a gardener and Batty initially followed his father's career, as he appears to have first practised as a landscape gardener.[66] He published several books on the subject early in his career, including *New Principles in Gardening* (1728), and *Practical Geometry* (1726). However, it is suggested by Harris that his landscape gardening ideas were not original for the time and that many of them were taken from Switzer's *Ichnographia Rustica* (1718).[67] Indeed, Harris suggests that most of Langley's work revolved around his ability to recognise fashion rather than having any significant original thoughts of his own.
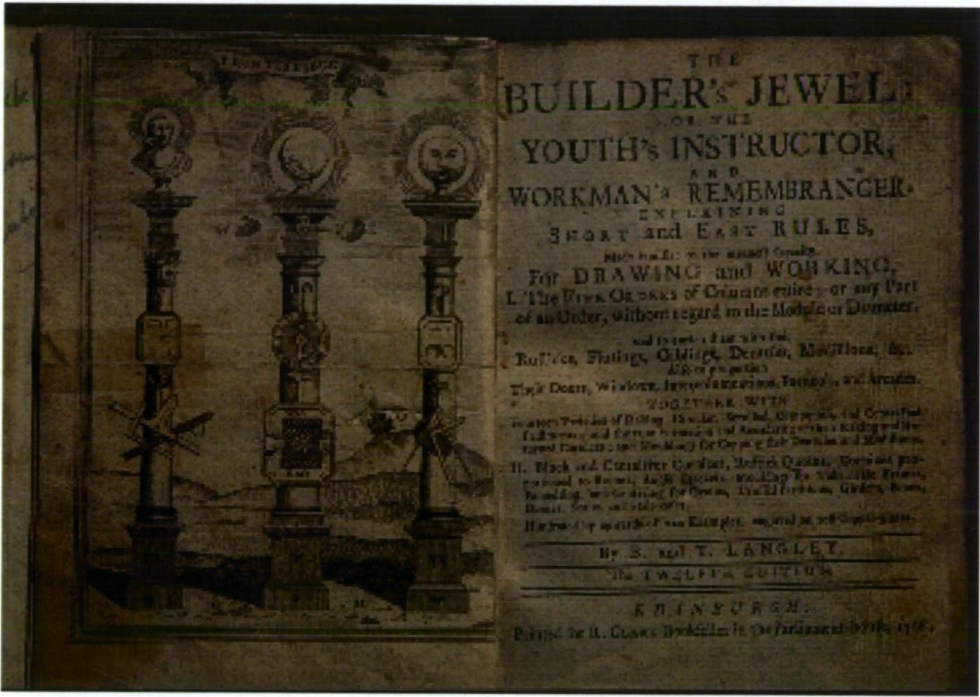
Fig. 3   Frontispiece and title page
Batty Langley's *Builder's Jewel.../.* 1757.
The *Builder's Jewel* presented a range of details from the proportional relationships of the orders and their application to the timber framing of more complicated building elements such as vaults and groins.

Harris suggests that the underlying thread of all Langley's publications was his opposition to the Burlington establishment.[68] This stems from his support of the working class and in particular the Freemasonry movement. In *The Workman's Golden Rule*, 1750, Langley accused the nobility and gentry of showing the working-class artisans and industry 'great

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[66] H. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840*. John Murray, London, 1978, p.503.

[67] E.Harris, 'Batty Langley: Tutor to the Freemasons (1696–1751)', *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 119. No. 890, 1977, May, p. 328 .

[68] E. Harris, & N. Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556–1785*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990, p. 262.

disregard' by not embracing greater ornament in architecture. He was particularly devoted to the education of his brethren. While most of his publications used the classical ornament of the time, much of his work also pursued the older English styles, such as the Gothic, challenging the established Burlington School, primarily for nationalist reasons.

He does not seem to have had any success as an architect, as few buildings can be attributed to him. Despite this, the influence of his publications on architecture all over the British Isles was vast.[69] His early work, *Ancient Architecture Restored and Improved* (1742), is described by Harris as his only really original work. His celebrated attempt to revive the English Gothic style in *Ancient Architecture* (1741), which he intended would complement the existing classical orders, was widely ridiculed at the time by his architectural contemporaries, but was nevertheless widely imitated all over Britain. When the Gothic revivalists did finally appear some sixty years later they also ridiculed his proposal for a Gothic order.

The works that Langley published were typical of the early to mid part of the century. They were small, leather–bound octavo books and were designed to fit the pocket of the working man.[70] They were published in large numbers and were of relatively low cost, when compared to the folio–sized classical treatise.

The major topics of his works were the orders and the ornamentation of architecture, subjects widely written about by many architects and scholars of the period who were often far more qualified to do so in an authoritative manner than Langley. While the leading architects of the time were writing for the profession, the nobility and the gentry, Batty Langley targeted the builder and workman. This he did with particular success. His works were being republished long after his death in 1751 and were clearly still in use during the period of interest to this study. A scan of antiquarian book catalogues reveals that Langley's titles are commonly still in existence both in Australia and overseas.[71]

The *Builder's Jewel* consists of a series of plates demonstrating the ornamental and

[69]   E. Harris, & N. Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556–1785*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990; and
E. Harris, 'Batty Langley: Tutor to the Freemasons (1696 – 1751)', *Burlington Magazine*, Vol.119, No. 890, 1977, May, p. 335.

[70]   Often they were smaller than the size of a novel and can be truly described as 'Pocket Books'.

[71]   Dawson. *Book Auction Records. A Priced and Annotated Annual Record of International Book Auctions*, Dawson, London. A scan of this publication from the present back to 1970 revealed that, compared to other titles, the works of Batty Langley are readily available and do not command high prices.
J. Fisher, *Fisher's Rare and Fine Book Catalogue*. Sydney. A scan of this catalogue suggests that the works of Batty Langley, particularly *Builder's Jewel* and *The Builder's Directory or Bench Mate*, are readily available in Australia.

proportional nature of the five orders of architecture. The notes to the plates propose a series of rules for their configuration. Unlike other works of the period, Langley does not attribute his orders to any source in particular, such as Colen Campbell or Inigo Jones. There is also no evidence of him going on a 'grand tour' to visit antiquities and undertake measurements himself. Rather it is suggested by both Harris and Colvin that most of the information was gleaned from such sources as Morris, Gibbs and Campbell. Langley does not contribute to any ongoing intellectual study of the orders and classical antiquities.

The *Builder's Jewel* also sets down some carpentry information, in particular span tables of timbers in floors and ceilings, framing methods for roofs and construction methods for trusses. It is doubtful whether the information presented in this section is sound, considering Langley's background.[72] However, due to the popularity of Langley's books, particularly of *The Builder's Jewel*, their influence cannot be underestimated.

Langley was clearly attempting to make the masters available to the average working classes and he stated this in the introduction to *The Builder's Directory* (1746):

> As the greatest part of the architecture of Andrea Palladio, published by Ware and Leoni etc., in large folios consists chiefly of designs of palaces, bridges and temples, which to workman are of little use and as those books are of large prices, beyond the reach of many workman and too large for the use of work, I have therefore, for the common good, extracted from the works of the great master, all that is useful to workmen, and which I have made fully as plain and intelligible as they have done in their large folios and at so easy rate as to be purchased by any common labourer.

The *Builder's Directory* contains details of the ornamentation of architecture, but principally information on the orders of architecture, including Langley's Gothic order. In addition, it contains both classical and Gothic mouldings, fire surrounds, doors and windows, as well as some internal wall elevations. The work contains directions for proportioning of individual items but does not place them in the larger context. This lack of context is consistent through out Langley's work and may be explained by the fact that he aimed his work at artisans who worked on the detail of building rather than the complete building. Last published in 1767, in large numbers for the period, the work is still readily available in Australia, suggesting that it was a text used in colonial Australian building.

William Halfpenny, a contemporary of Langley, was also a prolific publisher and author of technical works. Little is known of Halfpenny's origins, but on the title pages of his

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[72]   The structural information presented by Langley is untested and may not be reflective of the state of carpentry at the time, unlike, say, the works of Isaac Ware, an architect, or Thomas Tredgold, a civil engineer.

publications he describes himself as 'carpenter and architect'. It is suggested by Harris that he may have begun his career as a carpenter and supplemented his income with drafting as he had a long association (as revealed in acknowledgments in his publications) with mathematical instrument makers, teachers, and map and chart print sellers from Bristol.[73]

His five books, published between 1724 and 1730, provided the builder with easy and practical methods of drawing, and thus building, the essential elements of architecture in their proper proportions. These early books were aimed at the builder and were produced in a size that could fit in a builder's pocket. They were also meant to be easy to use.[74] Halfpenny was the first to publish this type of information in the English language, although in subsequent editions of *Practical Architecture* he and his publishers did not bother to enlarge on the work and thus it was superseded by Robert Morris's *Essay in Defence of Ancient Architecture*.

Halfpenny's career as a writer of architectural publications seems to have been in two phases, the first between 1724–1731 and the second between 1749 and his death in 1755. The second phase of his publication coincided with an upturn in the building industry. Halfpenny's son, John, also appears to have had an input into his work during this period, as well as Robert Morris. Unlike the first period of publishing, which solely dealt with technical and theoretical aspects of architecture and building, during the second period he also published works which can be more properly considered as pattern books. He explored Gothic and Chinese styles in some publications, as well as presenting portfolios of designs. Robert Morris, who may have encouraged him in his designs for rural architecture typical of classicism of the period, appears to have been openly critical of his Chinese follies, saying that they were 'trifles ...esteemed when it was the fashion to be ridiculous.'[75]

Halfpenny's early works were typical of publications focused on the technical aspects of building rather than the mere presentation of plan and elevations alone, as in pattern books, and as such are the basis for later technical publications that are of relevance to the subject of this study.

[73]   H. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840*. John Murray, London, 1978, p. 378. Some of his early works, Holy Trinity Church in Leeds, for instance, also suggest a Yorkshire origin.

[74]   E. Harris, & N. Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556–1785*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990, p. 218.

[75]   E. Harris, & N. Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556–1785*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990, p. 220. Morris's response was contained in *Architectural Remembrancer*, April, 1751.

The nature of publishing in the eighteenth century resulted in books being rare and thus valued items, giving them a much longer period of relevance than publications today. In addition, limited print runs resulted in many new additions. Some of Halfpenny's books were still available new in England, in 1760, more than thirty years or more after their first publication.[76] Halfpenny's *Practical Architecture* first appeared in 1724 and continued to be republished until 1751, four years before his death. Throughout all the republications, it largely remained the same, unlike many publications which tended to be continually revised between editions (which makes referencing them now problematic).

Practical Architecture contains tables showing the 'correct' dimensions of particular elements of the orders, doors and windows. Halfpenny's view of 'correct' was to take dimensions from Inigo Jones's Covent Garden and, broadly, from Palladio. Later in the eighteenth century, other architectural theorists were to reinterpret both Jones and Palladio against their own studies of antiquities, which altered the 'correct' view of the orders. The tables demonstrate that with the increase in size of one particular element, the other elements increased in size correspondingly. The work does not, however, promote any understanding of proportional qualities, rather it is expected the builder will take them as absolute. A recognised flaw in the work was that the overall dimensions of the elements are not shown. The work could not be used on its own by a builder, as it does not demonstrate how the elements should be arranged on the facade in a proportional manner. *Practical Architecture* is primarily a practical pocket guide for builders, demonstrating the elements of architecture, the five orders, door and window decoration etc.

William Pain is an important author of the latter part of the 1700s. While having many of the attributes of his predecessors, such as his reinterpretation of the works of others, and a similar content, he differed in that his works were more widely published, being the first architectural author widely distributed in the United States of America.

Very little is known about William Pain's background, despite the amount of work he published. Throughout the second half of the eighteenth century he was never out of print and many of his works were republished many times in enlarged and revised editions. His works were in great demand in America, a demand which Harris suggests exceeded that of any other eighteenth century English author.[77] He appears to have been born, at the latest, in 1730 and died sometime after 1794.[78] He described himself as an 'architect and

[76]   E. Harris, & N. Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556–1785*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990, p. 220. Morris's response was contained in *Architectural Remembrancer*, April, 1751

[77]   E. Harris, & N. Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556–1785*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990, p.339.

[78]   E. Harris, & N. Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556–1785*. Cambridge University

carpenter' or 'architect and joiner' in his publications. He had one son, James, and two grandsons, Henry and William, who trained as architects under Nash.
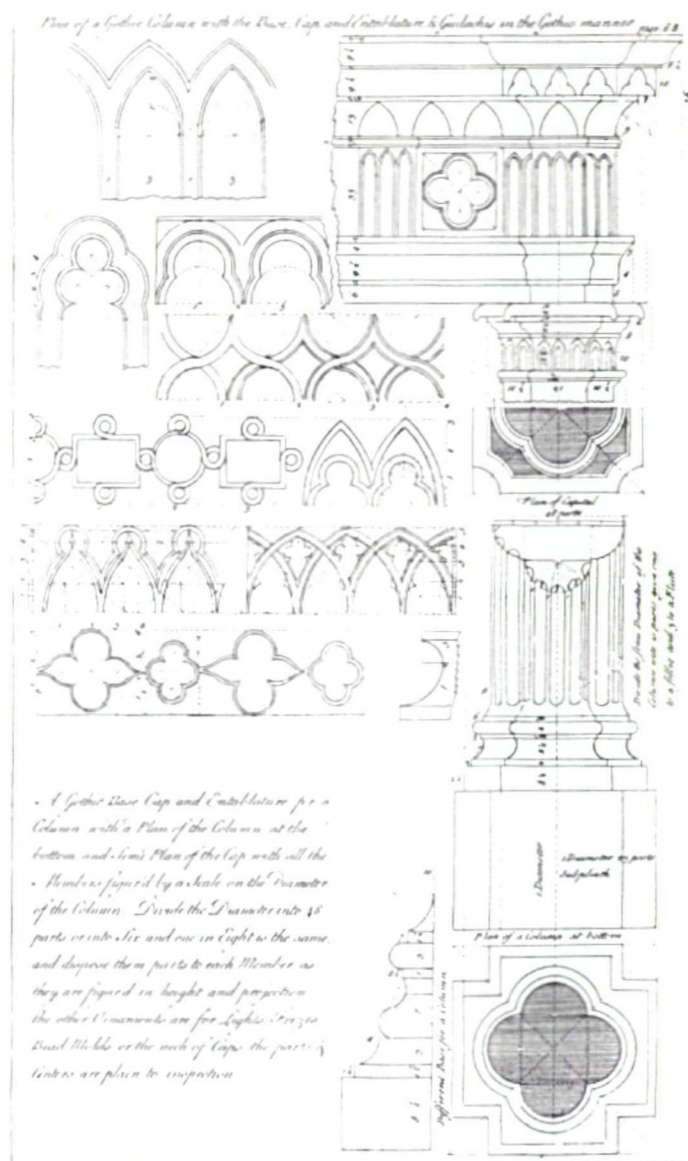
Fig. 4   W. Pain. *The Builder's Companion.../*. 1812, p. 68.
A typical plate from one of Pain's works. He was able to include much more detail on his plates making them easier for the tradesman to use

Pain aimed his works directly at the 'workman' and those 'ignorant' and 'uninstructed' in architecture.[79] His many works contained predominantly technical information, including building construction details as well as stylistic information such as the orders and mouldings. These publications seem to have been the forerunners of the publications of

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Press, Cambridge, 1990, p.339.

[79]   W. Pain, *Practical Builder: or Workman's General Assistant: shewing ... methods for drawing and working hand working the whole or separate part of any building.* I. Taylor, London, 1774, Introduction.

Peter Nicholson whose first publication was in 1809,[80] while Pain's last occurred in 1823.[81] Nicholson makes reference to Pain in the publication of his *Architectural Dictionary.*[82] Nicholson had little regard for Pain's contribution in general; however, he did recognise his contribution to joinery. He also recognised the clarity of the method used to present the plates. Pain sought to present his information 'plainly and faithfully to answer the purpose of the manual',[83] keeping his text to the essentials only, his works being noted for the amount of information on the plates themselves. The plates in Pain's works are clearly identifiable due to their individual nature. The clear, unpretentious outlines convey the essential information. Much information that was contained in the texts of previous works were engraved by Pain directly onto the plates, making it simpler for the working tradesman to access the instructions.

Pain, despite his ability to keep pace with the prevailing fashion,[84] principally followed the essence of the classical architectural style. For instance, in the preface to the 1762 edition of his *Builder's Companion* the very first sentence states:

> As in all things Order is to be observed, so especially in this excellent Art of Architecture it is requisite that every Part and Member have its right Order and due Proportion.[85]

The *Builder's Companion* was last republished in 1810.

The author that can most clearly and unequivocally be linked with colonial Australia is Peter Nicholson due to the period in which he published and lectured, his reputation and quantity of books produced. Peter Nicholson was born in the parish of Prestonkirk, East Lothian. Interestingly, he attended the same school in Prestonkirk as the engineer John Rennie, being within a year of him[86]. He was not inclined to follow his father's career as a stonemason, but was apprenticed to a cabinetmaker in Linton. On becoming a journeyman,

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[80] P. Nicholson, *The Principles of Architecture, containing the fundamental rules of the art, in geometry, arithmetic, and mensuration; with the application of those rules to practice.* J. Barfield, London 1795.

[81] W. Pain, *The Practical House Carpenter: ... containing ... designs in carpentry and architecture ... a list of prices for material and labour.* Publisher unknown, London, 1789.

[82] P. Nicholson, *An Architectural Dictionary, Vol. 1.* J.Barfield, London, 1819, pp. 187–188.

[83] W. Pain, *Practical Builder: or Workman's General Assistant: shewing ... methods for drawing and working and working the whole or separate part of any building.* I. Taylor, London, 1774, Title page.

[84] E. Harris, & N. Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556–1785.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990, p. 339.

[85] W. Pain, *The Builder's Companion and Workman's General Assistant,* Gregg International Press, Farnborough England, (1971). Reprint of London 1762 edition.

[86] P. Nicholson, *An Improved and Enlarged Edition of Nicholson's New Carpenter's Guide: being a complete book of lines, for carpenter's, joiners, and workmen in general, on methods entirely new, founded on geometric principles.* Jones, London, 1825, Memoir.

he moved to Edinburgh and later, at the age of 23, moved to London to continue the study of geometry which he had begun at an early age. Shortly after arriving, he gave his first lecture on geometry. As a method of earning an income, this first lecture was not a success. However, it attracted many students and led to a continuing series of lectures. These subsequent lectures proved worthwhile for him as he was able to stop work as a journeyman and devote himself to the study of building and architecture.

The lectures which he gave during this period in London formed the basis for his first publication, *New Carpenter's Guide, 1792*. This publication was to set the tenor all his later publications. Nicholson fully understood the science of mathematics and geometry as it related to architecture and the building trades. Secondly, he was able to present this information in such a way that the building trades were able to make use of it. He did this by, for instance, developing a method of converting the complicated geometrical procedure of drawing a parabolic curve to a simple method utilising X and Y axes marked with points and joined by straight lines. This method was available to the tradesman on site. Nicholson, unlike Langley, aimed his publications at both the trade level of the building industry and the professional architect, and it appears that he was respected as one of the leading intellects of nineteenth–century building technology.[87]

The *New Carpenter's Guide* was followed by the *Joiner's Assistant*, (1792), and *Principles of Architecture*, in three volumes, published in 1799. Nicholson pursued his study by applying his geometrical knowledge to classical antiquities. He proposed, for instance, that the volutes of Greek Ionic columns formed a logarithmic spiral,[88] which he simplified to a geometrical method that a builder could apply on site, which he presented in his *Principles of Architecture*, (1799).

From 1800, Nicholson was practising as an architect in Glasgow. In 1808 he was appointed Surveyor to the County of Cumberland and under his supervision new courts by Telford were constructed in Carlisle. In 1812, on his return to London, he published the *Architectural Dictionary* in two volumes. This was his most successful work. He lost heavily in 1827 when his publisher went bankrupt, leaving him with little backing to continue with the publication of *The School of Architecture and Engineering* which was then up to its fifth volume. In 1829, Nicholson went to live in Northumberland, but finally settled in Carlisle where he died on 18 June 1844 and was buried in the Christ Church graveyard.

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[87]   H. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840*, John Murray, London, 1978, p. 594.

[88]   P. Nicholson, *An Improved and Enlarged Edition of Nicholson's New Carpenter's Guide: being a complete book of lines, for carpenter's, joiners, and workmen in general, on methods entirely new, founded on geometric principles.* Jones, London, 1825.

Joseph Gwilt wrote in the preface to Nicholson's *Principles of Architecture*, which Gwilt republished in 1848:

> The editor cannot close this short notice without paying a tribute to the memory of the author, who, by his perseverance and talents, from a subordinate station in one of the building branches, raised himself to a very high rank as an instructor in architecture and construction detail and thus placed himself on the footing of a public benefactor.[89]

The writer of his memoir in the 1825 edition of *The Improved and Enlarged Edition of Nicholson's New Carpenter's Guide*, summed up Nicholson's intentions for his publications as follows:

> To connect science with industry and to improve their union has been the great object of this celebrated architect.[90]

The technical publications can be looked at in two ways, they can be seen as cheap plagerisations of the high–minded treatise or they can be seen as eminently important in the communication with, and education of, the working class, and thus providing the skills and techniques needed to build high–minded architecture. The latter is suggested as being the most acceptable. The classical and technical clearly work together in promoting and educating different areas of society. Both were probably essential in the promotion of the classical and the professionalisation of the architectural profession and building trades.

The technical publications were less associated with the promotion of the careers of their authors and more associated with the commercial realities of the building industry.

The following list of technical publications represents the types of works that were available and relevant to Colonial Australia . The list does not seek to represent all published titles of this category nor does it represent only those works available to colonial Australia:

Elsam, Richard,   *The Practical Builders Perpetual Price Book*, London, 1825.
Halfpenny, W.,   *The Art of Sound Building*, London, 1725.

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[89]   P. Nicholson, & J. Gwilt, *Principles of Architecture: comprising fundamental rules od art, with their application to practice: also rules for shadows and for the five orders*. H. G. Bohn, London, 1848, Preface.

[90]   P. Nicholson, *An Improved and Enlarged Edition of Nicholson's New Carpenter's Guide: being a complete book of lines, for carpenter's, joiners, and workmen in general, on methods entirely new, founded on geometric principles*. Jones, London, 1825, Memoir.

	Useful Architecture, in Twenty One New Designs for Erecting
Parsonage	*Houses, Farms Houses, and Inns etc.*, London, 1752.
	The Modern Builders Assistant: or a Concise Epitome of the
Whole	*System of Architecture*, London, 1757.
	Practical Architecture or a True Guide to the Workings According
to the	*Rules of that Science*, London, 1730.
Hoppus, E.,	*The Gentleman's and Builder's Repository*, London, 1737.
Langley, Batty,	*Ancient Masonry*, London, 1734 – 35.
	The Builder's Chest-Book, London, 1727.
	The Builder's Director, or Bench Mate, London, 1746.
	The City and Country Builder's and Workman's Treasury of
	Designs . . . London, 1740.
	The London Prices of Bricklayers Material and Works, London, 1747.
	The Builder's Jewel, London, 1746.
	*Gothic Architecture Restored and Improved ...*London, 1741.
Moxon, Joseph,	*Mechanical Exercises,* London, 1683.
	Vignola: or the Complete Architect, London, 1655.
Neve, Richard,	*The City and Country Purchaser,* London, 1703.
Nicholson, Peter,	*An Architectural Dictionary,* London, 1819.
	The Builder's and Workman's New Dictionary, London, 1824.
	The Carpenter's and Joiner's Assistant, London, 1792.
	The New Carpenter's Guide, London, 1792.
	The New and Improved Practical Builder and Workman's
	Companion, London, 1823.
	Treatise on the Construction of Staircases and Handrails, London, 1820.
Pain, William,	*The Practical Builder,* London, 1774.
Pain, W. & Pain, J.,	*British Palladio,* London, 1786.
Price, Francis,	*The British Carpenter,* London, 1733.
Ware, Isaac,	*A Complete Body of Architecture,* London, 1756.
	Designs of Inigo Jones, London, 1735.

The Influence of British Architectural Literature, 1715–1845, on the Architecture of Colonial Tasmania.
Mike Grant 2003

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Chapter Two

Influence of Literature on the Process of Architectural Design

> A very slight consideration will convince everyone, that, unless he has made any art or
> subject his particular study, his taste or his opinions respecting that art or subject have
> been formed on the accidental circumstances by which he has been surrounded. A person
> living in a city can hardly help having some taste for architecture; that is, from
> continually seeing new buildings erected, he cannot avoid comparing them with those
> already existing, and probably judging them, in his own mind, to be either better or
> worse. Here, we will say, is an incipient taste for architecture, which, in a person
> whose mind is chiefly occupied with other subjects, may never advance a step further.[91]

Opinions can be formed by the accidental circumstances which surround us, suggests
Loudon. The influence on our architectural taste, while being able to be formed from
study, is also influenced by the world around us, the place were we live, our education and
social status etc. The potential for our environment to influence our taste in architectural
design is vast and diverse. Published sources, likewise, have a potential to influence the
design process in many and varied ways, with the act of mere copying of a text or image
being only the most obvious process of influence.

The Different Ways in which Literature has the Potential to Influence the Architectural Design Process

Five different categories of influence have been selected here to demonstrate some of the
ways in which a published source can directly, or indirectly, influence the design process.
This is not a definitive list, nor is it suggested that influence can be easily pigeonholed,
rather the following should be seen as a demonstration of some of the possibilities:

1. Influence at point of design. Books can be used on the drawing board itself as the
   primary design source.

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[91] J.C. Loudon, *The Architectural Magazine, Vol. 1.* Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longman, London, 1843, p. 49.

2. Influence on trade skill. The information contained within a text can be taken into general trade skill and knowledge and thus express itself in the building method and detail at a later date, possibly even on the other side of the world.

3. Influence by representation of mental image. An illustration of a building in a book, particularly a Picturesque pattern book, can be used to represent the mental image the client has of the intended building to the architect or builder. Thus the book itself is not the origin of the initial idea but the method of communicating that idea.

4. Influence on literature by literature. The information and ideas contained in one architectural text can be reused and adapted by other authors in later texts. Thus some texts may influence the architectural process via one or more subsequent publications by other authors.

5. Shared Visual Image (patron architect relationship). Fashionably acceptable architectural aesthetics of a particular time are confirmed in published sources and used to demonstrate a shared visual experience between client and architect.[92] For instance, the client requires the most fashionable piece of architecture acceptable to 'cultured' society, the architect provides the demonstration of his ability by either publishing a portfolio of work that meets and demonstrates this shared visual experience or uses the published portfolio of another to demonstrate the shared visual experience Thus the published source is not being used as a source in itself, but rather as a confirmation of this shared experience.

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[92] J. Onians, *Bearers of Meaning: the classical orders in the antiquity, the middle ages, and the renaissance.* Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1988, p. 4.

1. Influence at Point of Design

The most obvious manner in which a published image can influence the design process is directly at the point of design, on the drawing board itself, so to speak. This, understandably, has been the manner of influence that has most often been suggested, or implied, by contemporary writers. The implied 'copying' from published works, often referred to as copy books or pattern books, suggests that the books were laid next to the design drawing and directly copied from. While this study does not dismiss the validity, or credibility, of this approach, it does suggest that the influence of publications on the design process is more intriguing than just simply the activity of copying.

Firstly, two examples of writers suggesting, or implying, a simple copying process from published sources will be discussed.

Charles Hind, in an paper titled 'Patterns of Building',[93] explores the influence of what he calls pattern books on provincial English architecture during the English classical period. He suggests that many provincial buildings built before 1700 had classical refacings and that the provincial builders who constructed these relied heavily on published sources. He supports this claim by 'matching' several door surrounds to designs from James Gibbs' *Book of Architecture* (1725). In all cases the 'matches' show similarities rather than being able to demonstrate an absolute match. While the copying scenario is quite likely the case, no hard evidence is provided to support the claim that a direct copying process has taken place, rather, most of the article is taken up with a general description of architectural books of the time. The lack of supporting evidence of the direct copying scenario demonstrates the practical difficulties in supporting the claim. As a result, in papers of this type, the writers tend to drift off into discussion of other issues. In this case Hind claims, initially, that designs were copied; however, being unable to support this with a specific discourse, he branches out to discuss architectural publishing generally.

In the Australian context, James Broadbent also attempts to claim that numerous works were used during the design process. For instance, he links E. Gyfford's *Designs for Small Picturesque Cottages* (1807), reported to have been in the possession of Mrs Macquarie, to a domestic building built by W. Hutchinson, because *'the extraordinary fact about the design is that it is clearly adapted from plate 13* (see fig. 5)'.[94]

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[93]   C. Hind, 'The Influence of eighteenth century books on provincial vernacular architecture.' *Traditional Homes,* Vol. 2, No. 11, 1986, August, p. 8–14

[94]   James Broadbent, 'Aspects of domestic architecture in New South Wales 1788–1843', PhD, Australian National University, Canberra, 1985, p. 215.
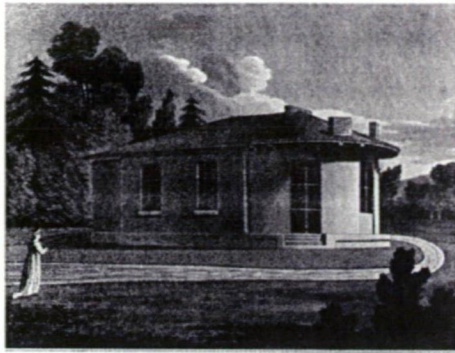
Fig. 5 Edward Gyfford, *Designs for Small Picturesque Cottages and Hunting Boxes*, London, 1807, Pl.13.
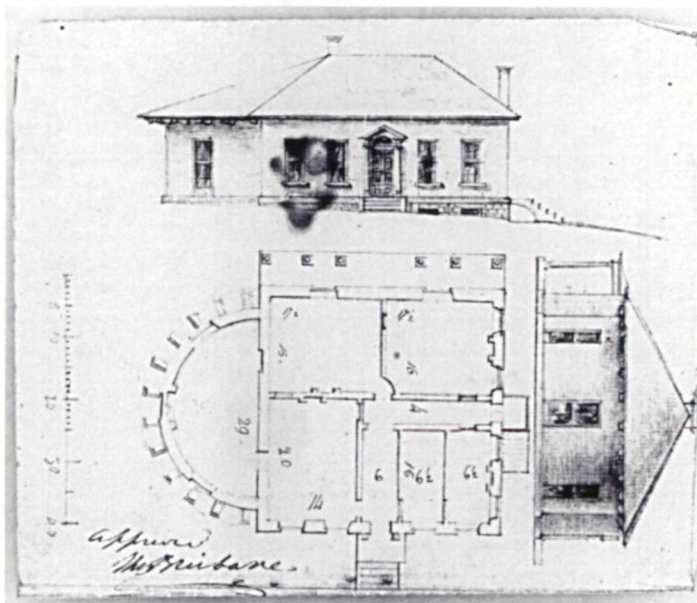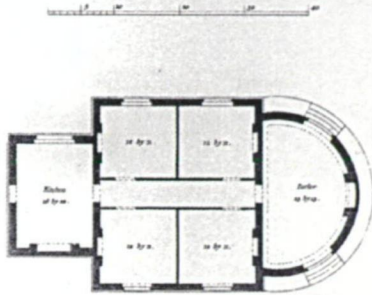
Fig 6
Archives Office of New Sou
Wales, (taken from Broadbent,
The Australian Colonial Hou
1997.)

The design that William Hutchins
selected and that is suggested to ha
been adapted from Gyfford's patte
book.

Hutchinson arrived in the colony in 1799 as a convict. From this point, he reached the position of principal superintendent of convicts and is reported to have been a close associate and confidant of the Macquaries.[95] After the Bigge Commission, Hutchinson lost his position, but was later restored to a position as principal wharfinger and was later involved with the establishment of the Bank of New South Wales.

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[95] D. Pike, (Ed). *Australian Dictionary of Biography. Vol. 1.* Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1966, p. 575.

It is the association with the Macquaries on which Broadbent bases his claim of a 'clear adaptation' of design 13 in Gyfford's book, despite the fact that the Macquaries had already left the colony by the time the design of the building was approved in 1823.[96]

Despite never being built the design that Hutchinson selected is interesting. It is a square plan with a hipped roof with a circular bay which projects from one side. To this is added a verandah that Gyfford's design did not have. While there are similarities there are also some quite basic differences. Hutchinson's plan reads as a traditional cottage with a hipped roof and central door and flanking windows with a semicircular addition. Gyfford's reads as a single building; the semicircular element is part of the design rather than an addition to it. If Hutchinson did have access to Mrs Macquarie's pattern book then he would have had more than twenty illustrated designs to choose from. Why did he select plate 13? If what Broadbent suggests about Hutchinson's reliance on Mrs Macquarie for his architectural taste is true then his personal predisposition may have made him more favourable to one design over another for no specific or obvious reason. Many of the buildings in Gyfford's work are functionally similar, thus functional grounds alone would not have limited the choice much.

Broadbent also makes a curious statement concerning the ownership of pattern books.[97] He suggests that it would have been unlikely for a man of Hutchinson's background to have owned one. Presumably the aspect of Hutchinson's background that would have precluded him from owning a copy was that of being a convict. Thus Broadbent suggests that the ruling elite were interested in building design and convicts and (possibly) the working classes generally were not. This is despite the fact that convicts and the working classes were the ones predominantly building Australia's colonial architecture. Hutchinson's convict background, in Broadbent's mind, is far more a determining factor in his supposed lack of desire to own a book on architectural taste than his considerable success as a merchant in colonial New South Wales. Once a convict always a convict?

As with the previous example, Broadbent is unable to explore his claim of adaptation at the point of design in any depth and has to resort to exploring the context and associations, and as a result, as with Hind, Broadbent ends up, by default, demonstrating that the design process is more complex than just simply copying on the drawing board.

Thus, while Gyfford's plate number 13 may have been used as a model, it is more interesting to speculate why the choice of this design was made rather than the other designs Gyfford illustrates, and what caused the deviations from one to the other. The

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[96]   Archives Office New South Wales, 2/7887. Plans and elevations for the building.

[97]   James Broadbent, 'Aspects of domestic architecture in New South Wales 1788–1843', PhD, Australian National University, Canberra, 1985, p. 215.

selected design must represent something more to Hutchinson than the other designs for it to be selected. It is difficult to establish if this design represents Hutchinson's recollection of the architecture of his region. However, the recollection of an image must be one of the alternatives to the illustration alone being used as a prototype to copy from.

In designing a house for himself, Hutchinson was faced with a simple and often explored design problem with clear functional requirements but less clear aesthetic requirements. Lawson in *How Designers Think* (1980), describes these two design requirements, the functional and the aesthetic, as the optimum design process and the design process that is less clearly defined.[98] Rowe in *Design Thinking* (1987), distinguishes them as 'those that are well defined and those that are ill defined'.[99]

Rowe discussed the difference between a lecture theatre, which has an optimum or well–defined set of performance requirements and a pub whose requirements are less well, or ill–defined. Both requirements exist for every design problem.

If the claim that Hutchinson's design was simply copied from a published source is to be satisfied on both counts, the well–defined and the ill–defined, both would need to have been taken from Gyfford. Clearly this is not the case. Gyfford's book would have only satisfied the well–defined, the overt aesthetic characteristics and the functional layout.

If the scenario is that Gyfford's was the only work that was used, what then filled in the gaps in knowledge and information needed to carry out the work? The image that was copied may have just been used as a model which was accepted as fitting in with established dogmas and rules of the classical which were appreciated in the society of the time as being in 'good taste'. Therefore, while an outcome is demonstrated in the published source, in this case Gyfford's work, both the author and the 'copier' rely on the fact that the 'rules' that govern the finer detail, the composition, the proportional relationships and the construction methods are well accepted, understood and acknowledged as being of good taste in order that a simple perspective in the published source can become a realised building.

Rowe makes the comparison between design in the context of a rigid set of dogmas, as typified by the classical, and design where the solutions to design problems are infinite, where they are not limited by rules and suggests that the existence of a set of rules does not necessarily present the designer with a limited number of possible solutions:

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[98]   B. Lawson, *How Designers Think*. Butterworth Architectural, London, 1990, p. 23.

[99]   P. G. Rowe, *Design Thinking*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1987, p. 39.

The Influence of British Architectural Literature, 1715–1845, on the Architecture of Colonial Tasmania.
Mike Grant 2003

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the point is that such variety [of design outcomes] should not necessarily be construed as resulting from an equal variety of fundamental problem solving procedures, nor conversely, should it be assumed that a comparatively small number of procedures [design rules and dogmas] will result in a lack of compositional variety. [100]

The opposite may well be the case. It may be that a clear understanding of the design environment by both the architect and society may allow a greater freedom to explore the boundaries of an architectural style while still remaining engaged with the audience. If we consider this in the context of a classical villa illustrated in a 'pattern book' we can view the illustration not as a design existing in isolation on the page of a book, but rather as the outcome of a socially cohesive process governed by a set of rigid, but accepted, dogmas. Without the social process, the design either does not exist or, if it does, it has no potency.

The potential does exist for the complete copying of a building from a published source but this does not mean that a design process, of some sort, has not been gone through. Whatever the suggested scenario, whether it be a new decorative door surround on an existing building or a completely new building, there is always some active shaping by the designer. The design process is complex and to suggest that a building could be copied, with no active shaping, from a published source, is to ignore the reality of design.

[100]   P. G. Rowe, *Design Thinking*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1987, p. 65.

2. Influence on Trade Skill

The information contained within a text can be taken into general trade skill and knowledge and thus express itself in the building method and detail at a later date, possibly even on the other side of the world.

Much of the information and knowledge required to build in English classicism was carried by the trades in the form of trade secrets, skills and methods which were handed from master to apprentice and applied as a matter of process. Some of this knowledge may have originally been gained from published sources and disseminated by a process of example while other information, of a more decorative nature, or unusual technical elements, would have been taken directly from published sources.

In this respect, the very different nature of classicism from the Picturesque and Revival styles should be noted. Classicism was rule based, founded on the long study of precedent. It was based on the acceptance that great architecture comes from the architect having a knowledge and understanding of the preceding models, whether it be the Palladian, Roman or Greek. The style was based on more than a century of development in England and was generally accepted as the only valid architectural style from the early 1700s up until the early 1800s. Because of this long development and general acceptance, associated methods, processes and details grew in symbiosis with the style.

The approach of the Picturesque and Revival styles were based more on the individual insight of the architect – his own creative authority, rather than being based on a studious pursuit of the 'correct' and a widespread social acceptance as with Classicism. The clear precedent of the English classical tradition was replaced with a plethora of precedents, the Swiss, the Italian, the Gothic, the Old English, amongst others, as well as the Greek and Roman, all referred to without the need for any degree of accuracy. The reliance of the architect on the trades for the production of standard details changed to the trades relying on the architect for instruction in specific revival styles.

The system of master, journeyman and apprentice had grown up in the towns and villages of England in the 1300s. The formation of a system of trades provided a variety of benefits to its members: a system of training new members, limitations on entry to the trade, control of prices and rates of pay, exclusion of foreign tradesman and a benevolent society for its members.

The organised groupings of trades provided them with a method of training new members. A length of 'servitude' was entered into by an apprentice who then became a journeyman

for a set period of time and was eventually eligible to become a master in his own right. The master would usually take in 'boys' to live as a member of the family on next to no wage on the expectation that the apprentice would be taught the trade and all its secrets and thus rise through the ranks of the system to eventually become a master. But the apprentice system was not solely a method of training new members in the trade. It was also a method of limiting entry to the trade and of maintaining the monopoly of the master to freely produce his goods or sell his services without uncontrolled competition. The length of servitude in the Middle Ages was around seven years, a large portion of a person's life, when life expectancy was only four times as long. Many apprentices would not live out their servitude.[101]

The length of servitude was officially controlled in 1563 by what became know as Queen Betty's Law.[102] The law controlled entry to the trades through seven years of servitude. It was specifically aimed at protecting the journeymen from untrained cheap competition and also protecting the master from a rush of journeymen challenging for the position of master. It also proclaimed that there should be three journeyman to every apprentice.[103]

The organised groups of trades also functioned as benevolent societies for their members, providing benefits for those out of work, and also looking after the families of deceased members. One of the important functions of the trade guilds was to welcome and provide shelter for those members travelling to find work, a system known as 'tramping', beginning in the late 1600s. Journeymen were allowed to travel from town to town in search of work, when work was scarce in their town of origin. On arrival in a town, the tramping skilled worker would report to the trade headquarters, usually located in a public house sporting such names as 'The Masons Arms', the 'Boot Inn', etc. These functioned as labour exchanges finding work for those tramping in search of it.

Queen Betty's Law was first brought into question in 1756, with the House of Commons declaring that 'trade ought to be free and not restrained',[104] in a case concerning the wool combers. The breaking of the barriers of entry in to the trades in the 1700s was brought about by a variety of circumstances, such as the need for free trade between England and its colonies, the industrialisation of English manufacturing, the new wealth of the merchant

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[101]   R.A. Leeson, *Travelling Brothers: the six centuries road from craft fellowship to trade unionism.* Allen & Unwin, London, 1979, p. 29.

[102]   R.A. Leeson, *Travelling Brothers: the six centuries road from craft fellowship to trade unionism.* Allen & Unwin, London, 1979, p. 59.

[103]   R.A. Leeson, *Travelling Brothers: the six centuries road from craft fellowship to trade unionism.* Allen & Unwin, London, 1979, p. 61.

[104]   R.A. Leeson, *Travelling Brothers: the six centuries road from craft fellowship to trade unionism.* Allen & Unwin, London, 1979, p. 79.

classes, the absorption of the smaller trades by the larger and more powerful, and the domination of trade organisations by merchant members over trade members.[105]

Almost all the great names of the industrial revolution clashed with the organisations of skilled workers: Wedgwood, Watt, Boulton, Fairbairn etc. The skilled trade organisations were formidable opponents through their cunning method of maintaining trade secrets, their determination to control entry and their control and organisation of the shop floor. With the increased demand for some trades, due to the industrial revolution, the larger unions, such as the millwrights, could boost their negotiating powers.[106] However, many of the smaller unions were broken during this period, and with continuing industrialisation, the captains of industry sought other ways of employing the cheapest labour they could.

However, the fracturing of the organised skilled trades did not have a solely negative impact on the building trades. With the upturn in building activities in the late 1600s, particularly after the Great Fire of London (1666), and the changing face of London, both socially and physically, due to industrialisation, there was a general shortage of qualified members of the Livery Companies (Trade Unions) resulting in two developments. Firstly the breaking of the traditional barriers of entry to the trades, as mentioned above, and secondly the unrestrained opening of the trades to journeymen from other locations either within England or abroad.

Both of these changes had the positive effect of broadening the skill base of any particular area. The regional barriers to the exchange of knowledge and method that had existed since the Middle Ages were broken. The foreign tradesmen introduced many skills either unknown or poorly practised in England. Such things as intricate wood carving, the setting and finishing of Italian hard stucco or the more involved aspects of rusticated stonework or the cutting and dressing of brickwork. Continental trades were also far ahead of their British counterparts in painted finishes, particular the painting of exotic faux finishes and painted frescos.[107]

Foreign influence on early modern English building practice can be traced back to 1200 AD. Lloyd in his important work on English brick work[108] described the settlement in

[105]   R.A. Leeson, *Travelling Brothers: the six centuries road from craft fellowship to trade unionism.* Allen & Unwin, London, 1979, pp. 80–83.

[106]   R.A. Leeson, *Travelling Brothers: the six centuries road from craft fellowship to trade unionism.* Allen & Unwin, London, 1979, p. 83.

[107]   G. Beard, *Craftsmen and Interior Decoration in England 1660–1820.* Bloomsbury Books, London, 1986, p. 9.

[108]   N. Lloyd, *A History of English Brickwork: with examples and notes of the architectural use and manipulation of brick from medieval times to the end of the georgian period.* H. Greville Montgomery, London, 1934.

England of French refugees from Flanders who probably re-introduced brick making and laying after the loss of the knowledge of the Roman methods of brick making and laying during the so called Dark Ages. The influence on English brick making and laying, suggests Lloyd, was continually influenced by foreign trades and immigrants from Holland, France, Italy etc. for the next 400 years.

Thus it can be seen that the organization of skilled trades in the building industry provided a method for the handing on from one generation to another of trade secrets, while also stifling the introduction of new skills and methods from other regional areas of England and abroad.

Published works provided additional sources of information to the established apprenticeship system of passing on information. What the technical publications do not contain is just as interesting as what they do contain. What they contained is the type of information that the typical tradesman builder would not have had at hand as an everyday requirement of the trade: such things as the proportional qualities of the orders and their application to facades, doors, fire surrounds etc., easy methods of applying the proportions, ornamentation associated with the orders, the geometries of staircases, the structure of timber domes etc., all things that the average journeyman would not possess as day-to-day knowledge of his trade. The type of information that these texts do not contain is that handed on from master to apprentice in the form of trade secrets. This type of information is not present in any published sources prior to 1790, apart from some general material in Ware's *Complete Body of Architecture*, aimed at informing the landowner rather than the tradesman.

In the literature of architecture, it is suggested here, the publication of Gwilt's *Encyclopaedia* signified the end of 'trade secrets' remaining exclusive to the trades. [109] Probably for the first time, detailed information on the most basic of construction methods was published and available to all. For instance, when the Commissariat Bond Store in Hobart was constructed in 1824 there was no published source for how to undertake the roughcasting of brick, stonework or wattle and daub. The trades would have needed to possess this type of information for it to be undertaken. Many of the Picturesque pattern books of the period recommended the covering of the exterior of buildings with roughcast render but none explained how this was done. Loudon also makes recommendations as to the use of roughcast in Picturesque cottages but again does not explain how to undertake it. Probably the first time such information was published was in Gwilt's *Encyclopaedia*. His

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[109] J. Gwilt, & W. Papworth, *An Encyclopaedia of Architecture: Historical, Theoretical & Practical.* Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1881, (1842), p. 676.

detailed description of the method of roughcasting was typical of the manner in which he presented such technical information:

> In the country, for the exterior coating of dwellings and out-buildings, a species of plastering is used called roughcast. It is cheaper than stucco or Parker's cement, and therefore suitable to such purposes. In the process of executing it, the wall is first pricked up with a coat of lime and hair, on which, when tolerably well set, a second coat is laid on of the same materials as the first, but as smooth as possible. As fast as the workman finishes this surface, another follows him with a pailful of the roughcast, with which he bespatters the plastering, so that the whole dries together. The roughcast is a composition of small gravel, finely washed, to free it from all earthly particles, and mixed with pure lime and water in a state of semi fluid consistency. It is thrown from the pail upon the wall, with a wooden float, about 5 or 6 inches long, and as many wide, formed of half inch deal [soft wood], and fitted with a round deal handle. With this tool, while the plasterer throws on the roughcast with his right hand, in his left he holds a common whitewasher's brush dipped in roughcast, with which he brushes and colours the mortar and the rough cast already spread, to give them, when finished, an uniform colour and appearance. [110]

While direct links may only be rarely made between trade skill and literary sources, an understanding of the process of dissemination of information concerning architectural practice and method from writer to architect to builder or direct from writer to master builder to apprentice, has the potential to contribute to a better understanding of the design process.

Let us now look at the type of knowledge that the tradesman needed to build in the established classical Georgian styles. The following discussion looks mainly at the design process where a skilled architect or patron is not involved and will focus on the English Neo–classicism in the later part of the 1700s and early 1800s. A convenient method to facilitate this is to use a method proposed by Christopher Alexander in *The Timeless Way of Building*, 1979.

The Timeless Way of Building, claims Alexander:

> ...is a process which brings order out of nothing but ourselves; it cannot be attained, but it will happen of its own accord, if we will only let it ... [111]

[110] J. Gwilt, & W. Papworth, *An Encyclopaedia of Architecture: historical, theoretical & practical.* Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1881, (1842), p. 676.

[111] C. Alexander, *The Timeless Way of Building.* Oxford University Press, New York, 1979, p. xi.

He defines a central quality which he suggests is the root criterion of the life and spirit of every man, town and building. He believes that it is objective and precise but cannot be named. It is this quality which informs the central search of any person. The quality is expressed in every place by certain patterns of events which keep happening there. The patterns of events, contends Alexander, are always interlocked, and have evolved with the geometric patterns of each building or:

> This quality in buildings cannot be made, but only generated, indirectly by the ordinary actions of the people, just as a flower cannot be made, but only generated from the seed.[112]

Alexander suggests that people have shaped buildings for centuries using languages which he has called 'pattern languages'. These languages give each individual the power to create an infinite variety of new and unique buildings which are able to be understood by others familiar with the language, in the same way that a verbal language gives people the power to create an infinite number and variety of sentences. The pattern languages exist, states Alexander, because they are created by the people who use them.

If these patterns continually repeat themselves why, then, are all buildings or towns not the same? If patterns are simply copied over and over again why are our buildings and towns constantly in a state of change? The great variety within buildings of a similar type, function or style is due, suggests Alexander, to the patterns being expressed as rules of thumb[113] which the builder can combine and re-combine to make an infinite variety of unique buildings:

> Each pattern is a rule which describes what you have to do to generate the entity which it defines.[114]

In this sense the system of patterns forms a language. The use of the elements, or patterns, of the language in differing combinations operates in the same manner that verbal language works. However, Alexander suggests that pattern languages are far more complex.

Due to the nature of the Georgian Neo-classicism, as defined above, it is possible to look at its structure, or the patterns, as a series of 'rules of thumbs' in a manner similar to Alexander's pattern language. While Alexander explores his *Timeless Way of Building* with particular reference to vernacular, or tribal building (building and design without

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[112] C. Alexander, *The Timeless Way of Building*. Oxford University Press, New York, 1979, p. xi.

[113] C. Alexander, *The Timeless Way of Building*. Oxford University Press, New York, 1979, p 187.

[114] C. Alexander, *The Timeless Way of Building*. Oxford University Press, New York, 1979, p 182.

architects) it is particularly relevant to the Georgian Neo–classicism due to its rule and process–based nature and particularly its high degree of social acceptance.

The basic rules of thumb for the Georgian Architectural Style could be:

1a/
Single storey cottage

- Symmetrical plan–central axis.
- Central hall with one or two rooms either side.
- Proportional system used for doors and windows and their placement in the walls.
- Hip roof with or without parapet. The roof as a secondary element to the proportion and order of the facade.
- Minimal eaves with horizontal soffits.
- Flat planar external surfaces in stone or flush–pointed brickwork.
- Ground floor drawing and dining rooms with attic floor chambers.

1b/
Two storey cottage
All the previous plus:

- Piano nobilé expressed on facade.
- Central hall containing stair.
- Ground floor public spaces.
- Upper floor private spaces.
- Ground floor raised half a floor on a basement

2a/
Urban type

- Proportioned (from a classical order) main facade addressing street only.
- Setback from footpath.
- Side walls containing chimney and no windows.

2b/
Rural type

- Proportioned (from a classical order) main proportioned windows continuing around buil
- Set as an object in space.

3a/
Construction

- External massive masonry load–bearing structure, plastered internally.
- Internal load–bearing masonry walls on the ground floor, plastered internally.
- Internal upper floors timber framed with lath and plaster finish.
- Roof framed with rafters off a ridge with ceiling joists as ties.
- Ceilings lath and plaster.

3b/
Joinery detail

- Six–panel doors proportioned to a classical order.
- Bead or ogee and fillet mouldings.
- High skirtings.
- Set moulded cornice in the principal rooms.
- Double–hung sashes with internal shutters set in the reveals.

3c/
Decorative finishes

- Colours predominantly stone colours.
- Subtle variations of col than strong contrasts.
- Dark timber shellaced.
- Light–coloured oil pɛ softwoods.
- Solid rendered interni painted with a distemper.
- Ceilings painted in distemper.

As can be seen from the above list the 'rules of thumb' are fairly simple. To carry them from England to Australia the settlers would not necessarily have needed to write them down. They can easily be applied in a 'rule of thumb' manner without an understanding of

the process, theories or history from which they came, with the completed building appearing as polite architecture, but not having had the input of a skilled architect.

Thus we can see that competent design in the Georgian Neo–classical style could have easily taken place without either pattern book or technical text. Merely by applying a series of 'rules of thumb', a potentially infinite variety of combinations would achieve an infinite variety of buildings.

Despite the above generally discounting the use of the literature of architecture at the point of design and building, it is not suggested that there was no literary influence at trade level. Rather, that influence may have occurred at different levels and have filtered down to the working trades. It is suggested that those titles which influenced the building trades, despite doing it indirectly, are just as important in understanding Australia's early colonial architecture as those texts where influence can be directly established between a published source and a completed building. Thus a range of titles of both an aesthetic and a technical nature are useful references in understanding the type of knowledge, methods and skills possessed and practised by the skilled building workers in colonial Australia.

3.   Influence by Representation of Mental Image

An illustrated building contained within a book, particularly a Picturesque pattern book due to containing predominantly images alone, can be used to represent the mental image the client has of the intended building to the architect or builder. Thus the book itself is not the origin of the initial idea but rather a method of communicating it.

The third mode of influence being suggested here, is that a printed image can be used to represent a recollection; that a pattern book image may be only a method of recalling a pre–existing image. Harris suggests this in her work *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556 – 1785.*[115] She maintains that pictures or patterns were useful substitutes for spoken architectural language, for clients who may not have had the ability to describe to their designer their mental picture of the intended building. The illustrations in a Picturesque pattern book, for instance, may be used as no more than a convenient conduit between client and architect and play a very minor influential role in the design process or none at all. Of course it is very difficult, almost impossible, to prove this either way, but it has to be kept in mind when trying to attribute influence on the architectural process directly to published sources.

Earlier sections have touched on hermeneutics, the interpretation of historical literary sources. In this instance, the receivers of the information contained in architectural literature were not in a different time but rather in a different place, situation and environment. The published works looked at in this thesis were principally written in England, a settled country with a long history of a relationship between people and place and a long history of architecture as part of a social framework. These works, however, were interpreted in colonial Australia, a very different situation. There was no established relationship between the place and the European settlers. It was, to the designers of Australia's early colonial architecture, an alien place. The settlers were also removed from social and intellectual networks that would have informed the design process. In this alien context, these works would have been interpreted quite differently than in their place of origin.

The manner in which the image is interpreted and the relationship to recollection is of interest here. The philosophy of Plato and Aristotles had it that memory is merely a storage device whereby images are lodged and retrieved without active shaping.[116] However, more recent philosophy sees memory as something that invariably is shaped and

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[115]   E. Harris, & N. Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556–1785.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990, p. 34.

[116]   S. Kuchler, & W. Melion, *Images of Memory: on remembering and representation.* Smithsonian Institute Press, Washington DC., 1991, p. 4.

developed. It is now being suggested that memory is actively constructed as a social and cultural process. Experience constantly reshaping recollection. An aesthetic image also has a meaning depending on its position within the network of social exchange, which determines the manner in which the image is received. Experience and recollection are reciprocal; the experience of recollection and the recollection of experience are both influencing factors on image production.[117]

Loudon, in 1833, presented a different understanding of the manner in which the memory, or the experience, of particular images is retained. He maintains that our environment shapes our taste but that once formed it is difficult to reshape:

> Everyone's taste, therefore, is the natural and unavoidable result of all the different circumstances in which he has been placed; and hence he can no more alter it, on being desired to do so, than he can change any other opinion he has formed on any subject, without tracing back the steps which led to his forming it.[118]

While not anticipating the theory that memory is constantly reshaped, Loudon suggests that taste, or the predetermined design aesthetic, is an important determining factor in the representation of the remembered image, or the way we interpret an illustration. This supports the idea that the remembered image may be more important in the design process than the illustrated image.

Whatever the theory, it is clear that our memory of images, or our predisposition to one aesthetic as opposed to another, will determine the manner in which we interpret a published illustration. The manner of this interpretation could range from simply the appeal of an abstract aesthetic, with no particular model in mind, to the selection of a specific published example because it represents the recollection of a particular building.

Gombrich proposed that the painter makes patterns that invite the beholder to project remembered images upon them.[119] This making and matching theory can be used to demonstrate one of the usages of architectural literature. The illustrations in architectural books are matched by the client to a remembered image. Thus the manner in which each individual perceives, or interprets that image will differ. This making and matching theory begins to represent the complexity of the process of recollection. Does the image

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[117]   S. Kuchler, & W. Melion, *Images of Memory. on remembering and representation*. Smithsonian Institute Press, Washington DC., 1991, p. 3.

[118]   J.C. Loudon, *The Architectural Magazine, Vol. 1*. Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longman, London, 1843, p. 102.

[119]   E. Gombrich, J, Hochberg, & M. Black, *Art, Perception and Reality*, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1972.

determine the recollection, or does the recollection determine the manner in which the image is interpreted?

This question can be examined in relation to the case of Mrs Macquarie and her possession of a publication called *Designs for Elegant Cottages* by E. Gyfford, London, 1806. Several buildings were built during the Macquaries' time in colonial Sydney and James Broadbent suggests there is a link between these buildings and Gyfford's work. Broadbent suggests that Mrs Macquarie came to the colony with a copy of the work and this provided her with taste, 'in the form of her pattern book'.[120] Mrs Macquarie is known to have had a copy of the book, as it was mentioned in the Bigge Commission in January of 1821, Francis Greenway was asked *'Do you know who drew or gave the design (of Secretary Campbell's House)?'* Greenway responded *'A man of the name of Pan, I believe, from a book of Cottage Architecture lent to him by Mrs Macquarie'.*[121]

The Macquaries entered Government House in January of 1810 and immediately began to construct additions and make alterations to the building. Broadbent makes a connection between the lack of an architect in the colony, Mrs Macquarie's interest in architecture and, specifically, Gyfford's *Designs for Elegant Cottages* and the redesigning of Government House. The speculation is made that the redesign of Government House was an interpretation of the tenth design in Gyfford's book. Whether the designer did or did not use the tenth design in Gyfford's pattern book is not the issue here, but rather how the work was used. From an examination of Government House it is clear that the design was not copied, but there are clear similarities which Broadbent rightly points out. Thus the pattern book image may have provided a model around which the redesigning took place.

Does an image represent, to its viewer, what the illustrator intended or the memory and life experience of the viewer? Clearly we are not able to interpret an image exactly as the illustrator intended. Roland Barthes explored this in *Death of the Author.*[122] A picture or illustration will always be used, abused, misused and appreciated etc., as the viewer sees fit. The manner in which the image is viewed is ultimately dependent on what the viewer brings to it, their life experience, education, social status, etc. Whether an image is the primary source or whether it represents a memory can never be fully and clearly established, but it should be acknowledged when attributing the influence of a published source.

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[120]   J. Broadbent, 'Aspects of domestic architecture in New South Wales 1788–1843', PhD. Australian National University, CanbJ. erra, 1985, p. 61.

[121]   Cited in Broadbent. , 'Aspects of domestic architecture in New South Wales 1788–1843', PhD. Australian National University, Canberra, 1985, p. 61.

[122]   R. Barthes, & S. Heath, *Image, Music, Text*, Hill & Wang, London, 1977, p. 142.

4.   Influence on Literature by Literature

The information and ideas contained within one architectural text can be reused and adapted by other authors in later texts thus some texts may influence the architectural process via one or more subsequent publications by other authors.

The earliest extant work of architectural literature, Marcus Vitruvius Pollio's, *Ten Books of Architecture*,[123] has influenced many subsequent manuscripts, including Roman works published shortly after Vitruvius's reputedly in about 25 BC.[124] Vitruvius may himself have been influenced by possibly 60 architectural texts which preceded his.[125] These texts have now been lost but Vitruvius refers to them. In modern times, his reputation has been diminished by the discovery of many important buildings that he appears to have ignored or incorrectly described. The study of antiquities towards the end of the Georgian period of architecture in England, such as the work of Stuart and Revett, began to suggest that Vitruvius should no longer be seen as the absolute authority on antiquities. Nevertheless, he appears to have had sufficient stature in his own time to have inspired two subsequent authors to publish works of a similar nature. Due to the loss of works earlier than Vitruvius we are unable to know whether he also based his work on earlier ones, but by looking at the relationship between Vitruvius's *Ten Books of Architecture* and the later works by Cetius Faventinus and Palladius, it is possible to demonstrate an early example of one text influencing subsequent texts.

Vitruvius's *Ten Books of Architecture* was followed by a manuscript by Cetius Faventinus, *The Compendium De Diversis Fabricis Architectonicae*.[126] The work contains predominantly Vitruvian material, but according to Plommer it is no mere reworking of the *Ten Books of Architecture* but an intelligent rearrangement, with the addition of important material which met the needs of the time. Here we have the first extant example of literary influence from one title to another. Almost three centuries later, Palladius Rutilius Taurus Aemulianus produced his manuscript *Fifteen Books of Architecture*. Again, this manuscript closely resembles Vitruvius's works; however, Plommer suggests that it was not

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[123]   J. Gwilt, *The Architecture of Marcus Vitruvius Pollio: in Ten Books.* Translation from the Latin by J. Gwilt, Lockwood & Co., London, 1874.

[124]   J. Gwilt, *The Architecture of Marcus Vitruvius Pollio: in Ten Books.* Translation from the Latin by J. Gwilt, Lockwood & Co., London, 1874 p. xii. Gwilt suggests that *The Ten Books of Architecture* were probably published towards the end of Vitruvius' life and presented to his patron Augustus, thus dating the work. Also Gwilt suggests that the omission of several works from his book also indicates a similar date of about the same. Hersey postulates further but the date remains approximately the same.

[125]   G. Hersey, *The Lost Meaning of Classical Architecture: speculations on ornament from Vitruvius to Venturi* MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1992, p. 3.

[126]   H. Plommer, *Vitruvius and Later Roman Building Manuals*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1973, p. 1.

Vitruvius who Palladius reinterpreted but Faventinus.[127] Plommer suggests that Palladius adapted Faventinus's compendium, and like Faventinus, he intelligently adapted and added to it making it relevant to the age in which he lived. Plommer, in his work *Vitruvius and Later Roman Building Manuals*, goes on to demonstrate the similarities in the works and the influence passing from one to another.

This then is the earliest surviving, but probably not the first, example of the influence one publication can have on subsequent works. The theme of working and reworking of ideas, both theoretical and technical, is a constant theme in the history of architecture. The rediscovery and then reworking of Vitruvius began in approximately 1486 with a Latin version of the work titled *Editio princeps*, published in Rome. Then followed approximately 43 different translations and interpretations up until 1816.[128] However, by 1870 there had only been one[129] poorly and 'ignorantly'[130] translated work and another[131] incomplete translation in English. However, there had been a plethora of architectural works that relied strongly on the authority of Vitruvius. One such work was published by Giacomo Leoni in 1715. It was Leoni's publication of Palladio's *I Quattro Libri*, translated by Nicholas Dubois, that brought the work of Vitruvius to England. However, Nicholas Dubois did not use an original, or Latin, version to translate from, but the French translation by Roland Fréart de Chambray, published by Edme Martin in Paris in 1650, making the route of influence somewhat convoluted. It is undeniable that Leoni's publication of *I Quattro Libri* in England had a great influence on architectural design there. A scan of the subscribers to the work illustrates the point: the Countess of Burlington, whose son returned from his grand tour the very day Leoni advertised the work, along with Nicholas Hawksmoor (c.1661–1736), Sir John Vanbrugh (1664–1743) and Thomas Archer (1668–1743).[132]

While not obviously linked to Vitruvius, Palladio notes in his introduction that he 'propose[d] Vitruvius [his] ... guide and master', in his exploration of the antiquities of Rome, thus forming the link of influence from Vitruvius to a published work in England.

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[127]   H. Plommer, *Vitruvius and Later Roman Building Manuals*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1973, p. 3.

[128]   J. Gwilt, *The Architecture of Marcus Vitruvius Pollio: in Ten Books.* Translation from the Latin by J. Gwilt, Lockwood & Co., London, 1874, p. xv.

[129]   J. Gwilt, *The Architecture of Marcus Vitruvius Pollio: in Ten Books.* Translation from the Latin by J. Gwilt, Lockwood & Co., London, 1874.

[130]   J. Gwilt, *The Architecture of Marcus Vitruvius Pollio: in Ten Books.* Translation from the Latin by J. Gwilt, Lockwood & Co., London, 1874, p. xv.

[131]   W. Wilson, The third forth fifth and sixth books translated only. London, 1760?

[132]   E. Harris, & N. Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556–1785.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990, p. 355.

Thus we see a single book, the *Ten Books of Architecture*, rather than the man, Vitruvius, of whom we know very little, being the basis for a great variety of publications including direct translations, as well as being used as an antiquarian guide book. Using Vitruvius may be a somewhat exaggerated example of the influence of a single book, as Vitruvius is peculiar in being the earliest publication pertaining to a tradition of architecture that continued to predominate during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, it graphically illustrates the potential that exists for successive literary influence.

This section demonstrated that information and ideas contained in one work are often used and reused in subsequent works both by the originating author and by others. This should not be at all surprising, in all areas of human activity ideas and themes tend to build on what has gone before. So it is not unusual that in the literature of architecture we find very similar works by different authors published closely together. Nor is it unusual that these similar works should feed off each other. To attribute influence to a single author without fully understanding the architectural genre and period of its publication is to ignore many other possible sources of influences.

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5.   Shared Visual Image (patron–architect relationship)

Fashionably acceptable architectural aesthetics, of a particular time, are confirmed in published sources and used to demonstrate a shared visual experience between client and architect. [133] For instance, the client requires the most fashionable piece of architecture acceptable to 'cultured' society, and the architect demonstrates his ability by either publishing a portfolio of work that shows this shared visual experience or uses the published portfolio of another to demonstrate the shared visual experience Thus the published source is not being used as a source in itself, but rather as a confirmation of this shared experience. [134]

Successful architects and craftsmen alike, in a similar manner to any occupation, succeed, generally, because they are able to meet the requirements of their superiors. Success for the designer is a matter of being able to internalise the expectations and requirements of society and thus meet the expectations of the client and successfully complete a building. In colonial Australia, prior to, say, 1840, there were two streams of architecture, the established Neo–classical and the various emerging Picturesque and Revival styles. Classicism, by this stage, was well understood by all levels of society, to a point where minor nuances in building detail, that are completely lost to us today, would have been plainly perceived by colonial Australians. Their shared visual experience would have been finely tuned and aligned. For the educated and cultured classes, there would have been few ambiguities when communicating a visual image to an architect. For the emerging Picturesque styles this would not have been the case. The experience and response of the client to this 'new' architecture may well have been quite different to that of the architect. Their shared visual experience of the Picturesque, or the fashionable, would not have been nearly as clear.

The ambitious architect would have recognised the desire on the part of the client to obtain a fashionable statement, acquainted himself with that need and found a way to demonstrate his ability to fill that need. One way for an architect to demonstrate a shared visual experience was to visually depict that shared experience either by the compiling of a portfolio or using the published works of others.

Summerson in *The Classical Country House*[135] suggests that it was not the architects that pushed and promoted classicism but the clients, the landed gentry of the early 1700s. The

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[133] J. Onians, *Bearers of Meaning: the classical orders in the antiquity, the middle ages, and the renaissance.* Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1990, p. 4.

[134] This differs from No. 3 in that this is the representation of architectural theory and fashion rather than the representation of just the memory of a building.

[135] J. Summerson, 'The Classical Country House'. *The Unromantic Castle and other essays.* Thames & Hudson, London, 1990, pp. 84–88.

architect provided the clients requirements or, in Onian's words, demonstrated a 'shared visual experience'.[136]

The emergence of a new style may in some instances have fuelled a wave of building. Summerson rightly identifies this as a factor in the upsurge in country homes for the landed gentry between 1710 and 1740:

> A style expands with the boom and is even, to a limited extent, one of its psychological causes, the desire to build being enhanced by the vanity of building in a new, the challenging style of the moment.[137]

Summerson claims that this was the case between 1720 and 1724 with the wave of so-called 'Palladian' building which pushed Colen Campbell and Burlington to the forefront of 'fashionable' architecture and led on to the building of possibly 150 grand mansions prior to 1740, all in the then new and fashionable Palladian style.

However, he also convincingly demonstrates that the clients demanded the new fashionable style and the architects, in an attempt to gain patronage, met that demand as opposed to simply supplying an ill–informed, or disinterested client. Burlington is a case in point. Burlington, as a twenty one year old, employed Colen Campbell on architectural works. Their acquaintance had been made by way of Burlington's mother subscribing to *Vitruvius Britannicus* while her son was absent on a 'grand tour'. It was by way of this patronage that Campbell was able to develop his architectural career, first, by Burlington's subscription to *Vitruvius Britannicus* which allowed its publication and second, by the patronage offered him by the Earl of Burlington and also Lord Herbert. In no way can Lord Burlington be seen as passive in matters of taste. Likewise, it was Charles I and his patronage of Inigo Jones which allowed a new architecture of taste to be introduced into England and later, Horace Walpole, again a titled gentleman and no architect,[138] gave patronage to the rediscovery of English antiquities. In all these cases, Summerson demonstrates how the expectations of the client are a powerful influence, if not the ultimate determining factor, on not only the style of architecture for a particular building but also the development of architectural styles generally.

Broadbent suggests that Mrs Macquarie's reliance on a book of architectural designs somehow demonstrated her lack of understanding in matters of architectural style and

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[136] J. Onians, *Bearers of Meaning: the classical orders in the antiquity, the middle ages, and the renaissance.* Princeton University Press, Princeton New Jersey, 1990, p. 4.

[137] J. Summerson, *The Unromantic Castle and other essays.* Thames & Hudson, London, 1990, pp84 - 88.

[138] J. Summerson, *The Unromantic Castle and other essays.* Thames & Hudson, London, 1990, pp 84 - 88.

taste[139] and that the designs in the work were merely 'adapted', a position which leaves Mrs Macquarie as a passive bystander. Freeland suggests the opposite, that Mrs Macquarie's use of a book of architecture demonstrates her interest in architecture and that she moved in:

> a design–conscious society...and [was] enlightened on architectural and town planning matters.[140]

Freeland's position is clearly the most reasonable, since Mrs Macquarie, as arguably the second most powerful patron in colonial Sydney, had the time, influence and ability to make an informed choice. The fact that she may or may not have used a visual image represented in a published source is but a small part of the process of design. Of more interest is what Gyfford's portrayal of architecture represented in this period? For instance, would it have been an equivalent of today's magazine *Architecture Australia* or an equivalent of *Better Homes*?

The Lady Franklin Museum (1842 –43) at Lenah Valley, an outer suburb of Hobart, is another good example of the patron – architect relationship. Numerous writers have attempted to attribute the design of this little adaptation of a Greek temple to the convict architect James Blackburn, with little documentary evidence.[141] The three main players, suggested to date, in the design of the building are Lady Jane Franklin, James Blackburn (convict architect) and William Porden Kay (architect and relative of Sir John Franklin's first wife).

Lady Franklin seems to have initiated the design process. In a letter to her sister in England, Mary Simpkinson, on the eve of Lady Franklin's departure on board the HMS *Favourite* for a visit to New Zealand in 1841, she wrote:

> Do you think you could procure for me a pretty little design for a Glyptothek? I mean nothing more than 2 or 3 rooms of small size, though good proportions, to hold a small number of pictures and a dozen casts of the Elgin and Vatican Marbles.[142]

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[139]   J. Broadbent, 'Aspects of domestic architecture in New South Wales 1788–1843', PhD. Australian National University, Canberra, 1985, p. 61.

[140]   J. M. Freeland, *Architecture in Australia: A History*, F.W.Cheshire, Melbourne, 1968, p. 30.

[141]   H. H. Preston, 'James Blackburn: Civil engineer, surveyor and architecture, his life and work in Van Diemens Land.' Masters Architecture, University of Melbourne, Melbourne, 1971. Most sources, such as the Blackburn entry in the *Australian Biographical Dictionary* entry, seems to be based on the work of Preston.

[142]   W. K. Hudspeth, *Lady Franklin Museum*. The Art Society of Tasmania, souvenir booklet commemorating the reopening, 1949.

This then was the starting point for the design. While the size and function of the proposed building are clearly articulated, the type or style of building is only alluded to in the words 'glyptothek' and 'pretty'. What is a glyptothek?
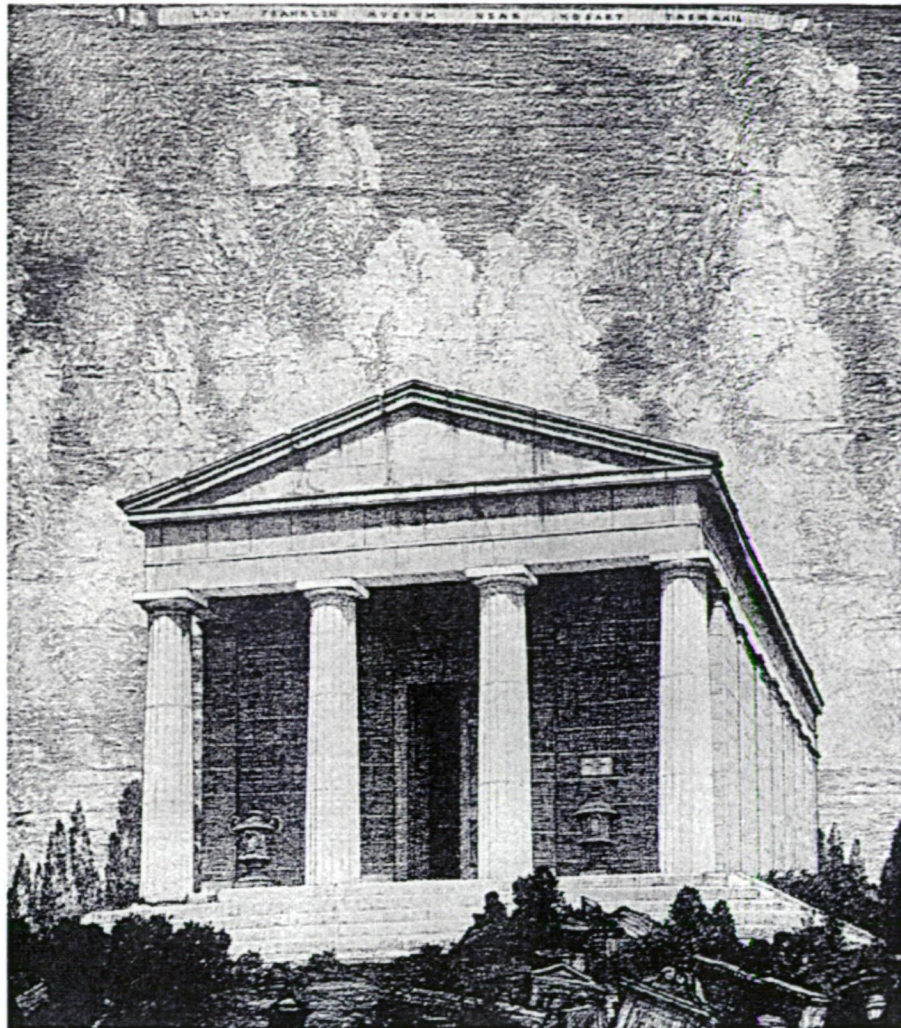
Fig. 7   The Lady Franklin Museum, Hobart.
Source: E. G. Robertson, *Early Buildings of Southern Tasmania*, 1970. 1923 sketch by Hardy Wilson.

The word *glyptothek*, or *glyptotheca* can be divided into two parts *glypto* and *theca*. Glyphs are defined as the perpendicular flutes or channels in a Doric frieze ; hence triglyph, and semi–glyph.[143] The same term appears in Weale.[144] The early modern Greek

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[143]   J. H. Parker, *A Glossary of Terms used in Grecian, Roman, Italian and Gothic Architecture.* J.H.Parker, Oxford england, 1840.

[144]   J. Weale, *Rudimentary Dictionary of terms used in Architecture: civil architecture, naval, building and construction, early and ecclesiastical art, engineering, civil, engineering, mechanical, fine art, mining, surveying, etc., to which are added explanatory observations on numerous subjects connected with practical art and science.* J. Weale, London, 1850.

meaning of the word *glypto* is stone carving, carved stone or stone sculpture. *Theca (thiki,* phonetic translation from the early modern Greek) means a box, case or receptacle.[145]

Glyptotheca, then, means a museum or cabinet for engraved or sculptured works. The definition is of interest as it is not specifically building–based. The form 'glyptothek' first appears to have been used in the titling of a building constructed in 1816 in Munich. The building is described in Bannister Fletcher's *History of Architecture* as follows:

> The Glyptothek, Munich (1816–30), was built for the superb collection of Greek and Roman sculpture it still houses. The long, austere facade, which is interrupted by an Ionic portico, formed a deliberate contrast with the sumptuous polychrome interiors where the heavy vaults of the exhibition rooms were enlivened with delicate antiquarian decoration. The square plan of the museum with its central courtyard owes more to sixteenth century Italy than to antiquity.[146]

The function of the building is clearly the same as that proposed by Lady Franklin, the style and size, however, show no similarities. The only other use of the word found during this study, apart from Lady Franklin's, was in a work by Anna Howitt entitled an *Art Student in Munich,* 1859:

> The Glyptothek, the little sculpture gallery, is in itself one of the most ideal and harmonious for the works of art in the Munich Gallery.[147]

The use of the word has not been found in relation to any other work of architecture. A search of a catalogue of over 500 titles of works on architecture published between 1715 and 1843 found no use of the word. In addition, the term does not appear in the indexes or glossaries to Loudon[148], Gwilt[149], Weale[150] or Parker.[151]

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[145]   The difference of spelling of the word thek or theca or thiki demonstrates the difficulties of translation from Greek to English for those undertaking the 'Grand Tour' in the 1700 and 1800s, a difficulty that they did not have with the translation of Italian antiquarian terms. Nicholson identifies this in *Nicholson's New Carpenters Guide* of 1825.

[146]   B. Fletcher, & J. Musgrove, *Sir Bannister Fletcher's, History of Architecture,* Butterworth, 19th edn., London, 1987, p. 994.

[147]   A. Howitt, *An Art Student in Munich,* (unknown pub.), 1859, p. 149. Cited in Turner, Jane (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art,* Macmillan, London, 1996,

[148]   J.C Loudon,. *The Architectural Magazine Vol. 1.* Longmans, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longman, London, 1843.
        J.C. Loudon, *An Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture and Furniture: containing numerous designs for dwellings, from the cottage to the villa ... each design accompanied by analytical and critical remarks.* Longmans, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longman, London, 1835.

[149]   J. Gwilt, & W. Papworth, *An Encyclopaedia of Architecture: historical, Theoretical & practical* Longman Green & Co., London, 1881 (1842).

The above discussion indicates that the term 'glyptothek' means a building or container for sculpture and was in usage for a very limited period of time, say 1800–1860. Its lack of appearance in architectural publications of the period suggests that it may not have been a strictly architectural term but rather a term to describe a building function, possibly a term used in art circles to describe a specific type of gallery. The use of Greek words suggests an antiquarian focus. Works of art concerned with the verdant, Picturesque English landscape, also a focus of the early 1800s, may not have been displayed in a 'glyptothek'. It also, importantly, reveals Lady Franklin as an informed client who is actively seeking out possible designs for her museum.

The second question that is raised by Lady Franklin's letter to her sister was where the aesthetic for the museum was taken from. If the little Grecian Temple had been built in 1750 we could safely assume that it was an academic study of the architectural antiquities of the Mediterranean, an architectural folly for architecture's sake. If Lady Franklin did receive an image of her intended museum from her sister it could have come from various sources. The correctness of the little temple would discount many works such as those published by Loudon[152] and a proportion of the Picturesque pattern books, but many would have contained simplified images of such temples. From a technical point of view, the proportional and construction information would have been obtainable from various sources such as the works of Nicholson, Pain, Ware, Langley etc. In addition, a knowledge of the classical details and the orders were a central part of the apprenticeship system, and all the building trades learnt, by rote, the proportional system of the classical orders. Thus any good tradesman who did an apprenticeship in England would have had the skills to successfully build the museum.

An example of a possible source for the design would have been Sir John Soane's *Sketches in Architecture, Containing Plans and Elevations of Cottages and Villas and Other Useful Buildings with Characteristic Scenery*, London, 1793. Soane published the above small work in the genre of the Picturesque pattern book. Unlike the Picturesque pattern books, Soane's work presented styles that were far more historically correct, a trait that is shared with the Lady Franklin Museum. However, as with most of the works in this genre,

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[150] J. Weale, *Rudimentary Dictionary of terms used in Architecture: civil architecture, naval, building and construction, early and ecclesiastical art, engineering, civil, engineering, mechanical, fine art, mining, surveying, etc., to which are added explanatory observations on numerous subjects connected with practical art and science*. J. Weale, London, 1850.

[151] J.H. Parker, *A Glossary of Terms used in Grecian, Roman, Italian and Gothic Architecture*, J.H. Parker, Oxford England, 1840.

[152] J.C. Loudon is seen as an architectural journalist whose publications drew from the works of others, with critiques by him. They mainly popularised the Picturesque and thus were not overly concerned with the correctness of the design.

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it contained very little technical detail; the type of detail that would have been required to actually build the building.

The use of published sources in the design of the Lady Franklin Museum is particularly interesting in relation to the lack of entasis,[153] the echini[154] and the architrave mouldings around the rear doors.

Firstly, the lack of entasis. From the 1500s onwards there was a continual stream of publications concerning the proportional qualities of the orders, beginning in Italy and spreading to the British Isles in the early 1700s. While the actual proportional qualities of the entasis of the Doric order in Greek architecture varies greatly from Doric temple to Doric temple,[155] most published sources, in English, from 1715 onwards agree that, in Weale's words: 'the column is diminished one–sixth of the diameter from one–third of the length of the shaft.'[156] Halfpenny[157] and Langley[158] have almost identical descriptions and such descriptions continue in Pain's[159] work of the late 1700s. Entasis is one of the basic characteristics of the orders and is simply communicated in a single sentence and applied in practice from that description. The omission of entasis from Lady Franklin Museum is, from my observation, an elementary oversight and one that is rarely repeated in pre–1950 buildings in Tasmania.

It is interesting to now compare this omission with the profile used on the echini and the architraves. Early technical publications such as Langley and Hoppus explained the quality of the entasis boldly and plainly, whereas by the early 1800s it is not being explained clearly. Perhaps it had become so accepted, and so simple, that it did not need restating. The discourse on matters technical had perhaps moved on. Peter Nicholson, for example,

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[153]   The swell in the shaft of the column.
    J. Weale, *Rudimentary Dictionary of terms used in Architecture: civil architecture, naval, building and construction, early and ecclesiastical art, engineering, civil, engineering, mechanical, fine art, mining, surveying, etc., to which are added explanatory observations on numerous subjects connected with practical art and science.* J. Weale, London, 1850, p. 177.

[154]   The profile of the moulding at the top of the column, the capital.

[155]   G. Hersey, *The Lost Meaning of Classical Architecture: speculations on ornament from Vitruvius to Venturi* MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1992, p. 7.

[156]   J. Weale, *Rudimentary Dictionary of terms used in Architecture, civil architecture, naval, building and construction, early and ecclesiastical art, engineering, civil, engineering, mechanical, fine art, mining, surveying, etc., to which are added explanatory observations on numerous subjects connected with practical art and science.* J. Weale, London, 1850, p. 37.

[157]   W. Halfpenny, *The Art of Sound building,* B. Blom, New York, (1968) reprint of London 1725 edition.

[158]   Batty Langley, *The Builder's Jewel: or, The Youth's Instructor and Workman's Remembrancer explaining short and easy rules ... for drawing and working.* R.Ware, London, 1757.

[159]   W. Pain, & J. Pain, *Pain's British Palladio: or the Builders General Assistant. Demonstrating in the most easy and practical method all the principle rules of architecture.* Publisher Unknown, London, 1786.

was applying his geometrical knowledge to classical studies. He proposed, among other details, that the echini of Greek Doric columns should be based on a logarithmic curve rather than the geometric curve which, up until then, had been used.[160] He enabled masons to apply this on site by simplifying it to a geometrical method, by way of a lineal graph from predetermined points on an X–Y axis, which he presented in his *Principles of Architecture* in 1795.[161]

It appears that the echini and architraves may use Nicholson's method or something similar. This may suggest that the mason or person supervising the work did not have an extensive technical experience of the building trades and thus had not learnt from practice, that they were relying on recently published sources alone, that pictures alone were being used rather than the written word and that the established and older technical pocket books such as those by Langley, Halfpenny and Pain were not being used. It may also demonstrate that while Lady Franklin may have had an acutely attuned eye for the fashionable and cultured, she may not have had such a keen eye for the detailed and technical.

Judging from the documentary history of the site, Lady Franklin was clearly the driving force behind all aspects of the creation of the museum. As far as the design of the building is concerned, the history demonstrates that she took an active, if not leading role in the procurement of a design for the building. While she may have pursued her vision for the museum, she required a person with the technical expertise to realise that vision: an architect. Of architects in the colony at the time of design, or that arrived shortly after the work commenced, there are seven that she may have selected from:

- John Lee Archer (government architect dismissed by Sir J. Franklin in 1838).
- Alexander Cheyne and Roderick O'Connor (Architects with the Department of Roads and Bridges).
- Major J.C. Victor (sought the position of Director of Public Works).
- James Thomson (convict architect in partnership with J. Blackburn).
- James Blackburn (convict architect who worked in the Department of Roads and Bridges under Cheyne).
- William Porden Kay (architect and relative of Sir John Franklin's first wife).

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[160] P. Nicholson, *An Improved and Enlarged edition of Nicholsons New Carpenters Guide: being a complete book of lines, for carpenters, joiners, and workmen in general, on methods entirely new, founded on geometrical principles.* Jones, London, 1825, Memoir.

[161] P. Nicholson, *The Principles of Architecture: containing the fundamental rules of the art, in geometry, arithmetic, and mensuration; with the application of those rules to practice.* J. Barfield, London,1795.

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John Lee Archer, although unlikely to have had an input into the design due to his having accepted a position as police magistrate at Circular Head in October of 1838, did, through other actions, have an influence on the proceedings. He had been dismissed as government architect early in 1838 by Sir John Franklin. In December of 1841, Archer applied for the position of Director of Public Works after it had become vacant. Considering his experience and demonstrated abilities, he would have been a strong contender for the position. Franklin stalled the process by referring it to England, and six months later, William Porden Kay was appointed to the position.[162] So while he was not directly associated with the building of the Lady Franklin Museum, John Lee Archer, like the Lady Franklin Museum, was associated with the events that led to the appointment of the Director of Public Works; and his lobbying for the position complicated, for the Franklins, the appointment of William Porden Kay. The design and construction of the Lady Franklin Museum was undertaken with this backdrop and it is relevant to see it in this context.

In selecting a new Director of Public Works, the Franklins objected to the fact that the two leading architects in the colony, Blackburn and Thomson, were ex–convicts.[163] They seem to have conveniently forgotten about John Lee Archer whom they had dismissed three years earlier and invited William Porden Kay, a relative of Sir John Franklin through his first wife Eleanor Porden, to Van Diemen's Land to fill the position vacated by Alexander Cheyne in May of 1841. Kay's appointment in June of 1842 was disallowed in 1843 and the position was given to Major J.C. Victor. In November of that year, Kay was appointed colonial Architect in a new position. These disputes seem to have continued after the departure of the Franklins with Kay retaining various government positions.

In 1833, James Blackburn had come to Van Diemen's Land as convict, with limited architectural experience. Due, it appears, to his abilities and the testimonials he had brought with him, he was immediately employed by the Department of Roads and Bridges under Cheyne, and it appears that by 1841, Blackburn was undertaking most of the design work.[164] As wife of the Governor, Lady Franklin would have been in a position to instruct those in the Department of Roads and Bridges, and indeed we later see her directing Kay, as Director of Public Works, to inspect work on the Museum. If Lady Franklin had approached Cheyne for a design for the Museum at about the same time that she wrote to her sister, there is a window of three months in which Blackburn, as assistant to Cheyne,

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[162]   R. Smith, *John Lee Archer: Tasmanian Architect and Engineer.* Tasmanian Historical Research Association, Hobart, 1962, p. 53.

[163]   D. Pike, (Ed) *Australian Dictionary of Biography. Vol. 1.* Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1966, p. 34.

[164]   D. Pike, (Ed) *Australian Dictionary of Biography Vol. 1.* Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1966, p. 109.

may have been instructed to provide a design. Blackburn received a free pardon on 3 May 1841, which was then followed by the dismissal of Cheyne from his position with the Department of Roads and Bridges.

Lady Franklin returned from New Zealand in April, just prior to Blackburn's free pardon and, it can be assumed, well prior to any reply from her sister. From Lady Franklin's letter to her sister, as well as notes in her dairy, it can be seen that she had very firm ideas about what was required and the manner in which it should be undertaken. If she did give an instruction to Cheyne, and Blackburn prepared some drawings, we can place Lady Franklin as arguably the powerful patron and Blackburn as the unnamed amanuensis. Blackburn is later named as having a direct input into the production of the building. In October of 1842, it is stated that:

> The plan of the Museum is the product of a private architect whose tender for its erection has been accepted. Mr. Blackburn of Hobart Town drew the specifications and a contract has been entered into with him to complete the building.[165]

The extract from the *Examiner* is ambiguous as to the identity of the architect, while Blackburn is afforded the status of the technician, the writer of the specifications and the supervisor of the works.

William Porden Kay had arrived in the colony in May of 1841 and received his first (disputed) appointment in June, thus being in the position to do the design work. However, considering the Franklin's patronage of Kay, it is reasonable to assume that if Lady Franklin had commissioned William Porden Kay to design the building, he would have been publicly applauded for his design by the Franklins. There is no evidence of this. During February 1843, several months after William Porden Kay's appointment as Director of Public Works, Lady Franklin records that she had inspected the site and found numerous faults which she attributed to Blackburn. The faults that were described are of a quite extraordinary kind; 'a door 4ft 6 inches high', 'a fireplace half buried' and 'the French windows at the back lose a foot of their height'.[166] It should be remembered that at this point Blackburn was in private practice. Lady Franklin instructed Kay to attend to the matter and not to advance Blackburn any more money until these faults had been remedied.

The evidence never clearly states that an architect is completely responsible for the design. However, there appears to have previously been, on the part of some writers, an eagerness

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165   Launceston Examiner, 'Lady Franklin is erecting a museum at the foot of Mount Wellington', *Launceston Examiner*, 8 October 1842, p.244.

166   Archives Office of Tasmania, Van Diemen's Land Record, Vol. II 1/1 - 29 March 1843, entry for the day 9 Feb 1843. These are the records of the Journal of Lady Franklin.

to attribute this building to a male architect, disregarding the actual series of events that led to its construction. Do we then acknowledge Lady Franklin as the rightful designer of the building? This would also misrepresent the facts of the matter. What the evidence clearly shows is that the process of design was a complex thing, that a variety of people had an opportunity to influence the outcome as well as the series of events. It demonstrates that a powerful patron required that the building be built to her visual image, which she may have demonstrated to her amanuensis by the use of images acquired from England.

From the documentary evidence, James Blackburn is the architect most closely associated with realisation of the building; however, the circumstantial and direct evidence indicates that Blackburn was primarily associated with providing the technical skills. In all the documentary evidence, we repeatedly see Lady Jane Franklin expressing her explicit vision for the site. At all points during the conception and construction it is Lady Jane Franklin who called the shots.

We can see Lady Franklin as the patron with the ability to command those in her service, with the ability to appoint and to, presumably, dismiss. There needed to be a line of communication between the designer and the patron if a shared visual experience was to be established prior to the design being realised in built form. This example clearly demonstrates the importance of the client - architect relationship in the formulation of a building. Whilst the printed source is an element in this process it is only that, an element.

Chapter Three

The Term Pattern book.

William B. O'Neal in his article *Pattern Books in American Architecture 1730–1930*, (1990)[167] suggests that the term 'pattern book' is a comparatively new phrase which gained popularity after World War II. This is confirmed by searching a range of titles for the term. The glossaries of Parker (1840) and Weale (1850),[168] do not list the term, nor does it appear in Bannister Fletcher's (1896) index.[169]

O'Neal also attempts, with some success, to define the meaning of the term pattern book:

> ...the first meaning of pattern is an archetype, that is, an original model or type after which other similar things are patterned.

He goes on to suggest that, according to this definition, almost any architectural book could be described as a pattern book:

> Thus it is apparent that almost any architectural book, no matter how humble or how splendid, falls into the category of pattern book. This is probably also true of books of architectural history or theory or criticism since they, too, under certain circumstances may be used as patterns.[170]

If O'Neal's definition of a pattern book is correct, then all architectural literature, published in the eighteenth, nineteenth or twentieth century, can be described as pattern books. Emulation is the key to O'Neal's definition. If an archetype is contained within an

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[167] W.B. O'Neal, 'Pattern books in American Architecture 1730–1930', in Mario di Valmarana, (ed). *Building By Book. Vol. 1*. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1990. Published for the Centre of Palladian in America in 3 Volumes, a collection of papers.

[168] J.H. Parker, *A Glossary of Terms used in Grecian, Roman, Italian and Gothic Architecture*. J. H. Parker, Oxford England, 1840.
J. Weale, *Rudimentary Dictionary of terms used in Architecture: civil architecture, naval, building and construction, early and ecclesiastical art, engineering, civil, engineering, mechanical, fine art, mining, surveying, etc., to which are added explanatory observations on numerous subjects connected with practical art and science.* J. Weale, London, 1850.

[169] B. Fletcher, & J. Musgrove, *Sir Bannister Fletcher's, History of Architecture*, Butterworths, Nineteenth Edition, 1987.

[170] W.B. O'Neal, 'Pattern books in American Architecture 1730–1930', in Mario di Valmarana, (ed). *Building By Book. Vol. 1*. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1990. Published for the Centre of Palladian in America in 3 Volumes, a collection of papers, p.59.

architectural publication and can potentially be emulated then the publication can justifiably be called a pattern book. Thus modern architectural magazines, for instance, could be described in this way. However, only the literature of the eighteenth century is being described in this way by contemporary Australian architectural critics. Let us then examine how the term is used in Australian architectural publications.

Morton Herman, in his 1954 publication *Early Australian Architects and their Work*, does not use the term 'pattern book'. For instance, in a passage on Francis Greenway, Herman suggests that Mrs Macquarie had chosen a design from a book and had requested that Greenway copy it.[171] The interesting thing about this passage is that Herman uses the word 'book', rather than the term 'pattern book', suggesting that the term 'pattern book' was not in current usage in Australia in 1954.

J. M. Freeland, in his history of Australian architecture published in 1968, makes several references to published sources but does not refer to them as pattern books, nor does he suggest them to be a definitive source for colonial Architecture.[172] He suggests that there were published sources of 'suggestions' for town plans and building designs of all sorts.[173]

Freeland acknowledges, as Broadbent does later, that Mrs Macquarie had brought with her a book of plans. However, unlike Broadbent, Freeland does not name the book, rather he uses this information to demonstrate that Governor Macquarie was enlightened on matters of architecture:

> Not only from having been brought up in a design conscious society but also from the tastes and interests of the immediate social circle in which he moved, Macquarie's mind was turned to, and enlightened on, architectural and town planning matters.[174]

Thus Freeland attributes as much of the Macquarie's influence on colonial architecture in Sydney to the society in which they lived as to the influence of a single published source. This supports the earlier contention suggested in this thesis that influence from published sources is not a simple or straightforward matter but an involved and complex thing.

Later, in a passage describing the range of publications giving advice to would-be emigrants to Australia, Freeland refers to 'fanciful designs for a variety of stylistic houses'.[175]

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[171]   M. Herman, *The Early Australian Architects and their Work.* Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1970, p. 44.

[172]   J.M. Freeland, *Architecture in Australia: a history.* F.W. Cheshire, Melbourne, 1968.

[173]   J.M. Freeland, *Architecture in Australia: a history.* F.W. Cheshire, Melbourne, 1968, p. 30.

[174]   J.M. Freeland, *Architecture in Australia: a history.* F.W. Cheshire, Melbourne, 1968, p. 30.

[175]   J.M. Freeland, *Architecture in Australia: a history.* F.W. Cheshire, Melbourne, 1968, p. 60.

This description, particularly the word 'fanciful', may refer to the genre of pamphlet–style books, now generally called Picturesque pattern books, which contain rendered views of cottages of a vast variety of styles. As has been shown, this genre of publication best fits the title of 'pattern book'. It is interesting that Freeland rightly groups these works with a genre of popular publications on a range of subjects, generally of a Picturesque nature, giving simplistic and very brief information. These publications, in totality, reflect the growth of the middle class in the early 1800s and their desire for information on a range of subjects of Picturesque interest.

By the late 1970s, the term pattern book begins to appear in Australian architectural literature. Pattern book or copy book is defined in the glossary of Lucas and Cox's *Australian colonial Architecture* (1978), as:

> Books on architecture produced in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries from which lay people could choose architectural designs.[176]

While this definition does define a specific target for this type of book (which also suggests there is another type of architectural book), the time span somewhat exaggerates the period over which architectural texts were aimed at 'lay people'. It has been shown in this thesis that during the early to mid–1700s there were no such publications of a popular nature. Langley and Halfpenny were the only writers who came close to this, with their publication of pocket books aimed at the trades[177]. It was also shown that there was a period between 1790 and 1840 when architectural publications, now widely referred to as 'Picturesque pattern books' were aimed at lay people in particular the middle classes.[178] This is the genre of architectural book which is primarily being referenced in recent writing on colonial architecture.

A year earlier than Cox and Lucas, James Broadbent was also using the term pattern book. However, his definition goes somewhat further:

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[176] P. Cox, & C. Lucas, *Australian Colonial Architecture*, Lansdowne Editions, Melbourne, 1978, p. 269.

[177] B. Langley, *The Builder's Jewel: or, The Youth's Instructor & Workman's remebrancer explaining short and easy rules ... drawing and working.*, R. Ware, London, 1757.
B. Langley, *The Builder's Directory or Bench Mate: being a pocket treasury of the Grecian, Roman, abd Gothic orders of architecture.../.* H. Piers, London, 1751.
W. Halfpenny, *The Modern Builders Assistant: or a Concise Epitome of the Whole System of Architecture.../.* J. Rivington, J. Fletcher, & R. Sayer, London, 1757.
The above works were all pocket books of lower price than the larger folio works such as Isaac Ware's *A Complete Body of Architecture. Volume 1 & 2.* T. Osbourne, & J. Shipton, London, 1756, and aimed at the trades rather than the professional architect or gentlemen amateurs.

[178] M. McMordie, 'Picturesque Pattern books of pre Victorian Designers. Pattern books of Great Britain. 1790–1835.' *Architectural History* Vol. 18, 1975, pp. 43–59.

From elaborate folios of the eighteenth century to popular handbooks of a century later, the various forms of 'pattern books' were influential in architecture, especially on domestic architecture.[179]

Broadbent implies that he believes all books published in the 1700s and 1800s can be referred to as pattern books, rather than merely those aimed at the 'lay person'.

Apperly, Irving & Reynolds, in the glossary to *A Pictorial Guide to Identifying Australian Architecture*, 1989,[180] define the term pattern book as:

> A book of standard designs for building and details. Pattern books abounded during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, many of them intended for British emigrants to the New World.[181]

While defining the intent of such texts and acknowledging that they were not the only type of architectural text, Apperly, Irving & Reynolds's suggested time span may be ill–defined. Also, it may be difficult to sustain the argument that many, if any, were intended expressly for 'emigrants to the New World'.[182]

Australian writers of the 1970s onwards were not alone in their use of the term pattern books. For instance in his *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840* (1978), Colvin used the term pattern book.[183] Earlier, A.P. Baggs uses the term in an article in the *English Journal of Vernacular Architecture* (1972).[184]

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[179] J. Broadbent, 'Notes on Pattern books', in Saunders, D. *A Manual of architectural history sources in Australia, Vol. 1*. University of Adelaide, Adelaide, 1981, p. 54 - 57.

[180] R. Apperly, R. Irving, & P. Reynolds, *A Pictorial Guide to Identifying Australian Architecture*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1989.

[181] R. Apperly, R. Irving, & P. Reynolds, *A Pictorial Guide to Identifying Australian Architecture*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1989, p. 282.

[182] Loudon's *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture and Furniture:.../.* Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longman, London, 1835, did address emigrants, for instance Loudon suggests, ' it is known that in all these countries the rent for houses is extremely high. A single room at Hobart Town, in 1830, was often let for a pound. .Continuing on from this, Loudon describes a portable building suitable for such situations, p. 251, para 509–516. While Loudon does make mention of things colonial, the work is still essentially British–based and aimed. This is similar for most of the works that could be loosely described as books of designs or pattern books. None appear to have been primarily intended for use in the New World.

[183] Colvin, H. *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840*, John Murray, London, 1978.

[184] A.P. Baggs, 'Pattern books and Vernacular Architecture before 1790'. *English Journal of Vernacular Architecture*, Vol. 3, 1972, pp. 22–23.

Eileen Harris[185] and John Archer[186] are two authors who have published comprehensive works on the architectural literature between 1556 and 1842. It is interesting to note that they rarely use the term pattern book, and when they do, it is applied to a very specific type of work. Rather, they describe the texts they are looking at as the literature of architecture, recognising the vast array of topics and approaches covered by this literature. Neither of these authors attempts to slot all of the literature of this period under the one description. Archer, for instance, suggests that the hundreds of titles published between 1715 and 1842 can be classified into at least nine categories:

- aesthetic theory,
- archaeology and historical analysis,
- original designs for buildings including ecclesiastical, public, military, and domestic structures,
- original designs for interiors, interior decoration and furniture,
- pricing, measuring, surveying and perspective,
- mechanics and engineering,
- landscape and garden design,
- town planning and travel, and
- topography.

Archer suggests that none of these categories is absolute. He limits his work, *The Literature of British Domestic Architecture, 1715-1842,* to those texts containing designs for residential structures. Within this limited group he is still able to identify three distinct types:

- general treatises on architecture,
- treatises on the orders, and
- books of Picturesque cottages and villa designs.[187]

The last group being the group most often referenced by contemporary Australian writers and appearing to be the group most commonly described as pattern books.

Eileen Harris in her work *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556–1785,*[188] categorises the genre of architectural publications in a different manner to Archer, but still

[185] E. Harris, & N. Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556–1785,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990.

[186] J. Archer, *The Literature of British Domestic Architecture 1715–1842.* MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1985.

[187] J. Archer, *The Literature of British Domestic Architecture 1715–1842.* MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1985. p. 23.

recognises that the architectural literature of the period of interest to her cannot be simply categorised under a single title. The categories she uses are:

- books on the orders,
- books of designs and pattern books,
- carpenter's manuals, measuring and price books,
- books on bridges, and
- archaeological books.

Of pattern books, Harris states:

> Largely because they were copied and used in place of an architect, books of designs, indeed most illustrated architectural books, are often described as pattern books. Such a broad use of the term makes no distinction between Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* and Halfpenny's *New Designs for Chinese Temples*; it takes no account of the often striking differences in appearance and the significant, though less obvious, differences in conception that characterise a true pattern book like Halfpenny's.

> A pattern book may be defined as a collection of ideal, untried designs made for a particular publication–or assembled in the case of the pattern book published by Robert Prickle in the 1670s or Batty Langley's hotchpotch, *The City and Country Builder's Treasury of Designs 1740*–with the express purpose of assisting the reader in making a choice. Variety was therefore essential. Pictures or patterns were also a useful substitute for the words which many patrons lacked to describe to their builders or architects precisely what they had in mind.

> Most pattern books were not only financed but also initiated by their publishers – and there were only six before 1785: Pricke, Thomas Bowles, Brindley, Sayer, Webley and Taylor.[189]

McMordie describes nearly 60 publications between 1790–1835 which he suggests are Picturesque pattern books.[190] It has been demonstrated that this genre of architectural publication, the Picturesque pattern book, is indicative of changing tastes and ideas through a period of social upheaval.

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188   E. Harris, & N. Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556–1785*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990, pp. 23 – 49.

189   E. Harris, & N. Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556–1785*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990, p. 34.

The pattern books that Harris describes, which appeared between 1556 and 1785, and the 60 texts that McMordie describes, which appeared between 1790 and 1835, while being similar in the fact that both groups are collections of ideal, untried designs specifically assembled for particular publications, differ considerably in the format of their presentation and their content. Harris's earlier group were all presented as copperplate engravings in orthographic projection and complied with the ideals and beliefs of the classical movement while the sixty Picturesque pattern books that McMordie describes generally were presented as aquatint or mezzotint perspectives with many being hand–coloured. These departed greatly from the established classical architecture of the period and, as a group, clearly represent the change towards a more eclectic, free style of architecture which was to become established during the Victorian period.

Linda Smeins, in her PhD thesis, 'Pattern books and the Queen Anne style in America', defines a pattern book as:

> .... a type of source book which provided prospective home builders with numerous exterior perspective drawings and floor plans for house types ranging from cottages to villas rendered in the current styles. The practical function of the pattern book was to provide the home owner with designs from which to choose so that he, or more commonly she, could provide the local builder with a visual model.[191]

Smeins's thesis focuses on American Queen Anne architecture of the late 1800s and the pattern books which influenced it, thus a comparison between the period of interest to this thesis (1715–1842) and that of interest to Smeins (1840–1900) is not directly relevant. However, as the pattern books promulgated the American Queen Anne style which evolved out of the Picturesque Revival styles of England, some comparisons can be made.

Smeins identifies, as does Harris,[192] that an important role of this type of publication was to enable the building owner, or client, to present a visual image to the architect or builder when an architectural oral language may be lacking. Smeins contends that many of the American pattern book authors went far beyond the practical with much of their work being aimed at educating the reader, whether it be a home owner, builder or architect, in architectural knowledge and taste. Many pattern book authors in America in the late 1800s

[190]   M. McMordie, 'Picturesque Pattern books of pre Victorian Designers. Pattern books of Great Britain. 1790–1835.' *Architectural History* Vol. 18, 1975, pp. 43–59.

[191]   L.E. Smeins, 'Pattern books and the Queen Anne style in America.' PhD. Uni of British Colombia, Vancouver, 1989, p. 11.

[192]   E. Harris, & N. Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556–1785*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990, p. 34.

established themselves as arbiters of taste to a public considered to be lacking in such knowledge.

To conclude, the term 'pattern book' has been in popular usage in Australia since the late 1970s. It is being used in a confused manner and the genre of architectural publication that this term represents does not appear to have any overwhelming consensus. Generally, it is suggested the majority of works being used to interpret early colonial architecture are the Picturesque pattern books published between 1795 and 1840.

Bibliographic Sources in Australian Architectural Histories

This section will examine the way recent Australian architectural critics and historians have treated the literature of British architecture in relation to Australian colonial architecture.

Morton Herman, in *Early Australian Architects and their Work.* (1954), does not use the term 'pattern book' nor does he use the literature of the period as a source. For instance, Herman writes:

> When the building [Hyde Park Barracks] was opened a contemporary writer, suspected of being Greenway himself, described the front of the main block as being executed comfortably with the most elegant proportions of the Greek School. The elegance we can accept, but as regards Greek influence nothing could have been further from the truth.[193]

Herman suggests that the writer, regardless of whether it is Greenway or not, is referring to the style of the building when the phrase 'Greek School' is used, whereas it could be that, since the word 'school' rather than 'style' is used, the writer might be referring to the type, and proportions of mouldings and profiles. Peter Nicholson in his *Principles of Architecture*, (1798),[194] differentiated, for the first time, between Roman profiles, which were produced geometrically, and Grecian profiles which were produced arithmetically. Nicholson also developed a lineal method whereby tradesman could produce the Grecian profiles without a knowledge of arithmetics. Thus 'Greek School' may well be referring to detail rather than the overt aesthetic of the building. An analysis of the literature of the colonial Australian period could well have developed a better, fuller analysis. Herman does not attempt to use a published source to explain this.

Later Herman uses the term 'cottage ornée', to refer to a building Greenway designed on Bunkers Hill, the old name for The Rocks area of Sydney.[195] He describes a 'cottage ornée' as a fashionable piece of copyism. At this point Herman deviates his discussion to one of china teapots rather than a matching of the building to one of the many Picturesque pattern books from the 1790s to the 1840s which also used the term 'cottage ornée'.[196]

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[193] M. Herman, *The Early Australian architects and their Work*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1970, p. 44. Herman references this term to the *Sydney Gazette*, 21 Nov. 1825.

[194] P. Nicholson, *The Principles of Architecture, containing the fundamental rules of the art, in geometry, arithmetic, and mensuration; with the application of those rules to practice.* J. Barfield, London, 1795. The second edition of this book was revised and published by Joseph Gwilt.

[195] M. Herman, *The Early Australian architects and their Work*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1970, p. 83.

[196] One such work which used the term and is often referenced by recent critics is John B. Papworth, *Rural Residences: consisting of a series designs for cottages ... small villas and other ... buildings ... with*

This suggests that neither the term 'pattern book' nor the use of the architectural literature of the period as a reference, were a common part of architectural historical analysis in the early 1950s.

In their important work, *Australian Colonial Architecture* (1978), Cox and Lucas make considerable use of books from the period. [197] They list fifteen titles published between 1715 and 1842 in their bibliography. Of these, ten are Picturesque pattern books. [198] A subset of these are two works by Sir John Soane, a prominent and successful English architect of the day and another work is Loudon's *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, Villa Architecture and Furniture* which, like the others, contains new, untried designs illustrated by engraved views; however, unlike the other titles, this work is compiled from the works of a variety of architects and is presented in an encyclopaedic format. The titles which fit the Picturesque pattern book category in Cox and Lucas's bibliography are listed below:

Dearn, T. D. W.	*Sketches in Architecture*, London, 1807.
Elsam, R.	*An Essay on Rural Architecture*, London, 1803.
Goodwin, F.	*Rural Architecture*, London, 1835.
Loudon, J.C.	*An Encyclopaedia of Cottage Farm, Villa Architecture and Furniture*. Longmans, London, 1835.
Lugar, R.	*Architectural Sketches for Cottages, Rural Dwellings and Villas*, London, 1805.
Papworth J. B.	*Designs for Rural Residences,* London, 1818.
Pocock W. F.	*Architectural Designs for Rustic Cottages, Picturesque Dwellings, Villas & etc.*, London, 1807.
	Modern Furnishings for Rooms, London, 1811.
Soane, J.	*Plans Elevations and Sections of Buildings*, London, 1788.
	Sketches in Architecture, London, 1793.

Of the remaining works mentioned by Cox and Lucas, two are builders' manuals from the mid–1700s, by Hoppus and Langley:

Hoppus, E.	*The Gentleman's Repository or Architecture Displayed,* London, 1738.

observations. J. Diggens, London, 1818.

[197] P. Cox, & L C. ucas, *Australian Colonial Architecture*, Lansdowne Editions, Melbourne, 1978.

[198] The guide I have used to define these ten books is the bibliography in McMordie where he lists the sixty books he describes as Picturesque pattern books.

M McMordie,. 'Picturesque pattern books of pre Victorian designers. Pattern books of Great Britain. 1790–1835.' *Architectural History*, Vol. 18, 1975, pp. 43– 59.

Langley, B.   *The Builder's Jewel or Youth's Instructor and workman's Repository,* London, 1746.

These small pocket books were designed to be of low cost to enable builders to purchase them. Both contain much information that has been lifted from other sources. Of Hoppus, Harris writes:

> Hoppus and Cole [Hoppus's engraver] were unscrupulous pirates but they were well meaning, their whole purpose being to provide the lower ranks of builders with architectural information that would be beyond their means.[199]

Harris suggests that most of Langley's work revolved around his ability to recognise fashion rather than having any original thoughts of his own. Langley and his brother (an engraver) are said to have had a remarkably large library from which they obtained most of the material for their architectural publishing enterprises.[200]

Of the remaining three titles, two are by Peter Nicholson and can be described as technical publications. The two titles listed are:

Nicholson P.   *The New Carpenter's Guide,* London, 1825.
                     Student's Instructor in Drawing and Working the Five Orders of Architecture, London, 1804.

The final work was by an artist who was present on James Cook's second Pacific voyage and can be seen more as the observations of a traveller.

Hodges, W.   *A Dissertation on the Prototypes of Architecture, Hindu, Moorish & Gothic,* London, 1787.

In short, ten, or two–thirds, of the works that Cox and Lucas list are of the Picturesque pattern book type, two are works that are largely plagiarised from other sources, two are of a technical nature. colonial Georgian architecture, as its name implies, is a colonial derivative of the Georgian style, an architecture fundamentally based on over a century of study of the classical notion of architecture. Cox and Lucas predominantly used Picturesque texts, which represent the rejection of the classical tradition, to represent colonial architecture. While these Picturesque pattern books are an important reference that

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[199]   E. Harris, & N. Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556–1785,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990, p. 238.

[200]   E. Harris, & N. Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556–1785,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990, pp. 263 –4.

can be used, to a limited extent, in the analysis of Australia's early colonial architecture, and there are clearly some buildings that are strongly linked to these texts, the greater part of colonial architecture reflects English classicism. As stated above, the Picturesque pattern books only represent a small part of the literature of Architecture between 1715–1842 which could have exerted influence on colonial architecture, yet they are the primary focus in Cox and Lucas's *Colonial Australian Architecture*.

The habit of matching a completed building to a published design is somewhat similar to the practice of attributing a particular building to an architect and applying a date to it. This knowledge only helps us to begin to understanding of the complex process of architecture. Can an architect act in complete isolation from the social setting of the design process, so that total and absolute invention can be attributed to a single person, whether it be by actually designing the building or by publishing the work that inspired the building? Clearly not. The assimilation of forms, motifs and details into memory is a potent source of influence and to avoid it one would have to go through life with one's eyes closed and ears plugged.

Likewise, the linking of a single text to a completed building only explains one of many influences on the process of architectural design. To see the influence of published sources in isolation is to see them out of context. An example of this is in Cox and Lucas's matching of the early Sydney Gothic house, Carthona, to an engraving in Loudon's *Encyclopaedia*. [201] The aesthetic match between the engraving and building is clear and indeed two other writers proudly identify the link. [202] However, what does this tell us about the building and its design process? An illustrated building gives a starting point from which the design process could proceed. Likewise, the Gothic Revival interiors illustrated in Loudon's *Encyclopaedia*, many of which were done by E.B. Lamb, [203] could also be linked with Carthona and, again, may have only provided a starting point, an aesthetic image which the client used to communicate with the architect. For the architect to complete a building, the vast majority of detailed information would have had to be obtained from sources other than the Picturesque pattern books. Loudon's *Encyclopaedia*, or for that

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[201] P. Cox, & C. Lucas, *Australian Colonial Architecture*, Lansdowne Editions, Melbourne, 1978. p. 209, Figs. 456, 457. 458.

[202] J. Kerr, & J. Broadbent, *Gothick Taste in the Colony of New South Wales*, David Ell Press, Sydney, 1980, p. 96. Fisher, B. (Ed). *Historic Buildings of Australia: 1. Cassell Australia*, Melbourne, 1977, p. 99.

[203] J. Gloag, *Mr. Loudon's England: The life and Work of John Claudius Loudon, and his Influence on Architecture and Furniture Design.* Oriel Press. Newcastle upon Tyne, 1970, p. 158. Edward Buckton Lamb was employed by Loudon and became his principal illustrator. Loudon was uncritically impartial in the conflict between the Classic and Gothic and this allowed Lamb to design in a variety of styles, in Gloag's words indulging in a copious, unruly and undiscriminating imagination. Many of the Gothic furniture designs, as well as the Gothic interiors, can be attributed to Lamb.

matter any of his other publications of architectural material, do not contain this type of detail. Such things as the proportional relationships of Gothic buildings, the Gothic mouldings and their relationships, arch geometry, Gothic details such as stone window mullions and tracery, the method of flashing parapeted gables and the profiles of label mouldings. All of these would need to be gained from other sources. This information did not, necessarily, have to come from published sources; trade skill is an important and crucial source of building and architectural knowledge upon which the process of architecture relies heavily. The attribution of a building to a particular architect, or influence solely to a specific text, ignores the important contribution of trade skill and knowledge.

In two instances, Cox and Lucas use engravings from Loudon's *Encyclopaedia* of small symmetrical cottages, one single storey and the other two storey,[204] and match them to executed colonial Georgian cottages of a vernacular nature. The match is made on no more than obvious aesthetic similarities. To suggest that Loudon's *Encyclopaedia* may have been the starting point for this type of modest Georgian architecture is totally to ignore the aesthetic perception of shelter carried in the subconscious of the colonial settler. It is to ignore the contribution of the building trades and the established understanding of building by the rule of thumb. This type of match indicates little more than chance similarity.

Cox and Lucas continue this habit of matching published image to completed work but extend it to the interior of buildings, matching Pocock's details of stairs and fire surrounds.[205] No reference to the illustrations lifted from Pocock's work is made in the text, but in the footnote to an illustration it is suggested that, 'pattern books were a source for such details as chimney pieces'.[206] This again implies that the main influence for such building details comes from published sources and via the drawing board, and ignores the knowledge carried by the trades or by architects. It is interesting to note that architectural drawings of the period carried very little detail of this type, suggesting that tradesman contributed this knowledge and applied it as a matter of course or that architects gave verbal instructions on site. Specifications also sometimes carried this information in written form that joiners were able to interpret. An architrave, for instance, could be described simply as a quirked ovolo and bead fillet. However, Pocock does not contain this type of written description.

[204]   P. Cox, & C. Lucas, *Australian Colonial Architecture*, Lansdowne Editions, Melbourne, 1978, Figs. 42 & 84.

[205]   W.F. Pocock, *Modern Furnishings for Rooms: a series of designs for vestibules, halls, staircases, dressing rooms, boudoirs, libraries, and drawing rooms ... showing their construction and relative proportions.* J. Taylor, London, 1811.

[206]   W.F Pocock,. *Modern Furnishings for Rooms: a series of designs for vestibules, halls, staircases, dressing rooms, boudoirs, libraries, and drawing rooms ... showing their construction and relative proportions.* J. Taylor, London, 1811, p. 88.

A second work in which one may explore the use of architectural literature by contemporary Australian writers is Joan Kerr and James Broadbent's *Gothick Taste in the Colony of New South Wales*.[207] This work differs from Cox and Lucas's *Australian Colonial Architecture* in that, although looking at the same period, it concentrates particularly on one specific style of architecture, the Picturesque Gothick. Comparison of these two works by Cox and Lucas and Kerr and Broadbent, is interesting in that the former used the Picturesque pattern book to represent colonial architecture, the majority of which was Georgian in character, while the latter looked only at colonial buildings that may have been influenced by Picturesque pattern books.

The sources that Kerr and Broadbent use are as follows:

Britton, J.	*Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*, London, 1807–26
Goodwin, F.	*Rural Architecture*, London, 1835.
Hamilton, G.	*Designs for Rural Churches*, London, 1836.
Langley, B.	*Gothic Architecture Improved by Rules and Proportions in Many Grand Designs*, London, 1742.
Lightoler, T.	*The Gentleman and Farmer's Architect*, London, 1762.
Loudon, J.C.	*Architectural Magazine*, London, 1834 –38.
Loudon, J.C.	*An Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture and Furniture*, Longmans, London, 1835
Loudon, J.C.	*The Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion*, London, 1838.
Paley, F.A.	*A Manual of Gothic Mouldings*, London, 1843.
Pugin, A.C. &	
Pugin, A.W.N.	*Examples of Gothic Architecture*, London, 3 Vols, 1838–40.
Pugin, A.C. & Wilson.	*Specimens of Gothic Architecture*, 2 Vols, London, 1821–23.
Rickman, T.	*An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England from the Conquest to the Reformation*, Liverpool, 1817.

Kerr and Broadbent make much use of Loudon and recognise that much of his work is formed from the contributions of others. They rightly attribute, for instance, the pattern for the Sydney Gothic house Carthona (1850) to another (however, in this case incorrectly to E.B. Lamb,[208] as it was actually contributed by Charles Fowles).

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[207]   J. Kerr, & J. Broadbent, *Gothick Taste in the Colony of New South Wales*, David Ell Press, Sydney, 1980.

[208]   J. Kerr, & J. Broadbent, *Gothick Taste in the Colony of New South Wales*, David Ell Press, Sydney, 1980, p.96.
        Kerr & Broadbent wrongly attribute this design to E.B. Lamb rather than Charles Fowles.

There is no clear reason why Lightoler's *The Gentleman and Farmer's Architect* (1762), has been included by Kerr and Broadbent. It is referred to in the text in passing, 'Like a sham ruin from Timothy Lightoler's *The Gentleman and Farmer's Architect*, 1762'. Why this text is chosen over other more noteworthy texts and authors of the period is unclear. For instance, John Plaw presented similar works in the 1790s and thus is probably more relevant to colonial Australia. Lightoler published only two texts, the above in 1762 and *The Modern Builder's Assistant* in 1756. This earlier text named four authors on the title page, William and John Halfpenny, Architects and Carpenters, Robert Morris, Surveyor and T. Lightoler, Carver. Harris suggests that as William Halfpenny and Robert Morris were dead by this time, Lightoler was probably employed by the publisher, Robert Sayer, to complete the work using many of the existing plates. To the existing work, Lightoler added twelve additional plans, four of which appeared in *The Gentleman and Farmer's Architect*.[209] The farm buildings were intended 'to form agreeable objects in the landscape'. His designs were in a variety of styles including Chinese and Gothic and included artificial ruined facades 'to place before disagreeable objects'. Although only a minor publishing figure, it is interesting to note that Harris[210] believes that these ornamental farm buildings by Lightoler, to be named *fermes ornée* by John Plaw in 1795, are the first to appear in print, although the architect Sanderson Miller had already been executing such works.

The Langley title, *Gothic Architecture Improved by Rules and Proportions in Many Grand Designs,* originally published in 1742 as *Ancient Architecture*, is an interesting inclusion. This was Langley's celebrated attempt to revive the English Gothic style, for which he was widely ridiculed at the time by his architectural contemporaries.[211] This work would have been an indirect influence on colonial Gothic in that it is not a text that would have been directly copied from, but rather it could have been an influencing factor on the general knowledge and perception of Gothic. It cannot be termed a pattern book because it contained details of buildings, rather than complete buildings. Some of Langley's plates were later copied in William Pain's *The Builder's Companion and Workman's General Assistant* (1758) including the proposal for a Gothic order. This reworking in later publications increases the complexity of conclusively tracing the influence of particular works by aesthetic criteria only.

John, Gloag, *Mr. Loudon's England: The life and Work of John Claudius Loudon, and his influence on architecture and furniture design*. Oriel Press. Newcastle upon Tyne, 1970, p. 91.

[209]   E. Harris, & N. Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556–1785*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990, p. 296.

[210]   H E. arris, & N. Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556–1785*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990, p. 296.

[211]   E. Harris, 'Batty Langley – A tutor to Freemasons (1696–1751).' *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 119, No. 890, 1977, May, p. 328.

The inclusion of the Langley and Pugin works presents an interesting counterpoint. Langley's title represents a reinventing of Gothic style based on little antiquarian analysis while the Pugin titles are an academic study of Gothic, almost an archaeological approach. The Pugin titles represent the move away from the flippant, eclectic revival of Gothic to the more considered, academic study of England's Gothic buildings.

Along with Pugin's academic works on Gothic, Kerr and Broadbent list John Britton's *Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*. This work is essentially an archaeological work and also represents a more studied approach to British Antiquities absent in the early Picturesque publications.

The selection of architectural works listed in Kerr and Broadbent's *Gothick Taste in the Colony of New South Wales* is far more discerning than that in Cox and Lucas's *Colonial Australian Architecture*. The majority of the titles directly relate to Gothic taste and the only title listed that does not directly relate to Gothic is Goodwin's *Rural Architecture*. The Loudon titles are important and directly relevant to colonial Gothic architecture, but some of the other titles, such as Pugin, Britton and Paley, are more relevant to the later, more academic Gothic rather than the naive colonial work. As Kerr suggests, 'there is certainly often something comical about these crude colonial echoes of a sophisticated and highly ornate style'.[212]

It is worth comparing the bibliographies of the above Australian books with a similar bibliography from England on a comparable topic (Refer to Appendix 2); Dan Cruickshank's *London: The Art of Georgian Building*. While both works attempt to define the style, method and detail of Georgian architecture, their chronological focuses differ. The Australian works look at the period between 1788 and 1840, a transition period between the Neo–classical Style and later Picturesque and Revival styles. Cruickshank's work looks at the period between 1680 and 1830, a period encompassing the height of the Neo–classical Style.

Compared with the Australian bibliographies, Cruickshank's is a very carefully selected group of works that contributed to the development, or provided technical detail for either the construction or the measuring and pricing of Georgian Architecture in England. Few works on the list date after 1790, despite the chronological period of the work extending to 1830, and those that do are of a specific relevance to the period such as the works of a technical nature by Peter Nicholson. The only works that deviate to any marked extent

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[212]   J. Kerr, & J. Broadbent, *Gothick Taste in the Colony of New South Wales*, David Ell Press, Sydney, 1980,, p.8.

from the emphasis on the Georgian Architecture of London are two archaeological works, namely Robert's *The Ruins of Balbec* (1753), and James Stuart and Nicholas Revett's *The Antiquities of Athens Measured and Delineated* (1757). These, however, are the first serious studies of the antiquities of Rome and Greece by Englishmen and were to lead on to other architects travelling abroad to increase their classical knowledge.[213]

This section demonstrated that the early works of Australian architectural history in the 1950s did not use the published architectural literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the analysis of Australian colonial architecture. By the 1970s, this literature was being used; however the authors did not clearly differentiate between the works of a classical nature and those of a Picturesque nature. It was also demonstrated that there was a tendency, when using these works, for an attempt to be made to establish definitive (but ultimately tenuous) links between the published sources and completed buildings. In contrast, recent contemporary works covering eighteenth and early nineteenth century English architecture appear to use the published sources of that period in a far more reserved and considered manner.

[213]   J. Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530–1830*. Penguin Books, Baltimore, (1963, c1953), p. 250.

Chapter Four

Case Studies

The following case studies will illustrate design processes that could and have been linked with the literature of architecture. They will demonstrate the complexity of the design processes, the enormous range of opportunities for published works to influence these processes, the varieties of ways those works can be used and possible titles that may have been influential. It is hoped that these case studies will broaden the manner in which the investigation of the built form is undertaken from merely a physical investigation aimed at establishing a definitive conclusion to a broader examination resulting in an unrestricted view of a building as part of its social and political context.

Case Study One

Proposals for Government House Hobart

The series of designs for Government House, Hobart, executed between 1827 and 1854, demonstrates a progression of architectural styles from the simple, elegant, classical design by John Lee Archer, in 1827, through the early Victorian classical designs by James Blackburn and William Porden Kay in the early 1840s and culminating in the Victorian Gothic proposal that was built in 1854. A progression of architectural styles from austere authority through to Picturesque domesticity. The series demonstrates the complex reality that is the production of architecture. As a 'grand' building meant to express the advancement of a community, its abilities and desires, it is able to demonstrate the state of architectural design in that society. This case study allows the analysis of architectural desires in colonial Tasmanian society as well as how those desires were realised.

It should be noted that the last proposal was built outside the period of this study, 1715–1845. However, it still depends upon sources from that period, one source being twenty years prior to the construction of the building.

Preamble

The first Government House was built shortly after settlement, in the centre of Hobart overlooking Sullivan's Cove, on a site that is now occupied by Franklin Square. Governor Macquarie visited Hobart in 1811 and found that the Government House was in such a poor state that he chose to stay at the residence of Dr Birch in Macquarie Street. It was on this visit that Macquarie selected the site for a new Government House on the Queen's

Domain at Pavilion Point, the site which was eventually used 43 years later.[214] During the intervening years there were four different proposals. One of these remained only as a proposal, construction was commenced on two and the fourth was be built to completion.

The 1827 Proposal by John Lee Archer

The first proposal for Government House was prepared in 1827 by John Lee Archer (see fig. 8 - 11). His design is exactly what would be expected from a highly experienced, conservative architect who trained in London when Georgian taste and classical architecture were at their pinnacle of refinement. It is a highly refined design that quietly exudes its lineage of proportion, order and regularity. Grand in scale but simple in detail, it carries only the ornament that is absolutely necessary to achieve the stylistic intention.

The design shows a sandstone Palladian building with a central two–storey section of seven bays and a parapet (see fig. 8). The main entry is central, on the Domain side elevation, under a two–storey Doric portico whose entablature continues around the central section of the building. The two symmetrical wings of the building have similar proportions to the central section, but are lower. The lawn front of the building features a semicircular bow front element with a verandah at the ground floor and French windows opening on to lawns leading down to the River Derwent.

Archer's proposal is positioned at the end of a line of English classical design. Its date of 1827 puts it well after the published works of the 1700s primarily associated with the classical. However, it is clearly linked to those texts and the architectural design theory that was both reflected and promoted in them. The refined and clear planning of the building, the geometrically proportional nature of the door and window openings and the opportunity to 'read' the building by the geometrically proportional nature of the doors, windows, floor plan and detail, the hierarchical nature of the facades and internal spaces and the relationship between the facade and the internal planning are all part of the lineage of the design. This lineage, as demonstrated in Archer's proposal for Government House, can be seen as beginning its British history largely with *Vitruvius Britannicus* and progressing through Morris, Ware, Chambers and Soane in a stream that could be described as the high architecture of Georgian taste. It can also be seen as being expressed in texts by Langley, Halfpenny, Pain, Nicholson and others, aimed at the trades.

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[214] L. Scripps, *Government House Tasmania Archival Investigation.* Tasmania, National Parks and Wildlife Service, 1991, May, p. 7.

Fig. 8   John Lee Archer's 1827 proposal. Domain–side elevation.
Source: AOT PWD 266 162

Fig. 9   John Lee Archer's 1827 proposal. River–side elevation.
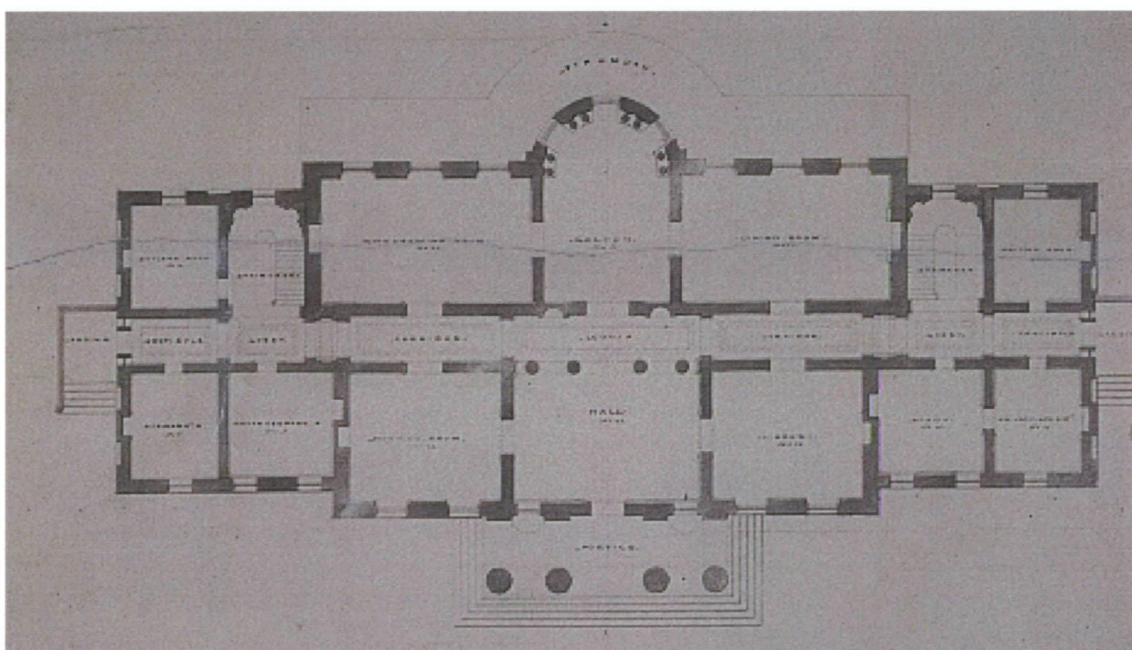**Source:**   AOT PWD 266 165

Fig. 10   John Lee Archer's 1827 proposal. Ground Floor plan.
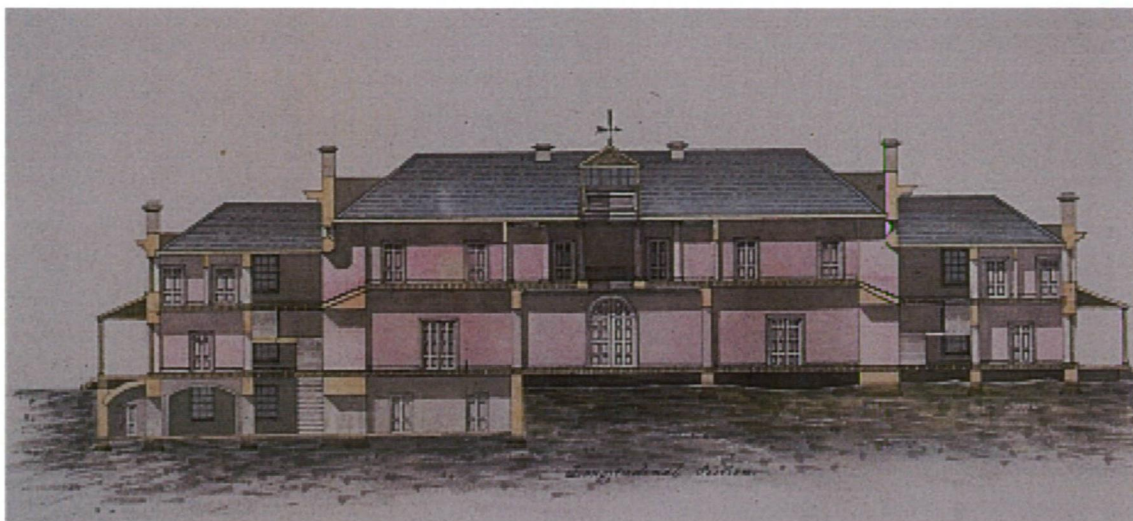**Source:**   AOT PWD 266 153

Fig. 11 John Lee Archer's 1827 proposal.   Section.
Source: AOT PWD 266 170

John Lee Archer's Government House proposal may have the distinction of being the last substantial Neo–classical house of a grand design that expressed the purity and refinement of Neo–classicism and Georgian taste. By the mid–1820s, Australia was leaving behind its colonial outpost mentality and was also moving away from Georgian sensibilities to what was to be the Victorian desire for the eclectic, the revival styles that were already popular in England; away from the studious towards individual eclecticism. Three of the designs for Government House are 'classical', only Archer's, however is 'Georgian'.

John Lee Archer was an absolutely professional architect.   Like Francis Greenway in Sydney, Archer's life prior to coming to colonial Australia had given him knowledge and experience in all aspects of architecture and civil engineering. Not only was he a competent designer but he was also able to construct a building. He was familiar with the theory of construction as well as the administration of the construction process.

Archer had undertaken a three–year architectural training in the office of Charles Beazley, followed by work in the office of John Rennie as a drawing clerk. Rennie has become known as the 'Bridge Builder', for his designs for the London, Waterloo and Southwark Bridges.   Archer spent five years with Rennie and this experience of working with engineering structures can be seen in his works in Hobart, for instance in the vaulted basements of Parliament House and Treasury buildings which are the work of an engineer and designer, rather than one concerned with aesthetics alone.[215]   Archer's architectural experience, prior to coming to Tasmania, was in London and Dublin between 1809 and 1826. It was an architectural landscape dominated by Sir John Soane, and the architecture

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[215]   R. Smith, *John Lee Archer: Tasmania Architect and Engineer*. Tasmania Historical Research Association, Hobart, 1962.

of Soane is the architectural inheritance that Archer brought with him to his new home. It is an architecture of clean planar surfaces, fine ashlar coursing and simple geometric massing. It was English classical architecture at the peak of its refinement. In all of Archer's work we see him either using ornament correctly or in a very restrained manner.

Archer's association with John Rennie may, indirectly, give us a hint as to his sources. John Rennie was born on 7, June 1761, in East Lothian.[216] He attended the same school as Peter Nicholson and studied under the same schoolmaster.[217] Rennie became a prominent architect and bridge builder, while Nicholson became a well-known writer on matters of building, surveying and architecture.

Peter Nicholson published from 1790 through to the early 1840s.[218] It would be quite safe to assume that Rennie attended some of his lectures and had acquired copies of his works. Rennie and Nicholson had childhood associations, they worked in associated professional fields and had, at three different times a geographic association. Rennie and Nicholson were in East Lothian together, Edinburgh together and in London together. John Lee Archer arrived in London in 1809, after Peter Nicholson had departed (in 1800), but it is most likely that he was introduced to his works while at the office of Rennie.

The town of Ardrossan which Nicholson laid out and which was published in 1812–19 in *The Architectural Dictionary*, may demonstrate links between Nicholson's published works and Archer's built works. This plan has many similarities to one of Archer's proposals for the plan of Sullivans Cove.[219] Both plans feature allotments radiating out around a cove with substantial classical buildings on the point. While the functional nature of the two schemes is different, the aesthetic layout and architecture have many similarities. Thus, Nicholson's scheme may have provided a model for Archer's.

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[216] H. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840*. John Murray, London, 1978, p. 677.

[217] P. Nicholson, *An Improved and Enlarged edition of Nicholson;s New Carpenter's Guide: being a complete book of lines, for carpenters, joiners, and workmen in general, on methods entirely new, founded on geometrical principles.* Jones, London, 1825.

[218] H. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840*. John Murray, London, 1978, p. 594.

[219] Tasmania, Environment & Land Management, Department of, Hobart Plan 9.
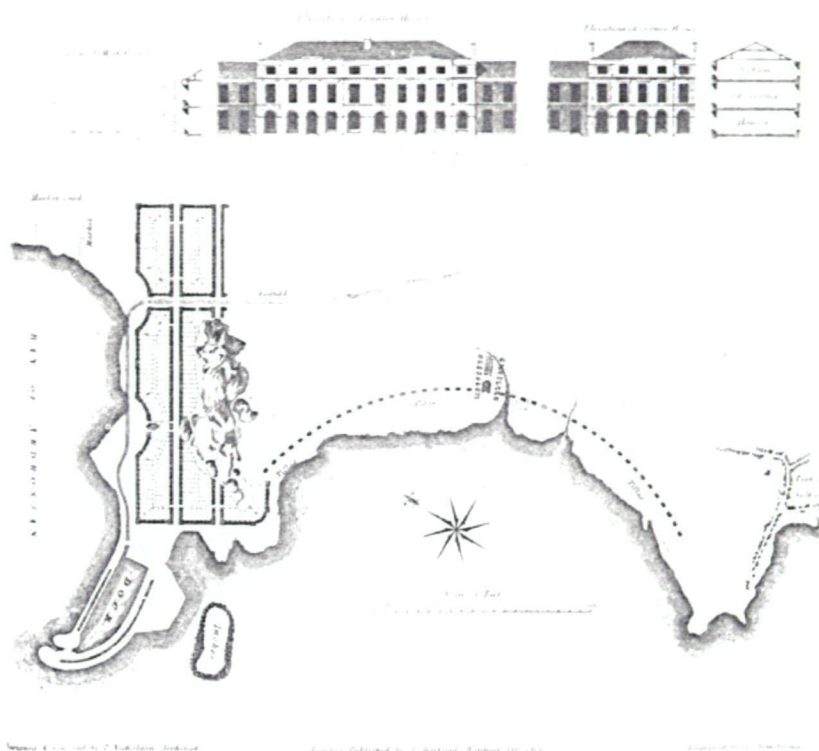
Fig. 12   Peter Nicholson's town plan for the town of Ardrossan in Ayrshire. The radiating allotments are for villas while the elevations are for the row houses located on the point.
Source. Nicholson, P., *An Architectural Dictionary Vol. 1*. J.Taylor, London, 1819. Reproduced from Archer, J., *The Literature of British Domestic Architecture, 1715 – 1842.* MIT Press, Massachusetts, 1985, Fig. 5.
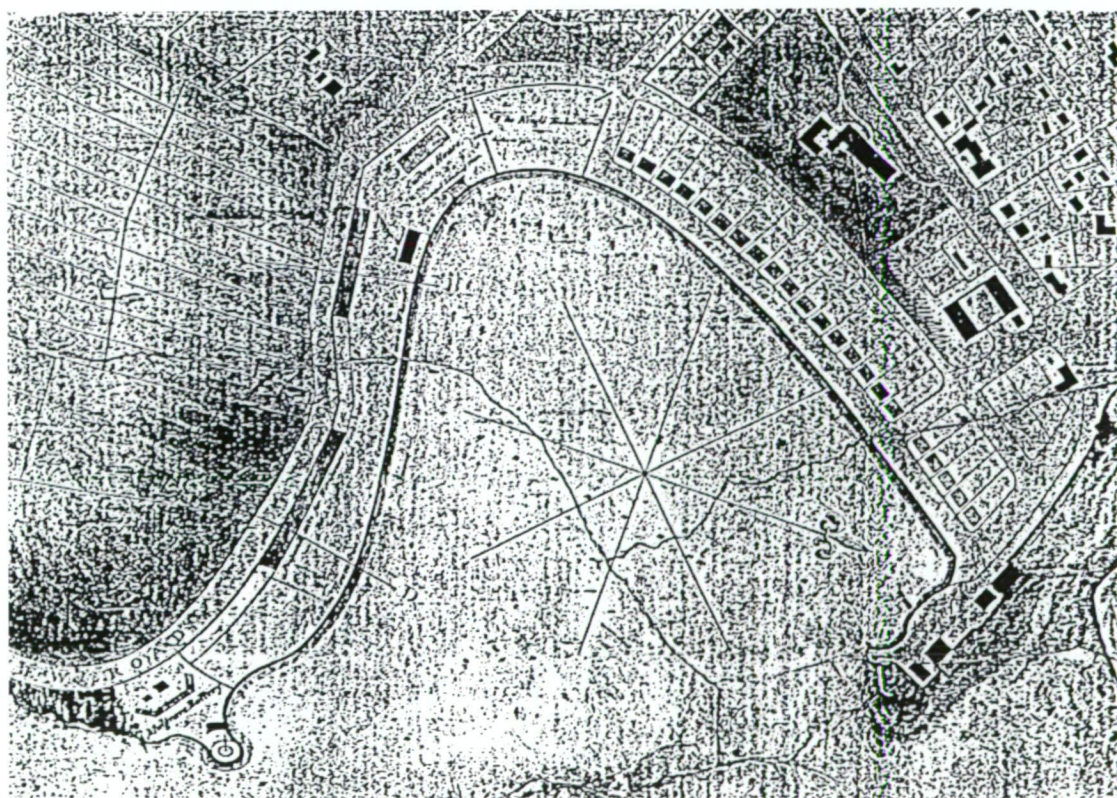
Fig. 13 John Lee Archer's proposal for Sullivans Cove.
Source: Tasmania, Environment & Land Management, Department of. Hobart Plan 9.

Archer would have had a variety of literary sources available to him for Government House. He would have had the motivation, financial ability and foresight to equip himself with a library of works relevant to his posting in Van Diemen's Land. Summarising what the titles in his library may have been is not a difficult undertaking. We may safely assume that he would have had an Isaac Ware, perhaps something by Chambers or Soane and perhaps some works by Peter Nicholson and William Pain. As a professional architect, we may also assume that he would have been familiar with fashionable trends in architecture and this may have been represented in his collection by some of the cheap, mass–produced Picturesque pattern books. It would not matter whether he had a Lugar or a Goodwin, for instance, as there is much replication between such works. Selecting one Picturesque pattern book over another would be like selecting one issue of *Architecture Australia* over another, all are variations on a theme. Works for academic improvement may have been represented in his collection by perhaps a Serlio, Colen Campbell, Robert Morris and even a copy of *Quatro Libri*.

While there is no hard evidence for the above, it is relatively safe to assume Archer would have had a library of published sources available to him. What is of particular interest is how these published works might have been used and at what point in the design process they were used. For instance, were Nicholson's works used as an inspiration for design or as a technical reference. Both scenarios are possible but the latter is more likely. Similarly, if Archer had access to *Quatro Libri*, was it used to copy from or for the purposes of antiquarian study with no specific design project in mind. Both are possible but the latter more likely. Archer, as demonstrated above, was a highly–trained architect working in a style with which he had a long association, a style for which there were well–established mentors and masters. Archer had the opportunity to learn from built examples of the style and by working with highly–skilled and experienced architects involved in the design and the production of buildings in the Georgian taste.

It is suggested here that John Lee Archer needed the literature of architecture as a reference only rather than as an inspiration from which to design. As a source to inform the detail rather than to direct the design process.

Like Greenway in Sydney, Archer, upon his arrival in Van Diemen's Land, had to turn an ill–disciplined, poorly–trained and badly–motived building industry, both convict and free, into a work force that would be capable of undertaking the type of work that he required, particularly for works of an engineering nature. For the education of the building industry, the technical publications would have been invaluable.

The 1827 John Lee Archer proposal, unlike the later designs, has been preserved in a state prior to the inevitable political and social scrutiny which would have inevitably led to

compromises to the proposal (clients and bureaucrats must have their say). In John Lee Archer's proposal we see the expression of an individual's experience, we see a refined aesthetic and we see literary influence through an individual's accumulated knowledge.

The July 1840 Proposal by James Blackburn

Sir John and Lady Franklin arrived in Van Diemen's Land early in 1837 and found Government House in a degraded condition. They revived the plans for a new building on the Queens Domain at Pavilion Point. In February 1840, James Blackburn presented plans to the Governor and Lady Franklin[220].

There has been some debate as to the actual proposal that Blackburn presented.[221] There are two Blackburn proposals, one of February 1840[222] and the second of July 1840.[223] Both are very similar, the second apparently a revised scheme based on the first and presented in a more finely finished rendering.

Blackburn's proposal has numerous similarities to Archer's of thirteen years earlier. Classical in nature it has, a piano nobilé, a two–storey classical portico and a parapet, cornice and entablature. However, there are two major differences which place them apart in architectural terms (see fig. 14). Blackburn's scheme is massive and exuberant rather than refined and restrained, and it is eclectic in its sources rather than studied and correct in its interpretation of Classicism. Before we look more closely at Blackburn's scheme, it will be helpful to appreciate his background, particularly in comparison with Archer and, later, Kay.

Blackburn was born in 1803 at Upton, West Ham, Essex, England, to a liveryman of the Haberdasher's Company who was also a partner in a firm of scalemakers at Shoreditch.

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[220]   AOT 266 210 - 217

[221]   L. Scripps, *Government House Tasmania Archival Investigation*. Unpublished Report. Tasmania, National Parks and Wildlife Service, 1991, May 1991.
There are three Blackburn designs which have been suggested as Government House designs. One of those has been found not to be a design for Government House. Scripps cites AOT 266 / 209 as the Blackburn plan on which construction was commenced as faint writing on the plan states, ' laid on the table of the Legislative Council 15 August 1840'. The papers of the Legislative Council for the above date show no reference to a proposed Government House. However, the papers show that a proposed plan for a Government Day School were laid before them. (AOT SLTX / AO / JP / 7 page 176. 16 August 1840.) The College Gothic style Blackburn used for this proposal fits the role of an education building whereas the Neo–Classical style used on the Government House proposals is what you would expect for that type of building. It might be that AOT 266 / 203 is also the Government Day School. It is suggested in the Scripps report that John Lee Archer's proposal also commenced construction. There is no documentary evidence for this and it seems unlikely. These two errors have been perpetuated to the same or lesser extent in subsequent reports. i.e. *Government House Conservation Management Plan* 1995, Works Tasmania. and C. Lucas *Significance Assessment of the Tasmanian Government*. Thus there are only two Georgian designs by Blackburn and no Gothic design.

[222]   AOT 266 204 - 209. Dated February, 1840.

[223]   AOT 266 210 - 217. Dated July, 1840.

In 1833 Blackburn was working as an inspector for the Sewers Commission when a private building speculation he was involved in failed, causing him severe financial distress. This led him to forge a cheque for which he was sentenced to transportation for life on 20 May 1833. His wife and daughter followed him to Van Diemen's Land where, it appears, he was quickly recognised for his skills and was immediately employed in the Department of Main Roads and Bridges. He must have impressed his superiors and many of the leading citizens of Hobart, as they supported his petition for a free pardon which he gained on the 3 May 1841. He then began working as a private architect.[224]

The evidence of his experience in architecture prior to being transported to Van Diemen's Land does not suggest the same level of experience as, for instance, that of John Lee Archer. Indeed, his primary income came not from architecture but from his work as an inspector of sewers. If a lack of actual experience would demand a reliance on published sources, then Blackburn would have been far more likely to be influenced by published sources than John Lee Archer. However, as a convict, he would not have had the opportunity to gather a library prior to his transportation and he most likely had to rely on books which already existed in the colony.

But what of the proposal that Blackburn put in front of the Franklins and was built to first floor level (see fig. 15). The two–storey Corinthian portico is set forward in Blackburn's design, allowing carriages to pull up underneath the portico with its coffered underside. The occupants would have been able to alight and enter the decagonal vestibule. This entry vestibule with its panelled walls of plaster with sculptured marbles around the edge and a low dome with lantern light, would have been the most lavish of its kind in the colonies at the time and for a considerable time thereafter.

From the vestibule, a flight of stairs leads up to a grand ballroom with an aisle down each side behind piers and under a gallery with a central area featuring a barrel–vaulted ceiling, a grand space in a grander building. At the northern end of the hall was the main stairwell. At ground floor and first floor, and opening off the aisles and galleries of the ballroom, are rooms of all types, chambers, offices, service areas and private areas for the Governor.

This was indeed a grand building, with all the grand elements having already been illustrated in many of the primary classical treatises published between 1715 and 1845. However, despite the grand nature of the building, the composition demonstrates a naive, pastiche, 'cut and paste' approach to design. The portico, vestibule and ballroom entry procedure are just three grand elements rather than adding up to something greater. The

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[224]   D. Pike, (ed), *Australian Dictionary of Biography Vol. 1.* Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1967, p. 109.

main stair, rather than being used as a primary defining element in the building, both in a processional sense and an aesthetic sense, is tucked away in a stair–well, a secondary space. Externally the portico, overcrowded with Corinthian columns, on its break front element, is uncomfortably applied to one end of the facade. Behind, and with no externally obvious reason, is a higher parapet element with a cupola tower at one end. Again a series of elements of a grand nature with no obvious relationship between them.
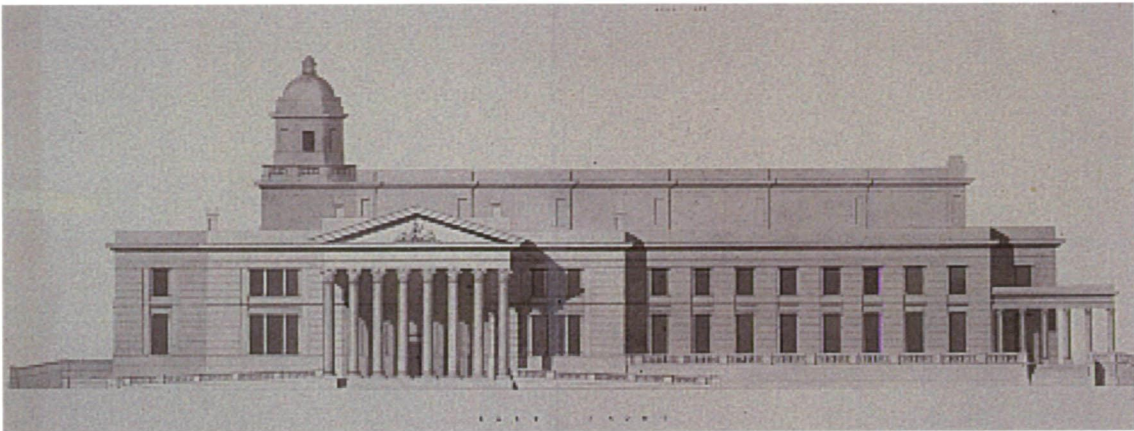

Fig. 14 James Blackburn's 1840 proposal. Domain–side elevation.
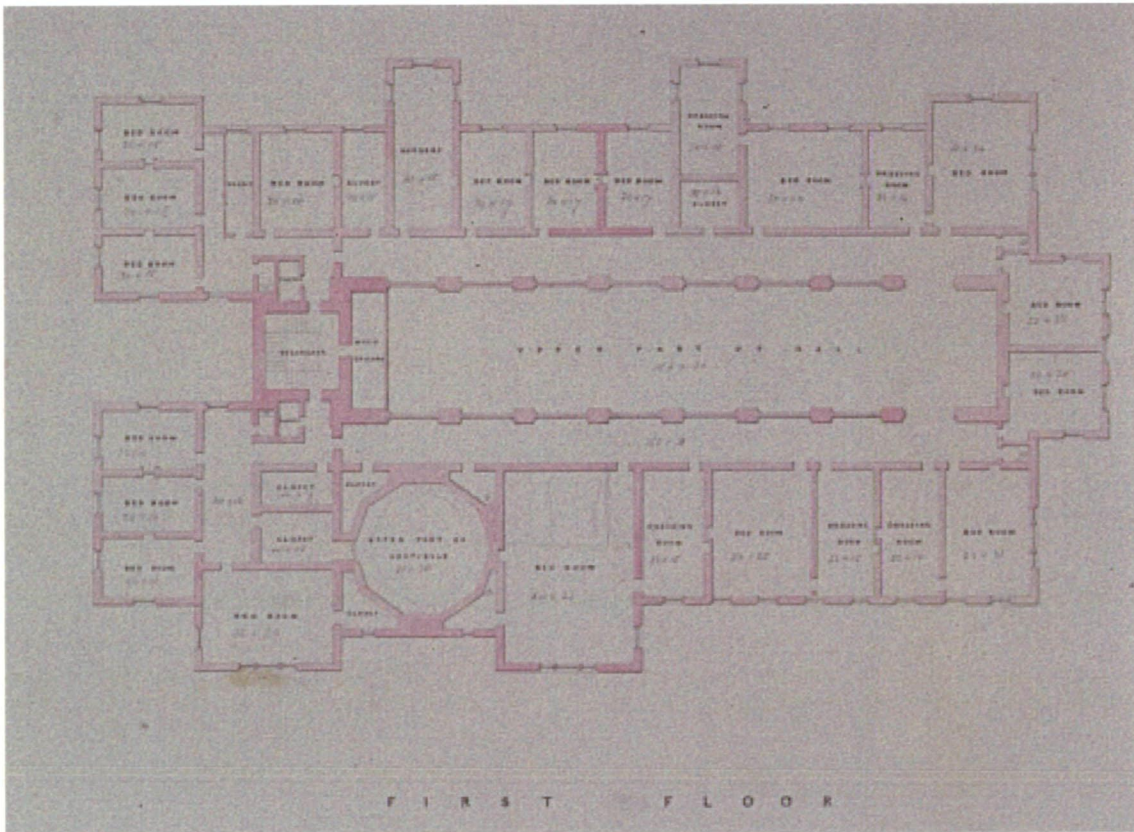Source: AOT PWD 266 216

Fig. 15 James Blackburn's 1840 proposal. First floor plan (no ground floor plan available).
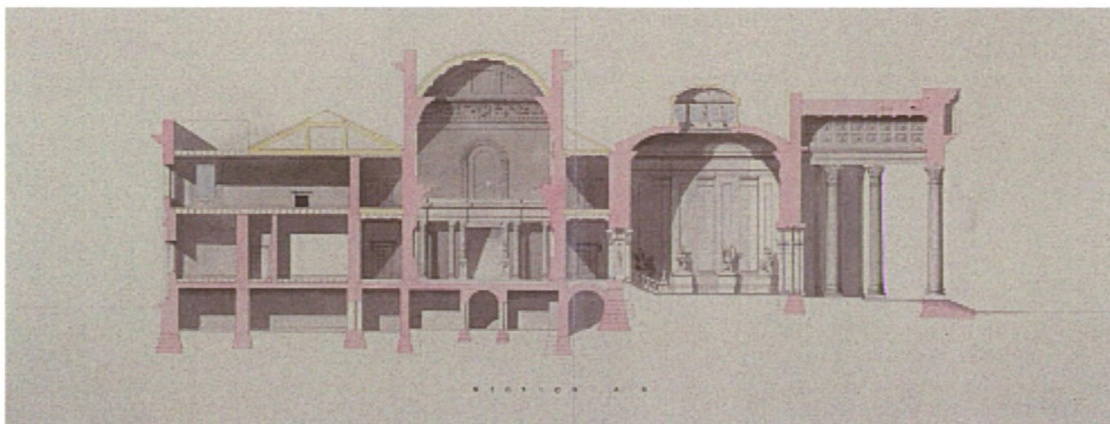Source: AOT PWD 266 210

Fig 16. James Blackburn's 1840 proposal. Section.
Source: AOT PWD 266 217

The Government House that Blackburn proposed, despite its pastiche nature, would have been a sumptuously grand edifice, possibly the grandest in Australia at the time. As a constructional undertaking, considering the opulent nature of the interior, featuring coffered domes and vaults, it would have been an incredible undertaking for the Hobart building industry at the time and would have tested all their combined skills.

As demonstrated in an earlier chapter, Blackburn, as a convict, more than Archer and Kay, would have had to please his superiors. As a convict working towards a free pardon, as a ticket–of–leave man, and working as a private architect desiring to gain further commissions, he had to at all times please those who gave him patronage. If his situation is looked at in the context of his relationship with the Franklins we can see a clear case of wealthy patron and obliging architect. Blackburn, as an ex–convict in colonial Tasmania, would not have been able to demand the level of respect he would have expected if he had been a free settler. It is quite likely that he reached the position he held in Tasmanian society due only to his intelligence and his architectural skills, a rare commodity in the young colony. After the arrival of William Porden Kay in Hobart, Blackburn is pushed to one side and appears to be ridiculed by his superiors. For instance in Lady Franklin's dairy:

> This person, Blackburn by name, a builder and architect by profession, but an ex–convict, was the only person in the colony who knew anything about it. He is a decently conducted person but a great jobber … [225]

Up until this point Blackburn, despite being the only person with architectural skill in Hobart, was in a vulnerable position, at the service of not only the colonial administration

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[225]   AOT NS 279/2/4 pp. 2–3.

but also of the elite. Later, Lady Franklin stated that a Mr Swanston of the Derwent Bank gave a design for the Government House to Blackburn on which he is reported to have acted. Her diary shows that despite Blackburn's free pardon, and despite his considerable skills and intelligence, he was, and would remain, an ex-convict in her mind. Blackburn was there to realise the visions of others, the obedient hand at the drafting table.

It may have become clear to Blackburn that he was not going to reach his potential in Hobart, as he later moved to Melbourne, a place were a man's past was of less concern, where he achieved far greater things than he had in Tasmania and perhaps greater than he would have done if he had stayed.

So what sources could have influenced Blackburn? Potentially, the same as Archer; however, the way that the sources were used and the path the information travelled to get to him may have differed considerably from what may have been the case with Archer. Firstly, Blackburn did not necessarily have the luxury of being able to prepare for his unforeseen journey to Tasmania nor did he know exactly what life in Tasmania held in store for him. The opportunity to assemble a library prior to his departure would not have been available to him. Due to Blackburn's position, the forces acting on the design process were considerable, and many were beyond his control.

James Blackburn did not have the wealth of experience in the architectural profession that Archer did and, as a result, he would have needed published sources to a greater extent to inform the process; the experience he lacked could have been replaced with published instructions. Archer would have used the same publications working in the architectural profession in London and Dublin. Blackburn could have used the same publications here in colonial Tasmania; however, without the benefit of learning from them in their context and working with others of far greater experience than he, his interpretation of these publications would have been quite different from Archer's.

Because many people had the opportunity to influence Blackburn's design it can never be absolutely clear at what point the influence is taking place. One possibility is that Lady Franklin had access to some Picturesque pattern books and these informed her ideas. Her ideas may have then been directed, as instructions, to Blackburn, without him ever seeing the works. Blackburn may have used one of these works alone in his design process, but to suggest so due solely to an aesthetic match, is to fail to understand, firstly, that such a claim is only an observation and, secondly, that Blackburn did not design in isolation from those around him.

The 1842 Proposal by William Porden Kay

When William Porden Kay arrived in the colony, in 1842, he found the construction of the Blackburn–designed Government House well under way and nearing the first floor. Kay found the foundations and walls interminable and ordered, as the new Director of Public Works, that the works be halted, and set about designing a more moderate scheme himself. His new design attempted to use as much of Blackburn's walls as possible. While this design work was under way, work continued on the site cutting more stone to add to that already quarried.

The design that William Porden Kay submitted and on which construction was commenced was well considered and modest in comparison with its predecessor. While still having giant order columns, in this case Corinthian, they are considerably diminished in size and effectively only a storey and a half high. Symmetry (see fig. 16 - 17), order and regularity all have their importance reinstated after Blackburn's eclectic diversion. In many respects Kay's 1842 proposal has more in common with John Lee Archer's 1827 proposal in regard to proportion, order and regularity as the foundation of design. However, Kay added something that made it distinctly different from Archer's decoration.

Kay chose Corinthian rather than the simpler and more refined Doric columns Archer used, his pediment has a flourish added in the form of dentils and the parapet above was decorated with an elaborate balustrade. It has more in common with the Renaissance form of classicism than the Georgian. Either side of the recessed central section are wings which stood proud and featured Palladian windows with classical columns used as mullions and a dentiled cornice. These windows are flanked on either side by normal double–hung windows which are themselves set between engaged columns. The facade is not ordered enough to be able to be described as 'Palladian' in form nor is it of a Renaissance palace front form. Rather the building's form and spatial planning is very individual. The spatial planning of Kay's scheme is at variance with the composed nature of its main facade. The established tenets of proportion, order and regularity that are so evident on the facade are abandoned on the interior. The entry vestibule and side spaces are nicely composed and make reference to the Corinthian portico, but further away from the entry the planning becomes confused. It appears to be designed for practicality alone, rather than with a strong architectural and theoretical basis.

John Lee Archer's 1827 proposal exemplified the lineage of Georgian Taste – the elegant, studied approach which marked the end of a line of design theory. Blackburn's 1840 design exemplified the disengagement with that theory, but the use of the details associated with the style, used in an exuberant but naive way. William Porden Kay's 1842 proposal exemplified, again, the disengagement with classical design theory as well as the eclectic

use of details, but it was able to demonstrate a more scholarly design process than Blackburn's and also, perhaps, indicated an architect that was more aware of the politics of his community. .
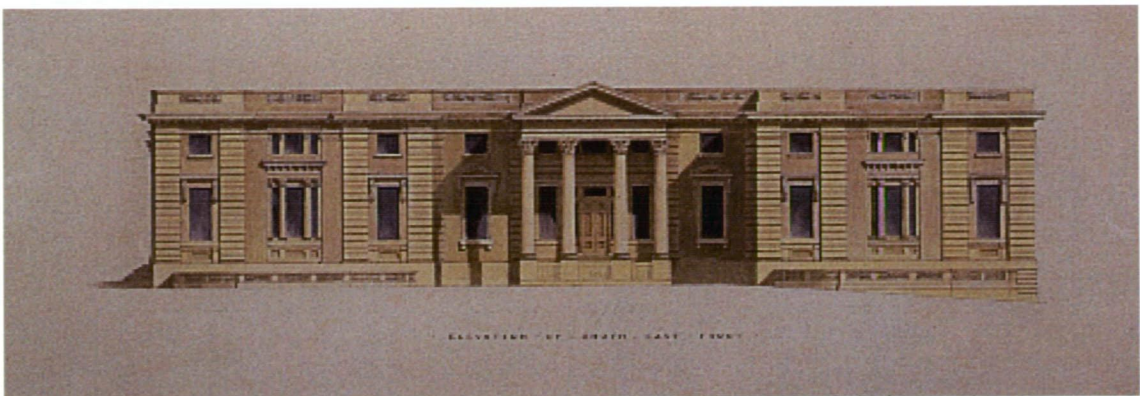
Fig. 16 William Porden Kay's 1842 proposal. Domain–side elevation.
Source: AOT PWD 266 225
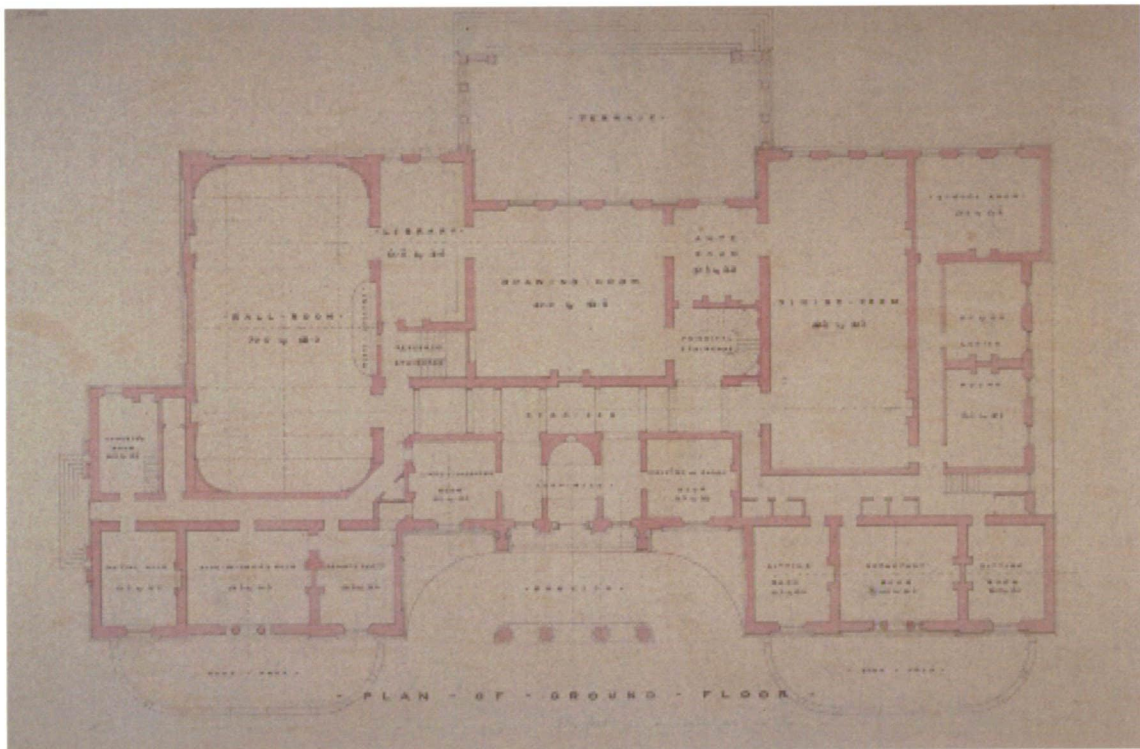
Fig. 17 William Porden Kay's 1842 proposal. Ground Floor.
Source: AOT PWD 266 223

William Porden Kay was born in England in 1809. Both his father and grandfather had been architects, his grandfather being William Porden and his father having trained under S. P. Cockerell. He trained under his father, then went to New Brunswick to work for the New Brunswick Land Company as well as the Government.[226]

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[226] D. Pike, (ed), *Australian Dictionary of Biography Vol. 1.* Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1967, p. 34.

Sir John Franklin, the Governor of Van Diemen's Land, had objected to the two leading architects in the colony, Blackburn and Thomson, being ex-convicts,[227] he seems to have conveniently forgotten about Archer whom he had dismissed three years earlier. It is interesting to speculate why someone with Kay's family connections as well as his family tradition in architecture, would come to Van Diemen's Land.

Kay's family tradition in architecture and his previous experience in architecture to date, coupled with his link, through marriage, with the Franklins may have given him the Franklin's attention thus gaining their patronage in his appointment to his position in Van Diemen's Land.

An already quoted letter from Lady Franklin to her sister Mary Simpkinson dated 10 Sept. 1842 gives some picture of the transition from Blackburn to Kay:

.... I consider William Kay's confirmation in his new important office of Director of Public Works as very uncertain which is much to be pitied for he is doing very well, gives general satisfaction, has already set to rights many things that were wrong and after all will have the great honor of making the designs ... commencing the erection of the new Government House and the College. The plan of the former had been agreed upon, the foundations laid and a portion of the walls of the wing with some carved stonework erected when William Kay arrived. In fact, the mason was hastened on hearing a ...of his destiny by the executor of the plan who was also the superintendent of it at an annual salary.

This person, Blackburn by name, a builder and architect by profession, but an ex-convict, was the only person in the colony who knew anything about it. He is a decently conducted person but a great jobber and the Government was in his hands for all their public works–he was the left hand of Captain Cheyne who did not understand architecture himself. When William Kay saw on the ground the interminable, foundations of the new Government House, he thought it would be a roomy building even for the ...of Babylon–this had always been my opinion–but when plan after plan had been presented and set aside, when at last an influential member of counsel, Mr Swanston of the famed Derwent Bank proposed to give a plan of his own which Blackburn was to put on paper and when this was done ... and so Mr Swanston's plan was acted on–William Kay said it was preposterous and the works were stopped as far as raising the wall, though the stone quarrying and cutting went on and now a new plan is on the eve of appearing of much more moderate size ...

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[227]   D. Pike, (ed), *Australian Dictionary of Biography Vol. 1.* Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1967, p. 34.

I was greatly struck by William Kay's aged looks –the first impression of his face was to me almost corpse like but he is either really improved or I am accustomed to it. He gave Eleanor occasional lessons in the drawing room and sometimes flatters and hangs about her more than I could desire...warned me to be on the lookout as to his proceedings and the same suspicion had entered both her father's mind and my own. [228]

As with Blackburn's scheme, it is not what literary sources were used that is of most interest or relevance, but how these sources were used. The classical details were available from many publications, most of which had been published more than thirty years previously. The same basic sources that both Archer and Blackburn used could have sufficed. As with Archer and Blackburn, Kay was working in a style that was well understood, of which there was an acknowledged and practised method and procedure. Despite the possiblity that all three could have used the same or similar sources, they each used them in quite different ways. Archer carefully adhered to the established and proven tenets and presented a scheme that exuded Georgian Taste inside and out. Blackburn presented a scheme that used all the same, plus many more, design motifs, probably technically achieved with the use of published sources that disengaged with the classical tenets and heralded the coming Victorian age. William Porden Kay again used similar details to the two previous proposals but in a considered manner; however, he still disengaged from the classical tenets, his design was as much driven by practical considerations as it was by any sincerely–held theoretical beliefs. While it is good architecture, it is not great architecture. The evolution of these schemes as much reflects the progress of time and the changes in taste. These changes in taste also changed the manner in which the literary sources would have been used.

Sir John Franklin was recalled to England and his successor, Eardley Wilmot, ordered the suspension of the project. His decision was later supported by a communication from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Stanley.[229] It appears the main reason for this was the general economic depression which Tasmania had fallen into, causing several other major Government building projects to be suspended. Thus, the third attempt to construct a new Government house proceeded little further than the previous two.

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[228]   AOT NS 279/2/4 pp. 2–3. (The dotted section can not be understood on the original).
[229]   AOT GO 1/64. 481–50

The 1854 Proposal by William Porden Kay

Hobart in the late 1840s and early 1850s was typified by optimism and great social change. The coming of the gold rushes saw a great influx of new immigrants into Hobart, but also the departure of many men to the gold fields. For the first time Hobart had a larger under 45 female population than male and a particularly large population of females between 15–21 and the highest birth rate of the century.[230] While the gold rush robbed Hobart of its male work force and thus many of its skilled building workers, money flowed into the town both from the goldfields and from new immigrants. It was a buoyant time for building.

Hobart was also optimistic about the prospect of self–government, and despite the difficulties caused for the elite by the end of convict transportation, they generally welcomed and supported the coming changes to the political system. The planning for the new Government House was undertaken in a climate of great social change, massive financial alterations as well as a general optimism about the future of Hobart. It was a time for a bright new look at Tasmania, its place in Australia and in the Empire.

Whether or not Kay did or did not choose to follow the existing foundations of Government House is not absolutely clear and probably of no great importance. His new design was so different, at all levels, as to negate all the previous proposals. His new proposal was the very essence of a Victorian House (see fig. 18 - 22). A house that was grand in nature but also exuded domesticity in a manner that only a Victorian manor could. The administrative overtones were replaced with the delineation of the household; public and private, male and female, servant and master. The Georgian preoccupation with the 'correct', was replaced with the Victorian love of fakery; papier maché, stucco and plaster mouldings, etc.

The lawn–front elevation (see fig. 22) is broken down with several smaller elements: a boudoir, conservatory and a flagged terrace with steps leading down to the lawn. Gone was the monument on the hill. The main entry to the building is not immediately obvious (see fig. 18). Approach is made by a route which moves away from the building around a stone wall and into a semi–enclosed courtyard with the actual entrance only then being revealed by a castellated tower. A tortuous, but Picturesque entry. Gone was the lineal and obvious entry through the two–storey classical porticos of all the previous schemes.

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[230]   P. Bolger, *Hobart Town.*, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1973, p. 69.
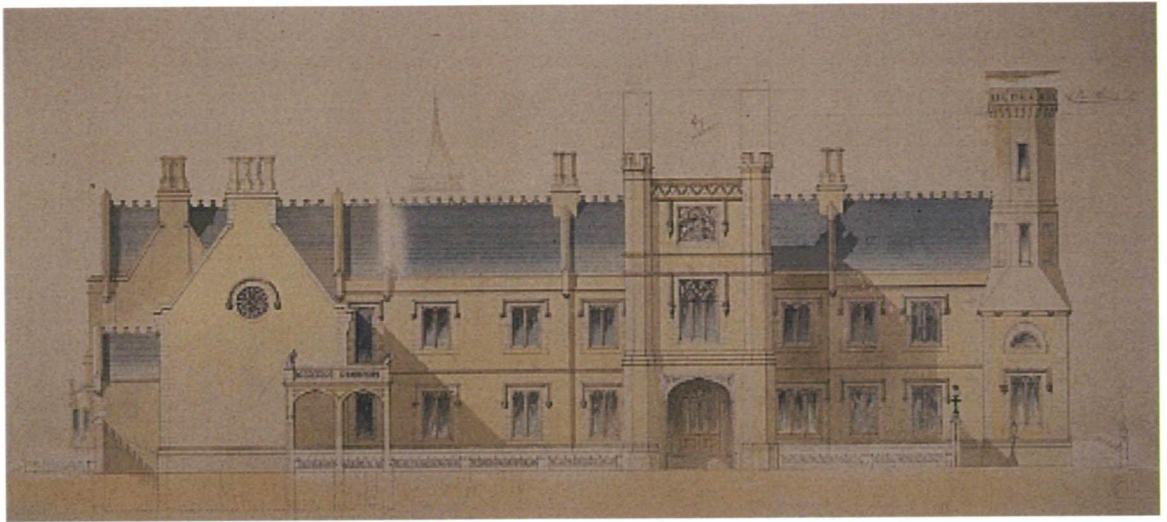
Fig. 18 William Porden Kay's 1854 proposal. Western elevation.
Source: DOC Plan 12 (Now held at the AOT).
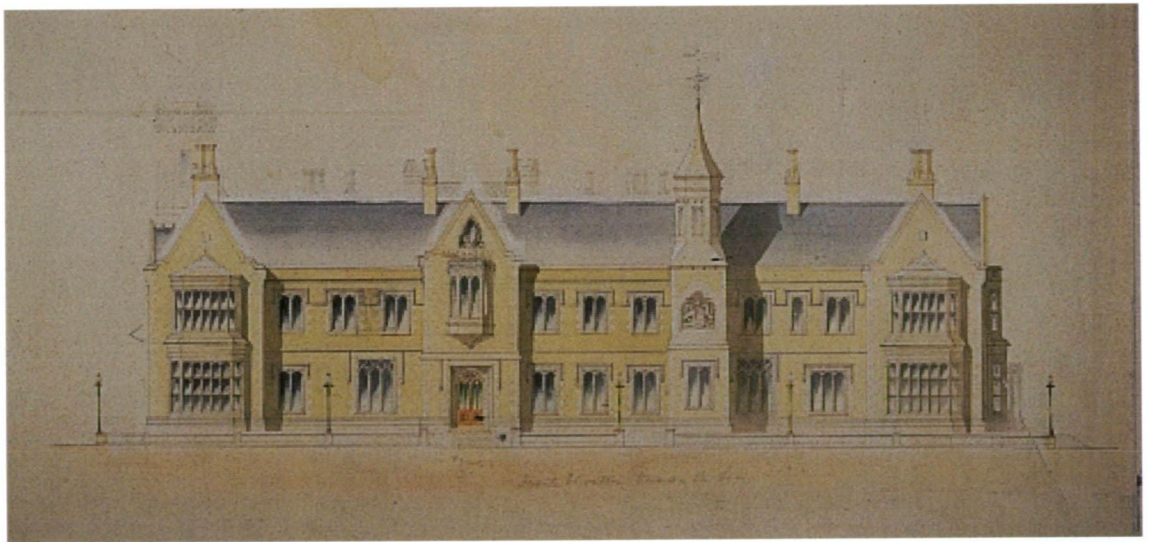
Fig. 19 William Porden Kay's 1854 proposal. Eastern elevation.
Source: DOC Plan 13 (Now held at the AOT).
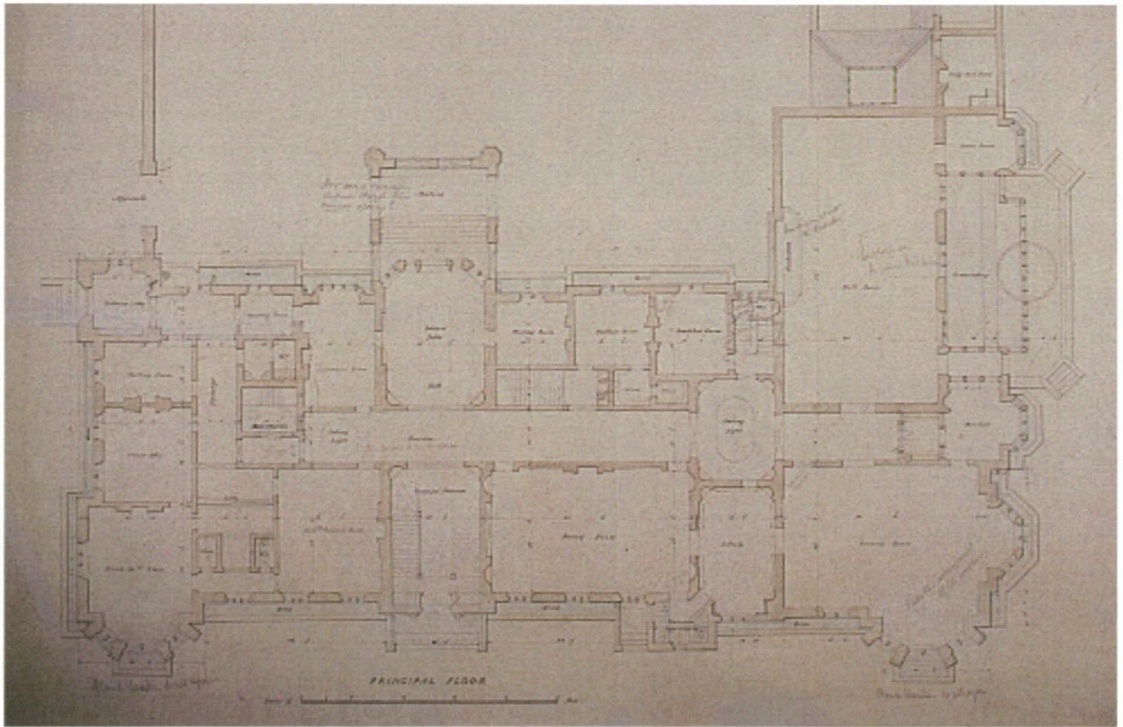
Fig. 20 William Porden Kay's 1854 proposal. Principal floor plan.
Source: AOT PWD 216 260
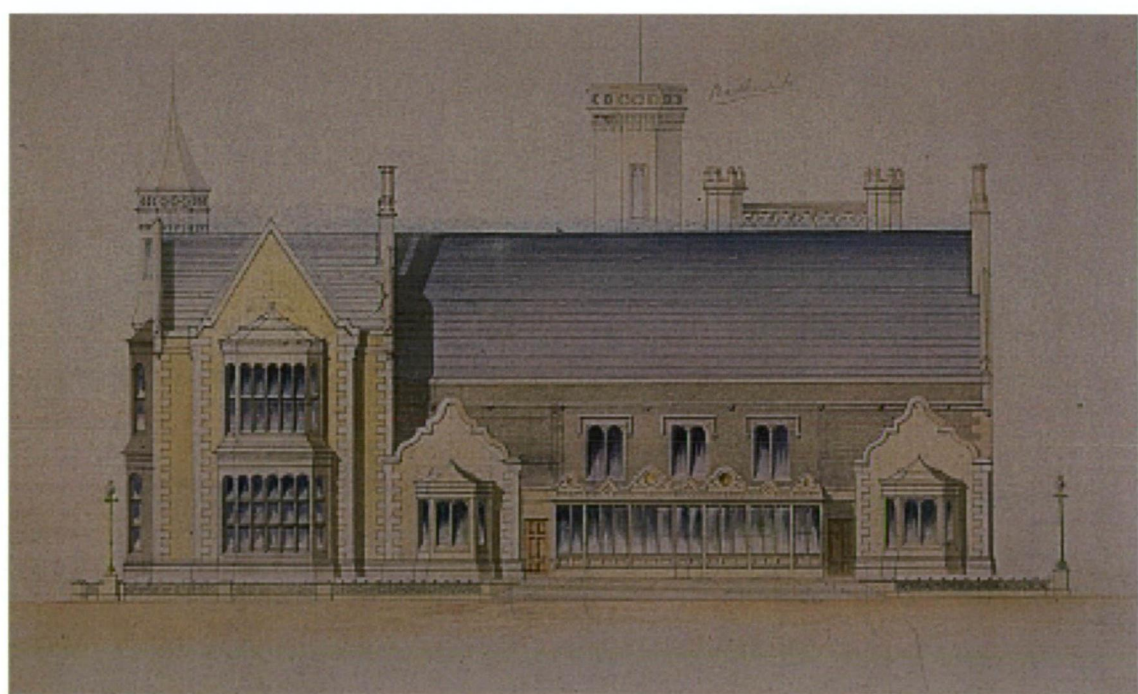
Fig. 21 William Porden Kay's 1854 proposal. River elevation.
Source: DOC Plan 14 (Now held at the AOT).

Fig. 22 William Porden Kay's 1854 proposal. Domain side elevation.
Source: DOC Plan 15 (Now held at the AOT).

Kay's previous classical proposal for Government House was in a style that was well accepted and acknowledged; both the client and architect would have been intimately familiar with the style to the point where there was possibly a 'pattern language' with which both were conversant.[231] The selection of a style for the new Government House design of 1854 was made from a much larger range of possibilities. If there was a debate about Kay's 1842 classical design it could have been around whether it was a 'studied' design or whether it was 'correct' according to Georgian tastes. For Kay's 1854 proposal none of these parameters applied. His range of choices was much larger and his clients less informed, a perfect opportunity for the lifting of elements from a variety of sources without the imperative for correctness that was expected from Georgian classicism.

William Porden Kay is the architect most closely linked with the design of the final scheme for Government House, but there is some suggestion that he may have not exercised complete influence over the final design. The design appears to have evolved in the Department of Works between 1850 and 1854, with the final plans being submitted in 1853, bearing the signature W.H. Hamilton, the Acting Director of Works, due to Kay's absence in England in 1853 and early 1854. As the Director of a Government Department

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[231]   C. Alexander, *The Timeless Way of Building.* Oxford University Press, New York 1979, refer chapter 2 section 2.

with various resources close at hand, it is safe to assume Kay had technical resources, drafting resources as well as others in the department with attuned design skills. As the Director, it can be assumed Kay accepted the responsibility for the resultant work and the authorship of that design. However, it is also important not to see Kay as an architectural genius working in isolation. William Porden Kay was a capable and intelligent architect, but he was also a government bureaucrat in charge of a government department, thus responsible not only for the design output of that department but also its budget, its personnel, its general administration and many other matters that were not related to architectural design.

Although certainly a grand and notable building, it is important not to see Government House as significant and important for its design. While being good architecture it is not great architecture. It did not push the boundaries of architectural design at the time nor did it place the Gothic Revival style at a new level of resolution. Government House is simply a well resolved, well detailed and designed, grand Gothic Revival house, designed and used as a residence for the Governor.

Government House used an interesting work force consisting of a large pool of unskilled convict workers, free workers who appear to have been mainly the skilled tradesmen, and the on–site supervision by the Foreman of Works, John McCracken. Work commenced in 1853, peaking throughout 1854, and tailing off in 1855.[232] These dates are interesting because they coincide with the gold rushes to the Victorian goldfields. There are various records of tradesmen having worked on the site and the wages they were paid. For instance, a William Jackson left the site and refused to work until his wage was increased. He was working on the ornamental stonework and his work was considered good enough that his demands were met and he returned to the site, which suggests that there may have been a shortage of labour.[233] The external ornamental stonework was also undertaken by Dominic Carre, a French sculptor who had come to Tasmania as a free immigrant. Kay had been impressed by his work and recommended him for work on the site.[234]

It is interesting to speculate what a French artisan might have brought, not only to Government House but also to general trade practice in Hobart. The contract documentation for Government House, and for that matter all building at the time, did not show all the details in drawing form. Some of the enriched external work, the type that the Frenchman was employed to undertake, would have only been described in words. Thus, there was much reliance placed on the tradesman's skills to provide an acceptable outcome.

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[232] AOT PWD 2/3 p.167 no. 297.

[233] L. Scripps, *Government House Archival Investigation*, For Tasmania, National Parks and Wildlife Service, 1991, p. 18.

[234] AOT PWD 2/3 p.190. No. 327.

The tradesman thus, in turn had to learn or acquire this knowledge from another source. As discussed in an earlier section, the apprenticeship system maintained much of this knowledge, including the inherited skills to turn two–dimensional drawings into three–dimensional stone sculptures. A French artisan would have introduced a broadening of the skills base and a larger 'palette' of details for the architect to work from.

The relevance, to this study, of the employment of a French artisan on Government House is that it may have introduced a whole new range of published sources (albeit accessed indirectly) into the consideration of the types of architectural publications that might have influenced the building. Indeed, one of the important nineteenth century architectural works on Gothic architecture was the work of Viollet–le –Duc, particularly his *Dictionnaire Raisonné,* first published in France in 1854. The earliest that Viollet–le–Duc's works were available in English was when the first volume of his *Entretiens sur L'Architecture* was translated by Henry Van Brunt in 1875.[235] However, all his works appear to have been keenly used as a visual resource by English and American (and presumably Australian) architects from the date of their publication in France.[236] Thus the potential exists for such works to have influenced Government House. A comparison between J.C. Loudon and Voillet–le–Duc as sources, both visual and written, for information on Gothic architecture would show Voillet–le–Duc clearly to be the more important source of technical and theoretical information on the subject, particularly through his *Dictionnaire Raisonné*. While the written theories of Voillet–le–Duc may not have been available to Kay, his *Dictionnaire Raisonné* was available as a visual resource and it contained vastly more information than Loudon, which contained no theoretical information and only scant visual information. Voillet–le–Duc's *Dictionnaire Raisonné* was a work for the serious and studious architect while Loudon's *Encyclopaedia* was a work for popular consumption.

J.C. Loudon and his *Encyclopaedia* (1833), are the sources most closely linked to the design of Government House in recent historical reports on the building. In particular, the ceilings in the dining room, drawing room and ballroom have been linked to Loudon's one–point line drawings. It is clear that these illustrations do match the resulting rooms, but this can be explained in many ways. For instance, the illustrations may have been used to confirm a popular fashion, as a range of starting points, or they may merely match by chance. As they exemplified a popular fashion rather than something new, it is entirely possible that they were not used at all and other sources were used. Loudon's popularity and relevance is not being challenged here, but rather the manner in which he was used, if the work was consulted. If, for instance, he was used as a starting point for the type of

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[235] Lectures on Architecture.

[236] G. C owell, 'Viollett–le-Duc and the Architecture of John Horbury Hunt.' *Society of Architectural Historians of Australia and New Zealand 11th conference Proceedings.* Brisbane,1994.

ceiling that could be used, and the client then agreed to take the design to the next stage, a second source would be needed, that was far more detailed. Loudon's *Encyclopaedia* was a collection of possibilities, without the methods for realising those possibilities.

For instance the drawing room linked with Government House is illustrated on page 1096 of the *Encyclopaedia,* as a black and white line drawing and a one–point perspective measuring 97mm by 172mm.[237] The associated text reads:

> A general view of the interior of a drawing room, fitted up and furnished in the Gothic
> Style ...The tracery of the ceiling should be of oak, or of stucco painted in imitation of
> that wood. The fillets and flowers should be gilt; the panels painted blue, and the
> ornaments of the cornice gilt. The dado should be of oak, painted and gilt.[238]

There is much detail that remains unexplained. What is the profile of the dado? What is the decoration of the labels supporting the ceiling tracery and what is the profile of the tracery? The list could continue. If Loudon was the only source, how were these questions answered?[239] Were they answered using trade knowledge, which may have originally come from other published sources, or were they just guessed at or made up as they went along. An investigation of the site reveals the latter to be very unlikely. The details used in Government House indicate a knowledge of authentic details as seen for examples in Gwilt's discussion of the Gothic of the nineteenth century in his *Encyclopaedia of Architecture.* They were clearly not guessed at nor were they flippantly used.

One professional report on Government House does start to analyse the use of Loudon in a more considered manner than others:

> In the context of such examples [Loudon's] the ceilings and their decoration are clearly
> not innovative but reflect what was accepted as being both fashionable and suitable for
> such an establishment.[240]

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[237]   J.C. Loudon, *An Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture and Furniture: containing numerous designs for dwellings, from the cottage to the villa ... each design accompanied by analytical and critical remarks.* Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longman, London, 1835, p. 1096.

[238]   J.C. Loudon, *An Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture and Furniture: containing numerous designs for dwellings, from the cottage to the villa ... each design accompanied by analytical and critical remarks.* Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longman, London, 1835, p. 1095.

[239]   Loudon is not the only source being suggested by recent professional reports however he is the only one being specifically referred to.

[240]   Tasmanian Heritage Unit, *Government House Conservation Plan,* For Tasmanian, Environment and Land Management, Department of, 1995, April, p. 25.

This probably rightly attributes the possible influence of Loudon on Government House: a reflection of what was accepted fashion for the period. Loudon's *Encyclopaedia*, was published in 1833, seventeen years prior to the commencement of the final design for Government House, so that as a demonstration of architectural fashion it cannot be described as current. However, it can probably be described as typical of the period. In England, Ruskin and Pugin were publishing the most authoritative works on the Gothic architecture, and in France the work of Viollet–le–Duc was considered as the most informed source.

There were many other sources that had the potential to inform the design process, that were published in the 1840s and which would have provided the type of detail required. To name just one Joseph Gwilt's *An Encyclopaedia of Architecture, Historical, Theoretical & Practical*, first published in 1842. Most of the details and the construction methods could have been accessed from this work and, like Loudon, it was another work of a more popular nature than those of Pugin and Ruskin.

It is clear that the published sources which influenced the design of Government House are completely different from those used for the previous three un–built designs. Government House can rightly be linked with the Picturesque pattern books, including Loudon's, whereas the three other designs have some clear links with the literature of classicism. In the evolution of architectural styles, it represents the clear break with the Georgian classical past and the re–engagement with older, English architectural sources.

John Lee Archer's design is a very studious and rigid interpretation of the classical treatise. James Blackburn's represents a flippant use of classical works. William Porden Kay's first design represents a Victorian interpretation of the classical treatise and his final design represents the rejection of those works and the engagement with the Victorian Picturesque and Revival periods thus marking the end of Georgian classical influence.

Case Study Two

Highfield House and the Picturesque Pattern Books

Highfield (see fig. 23) is clearly a rare and early example of a Picturesque cottage in the colonial context. What is unclear is the design process, or influences, which led to such an early example of the Picturesque style in Australia, when all around the classical idiom was still firmly entrenched. Furthermore, it is not clear whether Highfield House is a naive, individual expression of 'fashion', designed by an architecturally illiterate owner, or is a well–considered Picturesque, Revival building designed by one of greater insight into the latest developments in architectural fashion of the time.

Highfield House was originally the residence for the managing agent of the Van Diemen's Land Company, which operated a large property at Circular Head, North Western Tasmania. The company was formed in London in 1824 for the production of fine wool in colonial Australia. It was to take advantage of large land grants and the availability of convict labour. Its holding was estimated to have been approximately 500,000 acres. The company benefited from advice from the former Governor of Tasmania, Colonel William Sorell. Edward Curr, a former Hobart merchant and friend of Sorell's, was in London at the time of the first meeting of the company and was invited to attend. He was later appointed chief agent for the company.

The company arrived in Tasmania in 1826 and land was selected by Curr and Henry Hellyer, surveyor to the company, in the Circular Head district. Circular Head offered good port facilities and served as a half–way location for the adjacent land holdings of the VDL Co. It was there that Highfield House was constructed.

The first buildings were erected shortly after the company's arrival at Circular Head and were necessarily basic and quickly erected cottages. It was not until 1832 that construction of the present Highfield House was commenced. The 'bill of loading' of the ship *Tranmere*, chartered by the VDL Co. included:

> Glass for windows, tools for every possible trade, doors for the house, jambs and marble for chimney pieces, shutters and necessary ironwork for houses and out buildings.[241]

It appears that numerous prefabricated items such as doors, floorboards and windows were used on Highfield House, and Clive Lucas suggests that the house may have been designed

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[241]   C. Lucas, *Highfield House Stanley: Establishing its Significance and Guidelines for its Conservation.* For Tasmania, National Parks & Wildlife Service, 1990, p. 3.

around these items. Henry Hellyer, the surveyor for the VDL Co., is generally credited with the design;[242] however, Lucas suggests that:

> ... it could be Hellyer, it could be an unknown English Architect or it could be Curr or his surveyor acting as amanuensis and taking from numerous published sources. [243]

Several initial design drawings were made in 1831, including one design for a large three–storey residence with a verandah. On all the drawings there are French windows, suggesting that the present French windows were part of the prefabricated cargo.[244]

Fig 23 Highfield House from the north east. (1994)
Source: DELM Photo Library.

Highfield House was completed in 1833. An earlier building on the site was orientated to the east while Highfield House was built in front of this dwelling and was oriented to the north. In 1843, the earlier section of the house, located behind Highfield's present Picturesque facade, was demolished and in 1844, John Lee Archer was engaged to extend the house. He proposed quite large extensions to the rear, but only a small part of his plans were ever undertaken.

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242   Godden Mackay Pty Ltd. *Highfield, Stanley. Precinct Study.* For Tasmania, National Parks and Wildlife Service, 1992, p. 23.

243   C. Lucas, *Highfield House Stanley: Establishing its Significance and Guidelines for its Conservation* For Tasmania, National Parks & Wildlife Service, 1990, p. 3.

244   Godden Mackay Pty Ltd. *Highfield, Stanley. Precinct Study.* For Tasmania, National Parks and Wildlife Service, 1992, p. 24.

Highfield's style has been described in a variety of ways, as 'extraordinarily sophisticated', 'avant garde', 'Picturesque', an 'elegant', 'decorative cottage', a 'Rustic Villa' or 'a house to ornament the landscape'.[245] All the above descriptions may contain an element of descriptive truth. However, if Highfield was influenced by Picturesque publications from the 1790s to the 1830s, as has been suggested, precise stylistic classification is fraught with difficulty. The Picturesque movement turned its back on the rigid rules of the classical movement and proposed a freer, less rigid use of style. Loudon, for instance, encouraged the combining of different styles. For instance, it was quite reasonable, to Loudon, to have a Gothic exterior with a villa interior; or, in Highfield's case, a Picturesque exterior, and a traditional (for the time), Georgian interior. In fact, Loudon argues that such combinations increased taste. This 'scissor and paste' method was the main design approach of many Picturesque, Gothic or Revival practitioners.[246] To describe Highfield House as anything more precise than Picturesque is to differentiate between individual elements of the building. To describe Highfield as 'extraordinarily sophisticated' is to ignore the eclectic scissor and paste style of its Picturesque architecture.[247]

Externally, the composition, rather than the detail, gives the building its Picturesque qualities. The conspicuous chimneys, the lack of obvious classical proportions, the lack of a *piano nobilé* on the two–storey side sections and the composition of verandah, bay window and two–storey section all contribute to this Picturesque quality. However, some of the external details of the building are essentially those traditionally used in Georgian building both in England and Australia. For instance, the window detail is that described in the 1774 Building Code of London[248] with the masonry nib covering the casement of the windows. The stuccoed walls with their ashlar coursing are typical of the Regency period. Internally, the floor plan is the only major element that departs from the established Georgian tradition. The mouldings, fire surrounds, cornices, placement of the fireplace breast in the rooms, decorative finishes, doors, windows, etc. are all traditional Georgian rather than Revival details.[249] Apart from the floor plan, the only internal detail which does not follow the Georgian tradition is the use of brick nogging between timber studs. A

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[245]   C. Lucas, *Highfield House Stanley: Establishing its Significance and Guidelines for its Conservation.* For Tasmania, National Parks & Wildlife Service, 1990, p. 3.

[246]   J. Gloag, *Mr. Loudon's England. The Life and Work of John Claudius Loudon, and his influence on architecture and furniture design,* Oriel Press. Newcastle upon Tyne, 1970, p. 90. 'Scissor and paste' is a term Gloag uses.

[247]   Godden Mackay Pty Ltd. *Highfield, Stanley. Precinct Study.* For Tasmania, National Parks and Wildlife Service, 1992, p.1.

[248]   D. Cruickshank, *A Guide to the Georgian Buildings of Britain and Ireland,* Rizzoli, New York, 1985, p. 25.

[249]   Godden Mackay Pty Ltd. *Highfield, Stanley. Precinct Study.* For Tasmania, National Parks and Wildlife Service, 1992. From descriptions in the inventory of that document.

section of this was observed in the former butler's pantry.[250] This technique is an old established English practice[251] and was not part of traditional Georgian building after the implementation of the 1709 London Building Act, which saw timber largely removed from the wall structure of buildings.[252]

Essentially, Highfield House uses traditional Georgian details and methods, but employs a Picturesque composition with some obvious Picturesque elements such as the conspicuous chimneys, giving it an essentially Picturesque aesthetic.

Lucas suggested that the design of Highfield House, particularly those elements that can be described as Picturesque, was influenced by pattern books of the period, in particular J.C. Loudon's *Encyclopaedia of Cottage Farm and Villa Architecture, and Furniture* (1833), and J.B. Papworth's *Rural Residences* (1818).[253] A critical analysis of both works and their authors is thus worthwhile.

John Buonarotti Papworth (1775–1847) was a prominent and successful architect of his time, however, he is far better known for his publications, such as *Rural Residences* (1818, 2nd edition 1832), *Selected Views of London* (1816), *Hints on Ornamental Gardening* (1822), among others. He was born in Marylebone, London, the second son of John Papworth (1750 – 99), who was the leading stuccoist of his day and was employed by the London Office of Works during the time of Sir William Chambers.[254]

It was Papworth's father's intention that his son should follow a medical career; however, on Chambers' recommendation, after seeing his drawing ability, the young Papworth entered the architectural profession. His education was thorough and included working for a builder, Thomas Wapshott, where he learnt the practical side of his profession, and office work under John Plaw, who published several pattern books, including *Ferme Ornée*.[255] His design work consisted of a variety of undertakings, from an early gin palace at 94

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250   Godden Mackay Pty Ltd. *Highfield, Stanley. Precinct Study.* For Tasmania, National Parks and Wildlife Service, 1992. From descriptions in the inventory of that document.

251   R. Brunskill, *Illustrated Handbook of Vernacular Architecture,* Faber, London, 1971, p. 68.

252   D. Cruickshank, *A Guide to the Georgian Buildings of Britain and Ireland,* Rizzoli, London, 1985, p.25.

253   Godden Mackay Pty Ltd. *Highfield, Stanley. Precinct Study.* For Tasmania, National Parks and Wildlife Service, 1992.
       C. Lucas, *Highfield House Stanley: Establishing its Significance and Guidelines for its Conservation.* For Tasmania, National Parks & Wildlife Service, 1990, p. 3.

254   H. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840.* John Murray, London, 1978, p. 615.

255   M. Mc Mordie, 'Picturesque pattern books of pre Victorian designers, Pattern books of Great Britain. 1790–1835', *Architectural History,* Vol. 18, 1975, p. 51.

Holborn Hill[256] to the design of decorative items such as silverware and ornamental glassware. He also worked as a landscape gardener and town planner.[257] Papworth was one of the twelve architects who, on 2 July 1834, signed the resolution which led to the foundation of the Institute of British Architects. He was later made an honorary member of that organisation.

Papworth was first and foremost a designer, rather than an architectural technician or theorist, and this is reflected in his publications. His *Rural Residences*, for instance, consisted of a series of hand–coloured aquatints of cottages, followed by some general notes. The notes and illustrations were primarily of an aesthetic, rather than a technical nature. This publication was typical of the Picturesque pattern books published between 1790 and 1835, in that the buildings are presented in the form of Picturesque perspective views; they are seen as ornaments in the Picturesque landscape. It was less typical in that it contained substantially more text than other works, although it still only provided hints rather than theoretical or technical detail. *Rural Residences* is reported to have had large sales abroad, particularly in Russia. The book cost over one guinea and was aimed at a moderately wealthy public. Many of the designs in *Rural Residences* were previously published in Ackerman's magazine *Repository of Arts*, which supposedly had a circulation of approximately 3,000 copies. There are two aspects of Papworth's *Rural Residences* that suggest some influence on the design of Highfield House. Firstly, plate XIII illustrates a villa design for an 'exposed and elevated situation', a description that could be applied to the location of Highfield House. The building also bears some similarities to Papworth's 'cottage ornée' which has a hip roof extending over a verandah. A comparison of Hellyer's later watercolour of the Highfield House verandah with Papworth's illustration reveals a close similarity between the designs. However, Papworth states in the text accompanying his illustration that it should only be employed in a 'Metropolis'.[258] He continues that the verandah should be painted bronze as 'all other colours suggest timber'.

It is interesting to note that one of the initial design drawings for Highfield House (1830) by Hellyer,[259] was undertaken competently in a style of drawing very similar to that used not only in Papworth's books, but in Picturesque pattern books generally (see fig. 24). Hellyer's drawing illustrates a classically inspired two–storey break–front villa with French windows on the ground floor and Regency verandah. The villa is presented as a classical

[256]   M. Mc Mordie, 'Picturesque pattern books of pre Victorian designers. Pattern books of Great Britain. 1790–1835', *Architectural History*, Vol. 18, 1975, pp. 51.

[257]   C H. olvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840*, John Murray, London, 1978, p. 616.

[258]   J.B. Papworth, *Rural Residences, Consisting of a Series of Designs for Cottages Decorated Cottages, Small Villas, and other Ornamental Buildings. Accompanied by Hints on Situation, Construction, Arrangement and Decoration.* J. Diggens, London, 1818, p. 103.

[259]   AOT VDL 343 /568–1

ornament set in a Picturesque landscape. In comparison, John Lee Archer was preparing plans in 1827 for a proposed Government House in Hobart,[260] also a break–front classical villa but of much larger size. His drawings are all orthographic elevations and floor plans. They depict a building in complete harmony with itself (refer page 99). The drawing style Hellyer used suggests that he was more influenced by Picturesque aesthetics promoted by the Picturesque pattern books, while Archer's drawing style suggests an inclination towards the classical treatise, the only hint of the landscape being some rough watercolour strokes applied almost as an afterthought at each end of the building.

Fig. 24 Hellyer's Highfield House proposal of 1830, showing the building as an ornament in the landscape. (detail only). Source: AOT VDL 343/568 – 1

Another publication proposed as an influence on the design of Highfield House is J.C. Loudon's *Encyclopaedia of Cottage Farm and Villa Architecture, and Furniture* (1833).[261] The date of publication of this work is a year after commencement of construction at Highfield House in 1832.[262] Loudon had, however, previously published a work entitled *A Manual of Cottage Husbandry, Gardening and Architecture* (1830), which was later incorporated into the *Encyclopaedia*. The latter was thus available, in part, two years prior to the commencement of the construction of Highfield House.

Loudon's interest in architecture seems to have stemmed from his interest in landscape gardening, in a similar manner to Batty Langley's progression about a century earlier. Langley and Loudon both viewed the landscape as a Picturesque scene containing both natural and man–made objects. Thus they perceived the built form as part of the landscape

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[260]   AOT PWD 266 / 147–176

[261]   C. Lucas, *Highfield House Stanley: Establishing its Significance and Guidelines for its Conservation.* For Tasmania, National Parks & Wildlife Service, 1990p. 2.

[262]   Godden Mackay Pty Ltd. *Highfield, Stanley. Precinct Study.* For Tasmania, National Parks and Wildlife Service, 1992, p. 23.

and therefore within their realm of interest. However, as Langley published during the early period of English Palladianism when the Burlington School was firmly in control of taste, his vision of the Picturesque was never realised in built form. Loudon, on the other hand, began publishing towards the end of the classical period of English architecture, when the growing middle classes were open to new ideas and change, and so he was able to reach a much larger audience. Loudon's views on architecture developed from the construction of his semi detached villa of 1825 on Porchester Rd., which was principally in the Georgian style. [263] By the time he published the *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture and Furniture* in 1833, he believed (in effect) that as the general public did not know what constituted the whole in a style, that the architect could move between styles and even mix them:

> By employment of style in an edifice the architect takes immediate possession of the prejudices of mankind. He gains a positive beauty at once by the mere exhibition of style, because thousands of spectators in Europe and America, for example, have some crude ideas of what is Grecian and what is Gothic, while comparatively few understand what constitutes a whole in mere combinations of form. Style, therefore, ought never to be neglected by architects who want to gain popular applause. [264]

John Claudius Loudon died in 1843 from overwork, neglect of his health in his early years and anxiety over unpaid debts. [265] Despite the many shortcomings of the *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture and Furniture*, its effect on design and style in England cannot be underestimated. Summerson suggests that it was the aristocracy who were the driving force behind the adoption of Palladianism in the 1730s, rather than architects. [266] Similarly, the growing middle classes of the 1830s were the ones that demanded the Revival Picturesque styles, with architects supplying that demand. Loudon can be seen as one of the influential people presenting the Picturesque to the middle classes in England, as well as in Australia, from the 1830s to the 1840s.

Loudon's works may well have influenced the farm layout and horticulture of the VDL Company. It would seem logical that a well–financed, well–organised pastoral company

[263] J. Gloag, *Mr. Loudon's England, The Life and Work of John Claudius Loudon, and his influence on architecture and furniture design*, Oriel Press, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1970. It is of note that the inception of the semi–detached villa is attributed to Loudon (semi–detached being a pair of villas joined to appear as one or pairs of terrace houses) p. 73.

[264] J.C. Loudon, *An Encyclopaedia of Cottage Farm and Villa Architecture and Furniture: containing numerous designs for dwellings, from the cottage to the villa ... each design accompanied by analytical and critical remarks.* Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longman, London, 1833, p. 1122.

[265] J. Gloag, *Mr. Loudon's England. The Life and Work of John Claudius Loudon, and his influence on architecture and furniture design*, Oriel Press, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1970, pp. 66–69.

[266] J. Summerson, *The Unromantic Castle, and other essays*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1990, p. 79.

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would not only equip the venture with all the required hardware but also with the best reference work of the day on agriculture, farm layout and the management of plantations. Loudon's reputation as an authority on such matters would have made his works among the obvious choices. It is not unreasonable to assume that the VDL Company possessed copies of Loudon's works, including possibly *A Manual of Cottage Husbandry, Gardening and Architecture* (1830). This publication contained numerous examples of Picturesque villas with hipped roofs extending over the verandah in a similar manner to that at Highfield House. Although lacking in detail of a specific nature, these 'Model Cottages' appear quite similar to the main facade of Highfield House and may have provided a basis for the design.

The chimneys of Highfield bear the most obvious stamp of Loudon's *Encyclopaedia*. They tower above the building with conspicuous prominence. The typically Georgian mode was to have chimneys as subordinate elements to the regularity and order of the building. Loudon's *Encyclopaedia* was full of conspicuous chimneys of one style or another, the majority greatly overstated in size and prominence. Loudon wrote that:

> The principal truth, of a thing appearing to be what it is, and the expression of purpose, alike required that, in all human dwellings in temperate climates, intended to appear as such, the chimney tops should be conspicuous objects. We would, therefore, recommend them, in all cases, to rise boldly into the air above the roof, and to form a conspicuous feature in the outlines of all buildings against the sky. As a palliative for the stack of chimneys being too short, architectural chimney pots may be employed. Of these there are a great variety of forms made of cement, artificial stone, or earthenware.[267]

It is interesting to note that when John Lee Archer came to extend the building in 1844, he could not bring himself to replicate the height and massing of the original two–storey section, and he omitted the *piano nobilé* on the rear section as it was not used on the original section.[268] However, when he came to detail the chimneys he could not replicate the towering conspicuous original chimneys. Archer's chimneys are more understated, well–proportioned and have a robust feeling unlike the towering overstated chimneys of the 1833 building.

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[267]   J.C. Loudon, *An Encyclopaedia of Cottage Farm and Villa Architecture and Furniture: containing numerous designs for dwellings, from the cottage to the villa ... each design accompanied by analytical and critical remarks.* Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, & Longman, London, 1833, p. 32.

[268]   This is the only two storey building by John Lee Archer in Tasmania that does not use the *piano nobilé* principle.

Attributing the influences on the design of Highfield House to pattern books alone invalidates the knowledge and skills that were carried by the trades. However, the influence of trade skills on the design process of Highfield was subordinate, as the overt style of Highfield House is strongly linked to the Picturesque pattern books of the period. Highfield House employs traditional Georgian methods and details throughout, upon which overtly stylistic elements are over-laid to give the building its Picturesque quality. The traditional methods and details required skill and experience, while the overt stylistic elements probably relied upon published sources either directly or indirectly.

It is probable, considering the Picturesque nature of the building, that one or more Picturesque, as opposed to classical or technical, architectural publications were used prior to and during the designing of Highfield House. However, the link need not have been direct, or 'on the drawing board'. The two works mentioned, J. B. Papworth's *Rural Residences* and J.C. Loudon's *A Manual of Cottage Husbandry, Gardening, and Architecture* may well have influenced the design process, in particular the Picturesque form of the building. It is also quite likely that Loudon's views on chimneys may have had an influence on the form of the conspicuous chimneys. There are, however, over 58 other publications that may also contain images and text that could as easily be matched to Highfield House. It is therefore more accurate to say simply that the Picturesque Revival movement in architectural style as represented in the pattern books of the period 1790–1835, clearly had a strong influence on the overt stylistic elements of Highfield House.

This case study has explored the possible sources of information used in the design process of Highfield House. Out of this exploration two points have arisen. Firstly, it is probably misleading to attribute the influences on an individual building to a specific book or to published sources alone. Secondly, Highfield House was most probably influenced by the Picturesque movement of pattern book publication between 1790 and 1840.

Conclusion

Chapter one defined the genres of architectural publications relevant to this study and explored the type of information that they contained, with a view to their potential influence on Australian colonial architecture. To understand architectural and building texts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it is necessary to understand the genres of publications and how they contributed to and were influenced by the development of architectural ideas. To single out individual works and match them superficially to completed buildings, is a vast over–simplification of the process of architectural design and construction. Rather, these works should be seen as representative of the movements in architectural style, taste and technique and, for those reasons, a valuable source for research. The published architectural works of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were explored in the following groupings:

Classical

The classical treatises were the first focused architectural works published in England. They established the careers of their authors, and superseded the works of others and in turn were superseded themselves. They provided a form of publishing that would eclipse the style itself and provided information that would be plagiarised by others. The works established the classical architectural style in England and appear to have been used for many years after their last date of publication (mid to late 1700s). These works, as a genre, established the knowledge base of the architectural and building industries that future architectural publications would add to rather than replacing.

Picturesque and Revival

If the Georgian period of classical design was typified by the studied, academic adoption of a set of principles that could be applied to all situations, then the emerging Picturesque period could be typified by a confidence in 'design' and the architect's own creative 'genius'. While the classical treatises were preoccupied with the 'correct' interpretation of the architectural artefact alone, Picturesque pattern books had a preoccupation with the situation and the relationship between building and place.

The published works of the Picturesque and revival styles appeared in the later part of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth centuries and contained Picturesque designs for cottages and villas, illustrated only in the form of rendered perspective views. The major factors which differentiate these from the classical treatises are: they illustrate ornamental cottages and villas as elements in an ornamental landscape; on the whole, they did not enter into any deep theoretical debate; and, lastly, the publications only contained the very briefest of technical information. There were about sixty of these works published between 1790 and 1835.

Technical

The technical publications can be looked at in two ways. They can be seen as cheap plagerisations of the high–minded treatise or they can be seen as eminently important in communicating with and educating the working classes and thus providing the skills and techniques needed to build high–minded architecture. The latter is clearly the most acceptable interpretation and the classical and technical treatise clearly worked together in promoting and educating different areas of society. Both may have been, and probably were, essential in the promotion of the classical and the professionalisation of architecture and the building trades. The technical publications range from the important, but plagiarised, work of Batty Langley, to the intelligent and original work of Peter Nicholson.

The technical publications were less associated with the careers of their authors and more associated with the commercial realities of the building industry.

Chapter two explored the variety of ways in which architectural literature has the potential to influence the process of architectural design. The exploration looked at five different ways that influence could take place. However, it was acknowledged that influence was not limited to these alone.

1. Influence at the point of design. Books can be used on the drawing board as the primary design source. The potential exists for the complete copying of a building from a published source, but this does not mean that a design process, of some sort, has not been undertaken. Whatever the suggested scenario, whether it be a new decorative door surround on an existing building or a completely new building, there alway needs to be some active shaping. The design process is complex, and to suggest that a building could be copied, with no active shaping, from a published source is to ignore the reality of design.

2. Influence on trade skill. The information contained within a text can be taken into general trade skill and knowledge and express itself in the building method and detail at a later date, possibly even on the other side of the world. Those titles which influenced the building trades, despite doing it from a distance, are just as important in understanding Australia's first architecture as those texts where influence can be directly established. Thus a range of titles are worthy references in understanding the

type of knowledge, method and skill possessed and practised by the skilled building workers in colonial Australia.[269]

3. Influence by representation of mental image. An illustration of a building in a book, particularly a Picturesque pattern book, can be used to represent the mental image the client has of the intended building to the architect or builder. Thus the book itself is not the origin of the initial idea but might be the method of communicating that idea. An illustrated image can be used to represent a recollection. Pictures or patterns were useful substitutes for the spoken architectural language, which many clients may not have possessed to describe to their designer their mental picture of the intended building. The illustrations in a Picturesque pattern book, for instance, may have been used as no more that a convenient conduit between client and architect and played a very minor, or no, influential role in the design process at all. Of course it is very difficult, almost impossible, to prove this either way; however, this has to be kept in mind when trying to attribute the influence on the architectural process directly to published sources.

4. Influence on literature by literature. The information and ideas contained in one architectural text can be reused and adapted by other authors in later texts. Thus some texts may influence the architectural process via one or more subsequent publications by other authors. This section demonstrated that information and ideas contained in one work are often used and re–used in subsequent works both by the originating author and by others. Thus to attempt to attribute influence without fully understanding the architectural genre and the author is risky, particularly in the period of this study. This section also demonstrated that knowledge and ideas move through the publishing trade rather than existing in isolation.

5. Shared visual image (patron architect relationship). Fashionably acceptable architectural aesthetics of a particular time, are confirmed in published sources and used to demonstrate a shared visual experience between client and architect.[270] For instance, the client requires the most fashionable piece of architecture acceptable to 'cultured' society, and the architect demonstrates his ability by either publishing a

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[269] The knowledge that was carried by the trades in Colonial Australia was an area that was looked at during the study and it was suggested that this was a potent influence on the design process. However, while researching this thesis, very little good writing or research was found which explored this issue. The role of the building trades in Colonial Australia and their contribution to the stylistic, aesthetic and the decorative aspects of architecture clearly needs more research.

[270] J. Onians, *Bearers of Meaning: the classical orders in the antiquity, the middle ages, and the renaissance* Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1988, p. 4.

portfolio of work that shows this shared visual experience or uses the published portfolio of another to demonstrate the shared visual experience. Thus the published source is not being used as a source in itself, but rather as a confirmation of this shared experience.

Chapter three explored the origin of the term 'pattern book' and how pattern books have been used in contemporary Australian commentaries. The term 'pattern book' has been in popular usage in Australia since the late 1970s. It implies a complete set of instructions which, if followed, would result in a perfectly executed object. No single architectural publication between 1715 and 1840 provides such comprehensive information. Rather, they collectively contain a vast array of information from prescriptive rules for the proportioning the classical orders to depictions of ornamental cottages in a Picturesque landscape, with much information being replicated between texts. The term pattern book is being used in a confused manner in Australia, and the genre of architectural publication that this term represents does not appear to have any overwhelming consensus.

Generally, it is suggested that the majority of works being used to interpret early colonial architecture are the Picturesque pattern books published between 1795 and 1840. Today, a published source may only have a very short life span before it is superseded by another. This has come about due to the speed of communication and the cheapness and speed of modern printing. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, however, the currency of a publication extended over a much longer period. We cannot view a publication in, say, 1790 as only having currency in that decade. Rather, its validity would have extended over several decades or more. Ware's *A Complete Body of Architecture* is a case in point. First published in 1757, it was still being used in the early 1800s. It is a conclusion of this work that the published works of the early colonial period are not, necessarily the published sources that influenced early colonial architecture. Rather, it has been demonstrated that published works from the early 1700s up to the mid to late 1700s are the most relevant and valid sources of influence for that body of colonial Australian architecture that is commonly described as colonial Georgian.

It has been a common occurrence in writings on architectural history since the 1970s, for the authors to attempt to link completed works with published sources. The habit of matching a completed building to a published design is somewhat similar to the occupation of attributing a particular building to an architect and applying a date to it. These undertakings contribute little to the understanding of the complex process of architecture. Can an architect act in complete isolation from the social setting of the design process, so that total and absolute invention can be attributed to a single person, whether it be by actually designing the building or by publishing the work that inspired the building? Clearly not. The assimilation of forms, motifs and details into memory is a potent source

of influence and to deny it one would have to go through life with ones eyes closed and ears plugged. Likewise, the linking of a single text to a completed building only explains one of many influences on the process of architectural design. To see the influence of published sources in isolation is to see them out of context.

Chapter four, explored two case studies in a search for influences that may have acted on building designs. It was demonstrated that when looking for influence on a design, it is important to look well beyond a single architect or a single published source. By doing so, the process of inquiry can travel much further than just a single individual, a date of construction or a date of publication. It can reach into the history of buildings, the lives of builders and designers, and can explore the complex relationships between wealthy client and ambitious architect, between female patron and powerful husband. It can explore the impacts of technology and its dissemination in published sources, publishing technology itself, political expediency and economic pressures. It is only when we acknowledge the collaborative nature of the architectural design process, and the social pressures on it, that we will truly begin to understand the multitude of forces behind the growth and development of the built environment.

From the time Vitruvius published his *Ten Books of Architecture* to today's glossy architectural magazines and journals, architectural publishing has communicated a design message, some times to a select group, at other times to the populace at large. The actual nature of that communication has changed little, but the message and the way in which that message is received have changed greatly.

As the palette of possible sources grows and the need for historical or theoretical correctness diminishes, the potential for the transmission of architectural style by the aesthetic image alone increases. Today, the architectural style magazine contains little clear text and a large number of high quality colour images. Like their predecessor, the Picturesque pattern book, these magazines and journals concentrate on aesthetics and fashion and are invariably superseded shortly after their publication.

It is now popularly assumed that Australia's first settlers relied heavily on published books of patterns for the generation of Australia's colonial Georgian architecture. This thesis, has demonstrated that the printed architectural image was not nearly as important to the classical styles as was the styles social cohesion. Indeed, as Australian history has progressed, the printed architectural image has become more important, rather than less, as demonstrated by the reliance of the Picturesque styles on the printed image for their growth in popularity during the middle of the nineteenth century. The 'patterns' that determined the Australian colonial Georgian style came here as part of the social fabric. The 'patterns' that superseded this style took the form of printed images. The embracing of images in the

Picturesque pattern books brought to an end the Georgian classical style, a style that had reigned supreme for over a century.

There are many different ways that the literature of architecture can be used, and the influences on architecture are far broader than just published works. So what then were the influences on our colonial architecture? Today, we would not consider attributing influence of the design of a specific building solely to either a single book, the author, or the editor of a magazine simply because similarities can be seen between a building and a published image. Rather it is very clear that today many things influence the generation of architecture. For instance, the magazine *Architecture Australia*, works of architectural theory and history, magazines such as *Vogue Living* and *House & Garden*, the environment in which we live, our education – both general and architectural, our peers, the retiring generation of architects, the emerging generation of architects studying in universities, the social, economic and political environment and clearly many other factors, all affect architectural design.

There is no reason why all of the above should not, in principle, have been the very same things that were exerting an influence on the production of architecture in colonial Australia. In the same way that we acknowledge the complex influences around us today, the first settlers in Australia were also part of a social, economic, political and fashionable community with desires, tastes and expectations of and for the future. All these things influenced and inspired the architecture they gave rise to.

While published sources were used in colonial Australia, they were not an end in themselves, but rather a part of a social context. They reflected the society in which they existed and were influenced by it as much as they were used to shape it.

Appendix One

Notes on J.C. Loudon and J. Gwilt

Three genres of architectural publication have been explored in this thesis. Classical treatises, Picturesque pattern books and technical publications, but with no pigeon–hole into which J.C. Loudon can easily be slotted; an oversight perhaps, considering the popularly perceived importance of Loudon to early Australian architecture. This 'oversight' was intentional, as it is suggested that, firstly, rather than being part of any established publication type, the Loudon publishing enterprise represented, at the time, the beginning of something new, the beginning of architectural journalism and the architectural magazine and, secondly, that his influence on early (say, settlement–1840) Australian architecture has been overstated by Australian architectural writers in the past 25 years.

John Claudius Loudon was born on the 8th of April, 1783, at Kerse Hall near Gogar, Scotland. His father, a successful Scottish farmer with a large family, was 'a man of enlightened mind and superior information'.[271]

The young Loudon found immediate interest in books and taught himself several languages. At an early age he was given a plot of land by his father and demonstrated an exuberant interest in gaining knowledge of landscape gardening. It was in this period that Loudon began keeping a journal, a habit that he maintained for many years. In Edinburgh, the young Loudon studied writing and drawing, both with considerable success. One of his tutors noted that Loudon would be 'one of the best writers of the day'.[272] A prophecy that was to be realised, but not in the manner intended. On completing his studies, Loudon, initially against his father's wishes, went to work for a landscape gardener.

At the age of twenty, Loudon, like many other young Scotsmen of his time, moved to London to make his fortune. He not only made his fortune, but also established a reputation as a prominent writer on landscape gardening and the management of estates and plantations. He eventually lost his fortune, but never his reputation. Although born in the eighteenth century, Loudon was a man of the nineteenth century. He embraced the industrial age, while also recognising the civic and social problems that it created. Loudon always took full advantage of the technology available to him, for instance, in the

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[271] Jane Loudon, *Self Instruction for Young Gardeners, Foresters, Bailiffs, Land Stewards and Farmer in arithmetic, book-keeping, geography, mensuration...and perspective.../.* Longmans & Green, London, 1847. From the Preface of that work, published shortly after her husband's death.

[272] Jane Loudon, *Self Instruction for Hound Gardeners, Foresters, Bailiffs, Land Stewards and Farmers,* Longmans & Green, London, 1847. From the Preface of that work, published shortly after her husband's death.

Encyclopaedia of Gardening he utilised the latest high–speed printing methods, which enabled the interspersing of illustrations into the text, greatly enhancing the utility of the work. His view of the world extended well beyond the shores of England, as many of his publications were addressed to the colonies.[273] He proposed solutions, many of which were ahead of their time, to a wide range of problems he perceived around him.[274] His first considerable work, *Encyclopaedia of Gardening*, appeared in 1822, but he had been publishing minor papers and articles since he first arrived in London in 1803. In 1818, he was elected a fellow of the Royal Horticultural Society.

According to Gloag, 'few Scotsmen have exerted a greater influence on the environment of English life than J.C. Loudon'.[275] However, Gloag is somewhat critical of that influence, as he believed Loudon's books assisted in the general decline of taste in English architecture.[276]

It should be stressed at this point that to attribute a design directly to Loudon is probably somewhat naive. This statement can be supported on two counts. Firstly, the majority of designs in all of Loudon's publications are not by him, but rather by others. Secondly, because his encyclopaedia and magazine are filled with practically every style known to civilisation at that time, just about every building built at the time has the potential to be linked with Loudon.

The first point may seem a bit pedantic, but it is important to understand the context of the publication of his works and to attribute a design to its rightful author and the compilation of the designs to the editor, Loudon. Thus attribution of influence should rightly go, firstly, to the published work itself and to a specific designer and then, perhaps, to the editor of that publication. Today, we would not even attempt to attribute influence on the design of a specific building to the editor of a magazine, simply because the editor published an article about a similar design. It could be argued, for instance, that at the time of publication the reputations of his contributors may well have exceeded his own in the field of architecture. Sir Charles Barry, for example, has designs in the *Encyclopaedia* and Barry's architectural reputation at the time would have far exceeded Loudon's.

[273] For instance in his *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture, and Furniture*. He refers to North America and newly colonised countries like Australia.

[274] J. Gloag, *Mr. Loudon's England: The life and Work of John Claudius Loudon, and his influence on Architecture and furniture design*. Oriel Press, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1970, p.18.

[275] J. Gloag, *Mr. Loudon's England: The life and Work of John Claudius Loudon, and his influence on Architecture and furniture design*. Oriel Press, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1970, p.17.

[276] J. Gloag, *Mr. Loudon's England: The life and Work of John Claudius Loudon, and his influence on Architecture and furniture design*. Oriel Press, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1970, p.26.

Secondly Loudon published ideas for cottages, villas, farm buildings and furniture in a complete 'Pageant of Styles'.[277] However, it would be wrong to assume that Loudon was an indiscriminate style fancier. Rather, he did have the ability to critically, and intelligently, discuss the designs which he presented in his publications, albeit somewhat in the manner of an indulgent editor. Rather than presenting himself as the definitive expert on architectural taste and style, Loudon supported the role of the architect in building design. For example, he was critical of a Duke of Norfolk for being 'his own architect' and, as a result, the Duke later 'discovers his own utter ignorance on the subject'. Loudon, in support of the architectural profession, claimed that 'if the Duke had employed an architect he would have possessed a castle in a very superior taste'.[278] Loudon often encouraged designers to support their designs in lengthy papers, and while at many points in the Encyclopaedia he makes extended comments, he never shows a bias for one style or another nor does he enter the battle of the styles, the battle between the established classical and the emerging Gothic Revival school.

It is interesting to note that often Loudon uses the phrase, 'here we would recommend' or 'we suggest that'. Rarely does he use the singular to refer to himself. Passages in the Architectural Magazine credited to J.C. Loudon or signed 'The Conductor', continually use 'we' rather than 'I'.

Two interpretations of the use of 'we' are possible. Firstly, the use of 'we' may refer to the joint authorship of John Loudon and Jane (nee Webb) Loudon, or secondly, 'we' may encompass all the contributors, with Loudon speaking on behalf of all. Popular comment on Loudon has tended to see him as the prominent figure in both the An Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, Villa and Architecture and, later, the Architectural Magazine. For instance the common reference is 'Loudon's Encyclopaedia' and 'Loudon's Magazine'. The role and contribution of Jane Webb and the contributors, as a result, has been treated as secondary, if not completely ignored.

What we know of Jane Webb suggests she was just as capable a writer as her more famous husband, having published several volumes prior to meeting J.C. Loudon, and several more after his death and many in between under her own name. In 1827 Jane Webb had anonymously published a three volume novel entitled The Mummy! A Tale of the Twenty Second Century. The novel painted a picture of England in the Twenty Second Century under a female sovereign, with fanciful predictions, many of which have now come to pass. Such things as air–conditioning, mattresses made of elastic springs, something

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[277]   J. Gloag, Mr. Loudon's England: The life and Work of John Claudius Loudon, and his influence on Architecture and furniture design. Oriel Press, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1970. Gloag uses this term as one of his chapter titles.

[278]   J.C. Loudon, An Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, Villa and Architecture, Longman, 1835, p. 1097.

like an expresso machine and milking machines for dairies as well as improved worldwide communications and worldwide air travel, albeit by balloon.[279] In 1828, J.C. Loudon had reviewed the work in *The Gardeners Magazine* quoting from it extensively. He was eager to meet the anonymous writer which he did at a party during February of 1830. Quite possibly he was surprised when he met the attractive, amusing twenty–three–year old Jane Webb, a woman who had original ideas of her own. They were married the following September.

Prior to meeting Loudon, Jane Webb had published two other works, *Prose and Verse* in 1824 (at the age of sixteen) and *Stories of a Bride* (1829). However, her most famous publications were not prose or fiction but works of botany and horticulture, published after her marriage to John Loudon. Between 1830 and 1855, Jane Loudon published nineteen works on horticulture and botany, the best known being *The Ladies Companion to the Flower Garden* and *The Lady's Country Companion: or How to Enjoy a Country Life Rationally*, the former went into nine publications and sold 20,000 copies. Geoffrey Taylor compared Jane Loudon's contribution to the outdoor life to Mrs Beeton's contribution to the indoor, household life.[280] But what of Jane Loudon's contribution to the architectural publications of the Loudons?

The 'we' used in the Loudon publications may well be inclusive of both Jane and John Loudon, particularly in the essays signed 'The Conductor' at the start of each issue of the *Architectural Magazine*. Rather than being one person writing on behalf of others, it may well suggest a shared authorship. Regardless of the significance of the use of 'we' in these passages, it is important to recognise, that 'Loudon', the publishing enterprise, was most certainly a partnership between John and Jane Loudon, rather than J.C. Loudon acting alone. The equity of the partnership is more difficult to assess. However, considering Jane Loudon's abilities and interests, reflected in her own publications, it is probable that her input was far more than that of just a secretary and, furthermore, considering the ill health of John Loudon in the last five years of his life, in relation to the amount of material they published during this period, it is more than likely that Jane Loudon carried an increasing proportion of the work. It is interesting to note that when John Loudon's health failed him in 1838,[281] his architectural activities were the first to be curtailed with the majority of the last publications being on the subjects of horticulture and landscape gardening including

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[279] J. Gloag, *Mr. Loudon's England: The life and Work of John Claudius Loudon, and his influence on Architecture and furniture design.* Oriel Press, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1970, p. 59.

[280] G. Taylor, *Some Nineteenth Century Gardeners*, Skeffington, London, 1951, p. 39.

[281] Loudon stopped publishing the *Architectural Magazine* in 1838, but he appears to have stopped actively contributing to it some years previously, as the 'Original Communications', which begin each issue of the Magazine and the section which, in early editions, was authored by 'The Conductor' was increasingly written by others including Ruskin writing under the pseudonym of 'Kata Phusin'.

several works on the laying out of cemeteries. This suggests that Jane Loudon's interests were not in architecture.

The second interpretation of the use of the word 'we' could be that the author is writing the essays as a representative of a group opinion, possibly Loudon writing on behalf of the contributors to the *Encyclopaedia* and the *Architectural Magazine*. The essays written by 'The Conductor' are written as observations on the process of architecture and never adopt a position in the battle of the styles. In some issues of the magazine, John Loudon does write under his own name and actively takes a position; however, these essays are usually to promote the product of a particular manufacturer, often the products of one Mr. Austin, a maker of chimney pots.

John Claudius Loudon, possibly, should be seen foremost as an architectural journalist, perhaps one of the first specialist architectural journalists in the English–speaking world. David Watkin sees Loudon's *Architectural Magazine* as part of the rise of architectural journalism, which resulted from architecture becoming an established profession in its own right.[282] The role John Loudon played in the publishing of the magazine was one of editor, in fact he referred to the role he played as one of 'The Conductor', of the magazine, rather than an active contributor. The essays that begin each issue are written as observations, as a commentary and study on the process of architecture. These essays are lucid explorations of architecture, but what is interesting is that the author or authors never advocate one style over another, or one building type over another. Rather, they explore what constitutes taste, different types of taste, the influence of location on taste and regional differences in taste. They also advocate the study of history as an important part of gaining an historical understanding, and thus, an ability to design in particular styles. These essays, however, never go into the specific details of history, theory or styles. They are observations on architecture rather than being instruction on architecture.

Loudon has been described as an architectural writer.[283] While he did write extensively on architecture, he should more rightly be described as an architectural publisher or journalist. Apart from his original work on the laying out of rural landscapes,[284] Loudon, as suggested

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[282]   D. Watkin, *The Rise of Architectural History*. Architectural Press, London, 1980, p. 67.

[283]   C. Lucas, 'The Villa in Australia', *Heritage Australian*, Autumn, 1986, p. 15.

[284]   Loudon's works that focused on the rural landscape:
Observation on the Formation and Management of Useful and Ornamental Plantations;.../. Longman, Hurst, Rees, & Orme, London,1804.
A Short Treatise and Several Improvements Recently Made in Hot Houses.../. J.Loudon, Edinburgh, 1805.
A Treatise on Forming, Improving and Managing Country Residences:.../. Longman, Hurst, Rees, & Orme, London, 1806.
An Account of the roofs used in the Tew Lodge,.../. J. Harding, London, 1811.

above, relied greatly on the contributions of others. The original designs which may be attributable to Loudon, or his guidance, that do appear in the *Encyclopaedia*, are generally quite clumsy and naive when compared to the designs contributed by practising architects. Essentially, Loudon's *Encyclopaedia* is a most extensive catalogue of designs for farms villas, cottages, architectural hardware and furniture as well as for farm layout and farm utility buildings, such as mills and kilns, that is available to us, representing the period from the 1830s onwards.

In comparison with Gwilt's *Encyclopaedia of Architecture* (1842), Loudon's *Encyclopaedia* appears only as a catalogue of fashion, or a style magazine. Gwilt's *Encyclopaedia* is a comprehensive collection of architectural and building history, theory, structure, proportion, measurement, etc., and was probably the most exhaustive collection of architectural and constructional knowledge at the time of its publication. Loudon's *Encyclopaedia* shows what could be done, but not how; Gwilt shows how to do it, both theoretically and practically.

Gwilt was well known during his life as an architectural writer and critic and was well–respected for his work.[285] Loudon, on the other hand, was seen primarily as a landscape gardener who developed an interest in architecture towards the end of his life. Loudon, in his architectural endeavours, relied on the input of others. Interestingly, John Ruskin was one of the early contributors to Loudon's publication, the *Architectural Magazine*; however, he used the pseudonym of 'Kata Phusin', suggesting he was willing

Designs for Laying out Farms and Farm building, in the Scotch Style, Adapted to England. J. Harding, London, (c.1812).

Hints on the Formation of Gardens and Pleasure Grounds:.../. J.Harding, London, 1812.

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A Comparative View of the Common and Curvilinear Modes of Roofing Hothouses. Publisher Unkown, London, 1818.

An Encyclopaedia of Gardening;.../. Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown, London, 1822.

The Different Modes of Cultivating the Pineapple, from its First Introduction to Europe to the Improvements of T. A. Knight, esq. Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown, London, 1822.

The Green House Companion;.../. Harding, Triphook & Lepard & J . Harding, London, 1824.

An Encyclopaedia of Agriculture;.../. Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, & Green, London, 1825.

An Encyclopaedia of Plants;.../. Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, & Green, London, 1829.

John Cited in Gloag, *Mr Loudon's England: The Life and Work of John Claudius Loudon, and his influence on architecture and furniture design.* Oriel Press, Newcastle Upon Tyne, 1970.

[285] H. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600 – 1840.* John Murray, London, 1978, p. 371.

to publish, but was not interested in being linked with Loudon or his magazine.[286] This is not to discredit Loudon, but his publications on architecture may well have been perceived as populist by the architectural profession, particularly considering Loudon's neutrality on the battle of the styles.[287] Loudon's *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture and Furniture* (1833) should not be seen as the only or most important work of its kind, but rather as one of many sources of information available to the architect or builder of the time. Loudon's *Encyclopaedia* is able to illuminate much about perceptions of architectural style during the mid–1800s, while Gwilt's *Encyclopaedia* is able to illuminate how, technically and theoretically, these perceptions were translated into built form.

The prices attained at recent book sales in Australia for the Loudon's *Encyclopaedia* have been between $1000 and $2000 while 1989 international records put the British price at between £135 and £350 ($324.00–$840.00).[288] Furthermore, the *Encyclopaedia* has never been facsimiled, while the *Architectural Magazine* was facsimiled in 1972 but has not been reprinted. This suggests that in England, Loudon is not seen to be such an important figure as he is in Australia. To some extent, this is understandable considering the type of information offered by Loudon, particularly in his *Encyclopaedia*, which would have had more application in a young colony than in England itself.

[286]   J. Gloag, *Mr. Loudon's England: The Life and Work of John Claudius Loudon, and his influence on architecture and furniture design.* Oriel Press, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1985, p. 102.

[287]   J. Gloag, *Mr. Loudon's England: The Life and Work of John Claudius Loudon, and his influence on architecture and furniture design.* Oriel Press, Newcastle upon Tyne, 1985, pp. 17.

[288]   Dawson, *A Priced and Annotated Annual Record of International Book Auctions,* Dawson, London, 1989, p. 537.

Appendix Two

The bibliographic list in Cruickshank's *London: The Art of Georgian Building* is listed below:

Adam, R.	*Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro, in Dalmatia,* 1764.
Alberti, L. B,	*L'Architettura* ... 1556.
	Ten Books of Architecture, James Leoni translations, Reprint of 1739.
Barozzi, G.	*Il Vignola.* 1596.
Chambers, Sir W.	*A Treatise on the Decorated Part of Civil ...Architecture,* London, 1791.
	Designs of Chinese Buildings ... 1756.
Campbell, C.	*Vitruvius Britannicus,* 1717–25.
Campbell, R. Esq.	*The London Tradesman* ...1747.
Coade, E.	*A Descriptive Catalogue of Coade's Artificial Stone*
Manufactury,	London, 1777–79.
Cottingham, L.	*The Smith and Founders Director,* London, 1824.
Crunden, J.	*Convenient and Ornamental Architecture...London,* 1770.
	The Joiner and Cabinetmakers Darling ...London, 1770.
Elsam, R.	*The Practical Builders Perpetual Price Book,* London, 1825.
Entick, J.	*A New and Accurate History and Survey of London, Westminster, Southwark and Places Adjacent,* London 1766.
Gibbs, J.	*A Book of Architecture, Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments,* London, 1728.
Gwynne, J.	*London and Westminster Improved,* London, 1766.
Halfpenny, W.	*The Art of Sound Building,* London, 1725.
	Useful Architecture, in Twenty One New Designs for Erecting Parsonage Houses, Farms Houses, and Inns etc. London, 1752.
	The Modern Builders Assistant: or a Concise Epitome of the Whole System of Architecture, London, 1757.
Hoppus, E.	*The Gentleman's and Builder's Repository,* London, 1737.
Langley, B.	*Ancient Masonry.* London, 1734 – 35.
	The Builder's Chest-Book, London, 1727.
	The Builder's Directory or Bench Mate, London, 1746.
	The City and Country Builder's and Workman's Treasury of Designs ... London, 1740.
	The London Prices of Bricklayers Material and Works, London, 1747.

	The Builder's Jewel, London, 1746.
	Gothic Architecture Restored and Improved ...London, 1741.
Le Clerc, S.	*Traite d'Architecture avec des Remparques et des Observations* ... Paris, 1714.
Leoni G.	*The Architecture of A. Palladio*, London, 1715.
Morris, R.	*The Architectural Rememberancer*, London, 1751.
	An Essay in Defence of Ancient Architecture, London, 1728.
	An Essay upon Harmony, London, 1739.
	Lectures on Architecture, Consisting of Rules founded upon Harmonick and Arithmetical Proportions in Building,
London,	1734.
Moxon, J.	*Mechanical Exercises*, London, 1683.
	Vignola: or the Complete Architect, London, 1655.
Neve, R.	*The City and Country Purchaser,* London, 1703.
Nicholson, P.	*An Architectural Dictionary,* London, 1819.
	The Builder's and Workman's New Dictionary, London, 1824.
	The Carpenter's and Joiner's Assistant, London, 1792.
	The Carpenter's New Guide, London, 1792.
	The New and Improved Practical Builder and Workman's Companion, London, 1823.
	Treatise on the Construction of Staircases and Handrails, London, 1820.
Pain, W.	*The Practical Builder,* London, 1774.
Pain, W. & J.	*British Palladio,* London, 1786.
Palladio, A.	*I Quattro Libri dell' Architecture,* Venetia, 1570.
Price, F.	*The British Carpenter,* London, 1733.
Rawlins, T.	*Familiar Architectur,* London, 1768.
Richardson, G.	*A Treatise on the Five Orders of Architecture,* London, 1787.
Salmon, W.	*Palladio Londinensis,* London, 1734.
Scamozzi, V.	*The Mirror of Architecture,* London, 1669.
Serlio, S.	*The Tutte l'Opered' Architettura di S. Serlio,* London, 1558.
Shute, J.	*The First of Cheif Grounds of Architecture,* London, 1563.
Stuart, J. & Revett, N.	*The Antiquities of Athens Measured and Delineated,* 4 vols. London, 1762–1816.
Swan, A.	*A collection of Designs in Architecture,* London, 1757.
Ware, I.	*A Complete Body of Architecture,* London, 1756.
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Wilkins, W.	*The Civil Architecture of Vitruvius,* London, 1812.
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Bibliography

Abbreviations

ABD	Australian Biographical Dictionary.
AONSW	Archives Office New South Wales.
AOT	Archives Office of Tasmania.
DELM	Department of Environment and Land Management, Hobart, Tasmania.
JSAH	Journal of the Society of Architectural History. America.
PWD	Public Works Department (Tas).
THRA	Tasmanian Historical Research Association.
VDL	Van Diemen's Land.

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AOT, 266 210 - 217, Dated July 1840. (James Blackburn's 1840 proposal. Domain–side elevation.)

AOT, DOC Plan 12 - 15. (William Porden Kay's 1854 proposal. Western elevation).

AOT, NS 279/2/4, 2–3. (References to Lady Franklin Museum).

AOT, NS 279/2/4, 2–3. (References to Lady Franklin Museum).

AOT, NS 279/2/4, 2–3. (References to Lady Franklin Museum).

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AOT, PWD 266 153. (John Lee Archer's 1827 Gov. House proposal. Ground Floor plan).

AOT, PWD 266 162. (John Lee Archer's 1827 Gov. House proposal. Domain–side elevation).

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AOT, PWD 266 210. (James Blackburn's 1840 proposal. First floor plan).

AOT, PWD 266 216. (James Blackburn's 1840 proposal. Domain–side elevation).

AOT, PWD 266 217. (James Blackburn's 1840 proposal. Section).

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AOT, PWD 266 225. (William Porden Kay's 1842 proposal. Domain–side elevation).

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