LUTYENS' CANON

A method towards an alternative modernity

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Dissertação de Mestrado Integrado em Arquitectura
sob a orientação do Professor Doutor Bruno Gil
Departamento de Arquitectura da FCTUC, Junho de 2017

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Agradeço, ao Professor Bruno Gil pela sábia orientação, disponibilidade, exigência e todo o conhecimento transmitido;
À Dores pela paciência e dedicação;
To Arch. Marco Bakker for the passionate input and priceless information;
Ao Rui e ao Diogo pela ajuda e motivação;
A todos os amigos, colegas e professores que me acompanharam durante estes anos, em especial ao Nina e à Elite;

À Mariana e à minha família por tudo.

Em 1888, "The Arts & Crafts Exhibition Society" é fundada com o objectivo de criar um novo estilo arquitectónico, tendo por base os ideais de William Morris, seu fundador. O novo estilo propunha enaltecer o trabalho artesanal, a simplicidade e a veracidade dos materiais. Entre muitos seguidores deste novo movimento, surge Edwin Landseer Lutyens (1869-1944), que adopta esta ideologia durante os primeiros anos da sua carreira.

Lutyens revelou ser um arquitecto capaz de criar espaços eloquentes e organizados através de ligações complexas entre formas e diferentes estilos. Foi também capaz de criar relações entre diferentes áreas, escalas, programas e culturas. O seu trabalho encontra-se repleto de referências a outros grandes arquitectos que Lutyens interpretou, transformou e adoptou nos seus projectos. Lutyens passa por um processo evolutivo, desde uma abordagem vernacular tradicionalista, mais empírica e livre, para um estilo Clássico, mais controlado e regrado. No entanto, Lutyens não esquece as suas origens no Movimento de Arts & Crafts, nem a sua divergência com o Movimento Moderno.

O principal objectivo da presente dissertação é, através da análise de um conjunto de projectos de Edwin Lutyens durante o início da sua carreira, com especial interesse nos projectos das *English country houses* projectados na viragem do séc. XIX para o séc. XX, perceber se é possível estabelecer uma linha de pensamento arquitectónico coerente, isto é, um cânone autoral – *"Lutyens' canon"*. Consequentemente, para uma melhor compreensão do cânone autoral de Lutyens e perceber se este contemplava uma linha de pensamento moderna, proponho uma análise comparativa com os seus contemporâneos, tendo por base a forma e a composição dos seus projectos.

In 1888, “The Arts & Crafts Exhibition Society” is founded aiming to create a new style of design, based on the ideals of William Morris. The basic principles of the new style were craftsmanship, simplicity and the true nature of the materials. One of the personages related to the movement, in its early years, was Edwin Landseer Lutyens (1869-1944).

Lutyens career development shows an architect who creates elaborated and organized spaces, with complex relations between forms and different styles, capable of interacting with various domains, different scales, programmes, and cultures. Through his life, his work is filled with references to other major architects that he interprets, gently transforms, and adapts to his own designs. From a vernacular traditionalist approach, more empirical, and free in form, to a classicist style, more controlled and ordered, Lutyens never forgot his origins on Arts & Crafts, as well as his divergence from the Modern Movement.

The main goal of my thesis is to analyse Edwin Lutyens’ work, at the beginning of his career, focusing on his English country houses projects, taking place at the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century. My aim is through a selection of projects to capture what could have been his consistent line of thought; that is, a “Lutyens’ canon”. Following that, I will provide an analysis concerning form and composition to understand how Lutyens’ authorial canon might include a modern line of thought when compared with his contemporaries.

Sir Edwin Lutyens: Sketch by Edmund Dulac. “In the train” Sep. 1st 1922

The current biography was made of excerpts from 'Biography', *The Lutyens Trust*, accessed 23 May 2017, http://www.lutyenstrust.org.uk/biography/; 'Sir Edwin Lutyens | British Architect', *Encyclopedia Britannica*, accessed 23 May 2017, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Edwin-Lutyens and some ajustments made by the author.

Sir Edwin Landseer Lutyens (born March 29, 1869, London, England—died January 1, 1944, London) was the tenth child and ninth boy in a family of thirteen, of Charles and Mary Lutyens, who lived in Thursley, Surrey.

Sir Edwin, always called Ned, was so delicate as the result of rheumatic fever as a child that he was the only one of the boys not to go to public school or university. Lutyens, a nervous boy who, unlike the rest of his family, spent his time when in the country indulging in his passion for looking at houses, watching all the stages of buildings going up, haunting the carpenter's shop at Thursley and a builder's yard in Guildford. This passion was what drove Lutyens to become a romantic architect in love with craftsmanship, vernacular architecture and traditional techniques. He had a flair for drawing and mathematics, and had further taught himself to draw by a simple self-devised method: he would take with him on all his walks a small pane of clear glass, a penknife and some pieces of soap sharpened to fine points; he would look at some portion of a building through the glass and trace what he saw with the soap.

At fifteen it had become apparent that Lutyens was cut out to be an architect, a career encouraged by Ralph Caldecott, a Surrey neighbour, the illustrator of so many delightful children's books depicting Surrey cottages. Early in 1885, therefore, he gets acquaintance with Norman Shaw who became a student at the Kensington School of Art. He did not finish the course, feeling after only two years that he had no more to learn there, nor did he stay more than a year in the office of Ernest George & Peto where he next went as a paying apprentice. There he made friends with Herbert Baker, the chief assistant, seven years his senior, who was afterwards to collaborate with him in the building of New Delhi – an unhappy partnership that ended in what Lutyens called his 'Bakerloo'.

In 1888,he left Ernest George & Peto to set up his own practice. In his early works (1888-95) he assimilated the traditional forms of local Surrey buildings. However, Lutyens' style changed when he met the landscape gardener Gertrude Jekyll, who taught him the "simplicity of intention and directness of purpose" she had learned from John Ruskin. A series of country houses built from 1896 to 1911 in which Lutyens adapted varied styles of the past to the demands of contemporary domestic architecture. During this period Lutyens revolutionized English domestic architecture with his tradition ideals. Hence, in these years, Lutyens' architecture suffers many changes in styles but the principles of a romantic architect and a constant search for perfection and beauty never cease to exist.

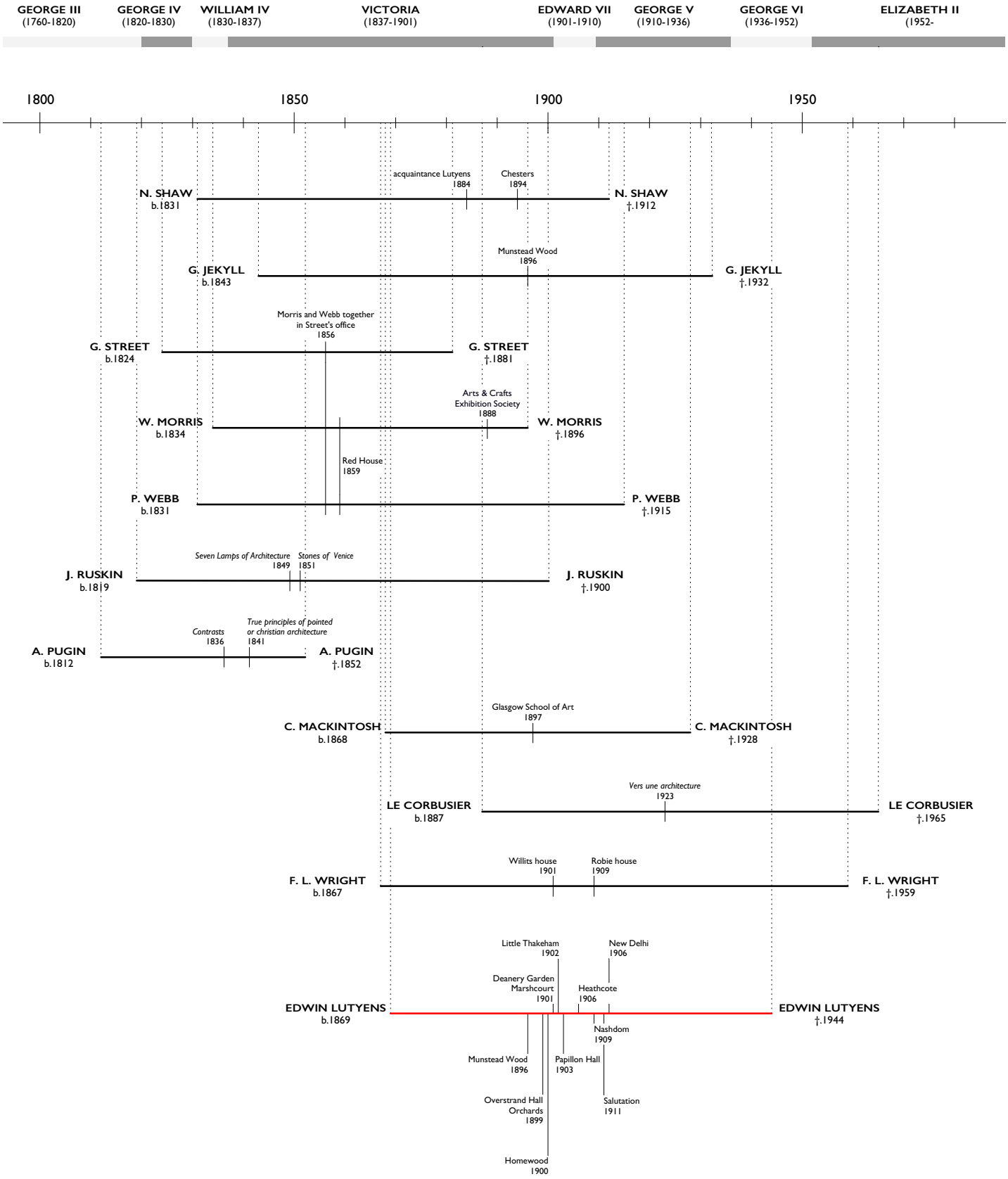
Sir Edwin Lutyens: Photograph of the inauguration of the Cenotaph, Whitehall, London. Nov. 11th 1920

About 1910 Lutyens' interest shifted to larger, civil projects, and in 1912 he was selected to advise on the planning of the new Indian capital at Delhi. In his single most important building, the Viceroy's House (1913–30), he combined aspects of classical architecture with features of Indian decoration. In 1918, King George V knighted Lutyens.

After World War I, Lutyens became architect to the Imperial War Graves Commission, for which he designed the Cenotaph, London (1919–20); the Great War Stone (1919); and military cemeteries in France and Belgium. Furthermore, his vast project for the Roman Catholic cathedral at Liverpool was incomplete at his death.

Through the years, Lutyens gained the reputation for being the perfect guest, high-spirited and witty. 'He was marvellous not only in dealing with materials but with human beings.' He always got clients to spend what he wanted them to spend. He got the best out of the workmen as well as the clients, for he had a deep respect for their craftsmanship as well as a knowledge and understanding of it from watching them at work in the years he had roamed the Surrey countryside as a boy. Only to Lady Emily, his wife, did Lutyens show the true seriousness of his nature in the thousands of letters he wrote to her during his absences in India and elsewhere. While he gained confidence in his work, his social diffidence remained. Forced into society in dealing with clients. He was never without a block of paper and pencils in his pocket with which to draw with equal ease and rapidity some detail of a house for a client or a comic sketch.

Lutyens through his life left a legacy of great buildings, from country house in England to enormous palaces in India, but he never forgot his Arts & Crafts origins, as well as, his cult for tradition, truth and beauty.


GEORGE III (1760-1820)
GEORGE IV (1820-1830)
WILLIAM IV (1830-1837)
VICTORIA (1837-1901)
EDWARD VII (1901-1910)
GEORGE V (1910-1936)
GEORGE VI (1936-1952)
ELIZABETH II (1952-
1800
1850
1900
1950
N. SHAW b.1831
acquaintance Lutyens 1884
Chesters 1894
N. SHAW †.1912
G. JEKYLL b.1843
Munstead Wood 1896
G. JEKYLL †.1932
Morris and Webb together in Street's office 1856
G. STREET b.1824
G. STREET †.1881
Arts & Crafts Exhibition Society 1888
W. MORRIS b.1834
W. MORRIS †.1896
Red House 1859
P. WEBB b.1831
P. WEBB †.1915
Seven Lamps of Architecture 1849
Stones of Venice 1851
J. RUSKIN b.1819
J. RUSKIN †.1900
Contrasts 1836
True principles of pointed or christian architecture 1841
A. PUGIN b.1812
A. PUGIN †.1852
Glasgow School of Art 1897
C. MACKINTOSH b.1868
C. MACKINTOSH †.1928
Vers une architecture 1923
LE CORBUSIER b.1887
LE CORBUSIER †.1965
Willits house 1901
Robie house 1909
F. L. WRIGHT b.1867
F. L. WRIGHT †.1959
Little Thakeham 1902
New Delhi 1906
Deanery Garden Marshcourt 1901
Heathcote 1906
Nashdom 1909
EDWIN LUTYENS b.1869
EDWIN LUTYENS †.1944
Munstead Wood 1896
Papillon Hall 1903
Salutation 1911
Overstrand Hall Orchards 1899
Homewood 1900

INTRODUCTION

Deanery Garden (1900): photograph of the south façade

My thesis aims to examine the country houses' projects designed by Sir Edwin Lutyens (1869-1944) in England, built from the late 1890s and the first years of the twentieth century, ultimately aiming to elaborate a hypothesis of an authorial canon. Through a selection of projects, my aim is to understand whether there is a coherent paradigm in his process, a "Lutyens' canon". One way to define "canon" is as a consistent methodology throughout an architect's career, which then can be seen as a paradigm we can learn from. A methodology is directly related to the use of specific rules and personal standards to achieve a final pleasant result. The hypothesis of this "canon" relies on a set of parameters that I proposed according to modern concepts and other issues implied by Lutyens himself, in order to clarify/ observe whether there is/ it exists a modern line of thought behind Lutyens' work when compared with his contemporaries (e.g. Frank Loyd Wright). Lutyens approached all his designs with an intent of reaching perfection in beauty.

A major goal of this study is to consider if whether or not Lutyens consciously created a "modern" methodology through intensive research and knowledge of traditional techniques. The use of diverse styles throughout his career denotes an evolution from a traditional planning attitude to a more complex environment inside and outside, taking into account multiple variables, all accomplished with a touch of geniality. As Venturi has mentioned "Our greatest lesson from Lutyens is perhaps his tolerance and wit"[1]. Lutyens did not think about form or movement as a modern architect, but intrinsically he might have attempted on such matters achieving great designs, filled with references to different approaches to design, with new concerns based on the old methods. Lutyens' courage to face and defy the emerging Modernism with a "retrogressive step"[2] motivates, as future architect, my research to better understand an architect's beliefs in old methods as an appropriate way of designing and building to achieve an overall aesthetics' appeal.

> *We have attempted, within the limits of our ability and our materials, to end the vogue of picturesque flamboyance that dominated Victorian England, and to return to the tradition of what was best in English architecture, as represented by the work of Wren, Inigo Jones, and, later, of Norman Shaw and Philip Webb...*
>
> *As a young man, then, I was for a while sensible to the Ruskin influence; which influence may be noted, I daresay, in a few of my early buildings. Every young man begins with tremendous enthusiasm, which is ready to overflow into elaboration. As he grows older his outlook clarifies, and he becomes more reserved, more tolerant, more restrained. I started to realize that we were being led into error for the sake of ideas productive of what can only*

[1] Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown, 'Learning from Lutyens', *RIBA Journal*, no. August (August 1969): p.354.
[2] Alison Smithson, 'The Responsability of Lutyens', *RIBA Journal*, no. April (April 1969): p.146.

Sir Edwin Lutyens

born 29 March 1869

Sir Edwin Lutyens, in his day the best-known architect in England, remains a controversial figure. To the pioneers of the modern movement he epitomised the tendencies they were trying to overcome, but he cannot be dismissed merely as the successful (now forgotten) architect of rich clients, big corporations and the government in the hey-day of British imperialism. Christopher Hussey paints a lively picture of his engaging personality. Alison Smithson[1] argues that the influence of Lutyens 'our most human architect', who brought English domestic architecture to flower, was to debase the language of architecture; Peter Smithson writes of an 'enviable talent', 'caught in the box of his time', with results that make it difficult to speak of him without pain. A centenary exhibition of Lutyens' work is to be held at the RIBA from 1–2 and from 9–29 April 1969. The picture above is of a plaster model of one of the chujjas which an Indian draughtsman modified by adding a face and pipe. Sir Edwin brought the model back to England in about 1917, and since this time it has been in position above the lintel at Mansfield Street, the house now occupied by his son, Robert Lutyens. The model will be on show at the exhibition. A new architectural biography, containing much original material and a fresh approach, has been commissioned by RIBA Publications Ltd from Nicholas Taylor, and will be published early next year.

[1]The photographs of Lutyens's houses in Alison Smithson's article are reproduced by courtesy of *Country Life*.

> *be described as ugliness and misformation. I accepted the truth that in architecture the final appeal must be made to the eye alone, and that only the eye can be the judge.*[3]

Only a few years after Lutyens' death, articles and monographs started to emerge voicing different views whether or not Lutyens was a great and coherent architect. The criticism began with several authors compiling books about the architecture of the nineteenth and twentieth century and excluding Lutyens' work or relegating it to the category of "Traditional Architecture", ignoring all his projects with classicist inspiration, until the four *The Lutyens Memorial* volumes edited by A. S. Butler were published in 1950. The first three were a compilation of his work in England and abroad, and the fourth was a biography of Lutyens' life by Christopher Hussey, in which Lutyens' knowledge is translated into words and drawings. One year later in a reaction against Lutyens' work, Nikolaus Pevsner (1951) published "Building with wit"[4] in *The Architectural Review* expressing a harsh criticism about Lutyens' transformation and his divergence from Modernism. Pevsner did not understand the incongruity in Sir Edwin's thought of neither embracing Modernism nor creating his own, alternative language, as other of his contemporaries did, such as Hendrik Petrus Berlage (1856-1934) to whom

> *style was the result of an essential unity shared by every fragment of cultural expression, a unity vitally necessary in evoking those perceptual and emotive associations that tie all forms of art and architecture to a common past and a common value system.*[5]

State of the art

The beginning of the twentieth century is intrinsically related to the rise of the Modern Movement and those who had a different perspective, were excluded from history. It was only years later that they were remembered as architects worth studying– Lutyens was one of them. In the 1960s and in the 1970s, architects started realizing that Lutyens was indeed a personage of interest, worthy to be mentioned and studied. Questions and different opinions started appearing in years that followed. Could Lutyens be seen as a "manipulator of forms"[6] as Alison Smithson described him, or as "a superb pasticheur"[7] following Robert Furneaux Jordan's perspective? In 1969, *RIBA Journal* decided to celebrate the centenary

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[3] Sir Edwin Landseer Lutyens, 'Sir Edwin Lutyens on Modern Architecture', *The Architectural Review*, April 1923, p.XLII.

[4] Nikolaus Pevsner, 'Building with Wit, Architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens', *The Architectural Review*, April 1951, RIBA: pp.217-225.

[5] Hendrik Petrus Berlage, *Hendrik Petrus Berlage: Toughts on Style, 1886-1909 / Introd. By Ian Boyd Whyte*, trans. Iain Boyd Whyte and Wim de Wit (Santa Monica: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1996).

[6] Alison Smithson, 'The Responsability of Lutyens', *RIBA Journal*, no. April (April 1969): pp.146–151.

[7] Robert Furneaux Jordan, *Victorian architecture*, (Pelican books. no. A 836.) (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966).

Deanery Garden, Sonning, England (1900) designed by Edwin Lutyens
Aurthur Heurtley house, Oak Park, Illinois (1902) designed by Frank Lloyd Wright

of Lutyens' birth by including three articles about him in the March issue. The Smithsons wrote two of them, in which they attributed to Lutyens the "looks on domestic English houses", and criticized him as being a "manipulator of forms." Peter Smithson ended the article saying that Lutyens was "an enviable talent (...) caught in the box of his time"[8]. In Lutyens' centenary he was not truly celebrated, but condemned. Five months later, Robert Venturi and Denise Scott-Brown published a response "Learning from Lutyens"[9] criticising the Smithsons' article and proposing a different perspective. Seven years later, in *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*, Venturi continued his discussion of Lutyens' thought on form and ambiguity.

In 1969, Allan Greenberg published in *Perspecta* 12 "Lutyens' architecture restudied"[10], in which he examines briefly Lutyens' projects, taking into consideration three important aspects in his work: movement, accommodation and paradox. I will discuss in detail these aspects of Lutyens' work throughout this thesis.

In order to explain why Lutyens was forgotten and why he is now taken into consideration in architecture studies, it is important to consider the relationship between his work and that of another of his contemporaries who adopted a "pattern"[11] of design that can be clearly recognized across his projects, naming Frank Lloyd Wright. During the same period, both Wright and Lutyens started their careers by designing private houses, away from the city centre. Another of my goals is is to understand if "Lutyens' canon" shares similar motives and themes with "Wright's pattern" and how Lutyens may have used modern ideas, despite his lack of appreciation for modern terms.

> *The modern impersonal architecture of so-called functionalism does not seem to me to be replacing the inherited lore of centuries with anything of comparable excellence or to show as yet a genuine sense of style – a style rooted in feeling for the right use of materials.*[12]

Lutyens did not understand the new "impersonal" way of building. In my thesis I reflect upon Lutyens' unsympathetic feelings about "Modernism", the word "modern" used to characterise some of the themes or qualities in his work will mean a different way of modernity. Modern is used not to mean the relationships we currently acknowledge to

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[8] Peter Smithson, 'The Viceroy's House in Imperial Delhi', *RIBA Journal*, no. April (April 1969): p.154.

[9] Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown, '*Learning from Lutyens', RIBA Journal*, no. August (August 1969): pp.353–354.

[10] Allan Greenberg, 'Lutyens' Architecture Restudied', *Perspecta*, The Yale Journal Architecture, no. 12 (1969): pp.129–52.

[11] Grant Hildebrand, *The Wright Space: Pattern and Meaning in Frank Lloyd Wright's* (Washington: University of Washington Press, 1991), pp.19,20.

[12] Sir Edwin Landseer Lutyens, 'What I Think of Modern Architecture', *Country Life*, 1931, p.775, RIBA.

Grim's Dyke, Harold Weald (1870) designed by Richard Norman Shaw

the Modern Movement that "disturbs"[13] him, but to mean something new, innovative, different from what had been made.

Through his life, his work is full of references of other great architects that he interprets, gently transforms and adapts to his own designs. From a vernacular traditionalist approach, more empirical, and based on the simplicity of the rural cottages made for the yeoman farmers, to a classicist style, more controlled, and ruled by a selection of orders according to the final purpose of the building. He never forgot his origins on the Arts & Crafts movement that together with his divergence from the Modern Movement, reacts against the industrialised civilization of the nineteenth century – Victorian architecture.

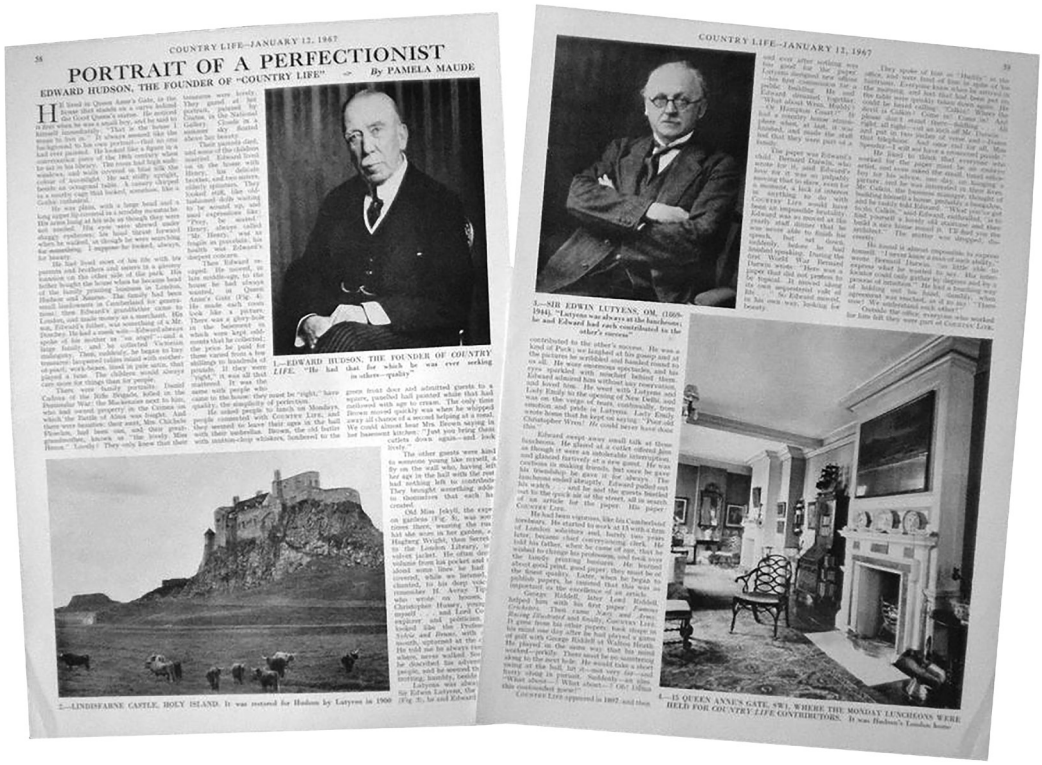
Born in Surrey in 1869, Sir Edwin (or Ned, as he preferred to be called) began his own practice building country houses in the same area where he grew up, and continued to design the same type of houses until the end. The architect, in those houses, adopts a variety of construction methods and styles, which denotes a capacity to work with different logics and local materials.

In the early years of Lutyens' career, his work reflected the knowledge from his childhood, when he lived in the countryside, specifically in Surrey. This was one of several manners in which he acquired a deep knowledge about vernacular building techniques; his tutor, Richard Norman Shaw (1831-1912), also contributed to his passion for romantic and picturesque architecture; and furthermore, he subscribed to the principles of the Arts & Crafts Movement founded in 1888 about the ideals of William Morris and John Ruskin's writings. Lutyens was an important member on the network of artists who shared the same ideals about tradition. These connections and relationships between architects and apprentices – who later also became architects - started with apprenticeships[14], the prevailing form of architectural education at the time. The major names associated with this movement were in direct or indirect contact with Sir George Gilbert Scott (1811-1878). Scott's firm produced architects such as George Edmund Street (1824-1881) who later started his own firm and took on board Philip Webb (1831-1915); William Morris (1834-1896); and Norman Shaw. Shaw himself became a tutor, who before Lutyens also taught Ernest Newton (1856-1922) and William Richard Lethaby (1857-1931).

During all his career, Lutyens embraced the Arts & Crafts principles: first by incorporating them in a Vernacular English Revival style, a leading influence for the Domestic Revival in

[13] Lutyens, 'What I Think of Modern Architecture', p.777.

[14] In England, around the nineteenth century, the form of architectural education started from pupilage, nowadays is called apprenticeships or internships.



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PORTRAIT OF A PERFECTIONIST

EDWARD HUDSON, THE FOUNDER OF "COUNTRY LIFE"

By PAMELA MAUDE

HE lived in Queen Anne's Gate, in the house that stands on a curve behind the Good Queen Anne statue. He noticed it first when he was a "little boy, not be said to himself immediately. "That is the house I mean to live in." It always seemed like the house in fact in his own portrait—that no one background to his own personality. He looked like a figure in a had ever painted—of the 19th century whose conversation must be full of good things. He sat on his library chair, with its red high seat-windows, and books covered in blue silk the colour of Aberdeen ballot. A canary chirped beside an octagonal table. A canary chirped in a nearby cage. And looked, somehow, like a Gothic cathedral.

He was plump, with a large head and a long upper lip that at his side as though they were not needed. His eyes were skewed under shaggy eyebrows; his head thrust forward when he walked, as though he were searching for something. I suppose he looked, always, for beauty.

He had lived most of his life with his parents and brothers and sisters in a gloomy mansion on the other side of the park. His father bought the house when he became head of the family printing business in London, Hudson and Kearns. The family had been wood engravers in Cumberland for generations; then Edward's grandfather came to London, and made money as a merchant. His son, Edward's father, was something of a Mr. Dombey. He had a creed, with—Edward always spoke of his mother as "an angel"—and a large family. Then, suddenly, he began to buy mahogany, two-tiered tables inlaid with mother-of-pearl, work-boxes, lined in pale satin, that played a tune. The children would always carry more for things that for people.

There were family portraits. Daniel Cafiero of the Rifle Brigade, killed on the Peninsular War; the Mackenzies next to him, who had owned property in the Crimea on which the Battle of Alma was fought. And there were beauties: their aunt, Mrs. Charlotte Flowerdew, had been one, and their great-grandmother, known as "The Lovely Miss Heron." Lovely! They only knew that their treasures were lovely. They gazed at her portrait, painted by Cruise, in the National Gallery. Cloude in a sunbeam above her beauty.

Their parents died, and most of the children married. Edward lived on in the house with his delicate sister Hetty, brother and two sisters, elderly spinsters. They looked after, like old-fashioned dolls waiting to be wound up, and used expressions like: "Poor, dear Edward," always called Hetty. "Ah, Hetty," was to fragile as porcelain; his healthy wish. Edward's deepest concern.

Then Edward resigned. He moved, in his middle-age, to the house he had always wanted, in Queen Anne's Gate (Fig. 4). He made each room look like a picture. There was a glory-hole in the basement in which were kept odd-ments that he collected; the price he paid for three varied from a few shillings to hundreds of pounds. If they were "right," it was all that mattered. It was the same with people who came to the house: they must be "right," have quality, the simplicity of perfection.

He asked people to lunch on Mondays. people connected with COUNTRY LIFE, and they seemed to leave their eggs in the hall with their waterbeds. Brown, the old butler with mutton-chop whiskers, bestowed to the guests front door and admitted guests to a square, panelled hall painted white that had recently been repainted with agit to cream. The only time Brown moved quickly was when he whipped away all chance of a second helping at a meal. We could almost hear Mrs. Brown saying in her basement kitchen: "Just you bring them cutlets down again—and look lively."

The other guests were kind to someone young like myself, a fly on the wall who, having left her eye in the hall with the rest had nothing left to contribute. They brought something, able to themselves that each he created.

Old Miss Jekyll, the expe on gardens (Fig. 8), was nev times there, wearing the ro hat she wore in her garden, Hagberg Wright, then Secre to the London Library, velvet jacket. He often dre volume from his pocket and aloud some lines he had covered, while we listened, chanted, to his deep voic remember H. Avray Ty who wrote on houses, Christopher Hussey, youn myself"—and Lord Co explorer and politician. looked like the Prophe Yeats and Swann, with spluttered at the month. He told me his always two—when, never walked. So he described his adven people, and he seemed th morning, humbly, beside

Lutyens was also this memorable period: Edward Lutyens, the (Fig. 5), he and Edward

1.—EDWARD HUDSON, THE FOUNDER OF *COUNTRY LIFE*. "He had that for which he was ever seeking in others—quality."

2.—LINDISFARNE CASTLE, HOLY ISLAND. It was restored for Hudson by Lutyens in 1900

COUNTRY LIFE—JANUARY 12, 1967 59

3.—SIR EDWIN LUTYENS, OM. (1869-1944). "Lutyens was always at the luncheons; he and Edward had each contributed to the other's success."

4.—15 QUEEN ANNE'S GATE, S.W.1, WHERE THE MONDAY LUNCHEONS WERE HELD FOR *COUNTRY LIFE* CONTRIBUTORS. It was Hudson's London home

Pages of *Country life* magazine 1967 no. January: "Portrait of a perfectionist" by Pamela Maude

England. This movement that resulted from the retreat of the English to the countryside, who more than seeking a place to live, were in search of a peaceful and comfortable environment, away from the confusion of the city centres.

Later, in beginning of the twentieth century, Lutyens' designs passed from a pure vernacular English tradition to a Renaissance Classicism, inspired by "Wrenaissance" and Palladianism. His career is witness to an architect who, in his projects, created elaborated and organized spaces, with complex relations between forms and different styles, capable of interacting in various domains, different scales, programmes and cultures. That is, he started by designing country houses in England, transited to building hundreds of cemeteries in France and Belgium after World War I, and then designed the plan for the new Indian capital. New Delhi was projected to be the capital of the British Empire abroad and he was commissioned to design some of its major buildings, in collaboration with his colleague Herbert Baker. This collaboration between Lutyens and Baker is very important because of the correspondence the two architects exchanged. To analyse Lutyens' methodology, this letter will be a primary source to collect his own thought about modernity and tradition.

Materials and Methods

My thesis focuses on the group of country houses belonging to the transitional period from the end of the nineteenth century to the early part of the twentieth century. This period entails the most significant evolution on Lutyens' design process. My choice of country houses projects was based on the wider range of solutions presented by the architect, spanning various styles with similar programme, which offers a straightforward way of comparing and relating the different cases studied. In order to compile the necessary information for this study, I travelled to London to collect all the original data about Edwin Lutyens houses at the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) and in British Library.

RIBA library provided published material and photographs about the country houses, as well as publications written by or about Lutyens. In the RIBA Study Room at Victoria & Albert Museum I was granted access to original Lutyens' hand drawings, preliminary plans, elevations, and sections of all Lutyens' country houses, as well some of his correspondence to his wife, Lady Emily and his colleague Herbert Baker. Lastly, at the British Library I consulted *The Lutyens Memorial* volumes and other bibliography about the historical context of the nineteenth century in England.

Meanwhile, due to his collaboration with *Country Life* magazine and personal relationship with its editor Edward Hudson, Lutyens work was largely published in the magazine's monthly issues. Building journals were the main agent to disseminate/ promulgate current architectural styles, achievements and latest ideas: the *Builder* founded in 1842, the *Building News* (1854), and after 1897 - the same year that *Country Life* started its publication - appeared the first issue of *The Architectural Review.* These are some periodicals of reference taken into consideration for this thesis. The British middle classes could afford such projects and was, then, interested in the architectonic knowledge of craftsmanship, tradition and beauty. Because of the popularity of the English Country House, after the 1890s numerous books (some of them edited by Lawrence Weaver[15]) were published on the topic[16].

Lutyens was an architect that usually did not expressed himself through article writing for magazines or speciality journals, but through correspondence with his wife and close friends. His letters were used to explain his concerns, thoughts, new developments and setbacks in his projects, while abroad. Nevertheless, he published some articles in *The Architectural Review*, *Country Life* and in newspapers. Two of these newspapers articles are worth some reference. In 1923, Lutyens wrote "Sir Edwin Lutyens on Modern Architecture"[17], published in *The Architectural Review*, in which he explains his transition from Arts & Crafts to Classical architecture, and his modern conception, refuting his early ideals in agreement with John Ruskin's ideas. Lutyens acknowledged his oversight, and relates modern architecture with Christopher Wren's Classical architecture, one of his heroes. In 1931, Lutyens published "What I think of Modern Architecture"[18] in *Country Life*, in which he continued to clarify and develop his views on new architecture, which did not agree with his concepts due to its lack of order, planning and style. For him "good architecture needs more than bright ideas".

Structure

The thesis is divided into four chapters, in which I explore the possible existence of a coherent line of thought, found throughout the development of Lutyens' country houses projects. Furthermore, I explore whether Lutyens considered modern themes in his methods of design.

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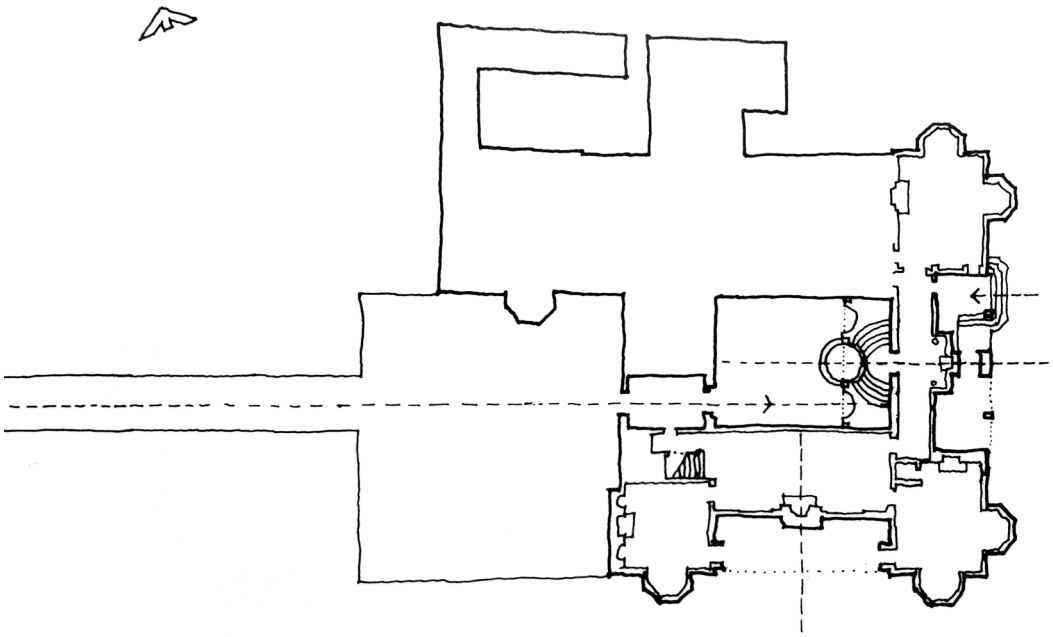
[15] Lawrence Weaver (1876-1930) was a British architectural writer who was particularly interested in Edwin Lutyens' work and in 1913 edited the book *Houses and Gardens by E. L. Lutyens,* published by *Country Life* magazine, and others such as *The "Country Life" book of Cottages* (*Country Life*, 1913) or *Gardens for Small Country Houses* (*Country Life*, 1914) with Gertrude Jekyll.

[16] Roger Dixon and Stefan Muthesius, *Victorian Architecture: With a Short Dictionary of Architects and 251 Illustrations*, The World of Art Library (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), p.14.

[17] Sir Edwin Lutyens, 'Sir Edwin Lutyens on Modern Architecture', *The Architectural Review*, April 1923: pp.XLII–XLIV.

[18] Sir Edwin Lutyens, 'What I Think of Modern Architecture', *Country Life*, 1931, RIBA: pp.775–777.



Overstrand Hall (1899) designed by Lutyens: ground floor plan, schematic drawing by Peter Inskip

Chapter 1 discusses the nineteenth century architecture, more precisely in the Victorian period to identify styles that architects used in their designs, particularly the Classical and Neo-Gothic styles. These two types building design guided the entire nineteenth century towards a domestic architecture of profound revivalism, especially after the 1870s. The Arts & Crafts Exhibition Society was one of the many associations formed in a reaction against the industrialization and the machine. Hermann Muthesius highlighted Ruskin's ideas about the consequences of mechanical labour to the individual, as something that needed to change "the worker must once again became a thinking being, able to enjoy the independent creation of his hand: this was the prerequisite for human existence."[19] The knowledge behind this movement encouraged many architects, such as Shaw, Webb, Newton, Voysey, etc. to revolutionize the standards of inhabitability and planning in England, more precisely for the English country houses. In this first chapter I will clarify the Lutyens' sources from composition, typology and comfort set of ideals that Late Victorian Gothic Revival architects used to create a new way of designing Domestic Architecture. Thus, I will try to answer the question "*Where and how did Lutyens achieved his wit?"*

The second chapter aims to understand the "basic plan used" by Lutyens,[20] and focusing on identifying common characteristics among the projects of country houses that Lutyens designed between the 1890s and 1911,[21] using a methodological approach to investigate the question of *"What is the Lutyens' canon?"*. While during this period, architects were often producing similar designs on the same programme and scale, by contrast Lutyens differed from his contemporaries by his capacity for a "methodological approach to planning."[22] This contrast is not a default but an asset in Lutyens' career as has Venturi re-evaluated him by drawing attention to the "wit and the multivalency of his work."[23] My analysis will focus mainly on the elaboration of bi-dimensional schemes, diagrams and plans on a comparative analysis between distinct Lutyens' country houses based on five basic points: *form, composition, elements, accommodation,* and *movement*. The country houses will constitute the basis to create a work hypothesis formulated based upon the identification of common themes and relationships regularly used by Lutyens. Even if these themes were implicit in the work, I argue that the five key-concepts are consistent in "Lutyens' canon".

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[19] Hermann Muthesius, *The English House / by Hermann Muthesius; Translated by Janet Seligman.* (London: BSP Professional Books, 1987), p.12; translated from the original Hermann Muthesius, *Das Englische Haus*, vol. 1, 3 vols (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1904).

[20] Peter Inskip, 'Lutyens' Houses', in *Edwin Lutyens*, ed. David Dunster, Architectural Monographs 6 (London: Academy Editions, 1986), p.12.

[21] 1911 was the year regarded as the peak of Lutyens' activities, concerning, Great Maytham, King Edward Memorial Scheme for Trafalgar Square, Castle Drogo, the British School at Rome and the Viceroy's House.

[22] Hideaki Haraguchi, *A Comparative Analysis of 20th-Century Houses* (New York: Rizzoli, 1989), p.17.

[23] Venturi and Scott Brown, 'Learning from Lutyens', p.354.

Sir Edwin Lutyens at Mells Manor, Mells, England in early 1900s;Frank Lloyd Wright at Taliesin West, Scottsdale, Arizona in 1950

I will then concentrate on a general interpretation of the canon, which then will be used to more precisely discuss four case studies of Lutyens' country houses.

The third chapter examines four country houses designed by Lutyens, each one of a different style used by the architect during his career: 1) Deanery Gardens (1900-1), in a Traditional Vernacular-Arts & Crafts style; 2) Little Thakeham (1902), in a Tudor Manner–Medieval Architecture and introducing Renaissance style; 3) Heathcote Mansion (1906), built from a Classicism perspective; and 4) Salutation (1911) built in Queen Anne Style. The styles were introduced in Chapter 1, but here I will discuss their application framed by the question *"How did Lutyens apply his canon?"* In this section I proceed to a more detailed analysis of the styles than in chapter two, by studying Lutyens' specific country houses and his relationship with his clients, hinted at the letters he wrote to his wife and friends (e.g. Herbert Baker). The goal is to compare the clients' demands and the architect's intentions/ method in order to understand the applicability of Lutyens' canon. Therefore, comfort was the most important aspect of the construction and that was the only "style"/condition that mattered for the customers that could make the project more difficult to accomplish. To acknowledge Lutyens' approach on these four case studies this chapter is complemented with schematic drawings, tri-dimensional virtual models, and interconnections between plans of the different houses. The methodology underlining these two chapters presented previously is related to similar analysis made around 1950, in which the main concern was a study of *form*. That is the case of the 1947 article written by Colin Rowe "The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa, Palladio and Le Corbusier compared;" however, I will add another layer and will analyse the case studies through both form and ideology. Another important example for the same type of study that I use as model/ inspiration is Peter Eisenman's Ph.D dissertation *The formal basis of modern architecture* (1963)[24] about the theory and primacy of form where three dimensional drawings are the base of his interpretation; a study very much influence by Colin Rowe, who in his turn had been Wittkower's pupil. Another source of inspiration for my methodology was *Palladio Virtuel* (2015), by Peter Eisenman, an analysis of Andrea Palladio's synthetic and homogeneous conception of his villas where the author identifies the ideal and virtual meanings for each of twenty Palladio's villas without conjecturing about notations such as it is "better or more stable conceptually"[25].

Finally, Chapter 4 engages on a parallel analysis of the method used in this thesis and that used by Grant Hildebrand in his book *The Wright's space: Pattern & Meaning in Frank*

[24] Peter Eisenman, 'The Formal Basis of Modern Architecture / Peter Eisenmann.' (Ph.D dissertation, Trinity College, University of Cambridge, 1963).

[25] Peter Eisenman, *Palladio Virtuel / Peter Eisenman with Matt Roman.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015, 2015), p.20.

Lloyd Wright's Houses (1991) in which he speculates about a method employed by Frank Lloyd Wright in his prairie houses' projects. Lutyens and Wright lived during the same time period. And, after Lutyens' death, Wright wrote a review to the journal *Building* about Lutyens' work and life. Furthermore, and whilst Lutyens was still alive, Lionel Brett wrote an article comparing the two, which leads me to believe that both architects shared common themes and notions towards "good architecture"[26]. In 1983, Joy York also published an article comparing the two architects for *Archs News.*

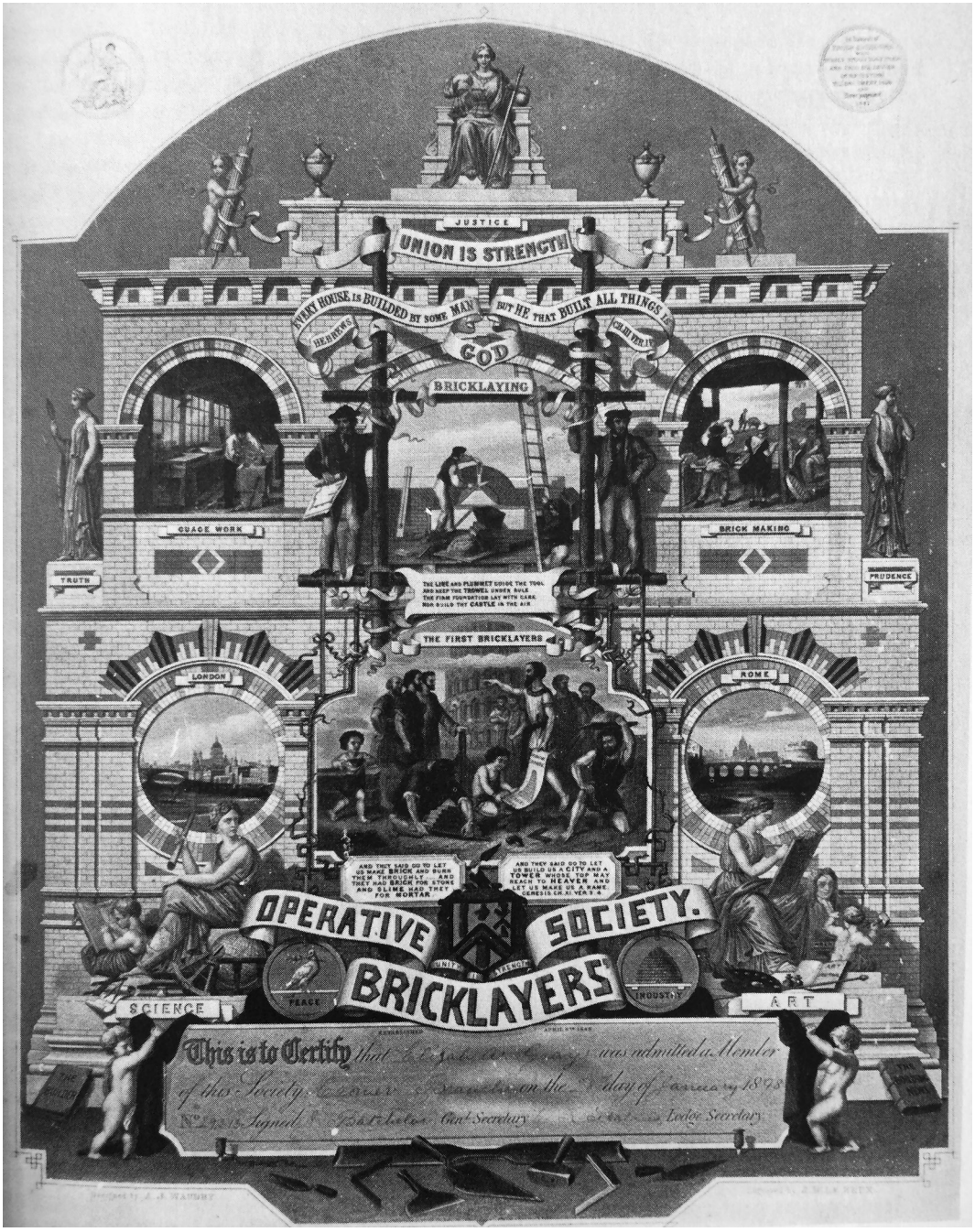
Therefore, and due to similarities to Wright, in addition to making comparative assessments of Lutyens' work (namely *composition, movement* and *elements*) that are based on the analysis of his correspondence, I use Wright's essays and work, particularly his ideas about modernism to answer the question "*Was 'Lutyens' canon' modern?"* The comparison between Lutyens' thoughts of tradition and Modern architecture is also included to establish Lutyens' difficult relation with modernist conceptions.

To summarise: there is a need to interconnect the subjects previously discussed in the thesis, aiming at an interpretation of Lutyens' canon and an alternative methodology rather than a stressing description. Furthermore, and from an analytical, point of view, my hierarchical perspective and consideration of the interdependency among key-concepts aims to explain "Lutyens' canon" to acknowledge its importance to today's architects. This thesis does not seek to diminish the status of Lutyens' work by analysing his capability of a possible homogenous or synthetic reading of his projects. The relevance of my thesis lays in the fact that it provides a closer reading of Lutyens' architecture, giving relevance to his work and method towards an alternative modernity, during the period of transition to the twentieth century.

[26] Lutyens, 'What I Think of Modern Architecture', p.777.

CHAPTER 1

Where and how did Lutyens achieved his wit?



Membership certificate of the Operative Brick-layers' Society, founded in 1848

This chapter's main goal is to acknowledge the importance of the period that followed the Victorian Age[1] – era of Queen Victoria's Reign (1837-1901) – and how its ideology influenced the English domestic architecture of Edwin Lutyens from the end of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century. Lutyens origins and stylistic influences are based on this period of different styles and ideologies, in which architects and artists tried to express themselves throughout their designs in reaction or in favour of the main dilemmas of this period. At the time, architects were a small community, with established professional or friendly relationships among themselves; thus, knowledge and ideals were transmitted first hand, through apprenticeships and personal relations (known at the time as pupillage) more than through formal training/ education. To understand Lutyens background, development of his methods and design requires an understanding of the nineteenth century historical context. The main question to be addressed in this section of the thesis is "*Where and how did Lutyens achieved his wit?"*

1.1 England in the 19th century

The nineteenth century is a period of great economic dominance of England. Despite in the late 1870s, observing an economic descent due to the agricultural depression resulting from the onset of cheap American exports to Western Europe, England was still the richest country in the world. The British industrial prosperity was under attack first by the Americans, followed by the Germans. However, stemming from the Industrial Revolution, the country enjoyed major improvements, such as the development of means of transportation, such as railways, better roads, and canals[2]. The railways, for example, acted as a unifying element that facilitated the suburban development near London. The early three reigns of the nineteenth century[3] left a trail of influences in architectural development. The first period, or late Georgian, privileged classical styles, with a tradition of building either large or small. The most influential model of the time was called the *doctrine of decorum*[4] that defined the status of a client through the amount of decoration and the degree of stateliness of his house.

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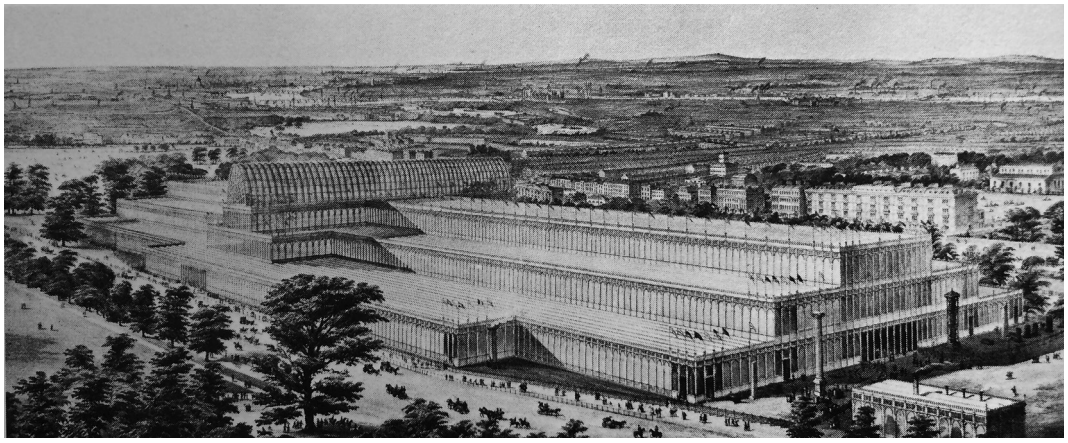
[1] The Victorian Age is normally divided in three parts: the Early Victorian (1837-1855), Mid-Victorian (1855-1875) and Late Victorian (1875-1900). The High Victorian is around 1850s and 1860s.

[2] Henry Russell Hitchcock, *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Pelican History of Art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), p.247.

[3] The three reigns referred were George III – (1760-1820); George IV – (1820-1830); William IV – (1830-1837)

[4] Hermann Muthesius, *The English House / by Hermann Muthesius; Translated by Janet Seligman.* (London: BSP Professional Books, 1987); translated from the original Hermann Muthesius, *Das Englische Haus*, vol. 1, 3 vols (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1904).



The Crystal Palace, Hyde Park, London (1851) designed by Joseph Paxton

In 1837, Queen Victoria came to the throne and by then the Industrial Revolution had been going on for over seventy years. In the early years of her reign, industry intensified in cities and British industry of cotton, wool and iron, and started to export to America, Europe, Asia, and Africa. Improvements made on the means of transportation contributed to social changes as travel, became accessible to almost everybody. The railways' affordability, efficiency and speed transformed the entire country. People were compelled to travel, visit and move themselves permanently or temporally to nearby counties, closer to the cities. "The railways acted as a unifying force in the country, ironing out regional differences and altering patterns of settlement; they facilitated the suburban development of London and other large cities."[5] Another great advance of the railways was the long-distance transportation of raw materials to areas where they did not exist, but where they were necessary for production of goods. This made possible production based on materials other than those locally available.

The Victorian Age, particularly during its late architectural period was an era of individualism and revivalism. "It was widely believed that if the individual was allowed to follow his own interest, with in the law of the land, then general good would result."[6] Initially, there was an enormous demand for large public and commercial building, such as hospitals, town halls, museums, banks, and hotel. For that reason "architects had emerged as a recognizable profession designing and supervising the erection of building"[7]. A system of hierarchical labour functions was created by the foundation of the Institute of British Architects in 1834[8], where the function of architects were reduced and divided between the speculative builder and the civil engineer. The Victorian period can be defined by a "Battle of Styles"[9] (revivalisms of Classicism and Gothic styles) where the industrialization, and iron and glass building also made its first steps. Joseph Paxton's Cristal Palace in 1851 is a reaction against Renaissance and the apogee of the Industrialization, as the culmination of the early development of metal construction that was not accepted by mainstream of architects. The Crystal Palace is emblematic of the industrial reaction observed in architecture during the Victorian period. While during previous centuries, architecture was questioned and consequently had two main stylistic variants – Classical Styles and Neo-Gothic – which then evolved through the coming decades until the twentieth century.

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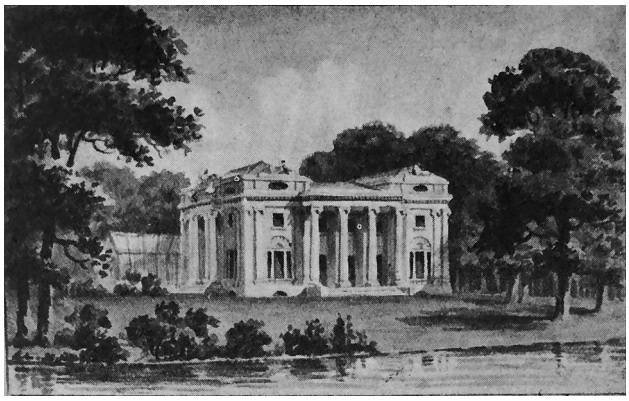
[5] Roger Dixon and Stefan Muthesius, *Victorian Architecture: With a Short Dictionary of Architects and 251 Illustrations*, The World of Art Library (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), p.8.

[6] Ibid., p.10.

[7] Ibid., p.11.

[8] Institute of British Architects was dignified by a royal charter of incorporation in 1837 becoming the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA), and in 1847 the Architectural Association is founded.

[9] Reyner Banham, *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age*, Paperback ed., reprint. first edition 1960 (Oxford: Architectural Press, 2001).



The Southgate Grove by John Nash: water colour by Humphry Repton at British Museum
A Cottage by John Nash: drawing by G.S. Repton

1.2 Between styles

The Classical styles were a series of revivalist movements, that, in the early nineteenth century, began with: the Greek and Roman styles, as a variant of the Classical antiquity; and a Neo-Classical style that might be seen at Saint George's Hall, London (1841), a design by C.R. Cockerell. Around 1830, New-Classicism came to life with influences from the Italian and French Renaissance with the most prestigious building of that time, the Houses of Parliament, Palace of Westminster (demolished in 1834, rebuilt 1840-70) by Sir Charles Barry. In the 1850s, followed the period of the "Second Empire", a style named after Napoleon III reign and the extensions of the Louvre, in Paris, regarded as an intention of an English Renaissance. During the 1870s, the "Queen Anne"[10]Revival, a new version of Classical Revival, was followed by the Edwardian era of Classical architecture, a simplified form marked by attenuated decoration, which represented a return to basic composition.

However, the most important variant necessary to understand Lutyens' origins is the Neo-Gothic. It was an alternative to the Classical styles, and coexisted with them during the Victorian Age. In the early years of Queen Victoria's reign, the Gothic Revival was crucial for the development of the Victorian Architecture. It appeared in England, around 1850, where it was more frequent than in other European countries. Its ethical emphasis and informality made it more appealing to Victorians. Furthermore, architectural education in Britain was in a state of amateurishness, and the Gothic Revival "encouraged personal discipleship and the cultivation of the individual expression rather than providing a continuance of an academic discipline."[11]

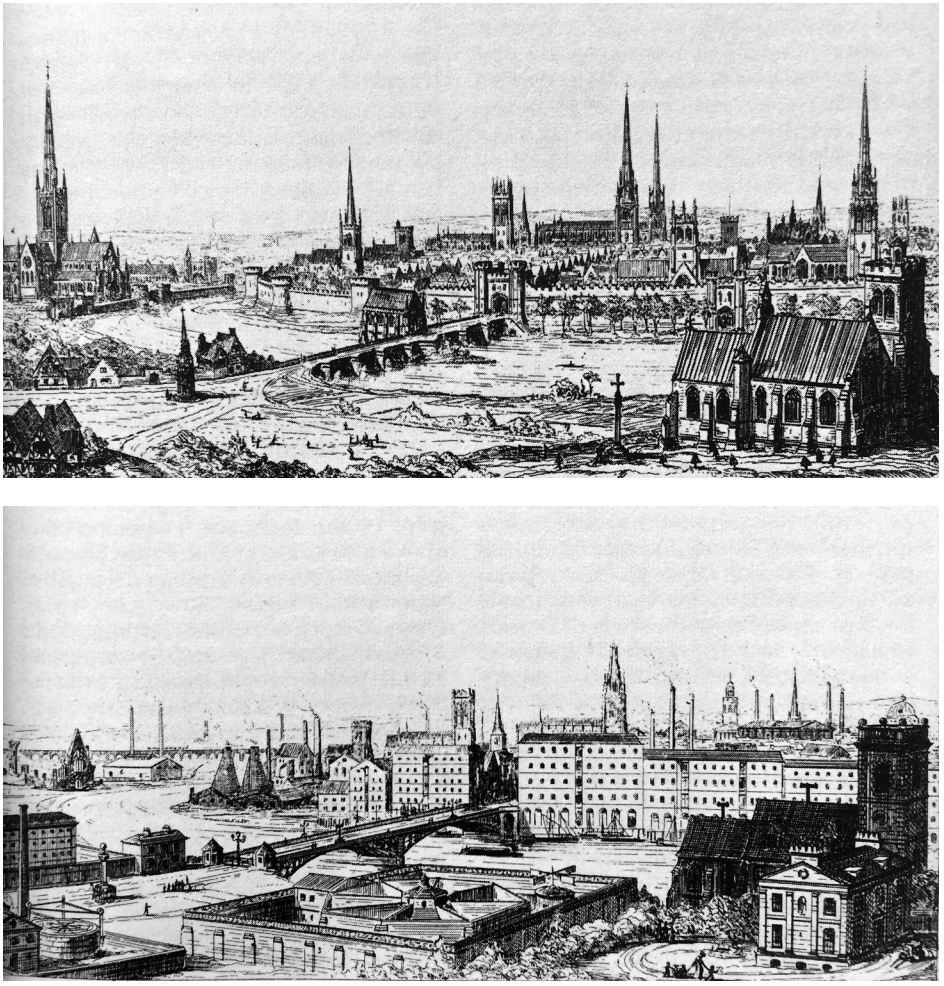
One of the main protagonists and sponsor of the neo-Gothic movement was Augustus Welby Pugin (1812-1852). His mentor John Nash (1752-1818) had published widely on Gothic architecture and was responsible for Pugin's enthusiasm for Gothic. Nevertheless, Nash was a supporter of classical architecture and had a "strong learning towards everything French."[12] He was greatly influenced by the *Beaux Arts* in Paris, which contrasted with the Gothic medievalists.

Despite Gothic being the main architectonic rival to Classical architecture during this period, another theme evidently linked to it was the Picturesque. Christopher Hussey wrote "Studies in a Point of View" (1927), in which he stated that the "Picturesque is no

[10] Queen Anne's reigned between 1702-1714, succeeded by George I – (1714-1724), George II – (1727-1760), George III – (1760-1820)

[11] Henry Russell Hitchcock, *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Pelican History of Art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), p.149.

[12] John Summerson, 'John Nash', *RIBA Journal*, 22 December 1934, p.231.



Imaginary town in the Middle Ages at the dawn of the Victorian era in *Contrasts* (1836) by A. W. N. Pugin

more a style than is the Sublime, it is a point of view."[13] Nash was an initiator of one of the main characteristics of the Picturesque: the asymmetry. We can find a first example of Picturesque in the towered Italian Villa, at Cronkhill (1802), and later at the Rustic Cottage, in Blaise Hamlet (1811). In 1836, Pugin published *Contrasts*[14] where he criticized the industrialization of cities, comparing the new chimneys in the factories to the old church towers. This book would be a turning point to how architects saw the Gothic architecture. He believed to be a religious necessity to build Gothic churches and proposed a strict programme of Gothic Revival. Pugin argued in *True Principles of pointed or Christian architecture*[15] (1841) that Gothic must be applied to all types of buildings. To prove his point he designed a number of small houses, remarkable for their reticent formality and rural charm[16] He approached all buildings with passion, but without rejecting their visual qualities, a characteristic of the Picturesque.

> *If the Gothic were really to be revived, Pugin saw that its basic principles must be understood and accepted. Merely to copy Gothic forms were as futile, and to him as immoral, as merely copy Grecian or cinquecento ones. The methods of building of the Middle Ages must be revived; architecture must again derive its character, in what he considered to have been the true medieval way, from the direct expression of structure; and at the same time serve the complicated ritual functional needs of revived medieval church practices.*[17]

A few years later, John Ruskin (1819-1900) published *The Seven Lamps of Architecture*[18] (1849), where he explains the seven ideas that architecture must combine: sacrifice, truth, power, beauty, life, memory, and obedience. Here, he remarks the old Gothic of the medieval cathedrals and Venice as the true Gothic to be embraced, and censured the Industrial Revolution and Renaissance as the beginning of an era the lacked values of aesthetics and vitality. In 1851, he also published the three-volume *Stones of Venice,* which greatly influenced Medievalists like William Morris (1834-1896) who bounded with an ideal expressed in the second volume chapter "The Nature of Gothic".

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[13] Christopher Hussey, *The Picturesque: Studies in a Point of View* (London : New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1927), pp.59–81; see also Nikolaus Pevsner, 'The Picturesque in Architecture', *RIBA Journal* LV (1947).

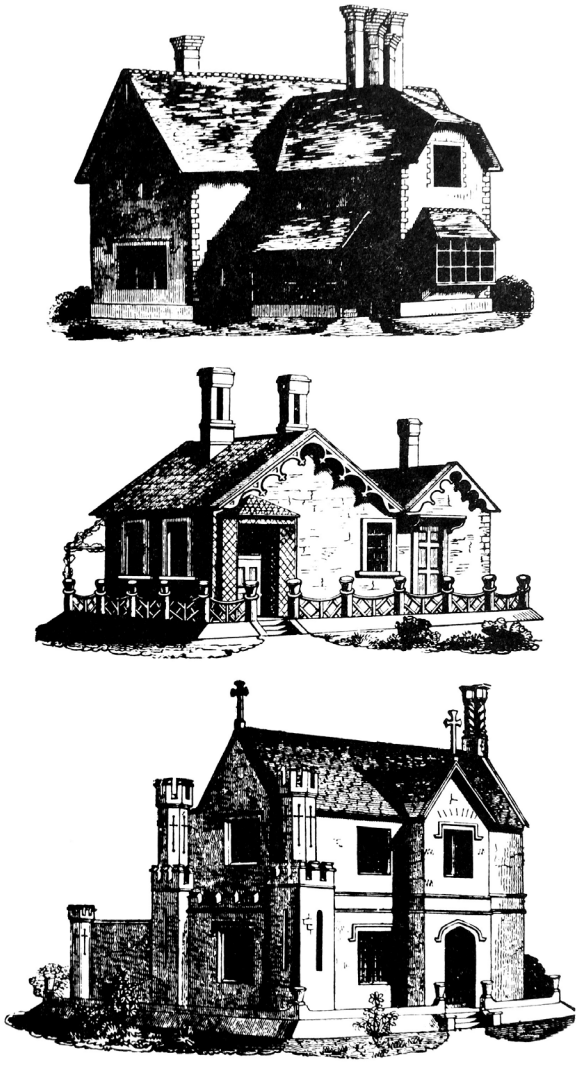
[14] Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, *Contrasts / A. W. Pugin*. (London: St. Marie's Grange, Salisbury, Wilts, 1836).

[15] Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, *The True Principles of Pointed Or Christian Architecture: Set Forth in Two Lectures Delivered at St. Marie's, Oscott* (J. Weale, 1841).

[16] Gavin Stamp and André Goulancourt, *The English House, 1860-1914: The Flowering of English Domestic Architecture* (London: Faber and Faber, 1986), p.24.

[17] Hitchcock, *Architecture*, p.148.

[18] John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1849).



Cottage dwellings in various styles

> *The dependence of all human work for its beauty, on the happy life of the workman... you must either make a tool of the creature, or a man of him.*
>
> *You cannot make both.*[19]

However, the maturity of the Gothic Revival that begun with Pugin, developed into an anti-picturesque. "One must build in certain way because it is right to do so, not because his results are agreeable to the eye."[20] Another reference of the Picturesque is made by Le Corbusier in his drawing "Four Compositions" (1924) where he demonstrates the existence of four types of modern composition with the first one illustrating Maison La Roche-Jeanneret (1923-25). According to Le Corbusier this main type was the *"genre plutôt facile, picturesque, mouvementé. On peux toutes fois le discipliner par classeures et hierarchie".*[21] This period foresees the evolution of the English domestic architecture, in the following years.

1.3 English domestic architecture reviewed

In the nineteenth century, the English started moving to suburban areas, near the city, as means to avoid the smoke and noise of the factories, in search of peace and quiet: while house were more than dwellings, away from the crowds but still with easy access to the city centre. This solution resulted from easy transportation provided by the development of the railways. The English were looking for new places to live and clients centred their main concern on comfort. The period between 1855 and 1875 was the peak for the construction of country houses. These Mid-Victorian country houses were financed by agricultural prosperity combined with a new industrial wealth. In this period, the honest use of materials, polychromy, variety of outlines, expressions of functionally arranged plans prevailed in the architecture of country houses. Throughout the Victorian period we can observe/ establish the construction of two main types of building in the countryside: cottages or small detached houses (built during the 1870s), due mainly to middle class' cult of the picturesque; and country houses for the *nouveaux riche* or English who could afford large manors to received guest, and accommodate family and servants.

During the Mid-Victorian period, Pugin was the main inspiration for the Gothic style

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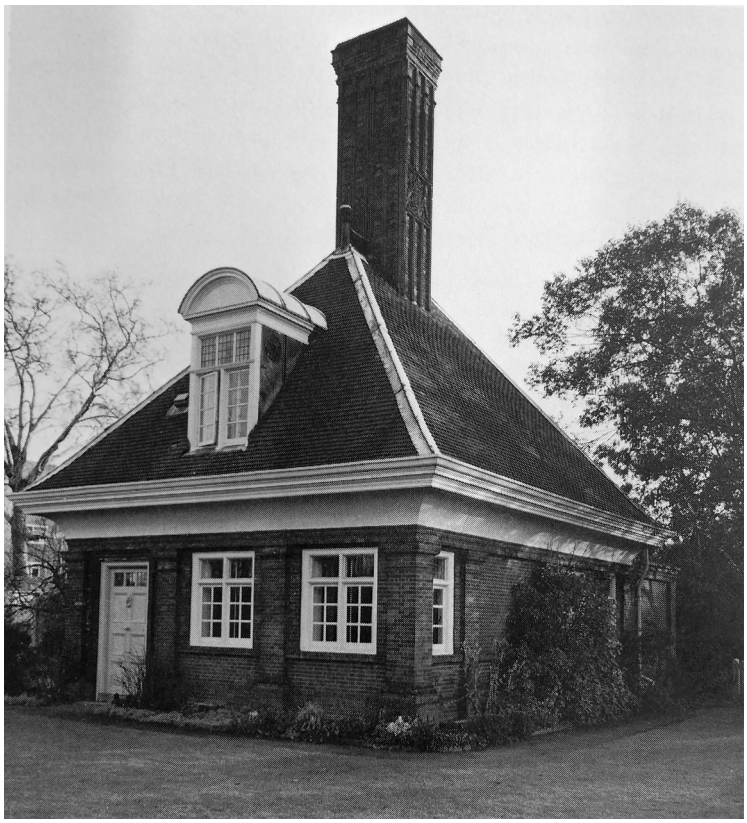
[19] John Ruskin, *Stones of Venice* (New York: Lovell, Coryell & Company, 1851), chap. The Nature of Gothic.

[20] Hitchcock, *Architecture*, p.149.

[21] Description wrote by Le Corbusier in the "Four Compositions" in 1929, next to the first of four drawings published *in* Le Corbusier, *Le Corbusier et Pierre Jeanneret: Oeuvre Complete de 1910-1929 / Le Corbusier*, 4th ed. (Zurich: W. Boesiger et O. Stonorov, 1946), p.189.



Temperate house lodge, Kew Gardens (1867) by Eden Nesfield in “Queen Anne” style

developed for small houses, particularly parsonages. The main creators of these small houses, William Butterfield, William White and George Edmund Street, were associated with the Ecclesiological movement. These houses were built with materials available locally, such as local stone and red brick. Their details are Gothic, but a Gothic used to conform the nineteenth century's needs (for example, frequently sash windows with glazing bars were combined with Gothic arches). The planning of the houses is informal and their outline picturesque, but a picturesque drawn from strict utility, as Pugin would have wished. Everything is straightforward, honest, "real".[22]

1.4 Vernacular styles revisited

In the 1870s in England and a few years later in America, two new stylistic phases were developed. In both cases "Queen Anne" Revival and "Old English", mainly in domestic projects, were part of a Vernacular Revival movement. Vernacular Revival, also known as New Vernacular, was a reaction against the copyism of the Gothic Revival and the "cold grip of classicism" that dominated England since Inigo Jones (1573-1652).[23] This stylistic movement came from two important factors: 1) England began to search for simple and functional ways to dwel, and 2) according to Stamp "revivalism is the most vital force in English culture."[24] The basic rural cottage with thatched roof and rough walls was the base for these two styles. An imitation of the rural cottage, a simple vernacular building with a Gothic overtone was the objective intended by the three main architects responsible for the new way of building: Philip Webb, Eden Nesfield and Norman Shaw. "The method was to look for their forms not only, in great architectural works, such as castles, palaces and cathedrals, but to design more freely, paying attention to utility, materials and other purely practical considerations"[25], designing simpler buildings, in particular, houses in villages and small towns built in the tradition of the old mansions, almost as an "archaeological exercise"[26] with materials such as brick.[27]

It took some time before the "Queen Anne" style of the 1870s became in reality a revival of the early eighteenth century architecture - in the same sense as the Greek, Gothic, or

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[22] Roger Dixon and Stefan Muthesius, *Victorian Architecture: With a Short Dictionary of Architects and 251 Illustrations*, The World of Art Library (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), p.44.

[23] Stamp and Goulancourt, *The English House, 1860-1914*, p.18.

[24] Ibid., p.17.

[25] Muthesius, *The English House / by Hermann Muthesius; Translated by Janet Seligman.*

[26] "Archaelogical" is a term used by Peter Inskip in "Lutyens' Houses" in Dunster, D. (Ed.). (1986). *Edwin Lutyens*. London: Academy Editions.

[27] Hitchcock, *Architecture*, p.293.

Overstrand Hall, Norfolk (1899) by Edwin Lutyens in “Old English” style

Renaissance Revivals. The "Queen Anne" style was fairly different from the Neo-Gothic proposal from the early Victorian period that represented a choice of models, and more modest than the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries builders interpretations of the classical styles. There was for example, "a favourite model"- the Kew Palace - which Gavin Stamp defines its "Dutch gables, rubbed red brick details and sash windows (as) confusingly and inaccurately called 'Queen Anne'". Nevertheless, the main characteristics presented were the colour of red brick walls, contrast with other parts of the façade, wooden windows frames and wooden cornice painted white, decoration as pure ornament, classical style without the laws of proportion and a "free Renaissance (...) a Gothic game played with Neo-Classical counters" architects retain their fear for classical formality and symmetry. They designed with Renaissance and with vernacular motifs according to Pugin's, *True Principles*.[28]

In those years, Norman Shaw created the new term "Old English", a slight deviation from the basic point of the New Vernacular. It was an imitation of Tudor manors[29], half-timbering constructions and tall brick chimneys. Those features were not suitable for the centre of London, so the focus of this style was appropriate for country houses where cottages and rural buildings became the model for the new domestic architecture. Associated with this, continued a reaction against industrialization where The Arts & Crafts Exhibition Society (1888) based on William Morris and John Ruskin ideals emerged. These architects valued craftsmanship over mass-production, building with simplicity and honesty in tectonic design. "Hand-craft is superior to machine-made products, that the use of local building materials is better than standardized industrial ones, were both canons of the Arts and Crafts Movement."[30]. A new artistic movement of material truth and humanism had just started and was supported by Edwin Lutyens, Guy Dawber, Ernest Newton, Arnold Mitchell, W.H. Brierley, E.S. Prior, Gerald C. Horsley, E.J. May, Herbert Baker, R.W. Schultz. All these architects were part of the Domestic Revival period, seen as anti-modern, in contrast to the modern movements that flourished throughout Europe, and a vivid demonstration of Pugin's saying " I seek antiquity and not novelty, I strive to revive not invent."[31]

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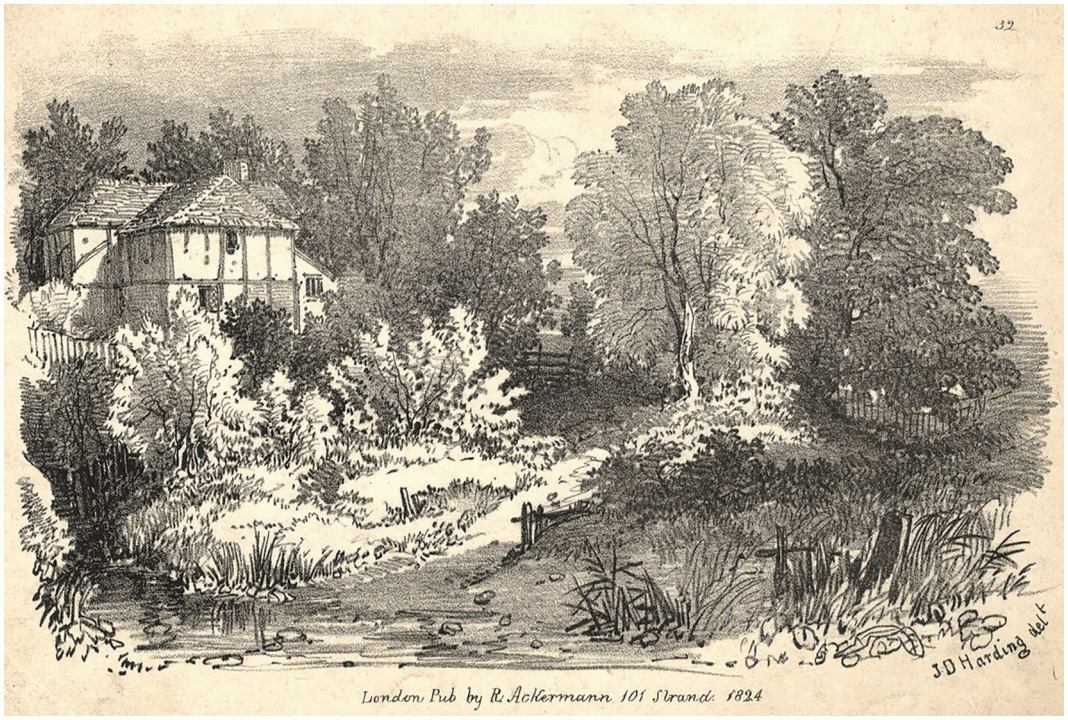
[28] Stamp and Goulancourt, *The English House, 1860-1914*, pp.18-19.

[29] The Tudor architectural style was in fashion between 1485 until 1603; these dates mark the foundation of the House of Tudor by the King Henry VII (1485-1509) and its end with Queen Elizabeth I (1558-1603). It represented the terminal phase of medieval architecture and the introduction of the Renaissance architecture in England. 'Tudor' was also a common denomination for buildings with half-timbering construction.

[30] Stamp and Goulancourt, *The English House, 1860-1914*, p.20.

[31] A. W. Pugin *cit. in* Phoebe Baroody Stanton, *Pugin* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), p.11.



Country Scene (1824) lithograph by J. D. Harding

1.5 Country houses - planning standards

Since the 1870s architects started to discard the grand styles instead seeking for simpler and informal qualities in vernacular buildings. The High Anglican Church took the lead in this simplification during the 1850s; through the work of George Devey, Norman Shaw and Eden Nesfield it adapted the "vernacular, or regional and homely architecture from the sixteenth, seventeenth and early eighteenth"[32]. These three architects were masters in producing perspective drawings, from watercolours or simple crayon, incorporating the picturesque tradition they needed.

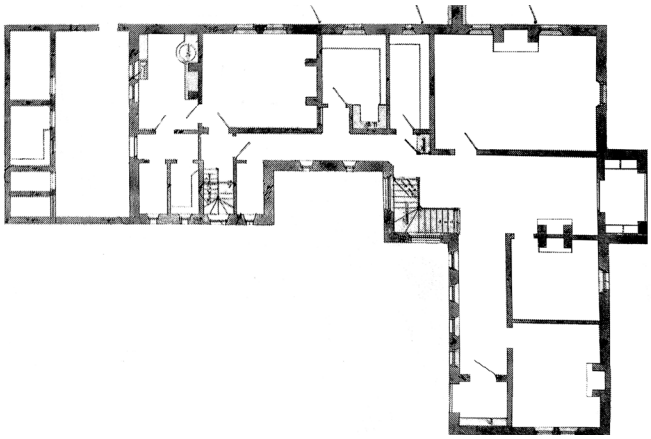
Devey had studied under the water-colourist J.D. Harding; Nesfield's father was a watercolour painter before turning to garden designing; and both Nestfield and Norman Shaw published books of architectural drawings. These kind of skills and techniques were fundamental for transmitting ideas to their clients, to express themselves and their designs in the most natural and picturesque way. One of the requirements at the time was that architects would design several cottages spread throughout a single property to give an air of picturesque charm.[33]

During the early Victorian era, country houses were the most important architectural symbols of aristocratic pre-eminence. Size was a measure for social position and social ambition. However, great thought was given to functional considerations as large country houses were very complex systems that should provide for the owner and his family to conduct businesses, or to entertain numerous guests. These country houses needed large numbers of servants to wait upon the family, every single one of them placed within the household hierarchy according to their function.

> *Complex activities should be separated: the family was able to live apart from the guests, except at set times when they met in formal reception rooms of the house. People visiting on business had to be segregated from the family and from the guests. Servants had their own quarters; upper and lower servants had different rooms for eating.*[34]

According to Victorian standards, each country house should follow several hierarchical criteria. Although, the programme for each house was different and adapted to the client's needs and requirements, the base of the project was roughly the same. The ground floor would be for the family and guests, where there might be a drawing room, dining

[32] Stamp and Goulancourt, *The English House, 1860-1914*; ibid., p.50.
[33] Dixon and Muthesius, *Victorian Architecture*, 1978, p.50.
[34] Ibid., p.32.



Red house, Bexleyheath, Kent (1859) by Philip Webb: photograph of the exterior and ground floor plan

room, library, morning room, breakfast room, smoking room, billiard room and chapel. The servants' quarters would include the kitchen, scullery, larder, pantry, coal storage, bakehouse and servants' hall. A business room and a gun room might be included as well. The large spaces inside the house indicated the importance of these practical considerations for the owner. For example, the grand hall had to be large enough to accommodate multiple guests during a house party; a great drawing room needed to be appropriate to make trades or conduct business.

The first floor normally for bedrooms, was often approached by a grand staircase for the family and guests, and by back stairs reserved for servants. The sleeping quarters of men servants were carefully segregated from those of the maids and in some houses there were separate staircases to avoid any contact. Even guests were divided in the same way, with bedrooms for bachelors placed in their own area of the house, away from those of the unmarried ladies.

For these reasons, the layout underlying these arrangements consisted of major types of overall layout such as pseudomorphic, L-shape, rectangular, square, U-shape, H-shape, and butterfly shape. Examples of houses with an overall L-shape composition are Hill House (1903) and Windy Hill (1901) designed by Charles Mackintosh (1868-1928), Broadleys (1898) designed by Voysey and Red House (1859) designed by Webb. On the other hand, Shaw, Newton and Lutyens frequently used the last three types. The H-shape, for example, is apparent on many of Lutyens' country houses as Heathcote (1906) or Marsh Court (1901). The butterfly plan was used by E.S Prior at Barn (1894), Shaw at Chesters (1894) and Lutyens at Papillon Hall (1903).[35]

The comfort afforded by the house was the main concern for most clients. The use of the steam engine helped largely by providing hot water through pipes over the entire house (cold water was also piped), as well as by using hot air or piped hot water for the main rooms as an alternative for heating. The normal means for heating were open coal fires, with the advantage that they assisted the ventilation of gas lit rooms. Gas lightning was introduced early in 1787, and became common for country houses to have gas plants to supply gas, but oil lamps continued to be popular in the grandest houses.

At the same time the provision of water closet was liberal, and the provision of bathrooms was less lavish. Normally, the family, guests and servants would wash themselves in hand-filled baths, which would be brought into their rooms, and filled from buckets.

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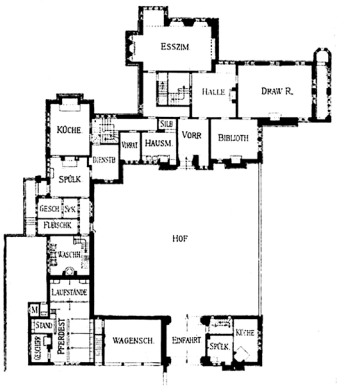
[35] Hideaki Haraguchi, *A Comparative Analysis of 20th-Century Houses* (New York: Rizzoli, 1989), p.17.



Leyswood, Sussex (1868) by Norman Shaw: lithograph of the exterior and ground floor plan

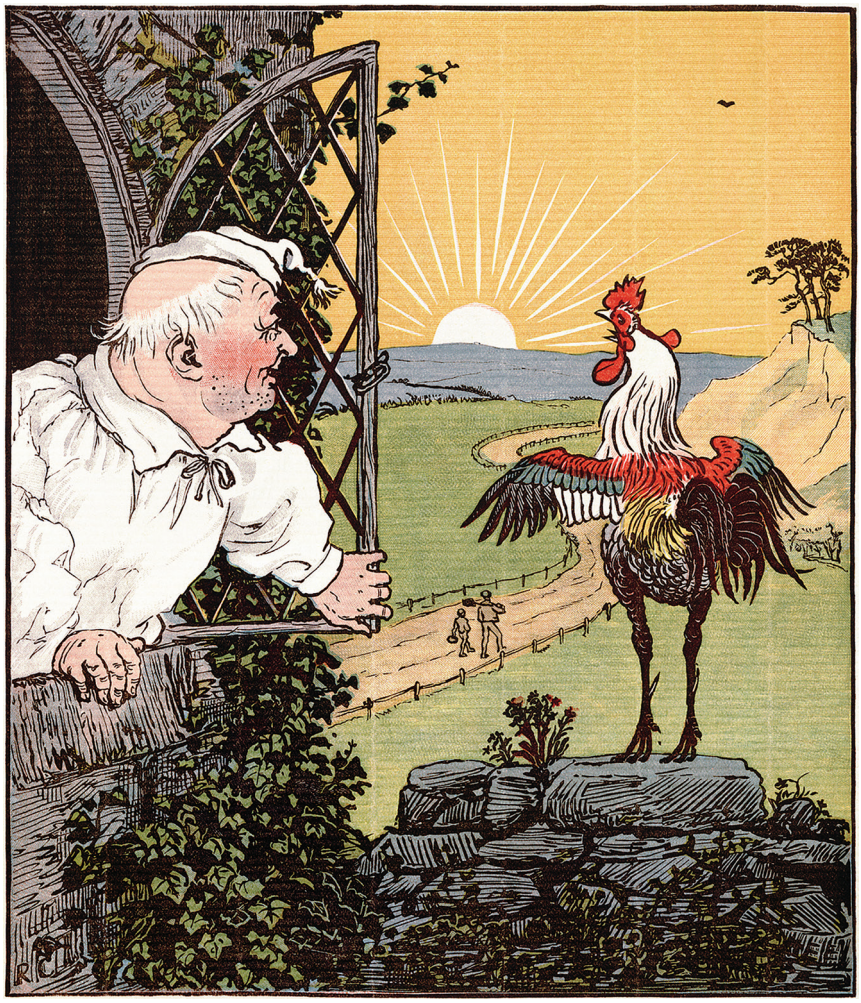
1.6 Lutyens and his contemporaries

At the end of the Victorian period Sir Edwin Lutyens designed some of the most brilliant houses in the Vernacular Revival style. After this early period, when he experimented with the knowledge collected since his childhood of building techniques from his native Surrey, he decided to take a different route towards Classical architecture. The vast network of professional and friendly relationships might have influenced the changes on the way he designed through the years. It all started with Sir George Gilbert Scott from whose office, produced architects such as George Edmund Street who later opened his own office and took on board Philip Webb. Webb took as his apprentice a man who later became his friend and client William Morris. Norman Shaw enters the scene as a replacement for Morris at Scott's office with Webb as his mentor.

Norman Shaw was an important personage in this period and had an important role in the life of Edwin Lutyens as his early tutor. Shaw is paramount to understand the nature of "Queen Anne" style and Picturesque, having influenced both England and other countries. During his career he also experimented with different materials and with new plan types, for example at Leyswood, Sussex (1868). In this country house, he presented us what H.R Hitchcock defines as "agglutinative plan", a modest size hall located across the front of the building, between two projecting wings, with the principal living spaces arranged around it. "The main reception rooms were grouped about a central hall, from one side of which rose elaborate stairs arranged in several flights about an open well." This kind of experiments on domestic architecture launched a positive rethinking on the tradition of "planning."[36]

The traditional English house plans from this period congregated some characteristics from the ancient eras and drawn from great architects, such as Picturesque medieval and Andrea Palladio (1508-1580), respectively. The visual senses of beauty found in vernacular architecture are characterized by disordered plans that contrast with the geometrical order of Palladio's tripartite composition. It was a paradox between regularity and the attempt to reject it, a rigid symmetry against a picturesque style of asymmetry. In the late sixteenth-century, houses struggle between outside symmetry and interior asymmetry diminished by the introduction of new Italian Renaissance ideas by Inigo Jones (1573-1652). Two centuries later, at the end of the nineteenth century, the English domestic revival abandoned classical styles and reintegrated medieval aspects and the features of the manor house were revived. The process of revival of the manor passed through four stages from total asymmetrical

[36] Hitchcock, *Architecture*, p.295.



"This is the House that Jack Built" (1887) illustration from *The complete collection of pictures & songs*

buildings to an overall absolute symmetry: 1) compositions avoided symmetry; 2) were followed by compositions that did not avoid symmetry when viewed from certain angles; 3) the uses of external symmetry combined with asymmetrical interiors (used by Webb, Shaw and Lutyens after initiating by the first and second); and 4) complete symmetry in the interior and exterior of the buildings.[37]

The art of Lutyens' architecture resulted in a visual effect that combined the relation of parts and mathematical fractions.[38] Indeed, what made Lutyens turn to architecture was the picturesque ambience in Randolph Caldecott's drawings (a landscape painter friend of Lutyens family). The picturesque caught Lutyens' attention from a young age whilst walking around Surrey with his pocket pad, sketching details of local materials and techniques of the surrounding buildings.[39] He quickly learned how to manage the different methods used to build and during his short time at Ernest George & Peto realised that he and the studio did not agree on how to design or think about dwellings. The office leaded by Ernest George (1839-1922) and Harold A. Peto (1854-1933), built several houses in central London and some cottages using the vernacular English style from the late seventeenth-century containing Dutch and Flemish terracotta elements. They relied on the sketches made during their travels and their projects were a combination of elements they had seen abroad, with no interest in local materials and techniques.[40] For that reason, Lutyens decided to take his own path. In 1889, he starts his own practice at 6 Grays Inn Square, with his first commission to build a small country house in Crooksbury, near Farnham. This first project was clearly influenced by Caldecott's drawings and Webb's buildings. In an article in *Country Life* at the time of Webb's death in 1915, Lutyens described him as an architect who was impressive by his integrity, logic, knowledge of proportion, mastery of materials and fertile invention.[41]

At the same time, three women had a deep impact in Lutyens' life. The first was Barbara Webb, friend of the family who was like a second mother to Sir Edwin during his childhood and early youth; and he later named his eldest daughter after her. Mrs. Webb introduced him to Gertrude Jekyll, a horticulturist and a garden designer, who was the first client to commission him her dream country house, Munstead Wood (1896). Lutyens and Jekyll work partnership started there and continued for forty-two years with an understanding

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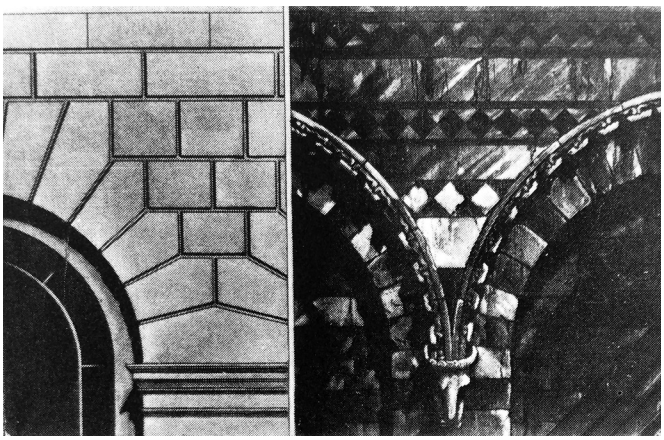
[37] Haraguchi, *A Comparative Analysis of 20th-Century Houses*, p.15.

[38] Christopher Hussey, 'The Personality of Lutyens', *RIBA Journal*, no. April (April 1969): p.144.

[39] Christopher Hussey, *The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens*, vol. IV, The Lutyens Memorial (London : New York: Country Life ; Scribner's, 1950), p.XVII.

[40] Hitchcock, *Architecture*, p.300.

[41] Sir Edwin Landseer Lutyens, 'The Work of the Late Philip Webb', *Country Life*, 8 May 1915, p.618, RIBA.



Monochrome, uniform Regency Classical stone surface compared with a medieval wall in northern Italy:
illustration from *Stones of Venice* (1851) by John Ruskin

and mutual respect. Jekyll provided Lutyens with a new network of relationships and introduced him to the founder of *Country Life*, Edward Hudson. She often contributed to the magazine with some notes on gardens and Hudson became interested on Lutyens' work publishing it and making it known throughout England.[42] Later, Hudson himself became Lutyens and Jekyll's client in several projects; one of them was for the well-known project of Deanery Garden (1900-1). In 1900, Lutyens received a commission for the British Section of the International Exhibition in Paris from Jekyll's brother, Coronel Edward Jekyll. Last but not least, his wife, Emily Lytton (1874-1964) came from a rich family and her personal connections contributed to numerous commissions for her husband, as was the case of the Viceroy's House (1912) in New Delhi, India.

Initially, Sir Edwin was conscious that the way he wished to build was comparable to Morris and Ruskin's ideals, but later he abandoned these conceptions as he "was becoming convinced that the heights of architecture as an art were attainable only through classic finitude, and therefore determined that in that realm his future must lie."[43] Despite Lutyens anticipating more symmetrical and mathematical compositions, the romantic tradition nature of his buildings never disappeared completely as André Gide's pointed out: his "classical work is beautiful by virtue of its subjugated romanticism".[44] Therefore, many scholars always considered Lutyens a romantic architect. Christopher Hussey exposed one of the reasons why Lutyens was starting to second-guess the Ruskinian ideals. In 1901, he had the chance to stay at Chesters, the classical masterpiece designed by Norman Shaw. On a letter to his wife, Lady Emily, on January 2, 1902 he wrote "it was lovely and loveable in great and many aspects but there are mistakes which I could not help thinking I should have avoided. An enormous house and all details left go lucky beyond a point, yet the planning of it all is a masterpiece." Further, he continued on another subject but reinforced the idea of the difficulty on playing the "High Game". The "High Game" was the architecture of Palladio and Wren, allied to training requirements aimed to value, appreciate, and realise classical architecture. Lutyens continued the letter saying if "played" should it be in all fronts and with nothing to be left to chance, because "the grand classic manner it is like music on a grand scale. [But] if the drums beat loud and the people shout 'God Save the King' all flat – [it] is a bit of a nuisance".[45]

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[42] Roderick Gradidge, *Edwin Lutyens: Architect Laureate* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1981), p.25.

[43] Hussey, *The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens*, IV: p.77.

[44] André Gide *cit. in* Ibid., IV: p.78.

[45] Sir Edwin Landseer Lutyens, 'To Lady Emily', Letter, (2 January 1902), RIBA.

Marshcourt, Hampshire (1903) designed by Edwin Lutyens

Lutyens growing preoccupation for the Classical styles disengaged on new projects with different concerns from other Classical architects from other periods. Lutyens considered that in architecture, Palladio was the "game" and the way Wren handled it was difficult to master and required training to realise it.[46] Yet, Lutyens' houses differ themselves from the Palladian mansions, which had a difficult environment to accommodate the family and at the same time create a workable place for the servants, to be able to provide the owners the required comfort. His evolution represents a transformation from a picturesque manner to the Wrenaissance or to the "High Game" starting in "Munstead Wood, (...) to Deanery Garden a sonnet in brick and chalk, and Marsh Court, the triumph of his picturesque phase. Later, Little Thakeham, in whose interior for the first time we observe a monumental note; and Heathcote, in which he reached the full tide of Classicism."[47] Lutyens' designs became more rigid and geometric, followed by a larger set of rules, nonetheless with similar particularities to those of the picturesque era, as it might be confirmed on the subsequent chapter.

[46] Sir Edwin Landseer Lutyens, 'To Herbert Baker', Letter, (15 February 1903), RIBA.

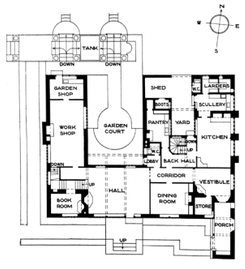
[47] Oliver Hill, 'The Genius of Edwin', *Country Life*, 27 March 1969, p.711, RIBA.

CHAPTER 2

What is the “Lutyens’ canon”?

11 Lutyens' country houses

Ground floor plans / Project Info



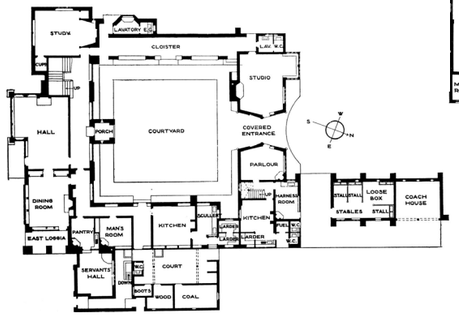
(1)

NAME: **Musntead Wood**

CLIENT: **Gertrude Jekyll** garden designer

LOCATION: **Godalming, Surrey, England**

YEAR: **1896**



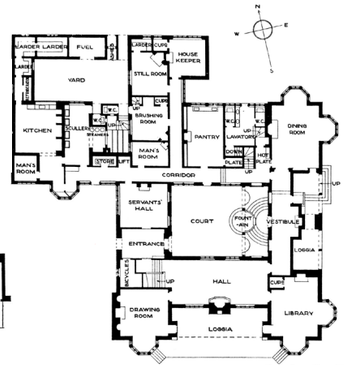
(2)

NAME: **Orchards**

CLIENT: **Sir William and Jane Chance** philanthropist

LOCATION: **Bramley, Surrey, England**

YEAR: **1899**



(3)

NAME: **Overstrand Hall**

CLIENT: **Charles Mills** partner at *Glin Mills Bank*

LOCATION: **Overstrand, Norfolk, England**

YEAR: **1899**

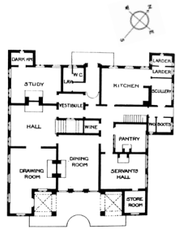
(4)

NAME: **Deanery Garden**

CLIENT: **Edward Hudson** founder of *Country Life*

LOCATION: **Sonning, Berkshire, England**

YEAR: **1900-1**



(5)

NAME: **Homewood**

CLIENT: **Edith Bulwer-Lytton** dowager countess

LOCATION: **Knebworth, Hertfordshire, England**

YEAR: **1900**

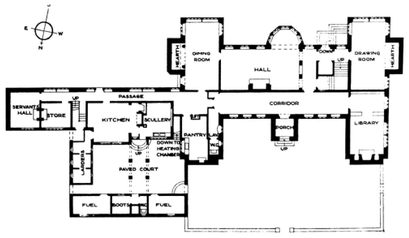
(6)

NAME: **Marsh Court**

CLIENT: **Herbert Johnson** trader at L. Stock Exchange

LOCATION: **Stockbridge, Hampshire, England**

YEAR: **1901**



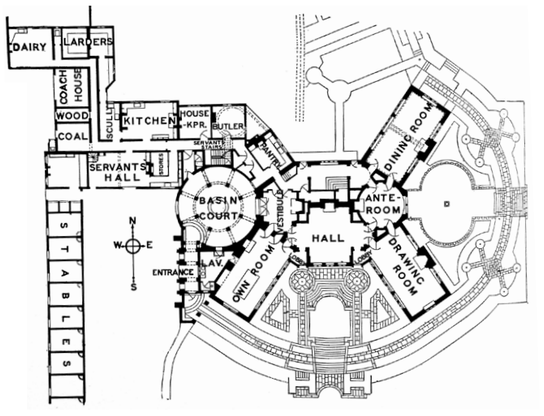
(7)

NAME: **Little Thakeham**

CLIENT: **Ernest Blackburn** school headmaster

LOCATION: **Storrington, West Sussex, England**

YEAR: **1902-3**



(8)

NAME: **Papillon Hall**

CLIENT: **Frank Bellville** manufacturer

LOCATION: **Harborough, Leicestershire, England**

YEAR: **1903**

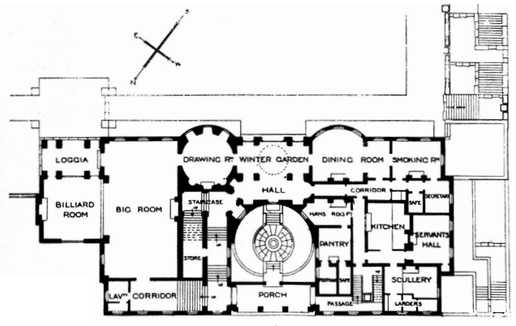
(9)

NAME: **Heathcote Mansion**

CLIENT: **John Thomas Hemingway** wool merchant

LOCATION: **Ilkley, West Yorkshire, England**

YEAR: **1906**



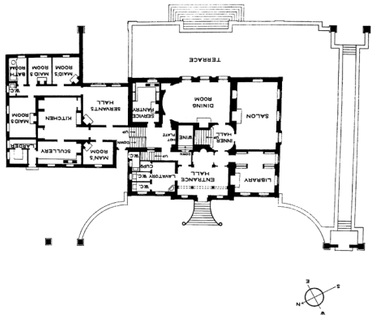
(10)

NAME: **Nashdom**

CLIENT: **HH Prince A. Dolgorouki** russian aristocrat

LOCATION: **Taplow, Bucks, England**

YEAR: **1909**



(11)

NAME: **The Salutation**

CLIENT: **Henry Farrer** solicitor at Farrer & Co

LOCATION: **Sandwich, Kent, England**

YEAR: **1911**

This current chapter aims to answer the question *"What is the Lutyens' canon?".* In order to do so, I divide my analysis into five parameters with the goal to study the methodology implemented in the country houses' projects designed by Edwin Lutyens between 1896 and 1911. In 1896 Lutyens received his first large commission for a country house project and he continued working mostly on the same subject until 1911. This is considered the year of the Lutyens' apogee, and large commissions started to arrive after World War I, such as projects in India and Castel Drogo. The domestic theme was then put aside to focus primarily on bigger assignments. *Form, composition, elements, accommodation* and *movement* are the points of approach to analyse each of the eleven country houses included in this study. During the same period, other architects were designing similar programmes, though in various styles, but

> *what sets Lutyens apart from his contemporaries is the methodological approach to planning. Venturi re-evaluated Lutyens by drawing attention to his 'wit and the multivalency of his work.'*[1] *His appraisal, however, was concerned only with the handling of superficial elements and details. At the planning level one can perceive in Lutyens' designs an attempt to realise an ideal order.*[2]

Thus, to better understand the "basic plan used"[3] by Lutyens, I will devise the "Lutyens' canon" throughout the five key-concepts mentioned above. His wit and capacity to control complex systems will be illustrated through the study of eleven country houses. (1) Munstead Wood (1896) and (2)Orchards (1899), both built in Surrey, represent Sir Edwin's early works, in which Webb's influences were present with a truly vernacular perception. The following five projects to be analysed were the "fullest treatment of the Tudor mode of expression and the beginning of his emergence into a gradual adoption of the Queen Anne and Georgian idioms"[4] produced between 1899 and 1903. (3)Overstrand Hall (1899) near Norfolk is developed around two courtyards with a Surrey's taste in a northern context; (4) Deanery Garden (1901) in Berkshire is a romantic red brick and oak manor for the founder of *Country Life*, (6)Marsh Court (1901) in Hampshire is a picturesque white chalk, black flint and red bricks house with individuals elements of grand quality but asymmetrical grouping; (7)Little Thakeham (1902) is similar in plan to Marsh Court but with a more symmetrical whole; and (8)Papillon Hall (1903) in Leicestershire marks the transition from

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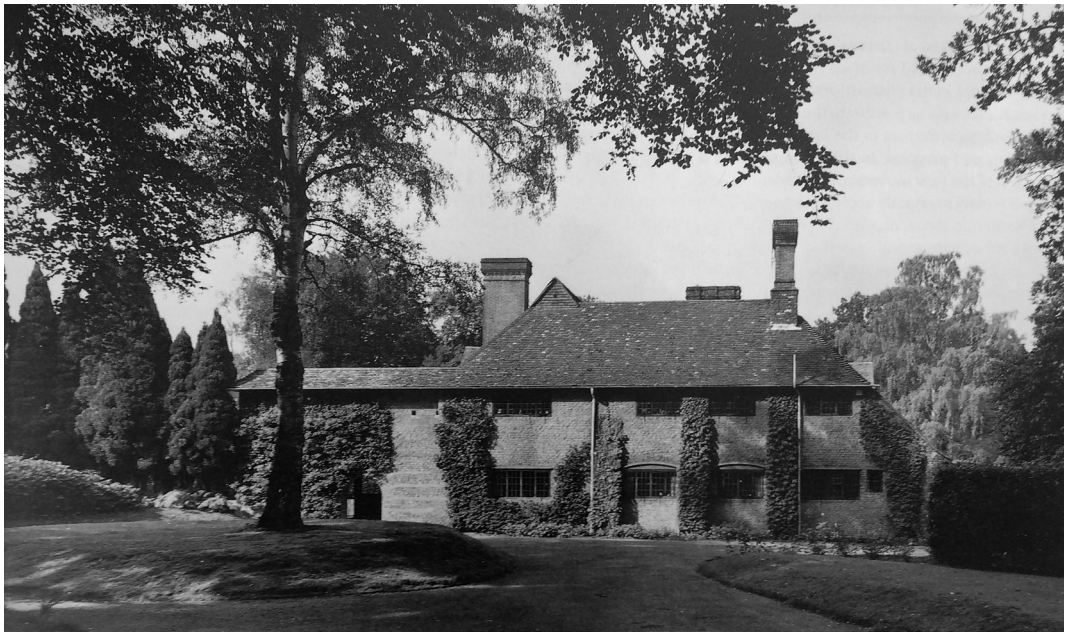
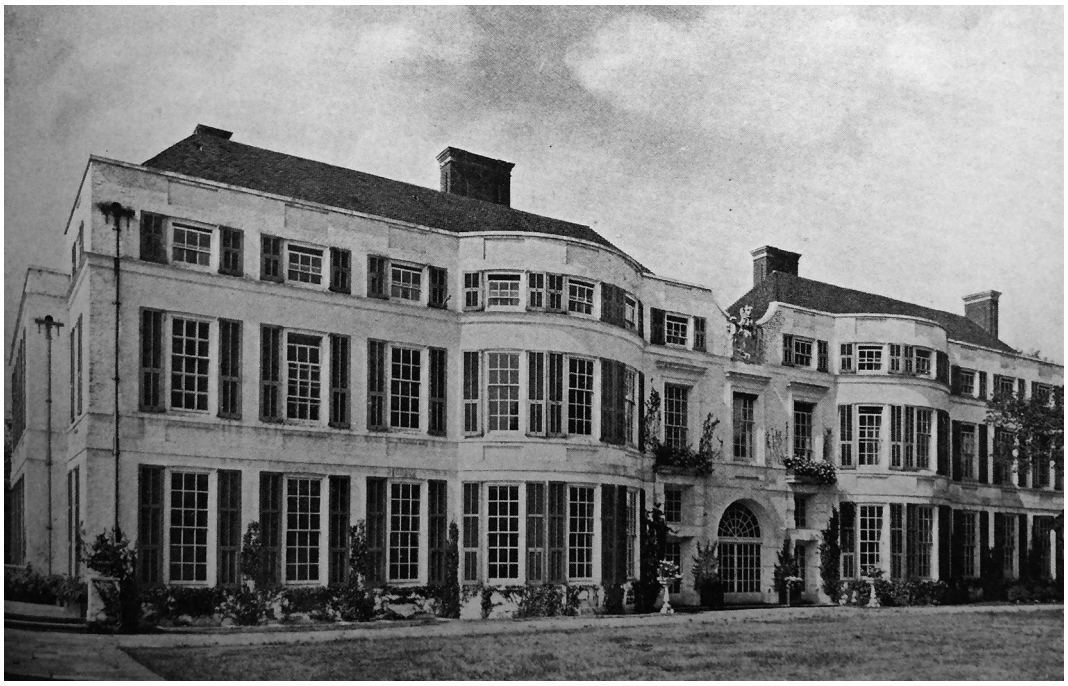
[1] Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown, 'Learning from Lutyens', *RIBA Journal*, no. August (August 1969): p.354.

[2] Hideaki Haraguchi, *A Comparative Analysis of 20th-Century Houses* (New York: Rizzoli, 1989), p.17.

[3] Peter Inskip, 'Lutyens' Houses', in *Edwin Lutyens*, ed. David Dunster, Architectural Monographs 6 (London: Academy Editions, 1986), p.12.

[4] A. S. G. Butler, *The Architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens / A.S.G. Butler ; with Collaboration of George Stewart & Christopher Hussey*, vol. 1, The Lutyens Memorial (London : New York: Country Life; Scribner, 1950), p.24.





Munstead Wood, Surrey (1896); Nashdom, Taplow (1909)

the early style to the later one with a suggestive reference to Shaw’s Chesters (1894) one hundred miles north. The last four are examples of buildings in which Lutyens increased a symmetric arrangement in the whole design. (5)Homewood (1900), in Hertfordshire, has an almost square plan, unusual for a small two stories dwelling where he introduces the first response to symmetric appearance; (9)Heathcote (1906), in Yorkshire, is the first house to reject the early vernacular style and endorse classical motives in a dialogue between Gothic and Classicism; (10)Nashdom (1909), in Bucks, is a house that tends to a more urban than rural look with whitewashed brick walls, red-tiled roof and green shutters near Thames Valley; and (11)Salutation (1911), in Kent, is described as Sir Edwin’s master rendering of the Georgian idiom, constituted by a rectangular plan with severe outside lines and symmetry of the main building.

Using the data collected from my analysis of Lutyens’ houses plans I will develop a hypothesis by identifying common and recurrent themes and relationships used by Lutyens, which he both may have elicited from other architects or developed himself. Those aspects will be taken in consideration to define the “Lutyens’ canon” with the help of schematic drawings and plans for a better visualization and apprehension the basis of “Lutyens’ canon”. I will start by comparing the houses and by comparing themes within each parameter defined above. These parameters were established to assess the full extent of the method in every field: geometry, mathematics, comfort, and owner’s needs. My aim is to clarify some of the ideas and themes behind the original system of Lutyens concepts of design.

2.1 Form

> *There are two causes of beauty - natural and customary. Natural is from geometry consisting in uniformity, that is equality, and proportion. Customary beauty is begotten by the use, as familiarity breeds a love to things not in themselves lovely. Here lies the great occasion of errors, but always the true test is natural or geometrical beauty. Geometrical figures are naturally more beautiful than irregular ones: the square, the circle are the most beautiful, next the parallelogram and the oval. There are only two beautiful positions of straight lines, perpendicular and horizontal; this is from Nature and consequently necessity, no other than upright being firm.*[5]

Colin Rowe starts his article “ The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa” by quoting Sir Christopher Wren and by doing the same I intended to say that Lutyens’ ideals of beauty fit perfectly in

[5] Wren cited in Colin Rowe, ‘The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa, Palladio and Le Corbusier Compared’, *The Architectural Review*, March 1947, p.101.

FORM

Overall shape

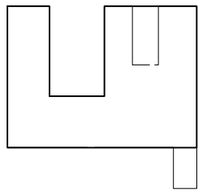
Rectangular / Square

w/ Courtyard

U - Shape

H - Shape

(1)



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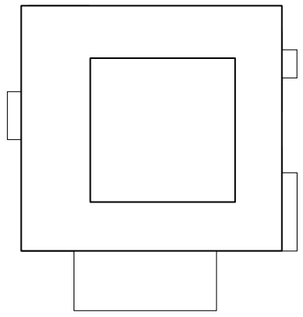

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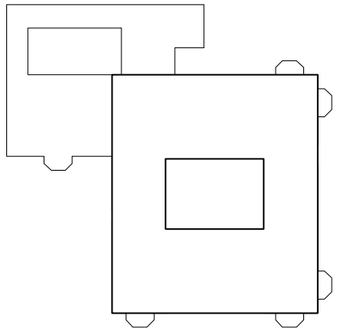

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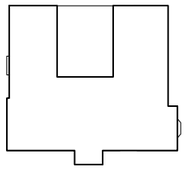

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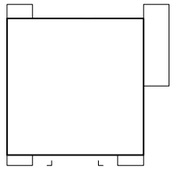

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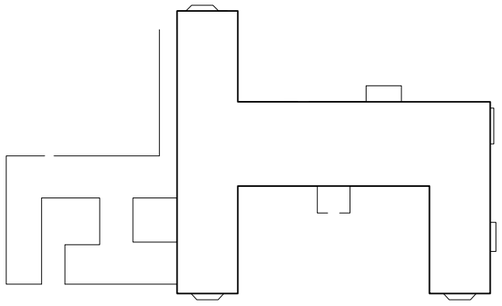

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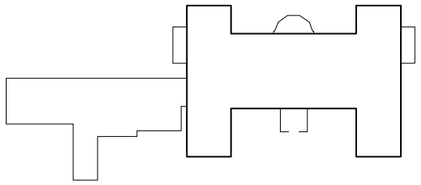

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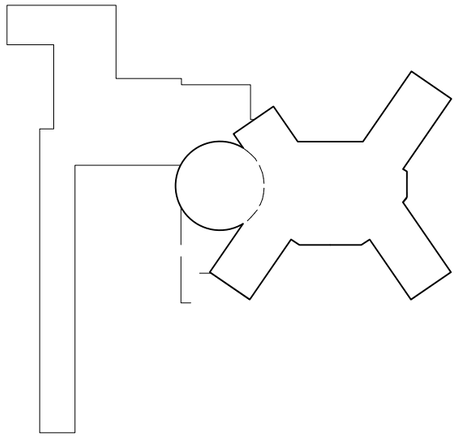

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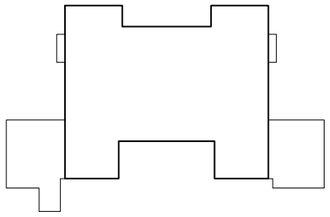

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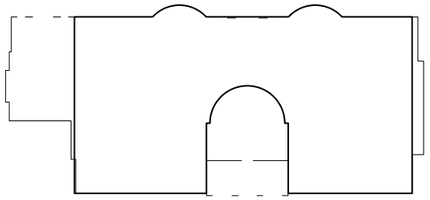

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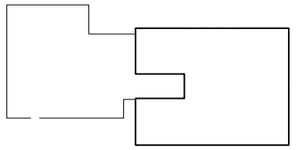


Wren’s conceptions. Lutyens had two simple rules to achieve beauty: to relay on nature and on geometry. Beauty in Lutyens’ buildings is captured by the simple geometry of forms that compose the *difficult whole*. On the other hand, nature is achieved through the connections of the house and garden, alongside with his cult for picturesque, in the early years.

I analyse “form” according to two different points: 1)the “Overall Shape” of the building; and 2) the “Main Space”. From my selection of country houses, we can distinguish four groups accord to the “Overall Shape” of the design. As mentioned above, during the Late Victorian Age many the designs by Lutyens, Webb and Shaw were in U-shape and H-Shape, apparent in this shortlist of Lutyens’ work and represents half of the group. (6) Marsh Court, (7)Little Thakeham and (9)Heathcote are on a H-shape plan. Despite built on a butterfly plan, (8)Papillon Hall can be integrated in this type because the butterfly plan is in reality only a more sophisticated version of the H plan, with a rotation of fifty-five degrees of the major rooms instead of the ninety-degree angle of the H-shape. This type of symmetrical typology is used to distance the core of the building advancing two main rooms to be in a greater proximity to the garden front, and the main space of the building becoming recoiled and protected from the two projecting wings. Usually in such cases the main entrance is constituted by a porch, as in Little Thakeham and Marsh Court; or by a vestibule, like (9)Heathcote. Little Thakeham and Marsh Court are two examples of country houses in which the servants’ quarters were not taken under consideration for the overall form of the main volume; instead they were a small building treated separately from the main building. Lutyens sent a drawing attached to a letter addressed to Herbert Baker in which he compares the plans of the two projects and it is clear the numerous similarities.[6]

Though the U-shape is also symmetrical, it is not a cut version of the H-shape. In U-shaped plans the main space is the front façade of the house in direct contact with the garden, as in (4)Deanery Garden and (10)Nashdom. In the case of (1)Munstead Wood, an early project, the main space and the main elevation are in contact with the garden, but not the whole garden just a part of it. In Deanery Garden and Nashdom the typology serves to distance the main rooms from the road creating a patio or courtyard of small dimensions where usually only the servants’ quarters were located.

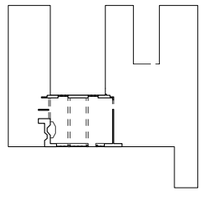
The other groups,“Retangular/Square” and “w/Courtyard”, can be observed as one if looked from the exterior of the building as they appear to be simple geometrical rectangular masses. However, (2)Orchards and (3)Overstrand Hall have an important element in the middle – a courtyard. The courtyard in those cases is an eloquent element made to punctuate

[6] Sir Edwin Lutyens, ‘To Herbert Baker’, Handwriting letter, (15 February 1903), RIBA.

FORM

Main Space

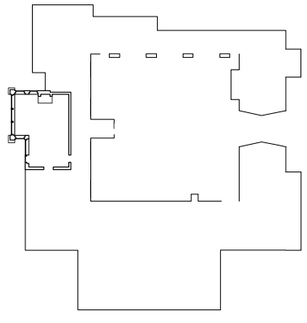
(1)



1 space

Hall

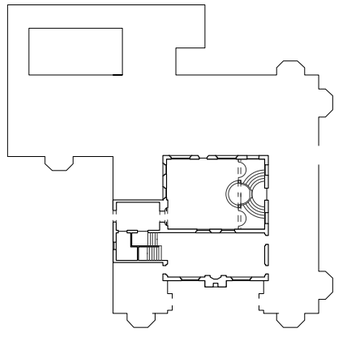
(2)



1 space

Hall w/ bay window

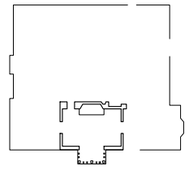
(3)



3 spaces

Entrance, Courtyard, Hall

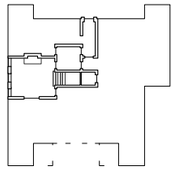
(4)



1 space

Hall w/ bay window

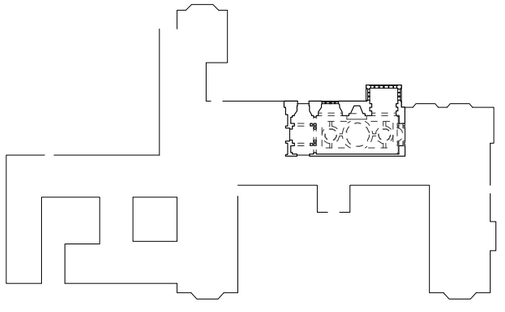
(5)



3 spaces

Porch, Vestibule, Hall

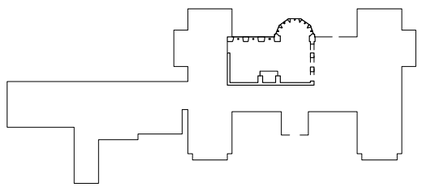
(6)



2 in 1 space

Screen passage + Hall w/ bay window

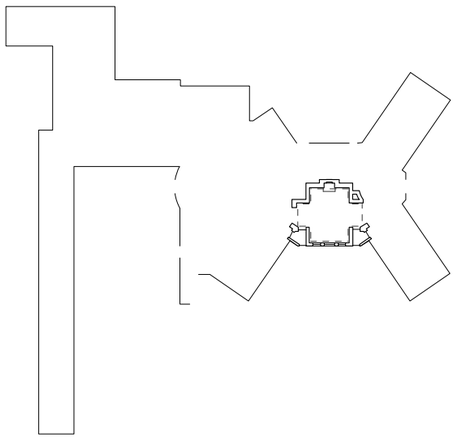
(7)



1 space

Hall w/ bay window

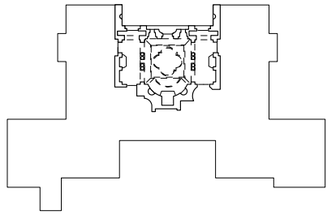
(8)



1 space

Hall

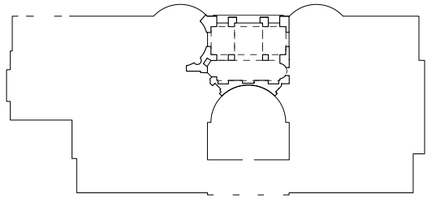
(9)



3 in 1 space

Screen passage + Hall + Screen Passage

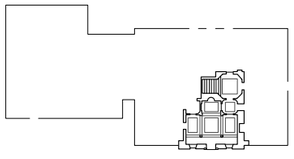
(10)



2 in1 space

Hall + Winter garden

(11)



3 spaces

Hall, Lobby, Inner hall

the moment of entrance, very different from the one at (4)Deanery Garden, which is not used as a part of the *promenade architecturale* from the main gate to the building door. Contrarily, (5)Homewood and (11)Salutation (almost an improved plan of Homewood) have more dense volumes with a complex interconnection of subsequent spaces. (11)Salutation proves the mastery of Lutyens’ variations of geometric forms with “an isolated aberration of geometry within an otherwise unified plan can be used to emphasize a focal point or a transitional space.”[7]

All of the plans of these houses, independently of the overall shape, have geometrical variations from room to room, and each form is not associated with a particular space. For example, Lutyens designed a circular space for a drawing room (Nashdom), for an inner hall (Salutation) and for a lobby (Heathcote). The Main Space normally symbolises the hall, which is the most important space of all the main rooms of the house. Often, the hall is a single geometric form composed or not by one other. If it is composed a secondary space is added to enlarge the hall at the centre of the plan. However, the main space might also identify a group of three spaces that compose the central part of the house, as in (11) Salutation, where Lutyens formed the hall that marks the first space, with two additional square lobbies - transitional spaces to the servants’ area and the library - and a circular inner hall which connects the secondary entrance, dining room and staircase where the grand finale is awaiting the user. At (5)Homewood, we can also observe this sequence of three areas forming the main space but the order of the rooms is inverted: the hall is now at the end, preceded by the vestibule and porch as the first two spaces.

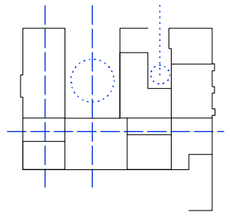
The common scenario for the Main Space is a rectangular form, fenestrated with a bay window that opens to the garden and enhances the feeling of being in a room that, at the same time, it is inside and outside (e.g. (6)Marsh Court, (2)Orchards and (4)Deanery Garden). Nevertheless, at Deanery Garden the bay window is positioned at the centre of the hall and benefits from a double height ceiling, whilst in the two previous examples the bay window is on one of the extremities of the room, to the west side, which ruled the single height environment. (7)Little Thakeham presents a slight difference: a west semi-circular bay window rather than a rectangular form as in the other cases. As an inverted situation, (9)Heathcote’s hall has an apse (semi-circular space) but as an extension to the interior and not towards the exterior. Marsh Court and Heathcote’s halls are both main spaces with more than one partition that composes the hall – 2 in 1 and 3 in 1, respectively. Haraguchi calls them, screen passages. Its origins remount to the medieval manor and it could be defined by “a transverse corridor (...) which became established as an intermediate space

[7] Allan Greenberg, ‘Lutyens’ Architecture Restudied’, *Perspecta*, The Yale Journal Architecture, no. 12 (1969): p.138.

COMPOSITION

Structure / Axial Composition

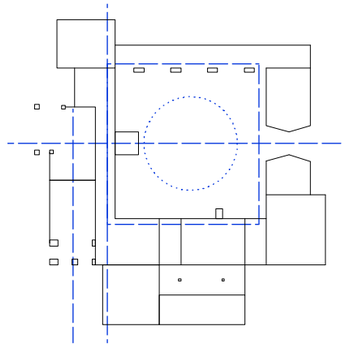
(1)



2 directions, 2 patios

3 axes

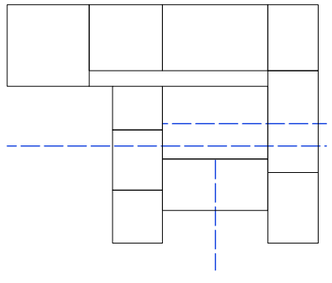
(2)



2 directions, 1 ambulatory, 1 patio

3 axes

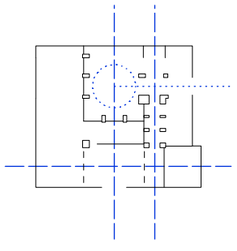
(3)



2 directions

3 axes

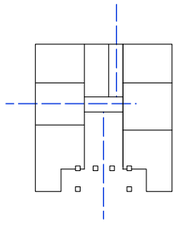
(4)



2 directions, 1 patio

3 axes

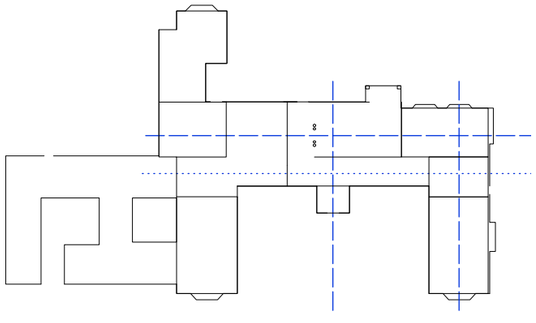
(5)



2 directions

3 "broken" axes

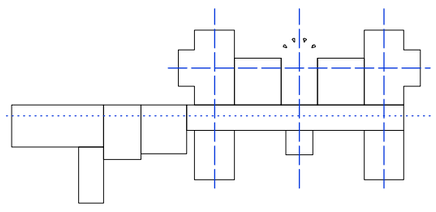
(6)



2 directions

3 axes + 1

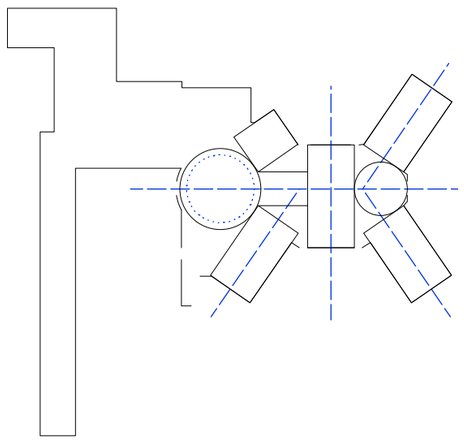
(7)



2 directions

4 axes + 1

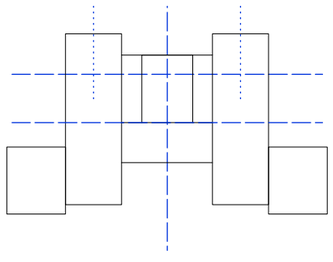
(8)



3 directions, 1 patio1

5 axes

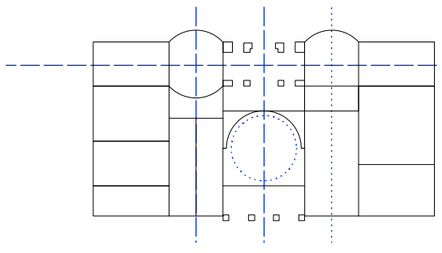
(9)



2 directions

3 axes + 2

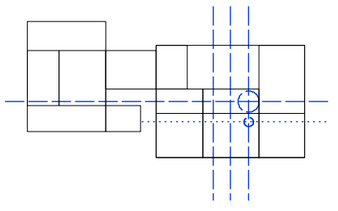
(10)



2 directions, 1 patio

3 axes + 1

(11)



2 directions, 2 distribuition spaces

4 axes + 1

cushioning the hall from the entrance.”[8] (10)Nashdom, for instance, is formed by a 2 in 1 space that consists in a hall plus a winter garden in direct contact with the exterior.

2.2 Composition

> *Everything should have an air of inevitability (...) simple mathematical ratios.*
>
> *One of the elements of beauty is Surprise.*
>
> *Architecture is building with wit.*
>
> *The existence of this office ratios, and their continual use has given rise to the belief that the master worked to an elaborated preconceived system of ratios.*[9]

This belief that “the master worked to an elaborated preconceived system of ratios” is illustrated in this section by opposing the *composition* of three system ratios: structure, axes and modular grid. Although the analysis will rely primarily on the last two, structure being mainly used as an element that complements the analysis of axial composition.

In most of the eleven country houses addressed in this section, it is possible to say that Lutyens adopted a method of three axial lines and secondary axes to help in the overall composition. Notwithstanding axial lines could mean the line of symmetry of the interior plan of the house or exterior elevations; or a guide used to build accordingly the orientation intended for each space. However, Lutyens did not see axis as orientation to circulation, often in his country houses the circulation was designed off axis. A paradox in his method is asymmetrical circulation patterns that coexist with symmetrical forms. One axis marked the entrance but there are cases where the entrance is not the principle axis or it is stopped right at the end of the room or even “broken” and continued in a parallel direction from that point forward. At (5)Homewood, for example, no compositional axis crosses the entire building. The dominant axis have a west-east bearing, but they are broken at the core of the house by a perpendicular stairwell. The third axis originated from the stairwell towards the hall. Normally, the entrance axis - the main axis – “cuts” the building symmetrically north-south; the second axis represents a ninety degree rotation from the first axis, located through the middle of the living rooms and with an east-west direction; and the third (and others if they exist) is an offset of the previous axis. Additionally, when the longitudinal and transversal main axes intersect they become the central point of the overall composition, and where the main space or a key *element* is situated.

During the years Lutyens designed country houses he applied a system to assure the

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[8] Haraguchi, *A Comparative Analysis of 20th-Century Houses*, p.20.

[9] Christopher Hussey, *The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens*, vol. IV, The Lutyens Memorial (London : New York: Country Life ; Scribner’s, 1950), p.164.

COMPOSITION

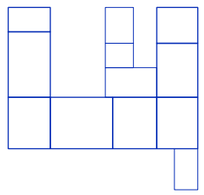
Modular Grid

Tripartite compostion

Nine-bay composition

Three by four squares composition

(1)



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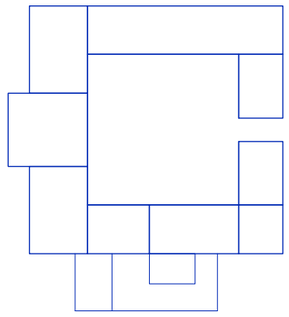

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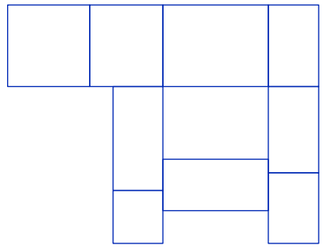

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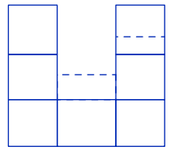

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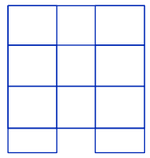

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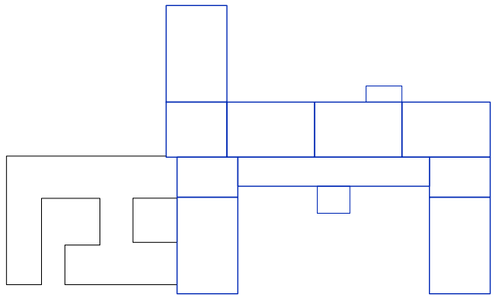

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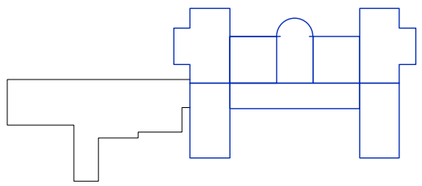

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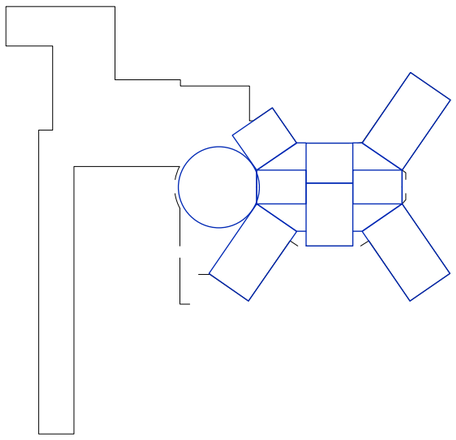

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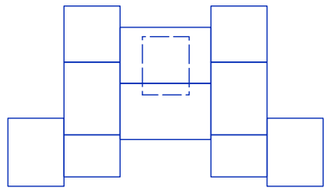
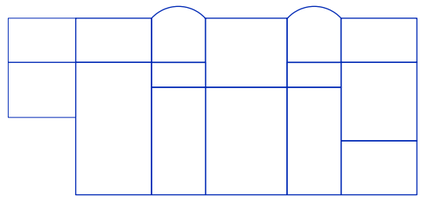


(10)



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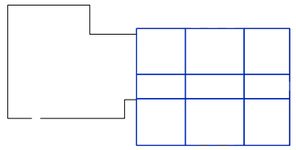


symmetrical and mathematical disposition of all spaces. The term “modular grid” designates the basic principle of organization used to control the overall ambiance and guarantee the master rigor present in all the projects. The rigidity of the grid increases throughout the years and it is more evident from the moment Lutyens decided to engage Classicism as the “High Game”. Nevertheless, throughout his entire country houses’ projects it was clear the existence of a rule that corresponded to a grid composed by three sections or multiples of three. In these eleven country eleven we find three types of *composition*: tripartite composition, nine-square composition, and a grid of three by four squares.

The tripartite composition is the result of three divisions, emphasising the centre. (10) Nashdom and (4)Deanery Garden are designed within this norm where the living rooms are separated and placed on each side and the main space located at the centre. Yet, in this case the centre is a void – a courtyard/patio - while the main space is pushed further south and aligned with the south façade, leaving the void to be primarily used for servants’ purposes.

Both (11)Salutation and (5)Homewood represent a similar approach to a modular composition inspired by Andrea Palladio, known as nine-bay or nine-square composition. “The nine-square is one of the seminal, perhaps original, diagrams in the history of architecture relating part to whole in terms of symmetry and proportion.”[10] Palladio adopts a composition in which all spaces are equal in size and the subtle complexity relies on the differences made by the position of interior and exterior sides. The interior space is organized around the centre. Villa Rotonda (Vicenza, 1566) is the villa par excellence that exhibits this model with a void, cruciform centre. In Salutation and Homewood, the centre is developed around the stairwell but the nine divisions are not squares. The living rooms are placed on three of the four sides of the symbolic centre. Lutyens uses the stair as motif, an eloquent symbol designed to connects the upper floors and inflects variations of movement while the user walks through the house.

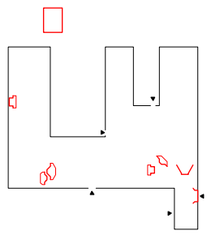
However, in four houses – (3)Overstrand Hall, (9)Heathcote, (7)Little Thakeham and (6) Marsh Court - Lutyens imposed a grid of three by four squares, a more evolved technique than the previous two. Although it is very similar to the nine-bay, the central area is recoiled from the two side wings and it is added one more column of squares. The first experience in a nearly classical composition is Overstrand Hall. It is a *composition* typical of H or U shaped house but it is possible to understand the intention of backing off the

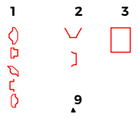
[10] Peter Eisenman, *Palladio Virtuel / Peter Eisenman with Matt Roman.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015, 2015), p.26.

ELEMENTS

Central elements

(1)





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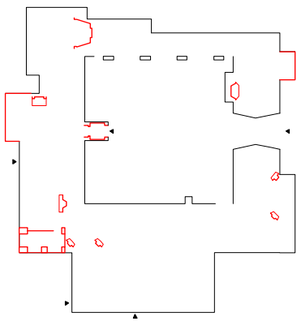

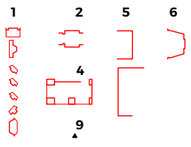

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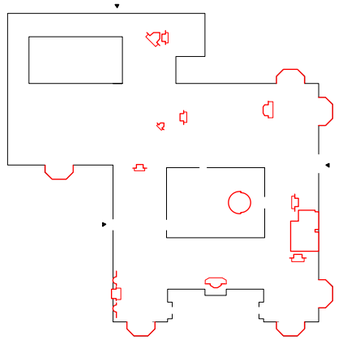

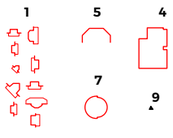

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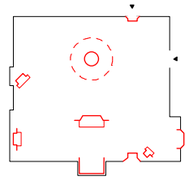

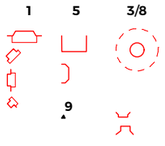

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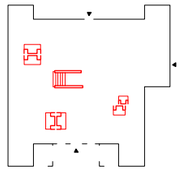

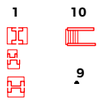

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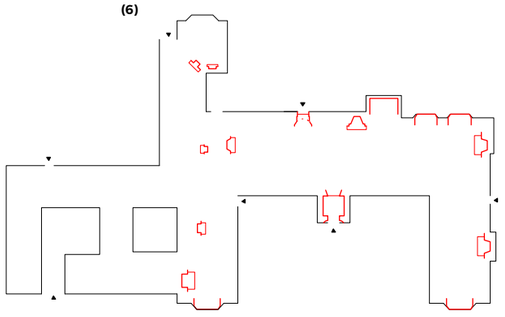
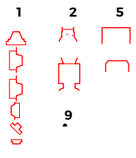


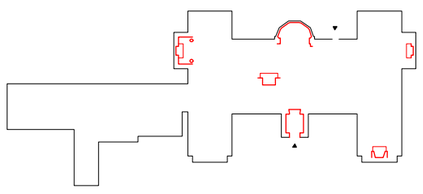


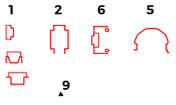
Fireplace - **1** Loggia - **4** Fountain - **7** Stairs - **10** Profound windows - **13** Interior balcony - **16**

Porch - **2** Bay-window - **5** Patio - **8** Basin - **11** Double height - **14** Courtyard - **17**

Tank - **3** Inglenook - **6** Entrance - **9** Niches - **12** Balcony - **15** Internal Patio - **18**

(7)





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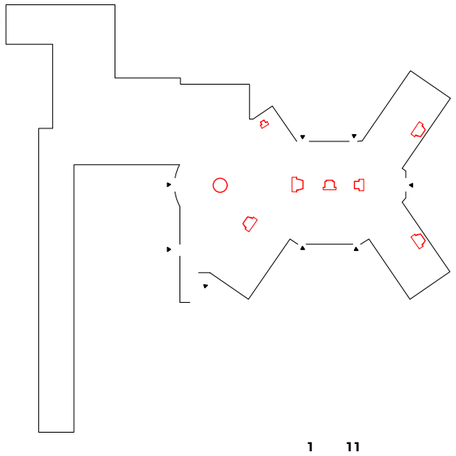

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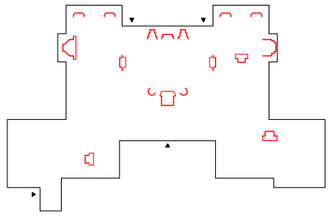

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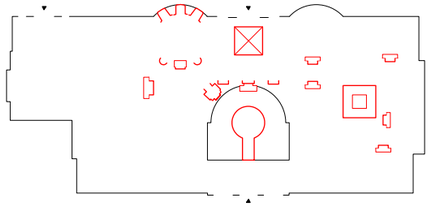

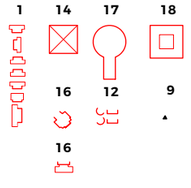

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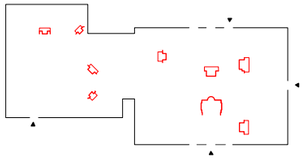

hall and projecting two wings to make a loggia. Little Thakeham and Marsh Court are both similar H-shape buildings where the side wings are longer north to south, the centre is wider with a solid mass in the principal axis and the main space is accentuated by the use of a bay window. In Heathcote, the central eight squares can be overlaid precisely with the ground floor since it is the first project that Lutyens "plays" with the complete set of rules of Classicism, and as he stated "if you attempt the High Game, you must go through it all the way"[11]. So, he did by dimensioning and detailing every single room of this project. All the four examples rely on "the insertion in the central zone of a tripartite composition of the solid mass of a wall or fireplace so that the entry is shifted from the central axis."[12]

2.3 Elements

> *This concern with the house as 'home' led to a degree of caricature in much domestic architecture (...) the exaggeration of individual elements of vernacular architecture was done consciously to make them symbols of a 'home'.*[13]

In the late 1890s and the early twentieth century, the use of fireplaces was almost obligatory, for its heating and comfort purpose but also as a symbolic feature. Still, Lutyens emphasized this *element* with two major objectives. First, when seen from the outside, to enhance the perspective, verticality and to mark certain moments on the *composition* Lutyens designed tall brick chimneys higher than functionally necessary and composed the volume with great expression. Fireplaces are the most frequent *elements* in Lutyens' house, present nearly in every room and evident in all main rooms. Lutyens introduces a new complementary space in the room by reinterpreting the use of fire. Known as the "inglenook inside massive chimney breasts", it was an *element* often used by Shaw and Nesfield from a picturesque English vernacular revival.[14] Frank Lloyd Wright also used the inglenook for example in his house and studio, in Oak Park, Illinois (1889). In (7)Little Thakeham's dinning room, the fireplace is extended with a large step where benches or column can be placed on both sides, meaning there is an area that embraces the room. The usage of the inglenook can be compared to the bay window as a usable extension but not fenestrated.

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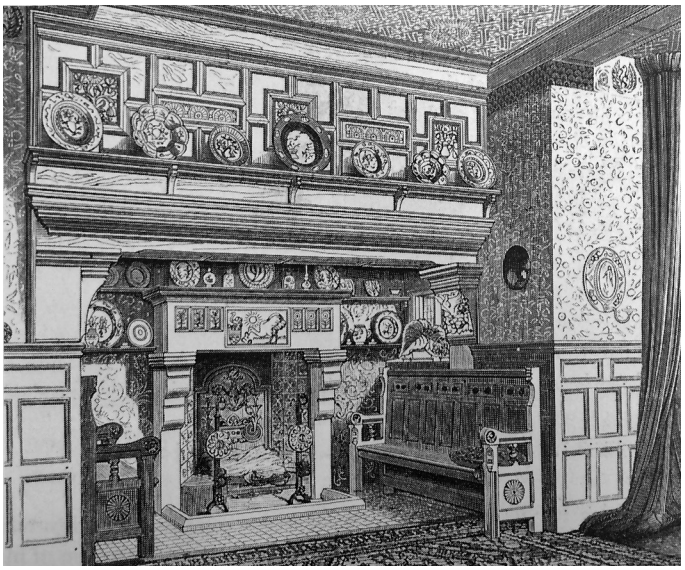
[11] Sir Edwin Lutyens, 'To Lady Emily', Handwriting letter, (2 January 1902), RIBA.

[12] Haraguchi, *A Comparative Analysis of 20th-Century Houses*, p.18.

[13] Gavin Stamp and André Goulancourt, *The English House, 1860-1914: The Flowering of English Domestic Architecture* (London: Faber and Faber, 1986), p.32.

[14] Ibid., p.22.



Inglenook at Farnham Park, Buckinghamshire (1865) by Eden Nesfield
Inglenook at Frank Lloyd Wright house and studio (1889) by Frank Lloyd Wright

The bay window and other themes used in his plan are a direct reference to the Arts & Crafts period – symbol(s) of British Architecture. This symbol is arranged in a rectangular (2)Orchards, (4)Deanery Garden, (6)Marsh Court), semi-circular (7)Little Thakeham, (10) Nashdom or semi-octogonal form (3)Overstrand Hall). The application of these elements is seen roughly in every country house to obtain more interior light, to create a wider visual relation to the garden and to enlarge the interior space in the main rooms such as hall, dining room, drawing room, study room, billiard room, library and smoking room. Normally, all the bay windows were double-glazed with large dimensions but with multiple partitions and small pieces of glass, while the others windows of the house were designed as sash-windows.

The ground floor was where the architect spent more time designing the details of *elements* like fireplaces, bay windows, columns, niches or loggias, because is in this floor where all the main rooms are located. All these spaces are frequently detailed or constructed with half-timbering, stucco ceilings, classical columns, elaborated pavements or wooden panels on the walls. The richness of the interior was given not only by the decoration and furniture but also by the materials used to compose the interior. Traditional materials were used in a traditional manner, what Peter Inskip characterised as “archaeology (…) the visible result of time is a large factor in realised aesthetic value.”[15]

Generally, the English country house would have an absence of entrance porch. Lutyens, contrarily to this fact, would present the owner the entrance porch, practically in every house, (11)Salutation and (9)Heathcote being exceptions. The porches were, as in (7)Little Thakeham and (6)Marsh Court, an independent volume attached to the main building or as a part that integrates the main volume. Another feature of the manors were water elements, such as fountains, basins, tanks or statues at the centre or at the corners of the water elements to accentuate their importance in patios or courtyards.

2.4 Accommodation

> *A valid order accommodates the circumstantial contradictions of a complex reality. It accommodates as well as imposes. It thereby admits ‘control and spontaneity’, ‘correctness and ease’ – improvisation within the whole. It tolerates qualifications and compromise. There are no fixed laws in architecture (…) the architect must decide, and these subtle evaluations are among his principal functions.*[16]

[15] Inskip, ‘Lutyens’ Houses’, p.27.

[16] Robert Venturi, *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture; with an Introduction by Vincent Scully*, 2nd ed. (London: Architectural Press, 1977), p.41.

ACCOMMODATION

Programmatic display

% of the Servants' quarters outside the overall shape

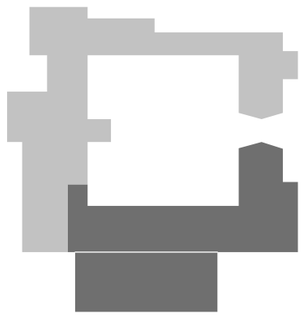
Family
Servants
undetermined

% inside the overall shape

(1)

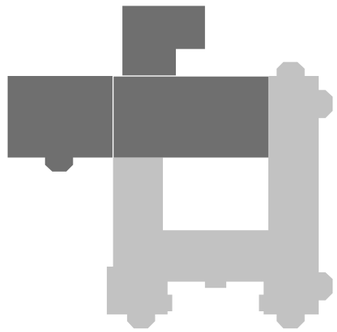
68 %
32 %

(2)



63 %
37 %

(3)



69 %
31 %
51 %

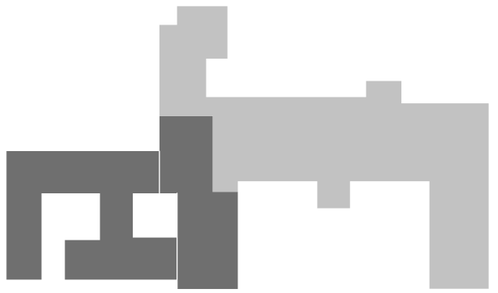
(4)

63 %
37 %

(5)

65 %
35 %
24 %

(6)

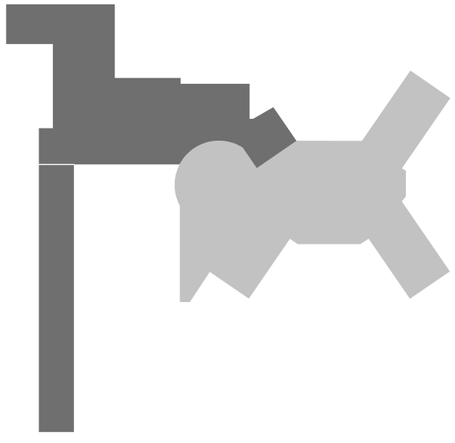


79 %
21%
61 %

(7)

92 %
8 %
83 %

(8)

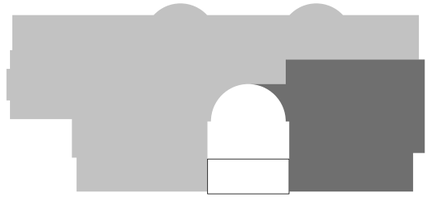


59 %
41 %
30 %

(9)

71 %
29 %

(10)



65 %
35 %

(11)

90 %
10 %
85 %

Accommodation is a system of organization of spaces, a basic structure developed to articulate the architectural experience, always in association with *movement*. Therefore, it will be observed from two different perspectives: 1) the “Programmatic display”, which is where the owner’s family or servants circulate; and 2) where the main rooms are located to confront them with “Solar Orientation” and their interconnectivity.

Regarding the programmatic display, it is frequent to see Lutyens’ houses as having a dual approach to the *accommodation* on the ground floor of servants and family. The servants’ quarters often gained an independent and lower volume separated to the principal building only attached by a straight passage/ corridor or by the kitchen facilities. When we take a closer look to the percentage values of the area used by the servants in relation to the area of the ground floor (excluding the large storage rooms for the gardens, usually small independent cottages) it is always above 30% of the total area. At (3)Overstrand Hall and (8) Papillon Hall this percentage is even higher than the area reserved for the family. Although if the servants’ quarters are not considered as part of the whole building, instead the building is divided into two separate areas (the main building and the servant’s quarters), the proportions are then different. A closer look at (11)Salutation reveals that the original percentage for the servants’ area was around 48%, but if the smaller building reserved exclusively to the servants is disregarded, then the final percentage of servants’ space within the main building is only 10%. This means that Lutyens and his clients appropriate almost the entire floor. The same is observed at Little Thakeham where the percentage drops from 35% to 8% if the servants’s building is not taken into the calculation. During the Victorian period, when country houses could have areas between a thousand to three thousand square meters it was necessary a large number of servants. Because they lived and worked in the main building most of their time, they also shared space with their employees, and needed considerable space to work (e.g., kitchen, pantry, larder, etc.) and to relax, such as their bedrooms. Some of the houses, such as (8)Papillon Hall, (6)Marsh Court and (3)Overstrand Hall, had specific spaces in the main building reserved to the housekeeper and a servants’ hall, when the country house was not for everyday use, but a second residence.

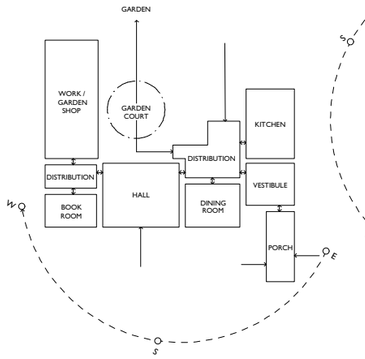
During his practice, Lutyens often used similar themes, “a long traverse corridor with the staircase at one end, the front door in the middle; pantry and servants’ quarters at the other; the living rooms opening off it southwards.” For example, (7)Little Thakeham, (6)Marsh Court and (2)Orchards had been commissioned to be designed to resemble (1)Munstead Wood, “however, to be more spacious, with four or five servants’ bedrooms besides four or five *chambres de maître*, a studio for the mistress, and stables”, [17] which he arranged these

[17] Hussey, *The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens*, IV: p.87.

ACCOMMODATION

Main rooms solar orientation

(1)



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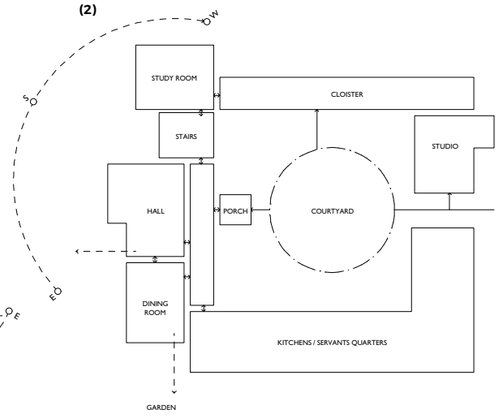

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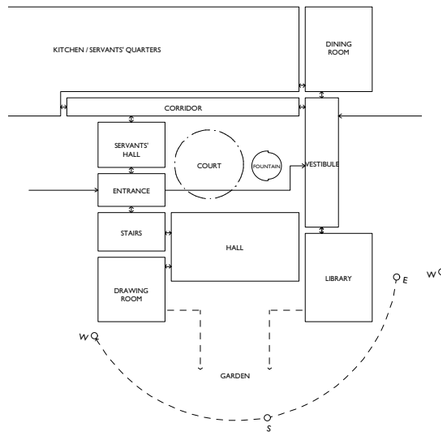

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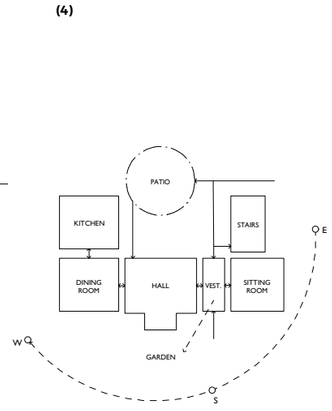

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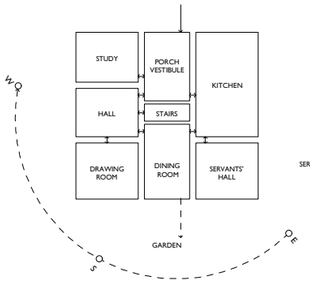

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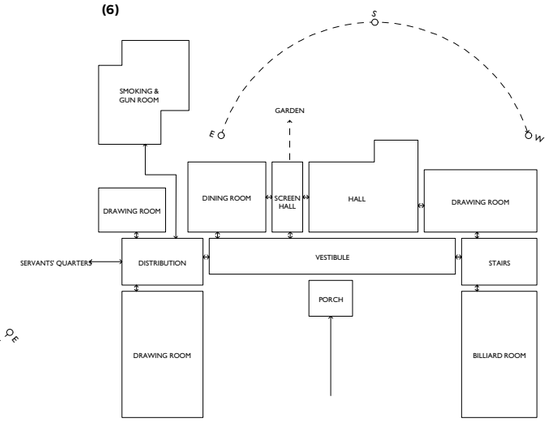

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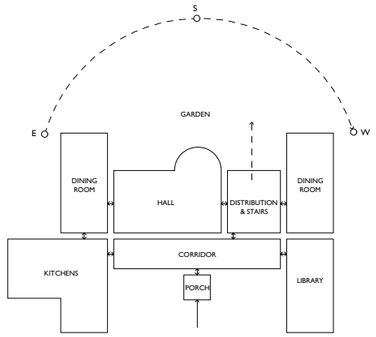

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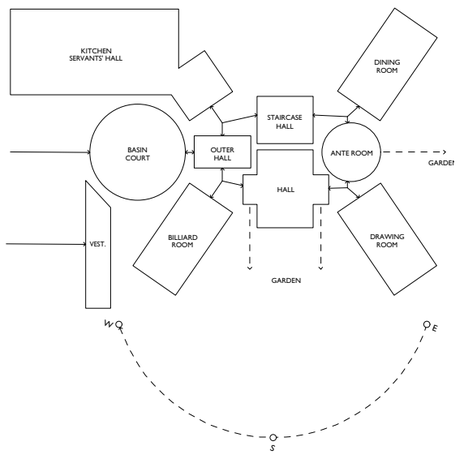

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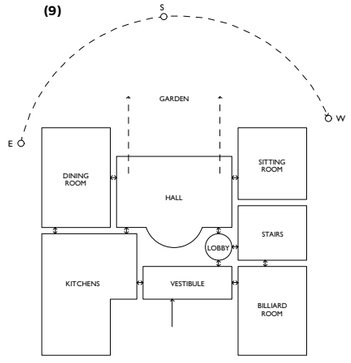

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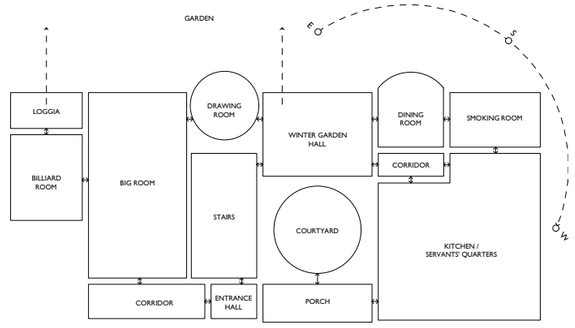

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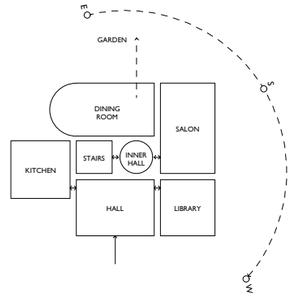


around a court. Lutyens organized his projects according to a hierarchic display: family, guests and staff. My analysis focuses primarily on the family and staff areas. For instance, the guests were a difficult party to identify with a precise room because they would share almost the same privileges as the family. However, when the clients might have had some special demands about the guests’ accommodation, I shall reintegrate them in the hierarchical order.

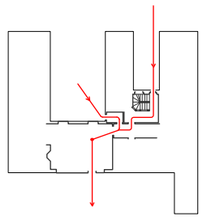
Another important feature of country houses is the architects’ preference to give the family the best solar orientation possible, towards the south, while the servants had to be content with the northern light. Lutyens is a methodical architect and the simplest way to orientate the building as to profit from the best natural illumination was not left to chance. In the design process, the placement of the garden came first because its best orientation was always south wherever the characteristics of the terrain. Only after the garden came the hall, on the opposite side of the house entrance door facing north.

The same requirements of a weekend house are observable in every house: privacy and comfort for guests and family as well as workable conditions for the servants. The living rooms or reception rooms were to be on a south-west orientation, while the service accommodations would have north-east orientation. The “basic plan” for house design, as referred by Inskip, can be seen also in Devey’s St. Albans Court (1875), but Lutyens developed this concept further through years of practice, all based on the intercommunication of reception rooms. Earlier in his career, Lutyens started with a different approach as it observed in (1)Munstead Wood, (2)Orchards and (3)Overstrand Hall where the main space, the hall, is a single space independent from the other living rooms and corridors, distribution areas or stairs that links the complementary rooms. (4)Deanery Garden represents perhaps the first intuition to the “basic plan” of living rooms’ communication where the hall gained a double meaning as main space and distribution area to the other family and guests accommodations. The only difference in relation to Deanery Garden is the position of the vestibule, located side by side with the hall, separating it from the sitting room. The remaining country houses designed by Lutyens followed the philosophy of the centrally located south hall, east dinning room, west drawing room, with the vestibule on the northern side of the building. Some of the projects have rooms connected to the vestibule, usually on the symmetrical houses with an H-plan: a library, a private retreat for guests, as in (7)Little Thakeham, a smoking or billiard room, to entertain the guest and family or conduct businesses, as in (9)Heathcote, (6)Marsh Court (has both) and (8)Papillon Hall. (11)Salutation is a special case where the hall is duplicated and has no vestibule; it is the inner smaller hall that creates the major intercommunication with the reception rooms.

MOVEMENT

Hall - Position & Approach

(1)



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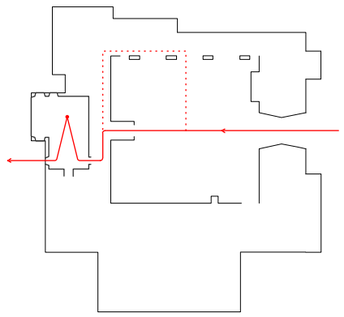

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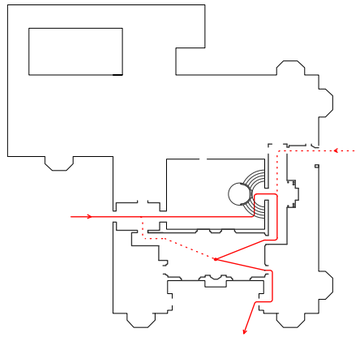

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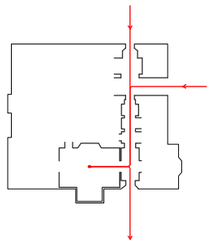

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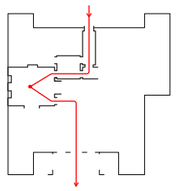

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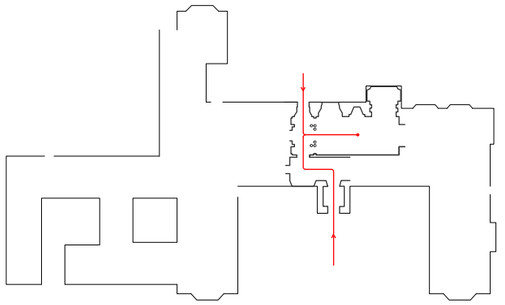

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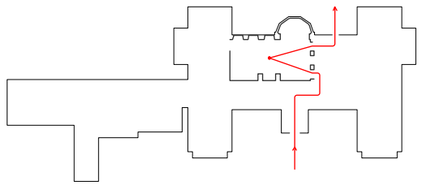

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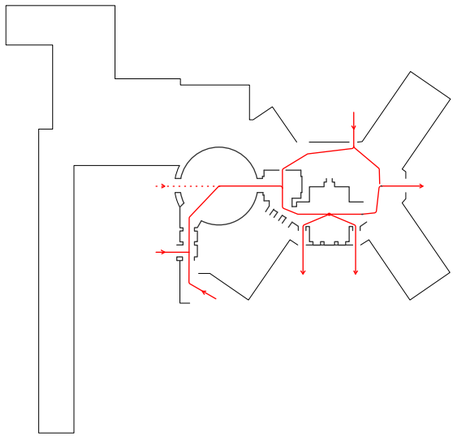

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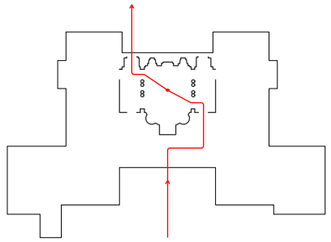

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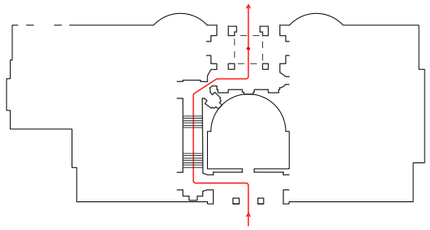

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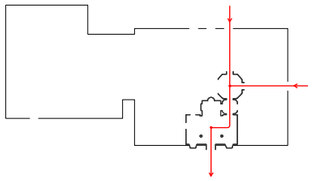


2.5 Movement

Lutyens' logical approach to planning was articulated between two basic plan types. One where the main rooms form a picturesque group of axially related spaces, combined with an intricate planning of transitory spaces, to form a single or uninterrupted sequence like at (8)Papillon Hall, (10)Nashdom, (6)Marsh Court and (5)Homewood[18]. As discussed on the above section "Form", the sequence is composed by three spaces: porch, vestibule/corridor, and hall, which in the matter of *movement*, does not always define the "Main Space". The most elaborated sequence is at Papillon Hall, where the user enters a rusticated porch, followed by a longitudinal vestibule that leads the visitor to a round court (a transitory space) and then to a rectangular outer hall enclosed by doors that finally precedes the cruciform main hall at the heart of the house. This project has an additional characteristic in relation to *movement*, the old octagonal existent volume from the ancient building from the seventeenth century. The central octagonal part of the house is composed of four spaces without corridors between them; therefore the transitory spaces are elaborated in a way that gives the user the opportunity to circulate around the whole floor without entering in any major living spaces except for the hall. At Nashdom, for instance, due to the slopped terrain, the user enters the house through the porch on the lower reference mark to an entrance hall where the visitor has to climb the main stairs to the hall. Probably, the more intricate moment of this fluid ascend is the monumental, straight staircase that ushers the visitor to the garden level and to the upper floors. A similar fluidity is observed at (11) Salutation where the *movement* made by the user walking through various spaces until he/she reaches the stairs is undoubtedly well conceived but the architect continued designing his *promenade* to the summit of the staircase, always with constant/ continued natural light and visual contact with the lower levels of the house. Because of its importance, this *movement* that relates the user with the complex variations of the spaces through a path will be further developed in the following chapter.

The alternative plan to the sequence of spaces was that the drawing room and dining room opened to the sides of the hall, and the other living rooms were reached from the corridor. Contrary to the *movement* discussed above, in this case, the circulation to each room is done through a series of possibilities rather than a using a single sequence of rooms, more like a diagonal movement. Lutyens' focus was on controlling *movement*, not allowing the users of the space to circulate freely, but without having to make specific decisions on where to go. Usually, the transitory spaces were more interesting than the main rooms, as

[18] Greenberg, 'Lutyens' Architecture Restudied', p.132.

in (9)Heathcote and (7)Little Thakeham. Those two examples are very distinct in relation to each other when considering the transitory spaces. In Heathcote the reading should focus on the vestibule, lobby, screen passage areas while in Little Thakeham the main points are the great longitudinal corridor that crosses the ground floor and the square staircase. Both have a visual relation with the hall where the stairs' second landing serves as an interior terrace, and the corridor has an interior balcony. (10)Nashdom is similar in which the second landing of the stairs becomes a room – a "double-functioning element".[19]

(11)Salutation is the only of the eleven case studies where the user is vividly invited to enter directly into the main space. Although, the hall has a small "curtain space" before the two columns that virtually delimitate the central square of the hall and laterally conducts the user either to the inner hall or to the servants' facilities. Lutyens always intended to transmit distinct feelings as the user progresses inside the house through diverse spaces, which were designed with different forms, heights and materials. A complementary feature is Lutyens' capacity to provide a visual relationship between spaces located in different floors, possible only through the design of staircases as in Little Thakeham, Salutation or Nashdom.

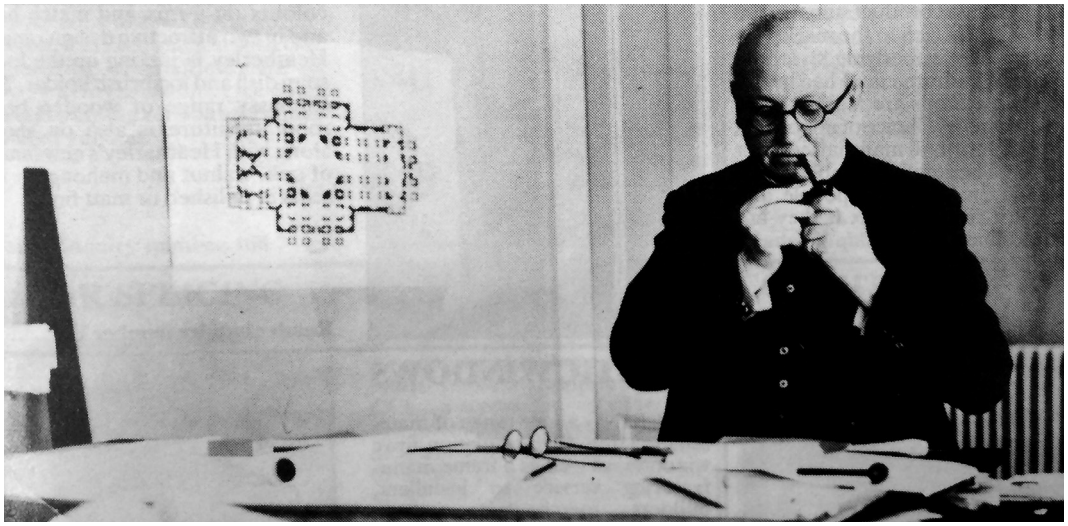
* * *

The procedure of five key-concepts (*form*, *composition*, *elements*, *accommodation* and *movement*) used in this chapter led me to assume a hypothesis on the existence of the "Lutyens' canon" based on the systematic application of the concepts proposed. The themes suggested here are applied frequently by Lutyens with coherence in more than one country house. Lutyens embraced a methodology during the years he built country houses, and the final results of the eleven houses analysed show a coherent paradigm of adaptation to the five different key-concepts. Nevertheless in the following chapter, "Lutyens' canon" will be investigated through a more precise study also concerning the volumetric variation of four Lutyens' designs: (4)Deanery Garden, (7)Little Thakeham, (9)Heathcote, and (11) Salutation.

[19] Venturi, *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*, p.38.

CHAPTER 3

How did Lutyens apply his canon?



Lutyens in his office at 13 Mansfield Street, London

> *The legend [of Lutyens] was sustained on three foundations. Its principal emplacement was his buildings (...) The acquaintance or intending client could with difficulty connect the genial, whimsical, disconcertingly irreverent and facetious social figure, seemingly so irresponsible and almost inarticulate, with the prolific, fastidious, meticulously learned author of national monuments (...) and the sense of the existence of this ulterior personality – the spirit within.*[1]

Sir Edwin Lutyens was a man with the capacity and wit to confront the challenge of the new methods and technologies that were starting in the early years of the twentieth century and used them in modern construction, and as compositional elements in his designs. Nevertheless, Hussey presented a legendary man that faces this new era with a coherent work based upon old methods, with a personal touch and original manner. Lutyens' work reached greatness throughout his buildings, his personality, and his clients. In this chapter, I will answer the question "How did Lutyens apply his canon?", relying on these three cornerstones of his fame, which will be developed in two parts.

First, I will explore the "Client issue" in which Lutyens' relationships and networks of business contacts can be understood. These were the main reason why Lutyens managed to design so many houses and experiment with them. His buildings were expensive so he needed wealthy clients, willing to finance his architectural ideals in order to design comfortable and aesthetic dwellings. The architect's feelings and concerns towards his clients will be analysed through his own words written in correspondence sent to Lady Emily, his wife, and to Herbert Baker, his friend and colleague.

Second, I will explore the "System of design" used to convey Lutyens' authorial canon. It consists of the individualism of Lutyens' himself along with the strength of his office. His individualism resulted from a difficult childhood where he faced a fragile health and a solitary life. Because of this, he started to go cycle alone throughout Surrey, paying attention to small details of the construction sites and buildings nearby/ in the area. The knowledge acquired became useful during his first assignments, and later to understand that he could become a successful architect on his own. This kind of expertise is recognisable on the courage that he had to turn his back on his job at Ernest George & Peto in 1888. His system of design or canon, as it is called on this dissertation, starts to be developed from that moment he founds the office at 6 Gray's Inn Square[2], where six to eight assistants were

[1] Christopher Hussey, *The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens*, vol. IV, The Lutyens Memorial (London : New York: Country Life ; Scribner's, 1950), p.XVII.

[2] In 1893, Lutyens opened his first office at 6 Gray's Inn Square and stayed there until November 1897 when, after his marriage, on August 1897, he took the basement of 29 Bloomsbury Square. The office moved in the autumn of 1910 to 17 Queen Anne's Gate and in 1913 he set up a separate office in Delhi. Both offices moved to 5 Eaton Gate in 1931, where they remained until 1942, when one office was installed at 13 Mansfield Street, in the house where he lived at the time. Margaret Richardson, 'The Lutyens' Office. How Sir Edwin Lutyens Organised His Practice', *RIBA Journal* 88, no. 12 (December 1981): pp.49–51.

Castle Drogo: Drewsteignton, Devon: Julius Drewe, Edwin Lutyens, John Walker on site

working continuously and according a dictatorial dynamic.[3]

The references, influences, and basic principles of Lutyens' work were discussed in the previous chapter with a preliminary analysis of eleven of Lutyens country houses in England. Therefore, the purpose is now to understand, through a more precise study, the architect's intentions in four of the eleven country houses illustrated earlier: Deanery Garden (1901), Little Thakeham (1902), Heathcote (1906), and Salutation (1911). The choice of these four case studies takes into consideration the relevance of the design to the development of Lutyens' career, the innovative approach and the similarities among them that support "Lutyens' canon". The analysis will depend on the same parameters of *form, composition, elements, accommodation,* and *movement* allied with a volumetric investigation. The book by Robert Kerr (1823-1904) founder and first president of the Architectural Association, *The Gentleman's House; or, how to plan English Residences from the Parsonage to the Palace* helped to establish a systematic process of building houses centred on the spatial qualities, and individualities in each building, to be applied to the analysis that follows.

3.1 The Client issue

The relationship between architect and client is always difficult to manage. Lutyens' relationship with his clients was not very different from that of every other architect, past and present. Although, Lutyens had clients willing to accept what the architect proposed, others were not. Sir Edwin was an architect that would above all seek that his goals come to life. *How could he test and defy his process?* He was not interested in fulfilling the clients' impositions unless he felt that the project would fulfil his own goals and fell that he had accomplished his architectonic project. *What could he achieve with his clients' money?* Money was the measure of how much he could explore the new design. The task of the architect is to fulfil both the formal composition and his own aesthetic aspirations, along the client's requirements. The formal composition of the space is important for the architect, perhaps not so much for the client. Robert Kerr (1823-1904) wrote in 1871, a hypothetical dialogue between an architect and his client, in which he clarifies that comfort is the most desirable aspect of the construction and it was the only "style" that mattered.

> *A bewildered gentleman may venture to suggest that he wants, only a comfortable house, 'in no style at all-expect the comfortable style, if there be one.' The architect agrees, but they are all comfortable. 'Sir, you are the paymaster, and must therefore be the pattern-*

[3] Hussey, *The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens*, IV: pp.161–63.

Castle Drogo: Drewsteignton, Devon: Julius Drewe, Edwin Lutyens, John Walker on site

master; you choose the style of your house just as you choose the build of your hat; - you can have Classical, columnar or nom-columnar, arcuated or trabeated, rural or civil or indeed palatial: you can have the Elizabethan in equal; Renaissance ditto; or, not to notice minor modes, Medieval in any one of many periods and many phases, - Old English, French, German, Belgium, Italian and more."[4]

The architectonic style of each house was carefully considered. The country house gave opportunity to the development of the Romanticism. Cottages were frequently built inside the property limits to accommodate the tenant farmers and to provide a picturesque environment to the landscape. Kerr also added that usually clients were looking for privacy, comfort, convenience, light, and salubrity.

The moral attitude that censures Lutyens overlooks the fact[5] *that in the past changes in style or technique have always overlapped. From 1900 to, say, 1920, there existed in England and abroad a substantial demand for private houses, public buildings, monuments, cathedrals, and the odd palace in styles which their owners and the public would understand.*[6]

Lutyens' clients, apart from the early commissions, were men and women of the upper class. He benefited from the network of connections he acquired after his marriage and close relationship with Gertrude Jekyll. The commissions started coming from family friends, the close circle of Jekyll, the Surrey neighbourhood, and like Shaw in his time, highly successful self-made industrialists, bankers, stockbrokers, merchants, and the intelligentsia, rather than from the old aristocracy. Although, Lutyens continued receiving large commissions from a vast network of relationships, magazines, journal, and newspapers, primarily interested in the choice of the architect and only after that in the qualities of the houses, and their designs.[7]

Architecture is perceived as an art in building, in which the architect acts as a performer who tries to captivate the essence of amenity requirements and combines it with qualities in form that please the client. In the Baroque period, the delight was only on the aesthetics, the look of a building, in which the owners spent fortunes. At the time Lutyens commissions were made, the clients' views had changed significantly and functionality and comfort

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[4] Robert Kerr, *The Gentleman's House; or, how to plan English Residences from the Parsonage to the Palace; with tables of accommodation, cost, and plans*, Third edition, revised. With additional plans by the Author and a prefatory chapter. (London: London, 1871), p.66.

[5] The fact stated here is Lionel Brett's statement from *The world of architecture* (1963) where he describes Lutyens of being considered the greatest English architect since Wren; Lionel Brett, *The World of Architecture* (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1963).

[6] Francis Pollen, 'The Last of the Classicists: Genius of Edwin Lutyens', *Country Life*, 3 April 1969, p.795, RIBA.

[7] L. Handley-Read, 'A Lutyens Client in a Golden Age', *Country Life*, 30 September 1971, p.819, RIBA.

were of foremost importance, and only then followed by aesthetics. Beauty had its costs, and Lutyens came across some difficulties concerning about cost-effective issues. Butler made a fair point on the large amount needed to build a Lutyens' house, and adds that the final result might not be justifiable for its lack of convenience.

> *Almost invariably it was entirely right from the point of view of art, but we must admit that his building were often very expensive and sometime not wholly convenient. Yet the allure of his work was so great to those able to comprehend its value that people continued to employ him in more and more important undertakings to the end of his life.*[8]

Lutyens had many skills but one that helped him throughout the years to secure and convince clients was his ability to hand draw any idea almost instantaneously. Handley-Road insisted that when Lutyens was designing her house – Barham Court – he and her father discussed the ideal nurseries in the ground floor, so Lutyens sketched a perspective "under the impression that looking out of the windows was an adult privilege so the outward of the building requiring windows ledges five feet above the floor."[9] It was always difficult to express himself on how to achieve a balance between his demand for symmetry and at how to deal with clients. Hence, his pursuit of symmetry had several effects that would be taken in consideration: "liable to cause some inconvenience to clients", limiting himself from what his inspiration might bring which acted "as an astringent on his planning and binds him to the self-imposed axiom of a certain layout", and "provide the only channel through which an architect may touch the highest performance."[10] At Heathcote, for instance, the client "wanted cupboards galore, in all rooms, right and left of the windows"[11] while the final result is the exact opposite of the original request.

Lutyens had to work hard to convince his client because what he wanted to build was expensive, they were not always receptive to his plans and propositions. He often wrote to his wife about his tastes and frustrations concerning his clients' requirements or impositions. In 1898, Lutyens confesses his admiration for Lord Hillington as a man of great taste that "looks at things from the same point a view"[12] as himself, and one year later commissioned Lutyens to build Overstrand Hall. In August 1909, Lutyens visited Sonning and the client' reaction is opposite to what he had referred to in relation to Lord Hillington; in a letter concerning a discussion with a client, Mr. Buckley he states:

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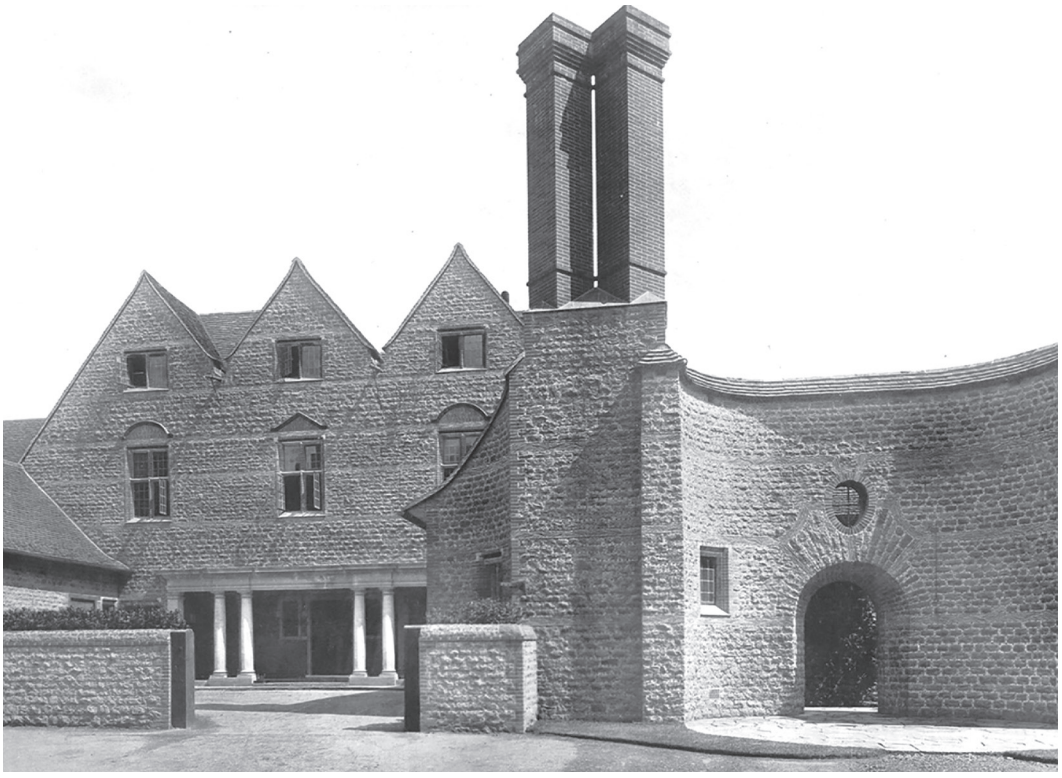
[8] A. S. G. Butler, *The Architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens / A.S.G. Butler ; with Collaboration of George Stewart & Christopher Hussey.*, vol. 1, The Lutyens Memorial (London : New York: Country Life; Scribner, 1950), p.16.

[9] Handley-Read, 'A Lutyens Client in a Golden Age', p.820.

[10] Butler, *The Architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens*, 1: p.16.

[11] Sir Edwin Lutyens, 'To Herbert Baker', Handwriting letter, (29 January 1911), RIBA.

[12] Sir Edwin Lutyens, 'In Train, Cromer to London', Handwriting letter, (13 October 1898), RIBA.



Tigbourne Court, Surrey (1899) designed by Edwin Lutyens

> *They are common and vulgar – motors and a launch at the river. Leading a life of absolute idleness punctuated by bridge and racing. (...) I hate squalid houses and mean gardens – I want loveliness and cleanliness without conscious effort and that means help and help means money.*[13]

His relationship with clients was not always bitter and sour, when he received large commissions from wealthy and open-minded client he would be excited about the plans. In June 1912, Lutyens expressed his enthusiasm and doubt before meeting a new client:

> *I have to see a rich Parsee. He wants me to build him a house in Bombay. He is very rich so I shall see hi, therefore, and if he looks tame, will spend money, etc. then it would be fun but if he looks difficult and won't spend money then I shall be polite and say 'no' pleasantly.*[14]

His manner with clients was similar to the empathy he had with his assistants: distant but always keeping an eye on them, probably with a few exceptions like Edward Hudson. For Lutyens every client and every house was an opportunity to start over and achieved the highest goal balancing personal satisfaction and the clients' restlessness.

> *To make a house in which people are happy and content is a very great thing. To make a house which satisfies your own critical faculty is a very good thing and encourages to do better and go on from refinement to refinement. This must tell in long run and make people want to do better things and make them think.*[15]

3.2 System of design

The genius of Edwin Lutyens lies on two principles reflected on his designs. This study will clarify them. "Beauty and truth" alongside with "mathematical proportions" are the convictions that drive Lutyens to a methodological approach in every design.[16] This constant overlapping of the same intentions and rules is why Lutyens is seen as a man of fundamental integrity with an extraordinary capacity to play with simple forms and to extend the ordinary man's imagination. Nonetheless, Sir Edwin was an architect of paradoxes, in which the most obvious answer to clients' requirements and his own intentions was not necessarily the expected. It is possible to assume that with the large number of country houses built by Lutyens, he would become a methodological man. Methods sometimes can

[13] Sir Edwin Lutyens, '29 Bloomsbury Square', Handwriting letter, (26 August 1909), RIBA.
[14] Sir Edwin Lutyens, 'To Lady Emily', Handwriting letter, (8 June 1912), RIBA.
[15] Sir Edwin Lutyens, 'To Herbert Baker', Handwriting letter, (26 December 1904), RIBA.
[16] Oliver Hill, 'The Genius of Edwin', *Country Life*, 27 March 1969, p.712, RIBA.

Cartoon of Lutyens' Apotheosis showing Lutyens and his staff in 1938 when he was elected President of the Royal Academy

be uninteresting or even redundant due to the fact that it was always the same programme and normally the same basic planning approach. Still, the four houses that discussed below share some similarities but also contradictions, imposed mainly by the clients. The "Lutyens' canon" is based on three concepts: craftsmanship, rhythm/ proportion/ scale, and beauty. First, the craftsmanship acknowledged from his early days watching the details of traditional construction methods and materials in the countryside; besides, the reverence toward Ruskin's ideals of humanism and reaction against the mechanisation developed an empiric understanding not achieved through books about the handling of brick, stone, joinery, carpentry, to exploit the ability of the local artisan together with his fertile imagination. The simple designs were not even attempted, Lutyens' skills were explored at the expense of his clients to achieve his ideals of beauty and aesthetic. His set of skills induced the ability to merge symmetry, regularity, and align them with functionality. Second, proportion was the mathematical line of composition in his buildings since the early romantic days until, the classical era where it became the primary element of rational composition, as he called the "Law and Order". Rhythm might have been constant in the transition of spaces whilst Lutyens' intrinsic knowledge of human behaviour and feelings were directed to the user as he or she moves through the residence. Finally, Lutyens search for the beauty and perfection that he identifies in Wren's architecture. Wren was Lutyens "true mentor" and inspiration, from whom Lutyens learned architecture as "the art of putting the right thing in the right place".[17]

Lutyens constantly attempted to achieve beauty and the way to do it was from a "complete sincerity in the use of classical style and the importance of digesting and redesigning the past to avoid pastiche".[18] Since his transition to Classicism - Heathcote is the turning point, in 1906 – the architect battled between a Gothic mode and a Classical mode. Both solve different problems and have opposite concerns. The Gothic revival indulges a great deal on the matter of domestic arrangements and needs, while the Classical revival did not do so because of its strict rules. In the classical style, the symmetry of the unit hinders the accommodation but benefits the aesthetics while the Gothic embraces irregularity and favours a programmatic display. Lutyens' work might be seen as if he "Classicized the Gothic and Gothicized the Classic"[19]. This process was an interior struggle, in which the individualism of the architect struggles with his desire for stability. The humanistic characteristics of the work were an overall reflection of the architect's life work.

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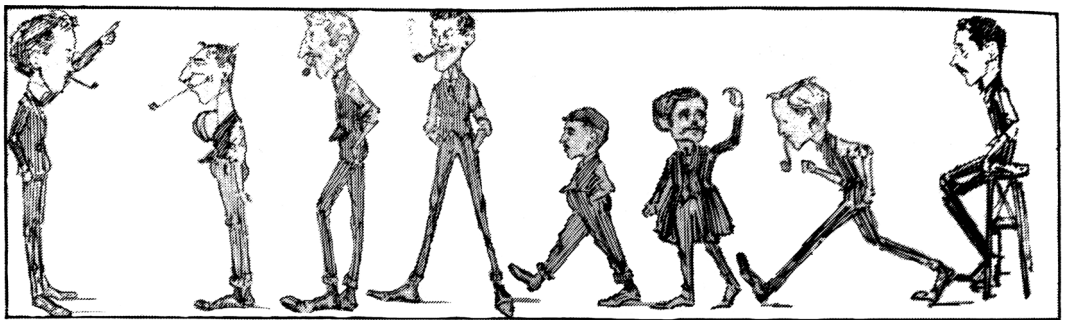
[17] Pollen, 'The Last of the Classicists: Genius of Edwin Lutyens', p.796.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Edward R. Ford, *The Details of Modern Architecture / Edward R. Ford.*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, Mass. ; London: MIT Press, 1990), p.105.



Caricature of Lutyens and his assistants: Lutyens' Office in 1902 at 29 Bloomsbury Square

> *Architecture's reflection of life, be it observed, not of abstract values, nor of structural means, nor of a building's functional purpose, but the humanity that men of the renaissance age were accustomed to transfer to the forms and proportions of architecture.*[20]

To better develop his thoughts Lutyens' office worked like a Swiss clock, with normally five stages in the development of a project and one major rule: no "about", the accuracy and clarity was the force of the office. No detail was left aside, "God sees" was usually answered where someone questioned about the importance or relevance of a certain detail.[21] The first stage started with Lutyens himself who would carefully think and hand sketch plans, elevations and sections on squared paper, in the back office while smoking his pipe. Then, he would come to the front of the office, where the drawing room was located and delivered his sketch to one of his assistants. Normally, they were six or eight effective assistants[22] who transformed the free drawing into a scaled precise drawing. This part was often complemented with repetitions or reuses of previous details/elements of other buildings to help interpret the sketches laid out by the master. Thirdly, the redrawn designs went, then, back to Lutyens to be corrected; at this stage, the assistants were at his mercy. The fourth part, as Bertram Carter remembers gratefully:[23]"Lut's kindness in never correcting their actual drawing – he would instead fastidiously sketch in the correction on a long roll of tracing paper placed over it".[24] The final step was a back and forth with re-drawings and corrections. Rigorous perspectives were not usually considered as a process to transmit the beauty of the buildings. The artistic visualization through water colouring of the final drawings was not regarded a necessity and often perceived as a waste of time. Lutyens wrote to his wife to express his frustration on how the assistants insisted on beautifying the drawings.

> *They ask such stupid questions. I was not cross! only very dictatorial and impressive using Bumpsicaical language. They never realise that a working drawing is merely a letter to a builder telling him precisely what is required and not a picture wherewith to charm an idiotic client.*[25]

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[20] Geoffrey Scott, *The Architecture of Humanism. A Study in the History of Taste.* (London: Constable & Co, 1914).

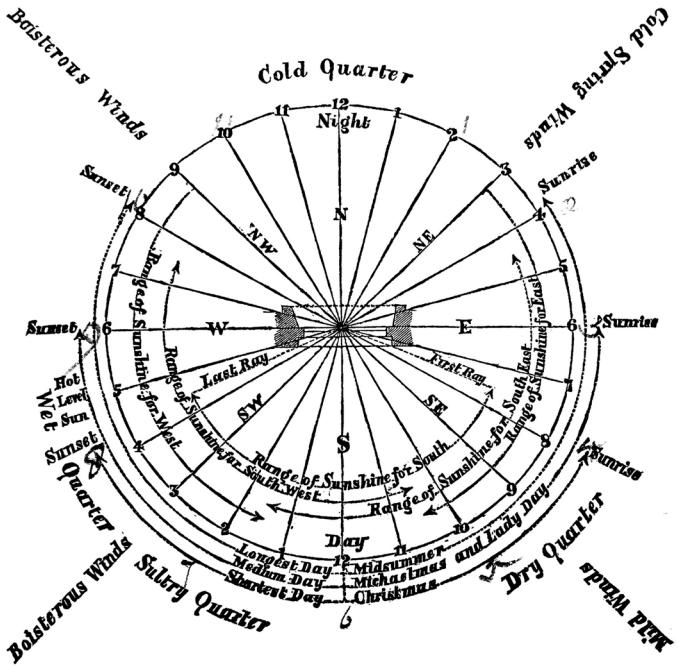
[21] Richardson, 'The Lutyens' Office. How Sir Edwin Lutyens Organised His Practice'.

[22] The first assistant was William 'Billie' Barlow from 1893 at 6 Gray's Inn Square. After him some of them were J.J. Joass (1895), John D. Coleridge (1899-1901), Norman Evill (1899-1902), Oswald P. Milne (1902-1905), H.L. North (1897-98), Paul Philips (1900s) J.M. Easton (1911), Sir Hubert Worthington (1912-1913, Macdonald Gill (1920-1923), W. A. S. Lloyd (1924-1927), Sir Basil Spence (late 1930s).

[23] Bertram Carter, was a pupil from 1919 to 1922, who later went to be Treasurer of the MARS Group in the 30s

[24] Richardson, 'The Lutyens' Office. How Sir Edwin Lutyens Organised His Practice', p.50.

[25] Sir Edwin Lutyens, 'To Lady Emily, 6 Gray's Inn Square', Handwriting letter, (5 February 1897), RIBA.



Aspect Compass for England

The empathy created between Lutyens and his assistants was difficult to manage and maybe, it was the reason why many of them did not stay in the office for more than a couple of years. He managed the office without a Chief Assistant for every drawing to pass through his hands more than once but the repeated criticism might hurt the feelings of the assistants. Although, an architect with a lot of individualism and self-confidence, Lutyens was known for the pupillage conducted in his office and for the learning benefits of this system as many of the assistants later recalled.[26] Lutyens' assistants worked as intermediaries that transferred Lutyens' intentions to paper after Lutyens understand the clients' needs.

According to Kerr, houses for English clients were built with a goal of perfection in everlasting details, to assure the "family privacy, servants commodiousness, and the whole dwelling display an unassuming grace."[27] This statement by Kerr presents four important aspects to the ensuing analysis. First, the family who owned the house occupied the main rooms or reception/day rooms in the ground floor as well as the sleeping rooms and children's rooms on the first floor. Then, the servants – men and women who served the house and the family's needs usually occupied and worked in the kitchen, laundry, pantry, bakery, cellars, storages at the ground floor; their private rooms were in the attic, accessible through an independent staircase, or in small cottages next to the main house. There was a third group of people that were not effective residents of the houses but were treated almost like family – the guests. This group shared some of the reception rooms in the first floor, specially the drawing room and library.

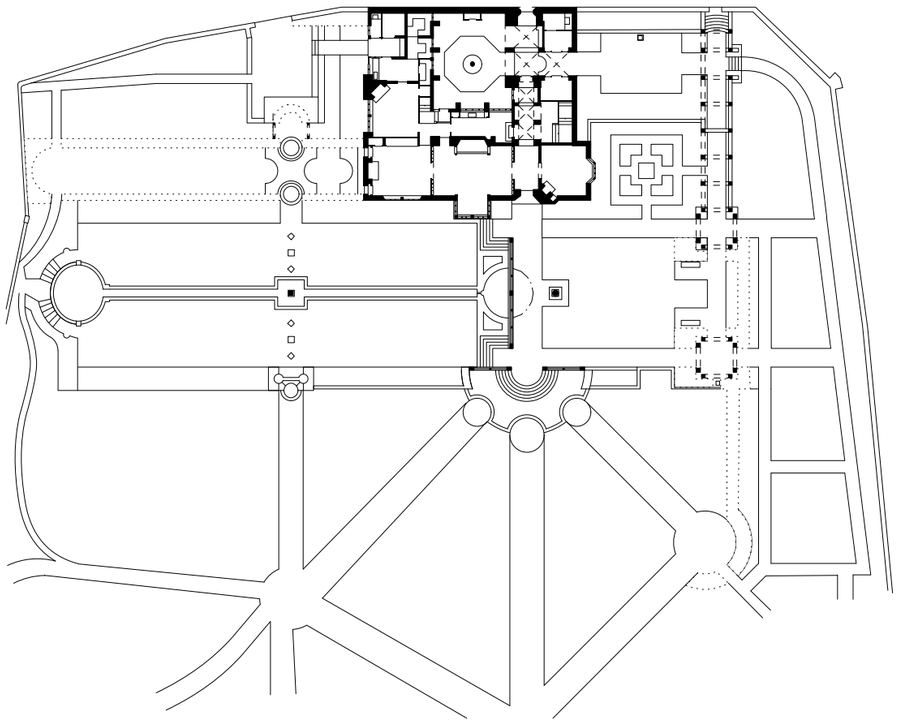
Two features of the houses, privacy and commodity, were considered by Lutyens in his design. The issue of privacy was often solved by designing the house in such a way that family and staff paths would not cross by having independent quarters and separate stairs, only becoming into contact in very specific areas. Comfort was indeed related with two other issues that will be discussed in this chapter: *aspect* and *prospect*. Robert Kerr used these two terms in this book *The Gentleman's House* to explain the importance of windows, their position in the composition and for the accommodation of a specific space.

> *The aspect of a room is the relation of the windows to sunshine and weather. The prospect of a room is simply the view from its windows; this being considered with relation, first, to the landscape, and secondly, to the light, in which that is to be seen.*[28]

[26] Hussey, *The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens*, IV: pp.161–63.
[27] Kerr, *The Gentleman's House*, p.66.
[28] Ibid., p.79.

Deanery Garden

Site



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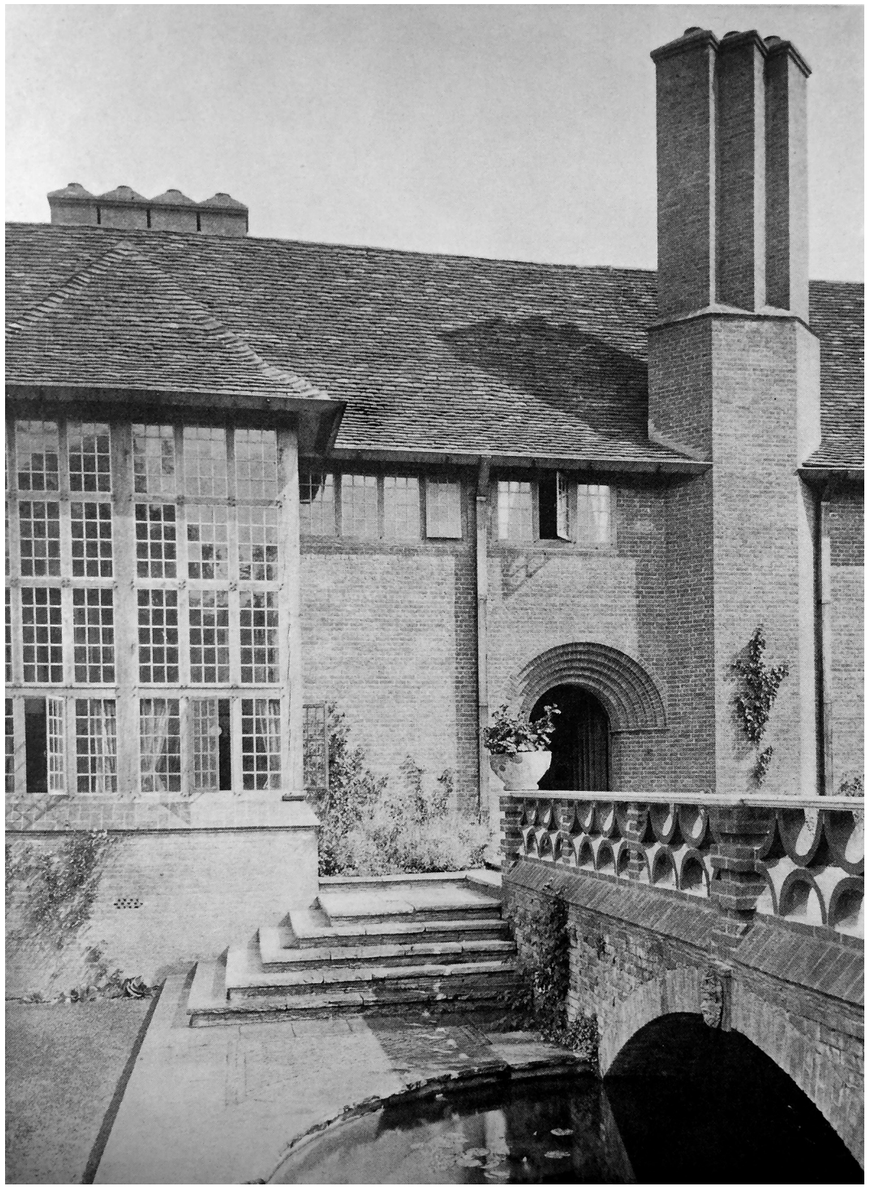


Deanery Garden: photograph of the south façade

In this section I adopt these concepts of *aspect* and *prospect* due to their relevance to the analysis of "Lutyens' canon", and I take particular interest in the discussion of the illustration of an *Aspect Compass*[29] for England in Kerr's book. These two concepts are one of the major reasons for the use of bay windows in Lutyens's designs. These features will be assessed in four of Lutyens' houses: Deanery Garden (1901), Little Thakeham (1902), Heathcote (1906) and Salutation (1911) as they were built with similar intentions superimposed on plan and volume.

3.2.1 Deanery Garden

Deanery Garden is a country house built in 1901, in the Thames Valley (Sonning, Berkshire) for *Country Life* magazine's founder Edward Hudson. This was not the only house that Lutyens built for Hudson; he also built Lindsfarne Castle (Northumberland) in 1921, Plumpton Place (Sussex) in 1928, and the offices for *Country Life* at Southampton Street (London) in 1904. Edward Hudson was also a great admirer and promoter of Lutyens' work in the pages of his magazine.

The site of the house is an uneven terrain, with an irregular form of about 150 x 90 yards, enclosed by an ancient wall. The wall separates the northern part of the property from the road, and the house integrates it on its northern side. Furthermore, the wall also serves as closure to the central courtyard. By drawing the house wings towards the wall Lutyens closed the courtyard, placing at its centre a small tank with a statue – a similar purpose to the fountain at the centre of Overstrand Hall's courtyard. "Lutyens supported the idea of a fortified site with romantic references which indeed treat the house as a metaphoric castle."[30] To enter the dwelling, the user can enter directly form the road into the residence; he/she can enter from the garden on the east side; or from the road to servants' yard and storage rooms.

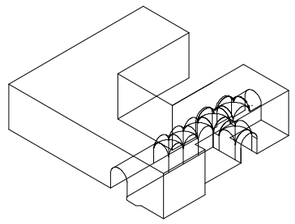
The garden was designed in collaboration with Gertrude Jekyll, and it is divided in three areas. The northern area, where the house is located; on the east side, the long pergola is its main element; and across from it the bowling's green grass at the west end. From the moment the user exits the house by the south porch, at the end of the vestibule, he/she is in the middle of the garden. Here the main element is the bridge, with a circular tank underneath, which continues all the way across the garden to another circular tank. The

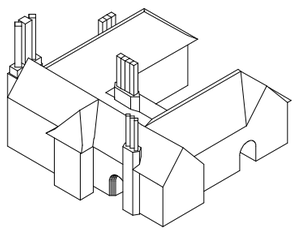
[29] Kerr, *The Gentleman's House*, p.81.

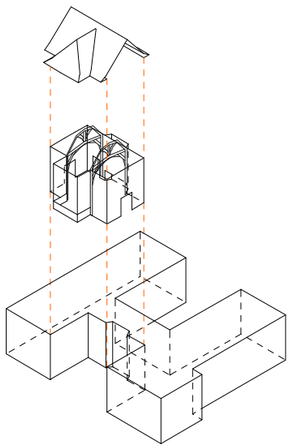
[30] Peter Inskip, 'Lutyens' Houses', in *Edwin Lutyens*, ed. David Dunster, Architectural Monographs 6 (London: Academy Editions, 1986), p.20.

FORM

Volume and Main Space

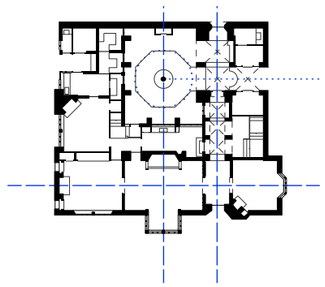


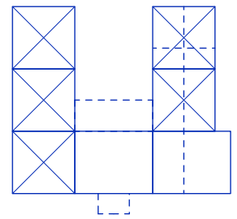


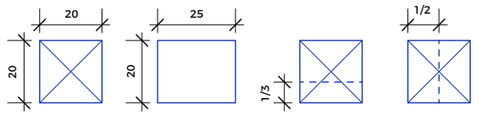


COMPOSITION

Axis and Proportion







Deanery Garden: photograph of the south façade and the bridge

Deanery Garden: photograph of the passage and the courtyard

terrain is on a slope and stairs are visible in every moment of transition from one part of the garden to the next. The southern area of the garden can be approached by circular steps, continuing with grass paths that intercommunicate in a zone of orchards and old apple trees.

"An hierarchic arrangement of spaces within the protective area very similar to that of a medieval castle organised about its keep."[31] The building is on U-shape, composed by two parts: one constructed in red Berkshire brick with oak window frames beneath a tilled roof, above the second part. The lower part of the building, where the ground floor is located, goes up to half the first floor height. However the majority of the ground floor is cut asymmetrically from a vaulted passage that splits it in three sections. This passage of brick and chalk blocks, organized in three vaulted squares, works as an open cloister to the interior arched courtyard and also a separation, like a screen, that divides the main rooms. T-shaped and oriented towards the garden and the main exit, the passage is located on one of the main axis of the house. Above, the roof, is an essential *element* in the modulation of the interior space to the last floor and to the double height hall. It is a height pitched roof, a common characteristic of the Gothic Revival period. The main space located in the ground floor is the hall, centred in the transversal bar of the U. This room presents itself as the culmination of the whole *composition*. The double height volume terminates on the highest point of the roof forming a section of a rectangle plus a triangle supported by two great oak arched porches and by two half-timbering construction walls to seal the space. To enhance the quality and importance of the day rooms, Lutyens did not use false timbering walls as Shaw or Lethaby did.

It is false to assume that Lutyens mastery in mathematical composition, on handling proportions, only started on the moment he favoured classicism. Deanery Garden is probably the first major non-classical construction in which symmetry and mathematics are present. Butler includes Deanery Garden in the group of six houses[32] in which Sir Edwin exploited local materials and began his path to the "high design".[33] Here, Lutyens used two basic forms to design the entire building. Based on the modular grid presented on the previous chapter, the tripartite composition is composed by two rows of three squares of 20 feet each to form the wings of the building. The hall separates the wings, and the surface is a rectangle of 20 x 25 feet; this is repeated on the east side to accommodate the sitting room. Although, it seems that the sitting room is the same size of the hall, Lutyens

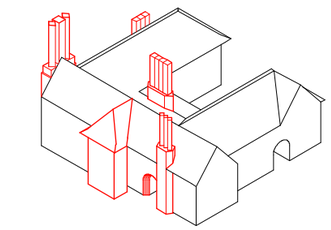
[31] Inskip, 'Lutyens' Houses', p.24.

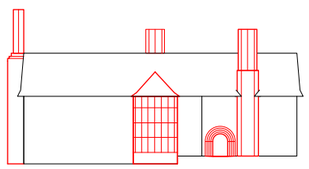
[32] The six houses mentioned are Overstrand Hall (1899), Deanery Garden (1901), Marsh Court (1901), Grey Walls, Gullane near Edinburgh (1901), Little Thakeham (1902) and Papillon Hall (1903)

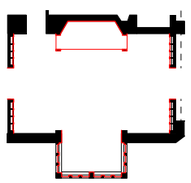
[33] Butler, *The Architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens*, 1: p.24.

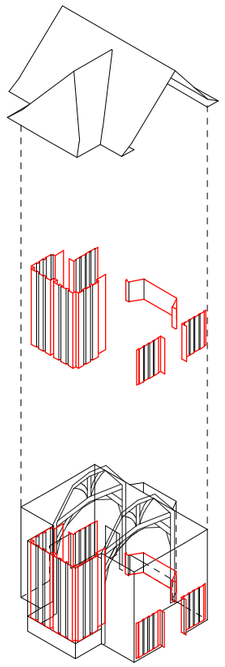
ELEMENTS

Volume Façade and Main Space







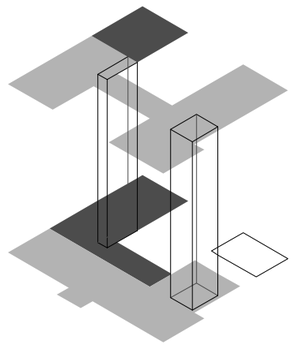


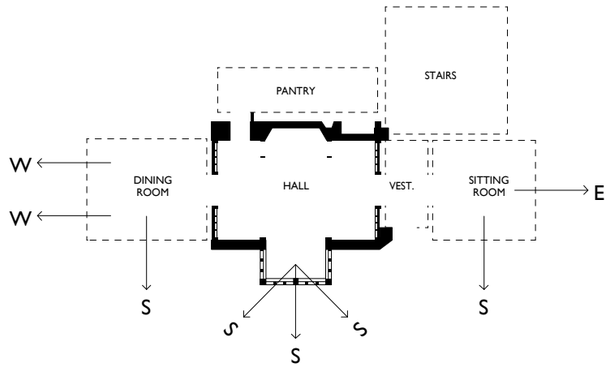
ACCOMMODATION

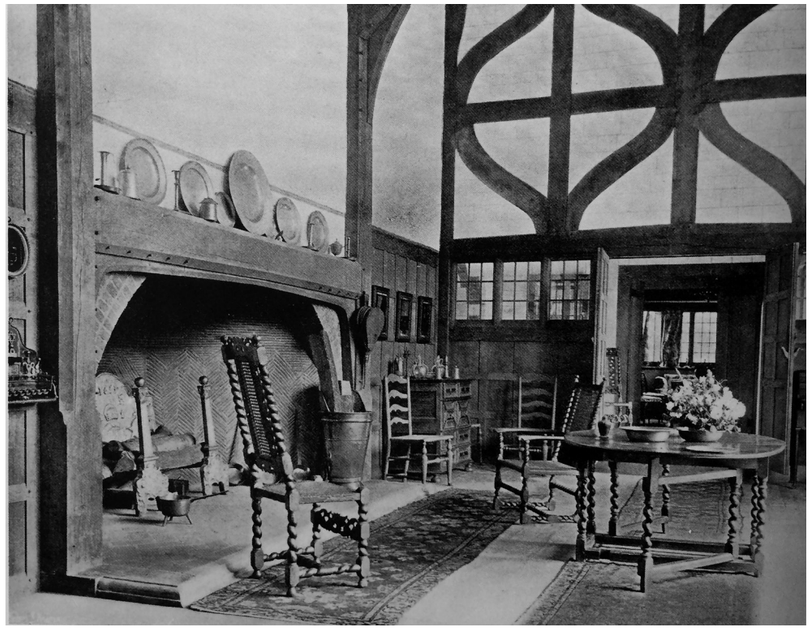
Programmatic display, Windows *Aspect* in Main Rooms

Famil

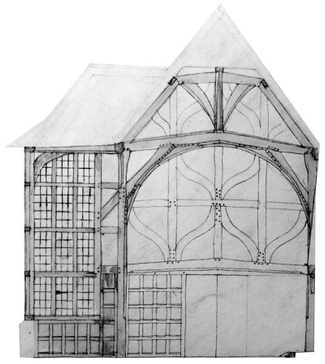
Servants







Deanery Garden interior: photograph of hall's fireplace and half timber construction wall



Deanery Garden's hall: section

Deanery Garden's interior: photograph of the hall

subdivides the resulting square by half and 1/3 to create the vaulted passage (represented by a dashed line). The system used is made from squares with each side a multiple of five feet and where nothing departs from this method.

In plan the house exhibits an almost symmetrical interior, but if the project is observed from its principal elevation, its southern front, it is clear that the building is not symmetrical. The bay window and the central chimney mark the middle of both the façade and the main space, both relevant in the interior and in the exterior, making them the central *elements* of the construction. A main concern is light. A space more than 14 feet high without a massive window that projects from building wall/façade to collect light would be very dark and sombre space. The *prospect* of that window is the lower part of the second area of the garden, regarding the bridge and waterline in front, and framing the most beautiful part of the site almost like a painting. Whilst the *aspect* of the forty-eight lights of the window collects sunlight the entire day, allowing the hall to be used at any hour. This kind of multi valence of bay windows' use is recurrent in Lutyens' work either to frame the landscape, to capture natural light, or to extend the interior space, or all together. Though, the eastside is composed by two important elements, the vertical, a prominent chimney-stack with three pointers, and an arched deep porch off the doorway, the other west side is a plain, red brick wall, only opened with two windows: one from the dining room and one from the bedroom above. Today, the chimney does not exist at the western extremity of the building façade due to the extension (not by Lutyens) made years later.

Looking back to the main space, beyond the central bay window in front of the fireplace, the large walls of half-timbering oak are also an interior relevant feature. Lutyens designed them in two sections, the first rising to the limit of the door and the second continuing with curved logs typically used in the medieval construction.

Concerning *accommodation*, Deanery Garden has been conceived for the owner's family to live in the day rooms: hall, sitting room, dinning room overlooking south and a staircase that leads to the first floor where the sleeping rooms are distributed, one in the north and the other three around the double height hall. Staff would work in the kitchen, pantry, scullery and larder and an independent stair would lead to their private bedrooms located in the north end of the house, facing west. The dining room is a square of 20 x 20 feet with two windows *aspect* to the west and one to the south, towards the garden. In this house there is no breakfast room; therefore, the dinning room functions for all meals. Normally, the *aspect* would be eastward[34] but Lutyens gave priority to the sunset and to *prospect* the majority

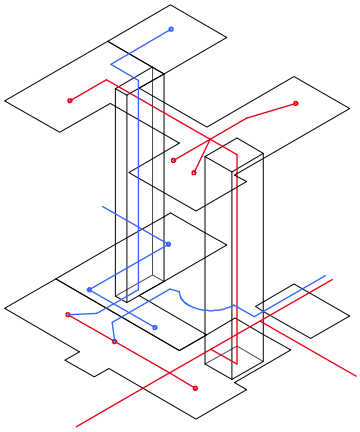
[34] Kerr, *The Gentleman's House*, p.113.

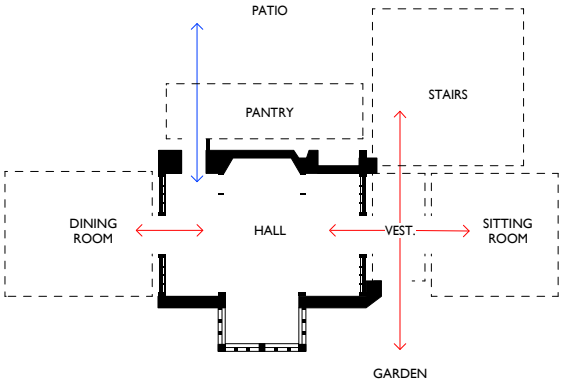
MOVEMENT

Family and Servants circulation, Main Rooms connections

Family

Servants





Deanery Garden's interior: photograph of the corridor at first floor

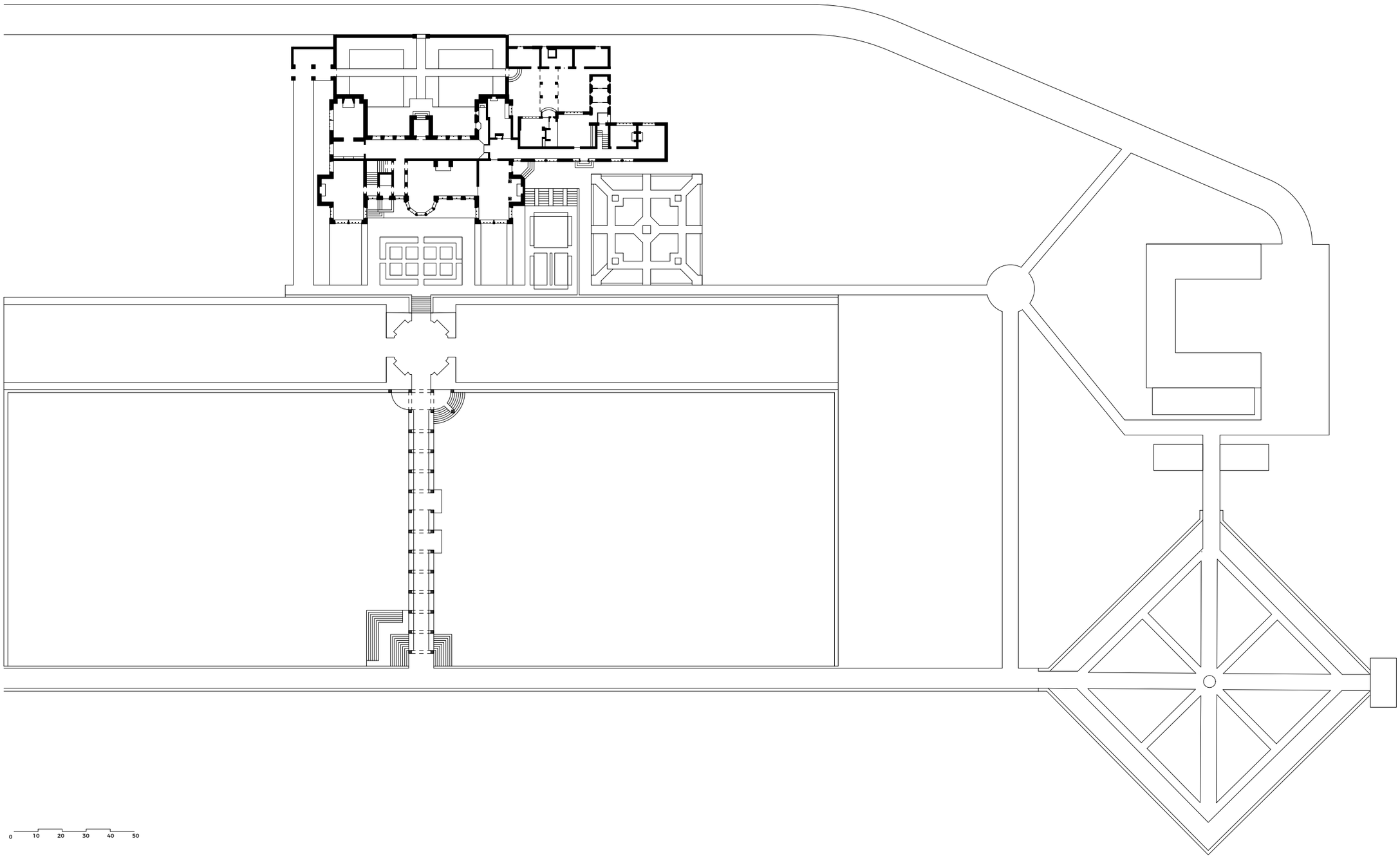
of the garden. On the side, the sitting room, or salon as it was called on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, faces south and east, with one window to the garden and a supplementary bay window to the pergola. The positioning of the openings around the house is related to the location of the exterior *elements,* and the *aspect* and *prospect* are allied with function. Sleeping rooms, usually bedrooms would have only a central opening, the size of the opening and the dimensions of the room depending on the occupant. To enter the family bedrooms it would be necessary to cross a corridor. Generally, a corridor would be enough for passage, but here Lutyens gave it more character, looking almost like a small gallery, with a fireplace and structural oak arches similar to those in the hall, and a long sequence of windows looking to the courtyard. A gallery is a space with “life”, not just a passageway to somewhere such as a corridor, but at 10 feet wide it is not enough to be considered a gallery.

Movement works in two different ways. The circulation of the servants is different from the family path, including independent staircases for each group with just four intersection points:1) the courtyard; 2) the hall; 3) the dining room; and 4) the corridor. The courtyard and the hall were two spaces where the family lived, but that staff would access to perform the necessary services. The servants could enter directly to the pantry from the courtyard and from the pantry to the hall. The pantry was connected to the kitchen, which in turn was close to the dining room, with a doorway linking them. Two staircases are located in opposite wings of the building. The servants’ staircase is next to the kitchen and left to the entrance from the courtyard, which would guide them to the end of the family´s corridor. The main staircase, built in oak, was the utmost detail. Lutyens decided to left open “the space between the joist of the landing” for the vestibule and vaulted passage to have direct light.[35]

[35] Inskip, ‘Lutyens’ Houses’, p.46.

Little Thakeham

Site



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3.2.2 Little Thakeham

Little Thakeham is a country house near the village of Storrington, in West Sussex, built, in 1902, for Ernest Blackburn, a school headmaster that received a large heritance from his father, a wine merchant. Blackburn was a man with a great interest in gardens and landscapes, reason why he bought several terrains, one next to the other, to form the 130 acres property that composed the site of Little Thakeham. One year before Lutyens received the commission from E. Blackburn, Hatchard Smith had been employed to do the job but after one year the owner was dissatisfied with the work and decided to change architects and hire Lutyens. Hatchard Smith was not very happy with the client's decision and the pages of *Building News*, supporter of Smith, and *Country Life*, supporter of Lutyens, became the space to discuss the antagonism.[36]

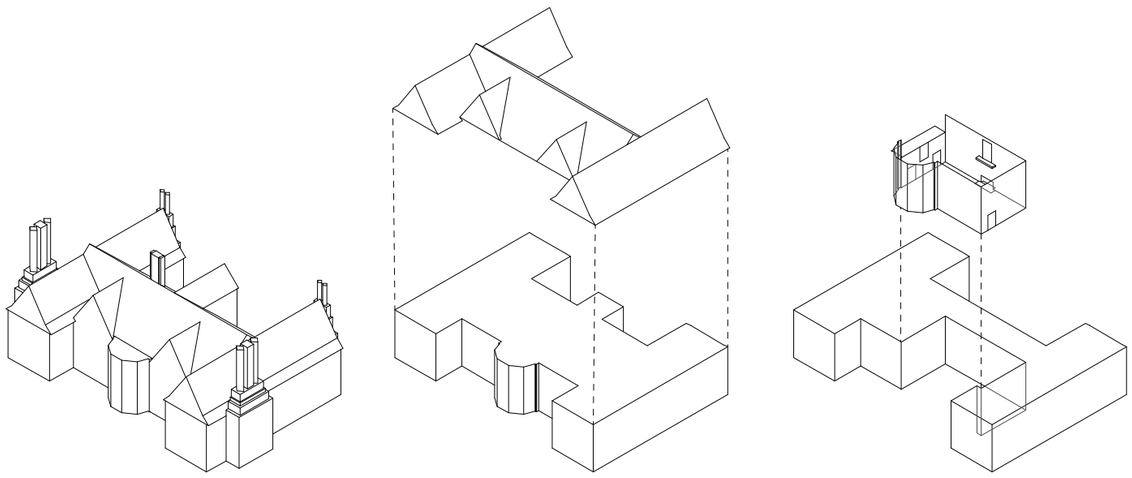
The property is vast, the largest of the four houses, and the client's passion for landscape is visible. "Desire to enlarge the experience of the house into something much larger than could be reasonably expected, ... the wish to preserve the ethos of a special place"[37] The house was located on the north most side of the property, with terrains extending south with multiple points of interest. Right next to the main building, is placed a grand terrace with a superior view of the entire property, followed by a rose garden, next to a water garden and a formal garden. This latter one, in front of the servant's quarters. The garden is asymmetrical and the main axis crosses through the middle of the bay window of the hall, marking the position of the long pergola. This element is higher than the great lawn with two resting places for reading or contemplating the property in its totality. On the eastern side of the property are located the stables, the grand square of the kitchen garden that supplied the pantry, the children's house at the end of the kitchen garden, and a glass house.

One year before the commission to Little Thakeham, Lutyens had designed a similar country house, Marsh Court, near Stockbridge. These two Tudor-style houses are very similar: H-shaped with longer wings to the north, and both built on a slope. Little Thakeham is more symmetrical, a complete H, with a small attached house for the servants' quarters. The exterior resembles an ancient Elizabethan house, but the whole volume simplicity and symmetry of classical architecture is evidence of Lutyens classical influences. Little Thakeham is composed by two volumes: the base and the roof. Despite having three stories, the H forms only the ground and first floors where the main day rooms and sleeping rooms

[36] Jane Brown, *Lutyens and the Edwardians: An English Architect and His Clients* (London: Viking, 1996), pp.78–81.
[37] Inskip, 'Lutyens' Houses', p.20.

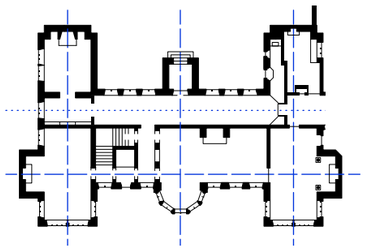
FORM

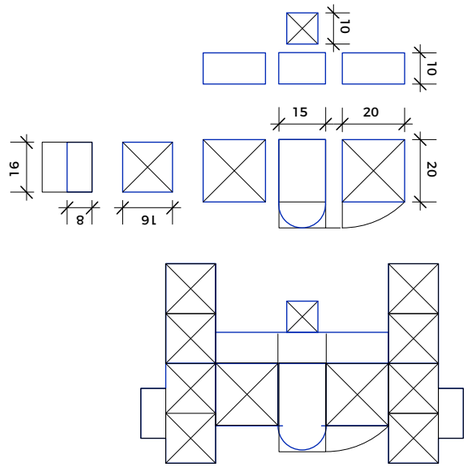
Volume and Main Space

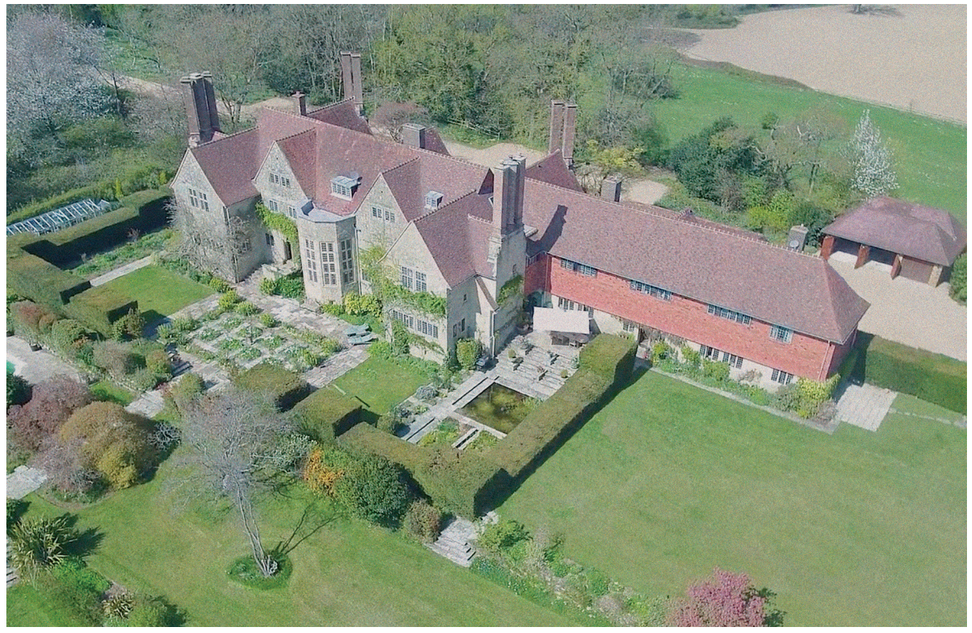


COMPOSITION

Axis and Proportion







Little Thakeham: aerial photograph of the property

Little Thakeham: photograph of the south façade

are located, respectively. The roof is tilled but also includes gables, which permits a plain wall all the way to the highest point of the building, with the possibility to be fenestrated at any moment. As a symmetrical house it should have a central space. However the main space is concentrated mostly on the west side, next to the dining room. The hall is a rectangular space with double height and four important elements: 1) a fireplace, 2) a bay window, 3) a screen passage, and 4) an interior balcony. The hall is located in the transversal block, between the two long wings and separated from a long corridor by a wall. Although, the two floors of the wings are two feet higher than the main space allowing for the existence of a third floor with supplementary bedrooms.

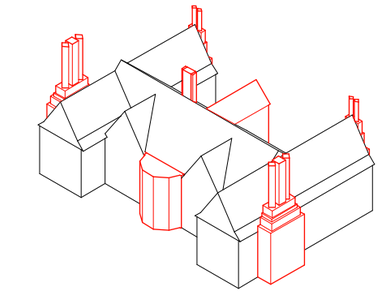
Deanery Garden is one of a group of six houses group that also includes Little Thakeham[38], united by similar mathematical and proportional ratios. Lutyens used two sets of measures for Little Thakeham's main building. The first is composed by set of regular forms built from the 20 feet square, which then could be subdivided and extended to compose the transversal core of the building. Like in Deanery Garden the base is a square of 20 x 20 feet (if we include the passage and the stairs) that envelops the central part of the house. The same ratio is used to incorporate a screen passage between the hall and the main staircase. The modular grid and proportional squares are perfectly symmetrical and it cuts the house in two equal partitions. So, if mirrored by the main axis, a 20 x 20 feet square will constitute the eastside of the hall, to which is joined by a middle section where the bay window (or oriel window) is located. This window is a semi decagon shape, the length of the rectangle √2 of the 20 feet's square and 15 feet wide. The northern corridor and the porch are designed with proportional ratios from the base. The corridor incorporates three pieces with the lengths of 20, 15 and 20 feet, and the width of half the side of the base square is 10 feet. Moreover, the porch is a scaled square half the size of the 20 feet square – 10 feet square. However, the wings are built by four squares of 16 feet long each, making them narrow volumes to let the light reach the core of the house. On the south end, each reception room is a rectangle added of the same length and half the width of the 16 feet square to form the chimneys' breast.

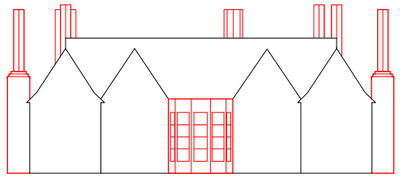
When viewed from outside, a dominant element is brought to attention: chimneys stacks. As stated above, two of the great chimneys are placed in the drawing and dining rooms. Those chimneys are stacked with three square section pipes, one of them rotated forty-five degrees. The remaining two are attached to the gabled wall in the north façade, one on each side of the main entrance with the porch's volume in the middle. Chimneys appear around the volume, except one that comes from the hall's fireplace, which is not at the

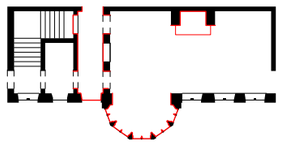
[38] Butler, *The Architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens*, 1: p.24.

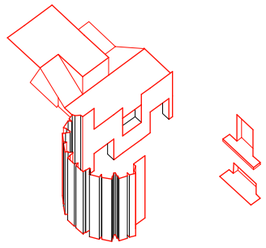
ELEMENTS

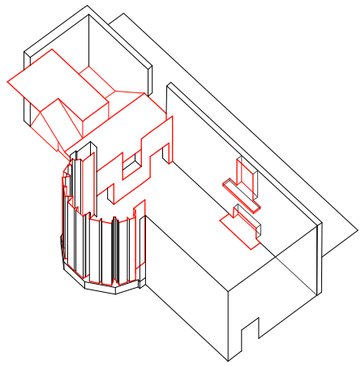
Volume, Façade and Main Space











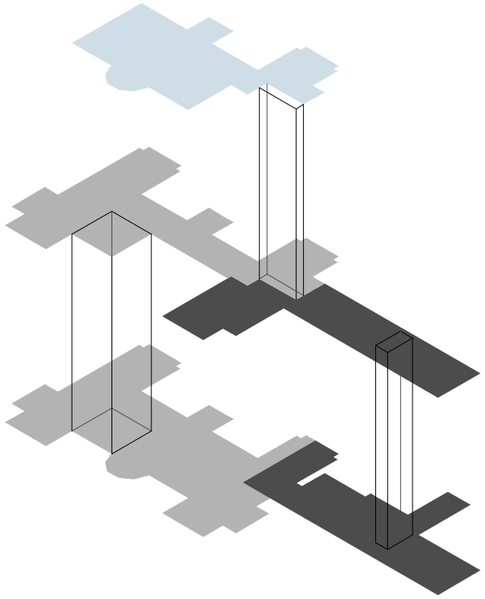
ACCOMMODATION

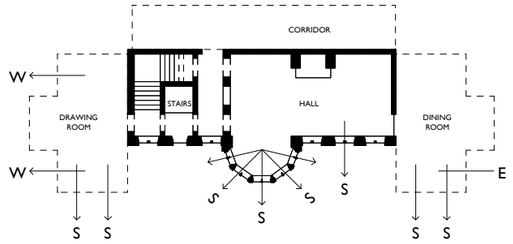
Programmatic display, Windows Aspect in Main Rooms

Family

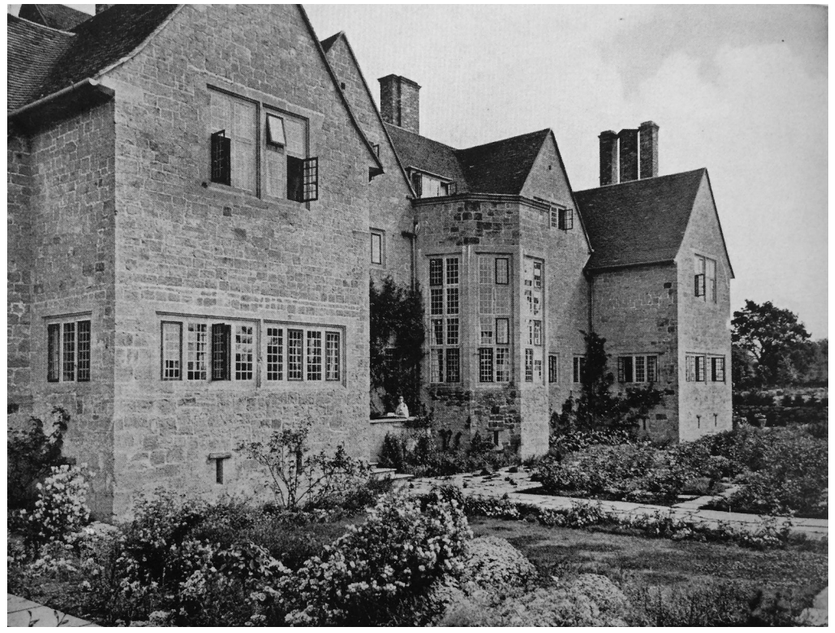
Servants

Guests





Little Thakeham's interior: photograph of the staircase landing towards the hall



Little Thakeham: photograph of the south façade

centre of the whole volume, but slightly to the west. Another *element*, the oriel window is positioned at the middle of the façade in the main axis but not centred in the hall. The hall has four elements: 1) the centred fireplace on the wall opposite to the 2) bay window; next to the 3) screen passage; and 4) an interior balcony. The height of the bay window is, the same as that of the hall, and with all five faces covered with glazed glass. The *prospect* of the bay window frames the midpoint in the garden and focuses on the alignment of the pergola and rose garden. In the screen passage, a wall separates the hall and the passage area with three openings, two doors and one window. The main concern for these elements was to articulate the path between the corridor and the door towards the garden at the same time as that it covers the staircase and creates a large landing over the screen.

The hall is emphasised by the increased height as the climax of a group of three reception rooms.[39] Lutyens used the basic plan of three day rooms, in this case, hall, dining room and drawing room, all with a south orientation/ direction. Unlike the name may seem to suggest, the drawing room was not associated with drawings or painting, but with resting, as a sitting room or a salon. It meant to be used by the family and guest to withdraw for more privacy, the term originating in "withdrawing". The library is an extra room located on the northwest side. The *accommodation* for the library users is divided into two volumes, each with an independent staircase to establish an hierarchy between users.

The family occupies the H-shape almost entirely; only the northeast part of the wings is reserved for the servants' quarters. Beginning the analysis of the staff's facilities, a small building in the east of the property it has two stories. On the ground floor, a paved court, are located the kitchen, scullery, pantry, larder and the servants' hall. The first floor has five bedrooms, and it has direct access to the night nursery and day nursery. Lutyens decided to accommodate the family in three levels. The ground floor, discussed above, has four reception rooms; the first floor, two large bedrooms connected via a dressing room between them, and three bedrooms in the attic for guests, underneath the roof.

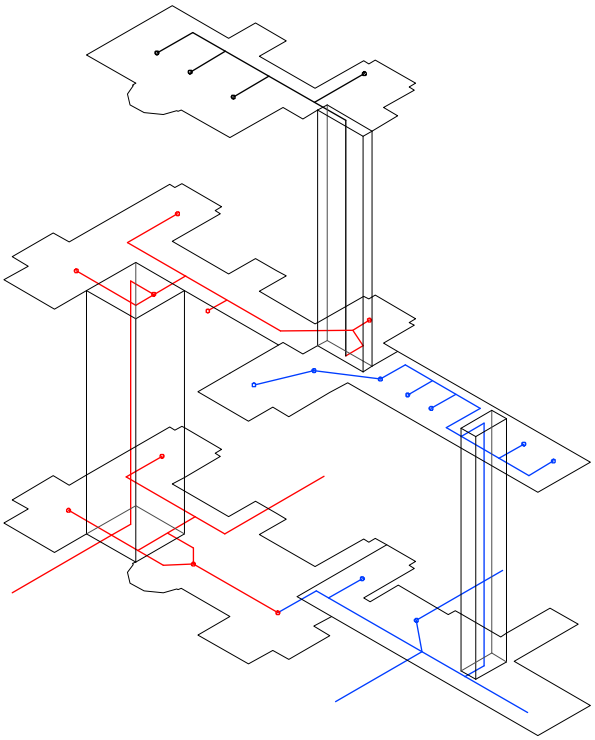
Looking closely at the dining room, if compared with Deanery Garden, it is located on the opposite side of the hall. We could think that it may have also been used as breakfast room, as the *aspect* of the three windows points to east, and mainly south, featuring also a door to the garden. Opening windows to the east usually indicates the desire of having morning sunlight streaming into a space; therefore, it is possible that this room may have also been used for early meals. The drawing room is a mirrored image of the dinning room, but it could not have had this function due to the distance in relation to the kitchen. The library

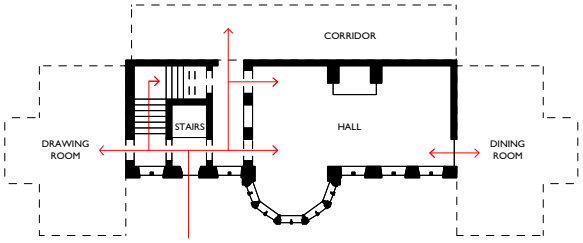
[39] Inskip, 'Lutyens' Houses', p.25.

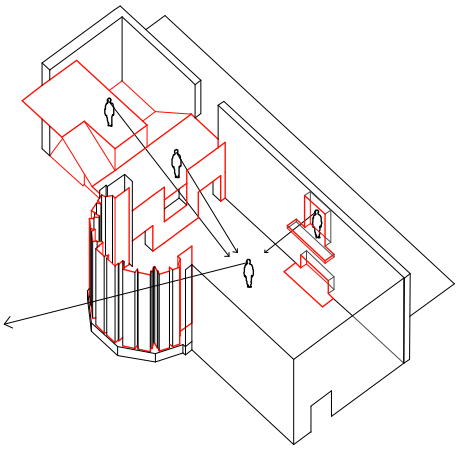
MOVEMENT

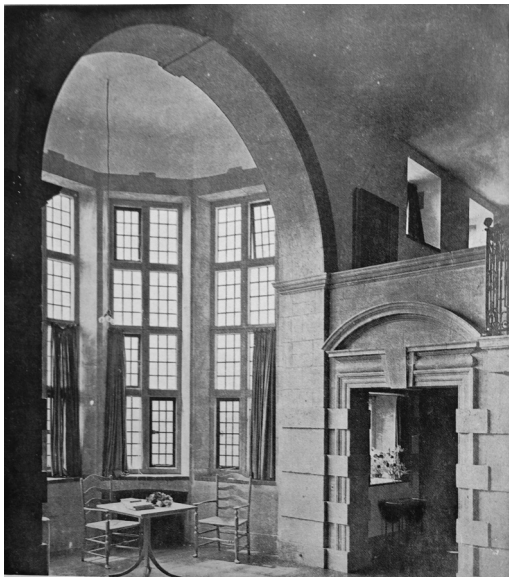
Family, Servants and Guest circulation, Main rooms connections

- Family
- Servants
- Guests









Little Thakeham's interior: photograph of the hall

is located next to the drawing room; however it does not communicate directly with it. If that had occurred, the library would have gained an extra function and more than a study or a book depository it could have been a business room.[40] The corridor in Little Thakeham is longer than at Deanery Garden, but both have the same width and similar spaciousness. While, in Deanery Garden a wooden structure supports the wall, at Little Thakeham it is a row of stone arches.

Concerning *movement* the circulation of the family and servants at Little Thakeham is even more individualised than at Deanery Garden. The reason lies in the conception of two different volumes connected through a small passage. The smaller volume corresponds to the servants' quarters, independent from the main volume. The servants only intersected with the family circuit at the obvious places: the dining room and nursery, which is accessible internally by a servants' stairwell that leads them also to their sleeping quarters. On the family volume, the circulation is made via two staircases, the main one next to the hall and the second one starting only on the first floor, next to the night nursery and going to the attic bedrooms that could be used by guests too; a long corridor exists in both lower levels that allows for movement. The guest that wishes to go to the bedrooms in the upper floor needs to climb the main stairs, crosses the entire house through the corridor and then goes up the narrow stairs to the attic, passing the tank room, before arriving at his/her final destination.

The hall is considered the pinnacle of the entire house, but when it comes to *movement* and circulation, the main space is certainly the main staircase. The staircase located next to the hall is one of the most complex and eloquent systems Lutyens designed for a country house, almost at the same level of extravagance as at Salutation (1911). The Little Thakeham's staircase is confined within a square with two straight passages connecting the drawing room, the hall and the garden; it envelopes a solid mass, composed by a storage and storage cupboard. However the more dramatic aspect is the fact that the second and third landings have direct contact and view to the double height hall, creating a large open space with three levels inside. It could be seen as a grand interior terrace that communicates with the corridor on the first floor, which in its turn has another interesting feature: an interior balcony to the hall, making the corridor more than just a transitional space, and also with direct view to the hall. During the construction of Little Thakeham, Lutyens himself considered it "the best of the bunch."[41]

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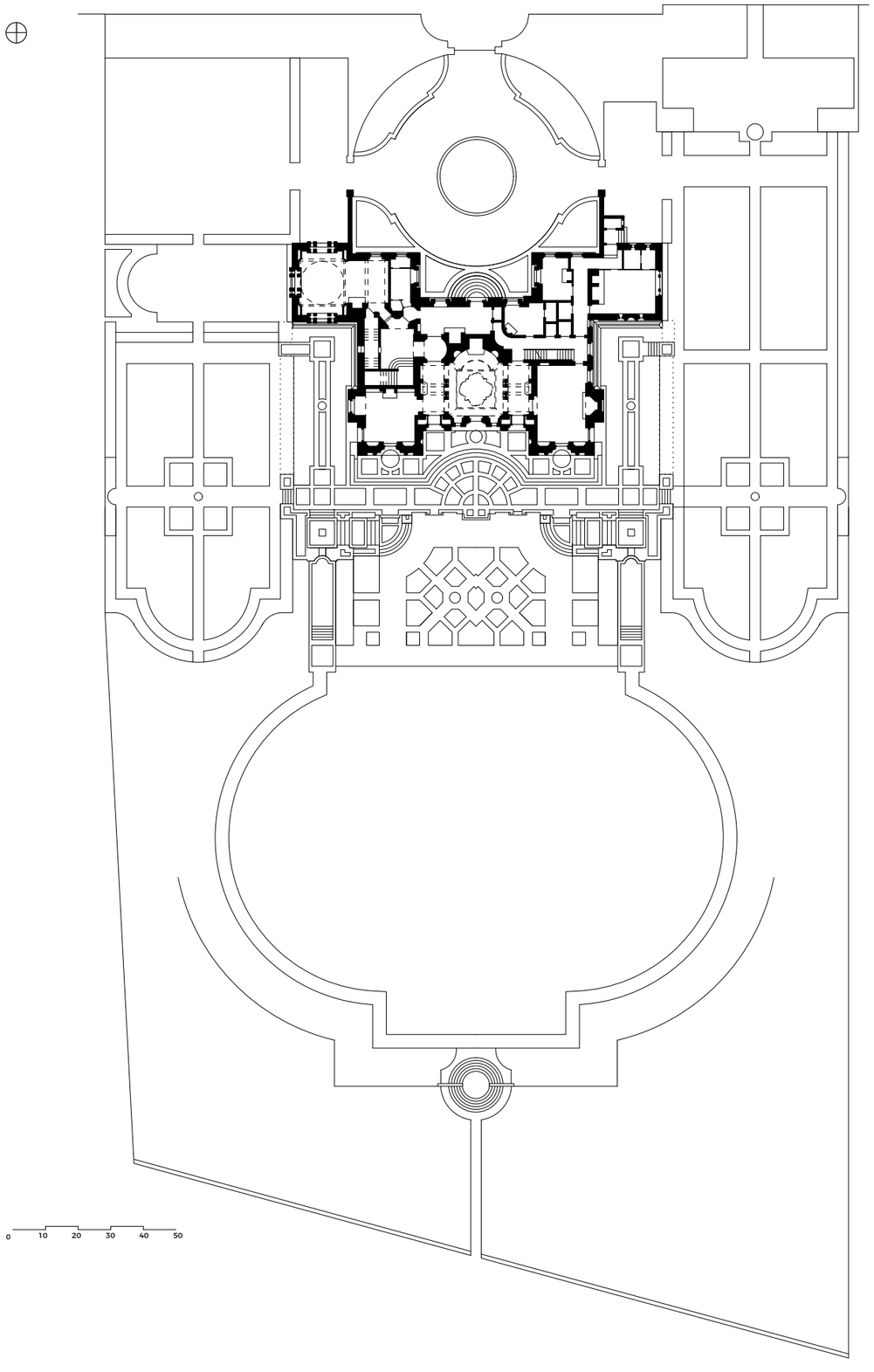
[40] Kerr, *The Gentleman's House*, p.127.

[41] 'The Edwardian Grand Designer', Documentary, *Time Team Special* (England: Channel 4, 23 February 2014), Channel 4.

Heathcote

Site



Heathcote: photograph of the south façade

3.2.3 Heathcote

Heathcote Mansion is a classical country house built in Ilkley, Yorkshire, in 1906, for John Hemingway, a wealthy self-made Bradford wool merchant. Heathcote can be considered as a "pivotal project to Lutyens' work"[42] where he fully integrates the classical orders and their rules. But, essentially it is the first project of a clear symmetry in whole design. Indeed, it is very different from Deanery Garden and Little Thakeham, with a classical appeal and not the same respect for local materials. At Heathcote, Lutyens faced hard criticisms and multiple commentaries regarding the complete disparity in relation to the house's surroundings. Years later, Lutyens wrote to Herbert Baker about his frustration at not being understood in relation to this project.

> *I have been scolded for not been Yorkshire in Yorkshire. The other view – have a window from this, a door from that etc. – a pot-pourri of ornithological details. The result is futile, absolutely unconvincing. My house does not stand there plumb. I don't think it could be built anywhere else! Would Wren (had he gone to Australia) have burnt his knowledge and experience to produce a lame marsupial style, thought it reflect the character of her aborigines? He would surely have done his best.*[43]

The site is considerably smaller than Little Thakeham but an absolute masterpiece in complete coherence. The house and the garden were designed with the same classical thought. Therefore, the symmetry in the garden is remarkable, with the terrace, stairs, flower gardens, and pools everything is doubled. Yorkshire was not be grateful for Lutyens' attitude to elevate the house "above the level of the buildings of the neighbourhood", and by not designing it sufficiently alike would give the impression of lack of eclecticism, a "sense of superiority" in a "variant of the Palladianism."[44] The property has a total of four acres, has a rectangular shape delimited by roads on each side. Lutyens maintains the logic from the other two houses where it is possible to verify at least two different moments in the garden's design: a paved area with a group of steps elevating the building at the top of a high terrace, with a *prospect* to the lower ground, the great lawn. On the north end of the property, two high walls protect the main entrance gate and continue on a semi circular shape to form the forecourt of the house. Two small cottages were built against the property limits.

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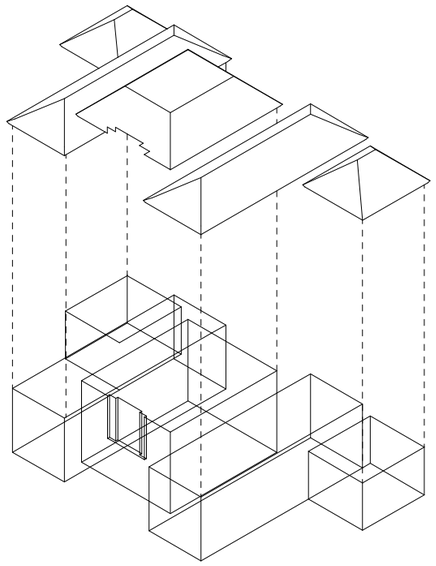
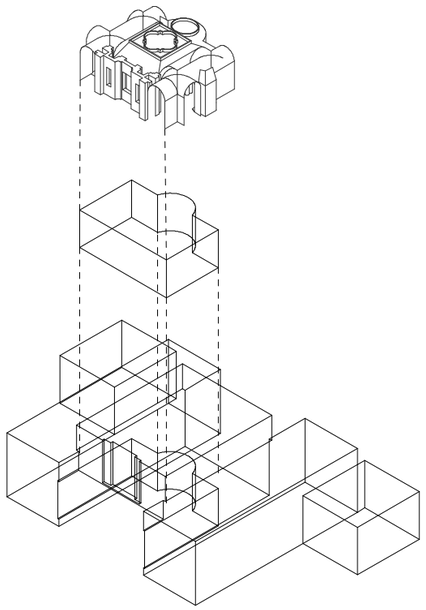
[42] Ford, *The Details of Modern Architecture / Edward R. Ford.*, 2: p.107.
[43] Lutyens, 'To Herbert Baker', 29 January 1911.
[44] Lawrence Weaver, *Houses and Gardens by E. L. Lutyens.* (London: Country Life, 1914), p.188.

FORM

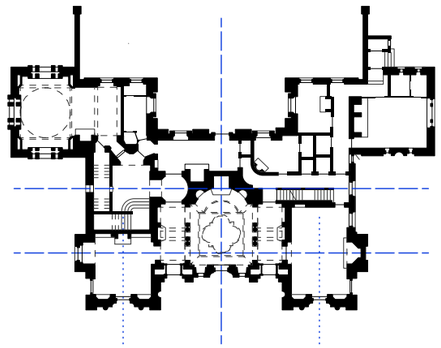
Volume and Main Space

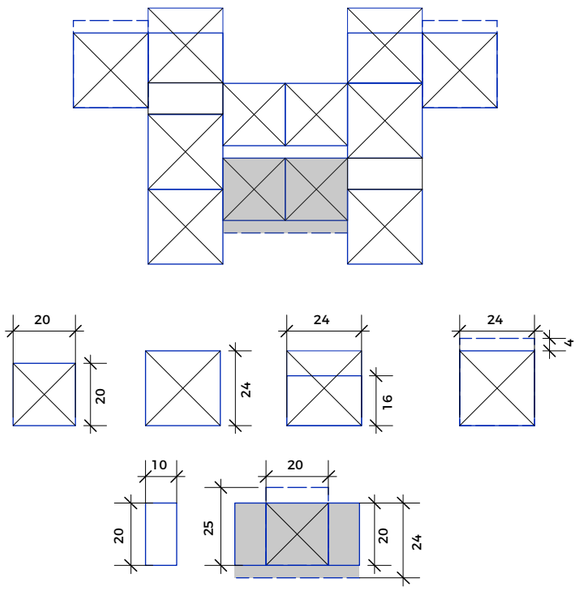




COMPOSITION

Axis and Proportion





Heathcote: photograph of the north façade

Heathcote: photograph of the south façade

Heathcote can be regarded as a country house designed in a H-shape or a group of five volumes. Even the roof identifies the various volumes and different heights. The centre of the building the highest of the volumes is almost square shaped with three stories. The two wings are prismatic volumes, longer than the central volume and located on each side of it, shorter in height and with two levels. Towards the exterior it appears two smaller and shorter, nearly cubic volumes, with a single level. Heathcote does not have an independent volume attached to the main building and reserved for the servants. In this case the main block integrates every service, leaving only the garden facilities completely independent with small cottages. The interior of the building is not as symmetrical as the exterior seems to indicate. Nonetheless, the hall is in the central area, in the middle of the composition and, as mentioned above, is a group of three elements: two rectangular screen passages and a square hall plus an apse side. As in Little Thakeham the hall is the highpoint of the construction, but at Heathcote it is not due to a double height nor bay windows, but due to the sequence of spaces.

Proportion and rhythm are part of Lutyens' design process, but not everything is clear and visible in his projects/ designs during his search for perfection. From Pevsner's point of view the idealisation of the total building and the "worship of geometry" leads Lutyens to complex ratios of proportions. Notwithstanding, that perfection is not quantifiable and even the most complex system has faults. Perfection must be considered as the target, not the consequence of complex and well-resolved issues. "Contrast and surprise" is the better term to quote Lutyens mastery, not perfection.[45] The complexities of the complete system is, as in Little Thakeham, a set of variations from two squares of 24 x 24 and 20 x 20 feet, and all the forms that constitute the modular grid are multiples of four. The Heathcote proportion, ratios, and rhythms,

> *though using the same instruments as so-called Palladian composition in the eighteen century England, differs from them, to continue the metaphor, where as they are more or less airs, Lutyens here goes straight, to the Doric Orders itself as used by Sanmichele*[46]*, working out his harmonies and intervals from proportions inherent in that Order, and weaving them into the orchestration on this melody - namely a country house for a particular man, with particular requirements, on a particular site.*[47]

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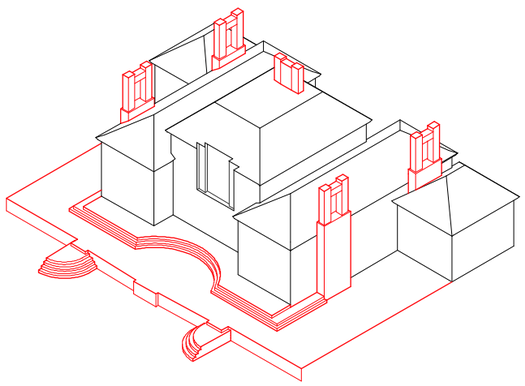
[45] Nikolaus Pevsner, 'Building with Wit, Architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens', *The Architectural Review*, April 1951, p.220, RIBA.

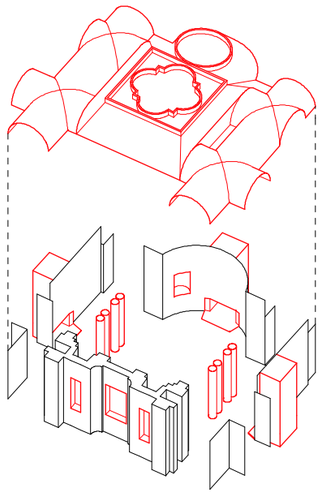
[46] Michele Sanmichele (1484-1559) was an Italian architect born in Venice that conducted his art in a mannerist-style. Some of his most renowned works are the *Palazzo Pompe*i built around 1530 in Verona as a more elaborate version of Bramante's House of Raphael and a small chapel, *Cappella Pellegrini* inside the church of *San Bernardino* also in Verona.

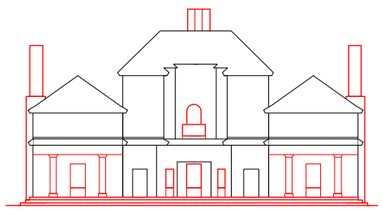
[47] Hussey, *The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens*, IV: p.128.

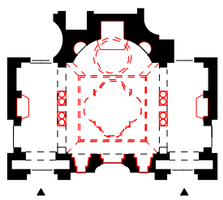
ELEMENTS

Volume, Façade and Main Space







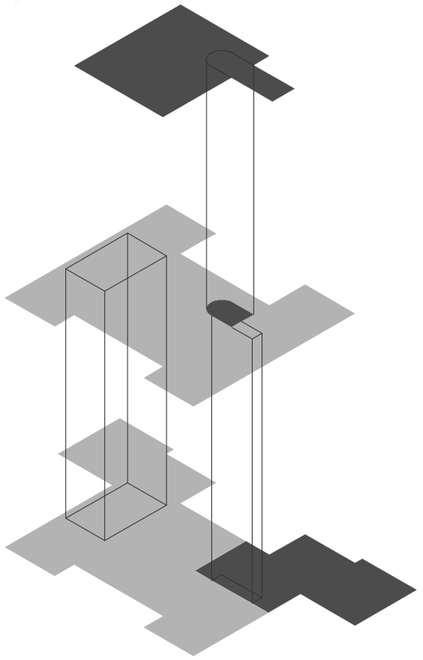


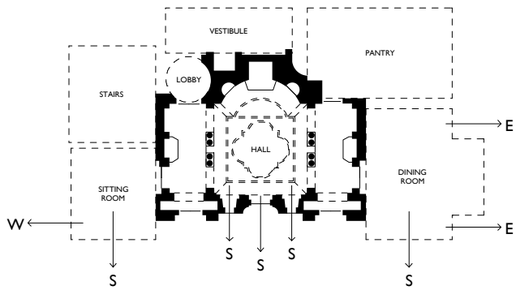
ACCOMMODATION

Programmatic display, Windows *Aspect* in Main Rooms

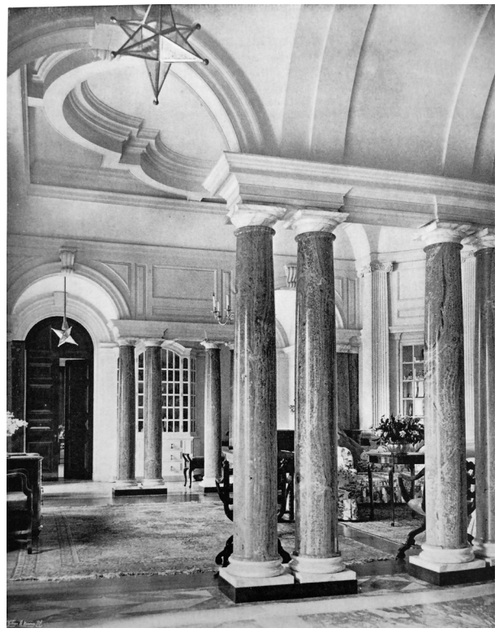
Famil

Servants





Heathcote: photograph of the east façade



Heathcote's interior: photograph of the hall

Essentially, the house is regulated by strict metrics as the hall and wings demonstrate. The wings are formed by a sequence of two squares of 24x24 feet (3/4 of the dining room; sitting room and staircase), plus a rectangle of 10 x 24 feet (transitory space or extension of the dining room) and 16 x 24 feet rectangles at the end. The central area, especially the main space, can be seen as two squares of 20 x 20 feet, located side by side or a 20 feet square between two rectangles of 10 x 20 feet. Nevertheless, the principal part of the hall is a square plus an apse, both inscribed inside a 20 x 25 rectangle, the same size of Deanery Garden's hall.

Turning our attention to the exterior of the building, the environment is punctuated by four chimney stacks built in Yorsk's stone, two in each wing, whilst a central chimney emerges from the fireplace in the hall. The dominant element is the double slope that raises the house from the ground. The first part of the slope has a large terrace, accessible by two curved steps, followed by a base of step with a semi-circular recoiled directed to the hall. On the south side of each wing, the façades are decorated with "the full orchestra of a Doric Order – bases, columns, friezes, cornices, with their correct mathematical ratios – implied in the Dormy House and earlier Renaissance designs."[48] Not very common in Lutyens' works is the use of external balconies. In this case the balcony is located in the south façade and belongs to the master bedroom above the hall, making it the highest point for observation, which the *prospect* frames the whole garden and the surrounding area. The hall is filled with elements: two sets of four Doric column, three fireplaces, two niches and a complex ceiling. To better understand the complete sequence of spaces that composes the main space (2 screen passages and a central hall), it is necessary to consider each individual element. The rectangular screen passages on each side of the hall, filter the circulation to this central space though a colonnade of two pairs of columns and two groin vaults plus a barrel vault connecting the others. Stucco ceilings were common in Classical architecture so Lutyens decided not to give the hall double height. Instead he ornamented the ceiling with two simple extrusion motives just a few feet higher than the screen passages. Exceptionally, the hall does not have a bay window, otherwise it would damage the overall *composition* of the main space. The bay window is replaced by three smaller windows with the *aspect* south and the *prospect* of overlooking the entire garden and great lawn.

Heathcote "shows an increasing reliance on sheer design as compared with the picturesque qualities and contrived haphazardness of the early building."[49] As in Deanery Garden, the

[48] Hussey, *The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens*, IV: p.128.

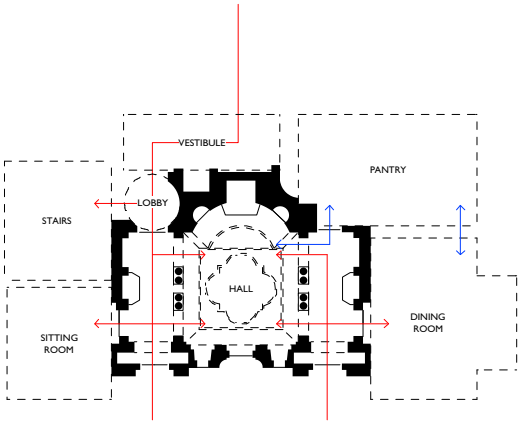
[49] Weaver, *Houses and Gardens by E. L. Lutyens.*, p.XXXII.

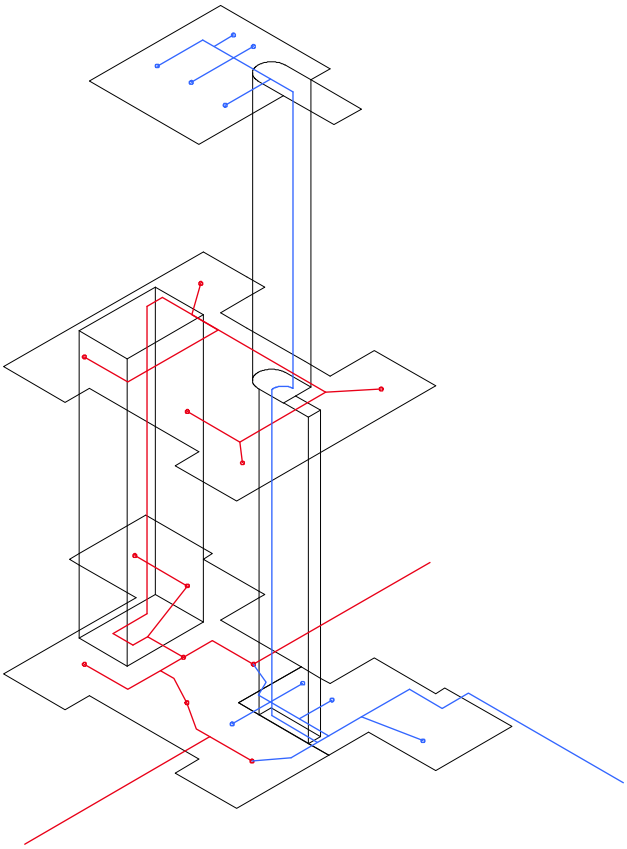
MOVEMENT

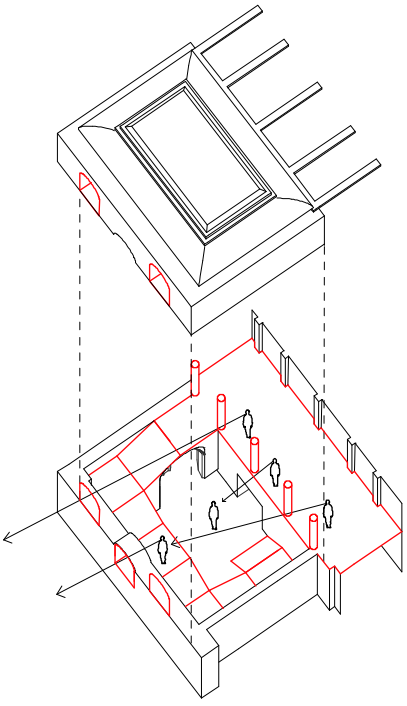
Family and Servants circulation, Main Rooms connections

Family

Servants





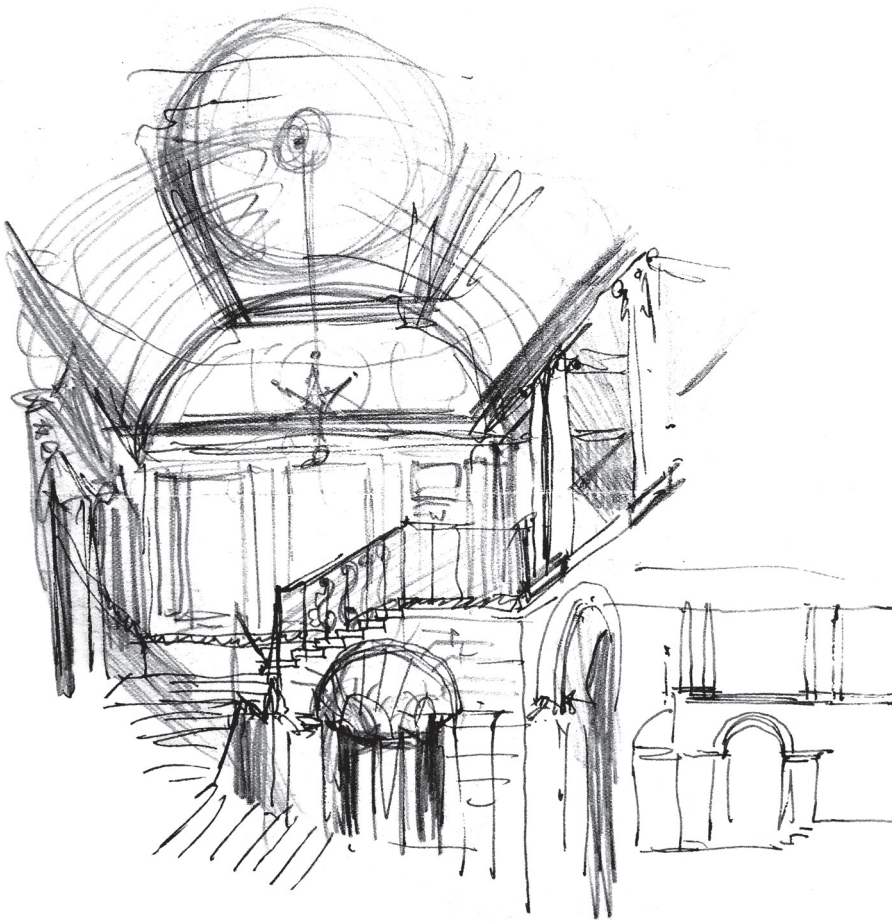


servants and family accommodations are distributed inside the same building, with two independent staircases assigned for each group. In Heathcote the servants are placed on the east side corner of the house, while in Deanery Garden the positioning of the servants' quarters is on the opposite side of the house. An interesting feature in this house of three levels is that the ground floor is shared, the first floor is only for the family and the last floor is for the staff. The hall here is still the apogee of the construction, as Lutyens started to use the garden as the pinnacle only during his Classical period (such as at Great Mayham, 1907 and Gledstone Hall, 1922). According to Inskip: "the ground floor is planned symmetrically about a main north-south axis with an identical linear sequence of independent spaces along the axis: forecourt, vestibule/entrance, hall and garden".[50]

The reception rooms in Heathcote are the hall, dining room, sitting room and billiard room. All of them have at least one window *aspect* facing south and *prospect* to the garden/great lawn. The dining and sitting rooms, as in Little Thakeham, are symmetrical, with only the difference that the dining room here is longer than the sitting room. As well as in Little Thakeham, it is possible to consider the dining room functioning also as a breakfast room, using the *aspect* east and south. In the sitting room, a mirrored space of the dining room, the *aspect* is south and west. The novelty is the billiard room, which is a rectangular form on the northwest side at the short volume symmetrical to the kitchen. Lutyens gives the billiard room an ambient completely opened through three windows supported by four Doric columns (two inside and two outside) and with an ornamented ceiling, similar to the hall.

"Heathcote can be considered as a series of Chinese boxes one set within another – the hall is the final goal."[51] *Movement* is complex and off axis in order to readjust the house to a south orientation and to increase its apparent size by introducing complicated circulation patterns. For example, in the movement made from the north front door to the garden door on the opposite end, circulation is not on a straight line similar to the axis. Therefore, Lutyens brilliantly deflects *movement* in the first space to west, then south, passing through a circular domed lobby that works as inter-space to distribute the circulation patterns. From there, the user enters the west screen passage inside the hall and needs to make a decision: either he/she continues straight ahead to the garden door or crosses the hall to find the symmetrical door that leads outside. The hall and the lobby together are two mechanisms of great importance in terms of directing the user to the dining/sitting room and stair/gallery, respectively. The first floor is almost entirely a space for the family,

[50] Inskip, 'Lutyens' Houses', p.21.
[51] Ibid., p.24



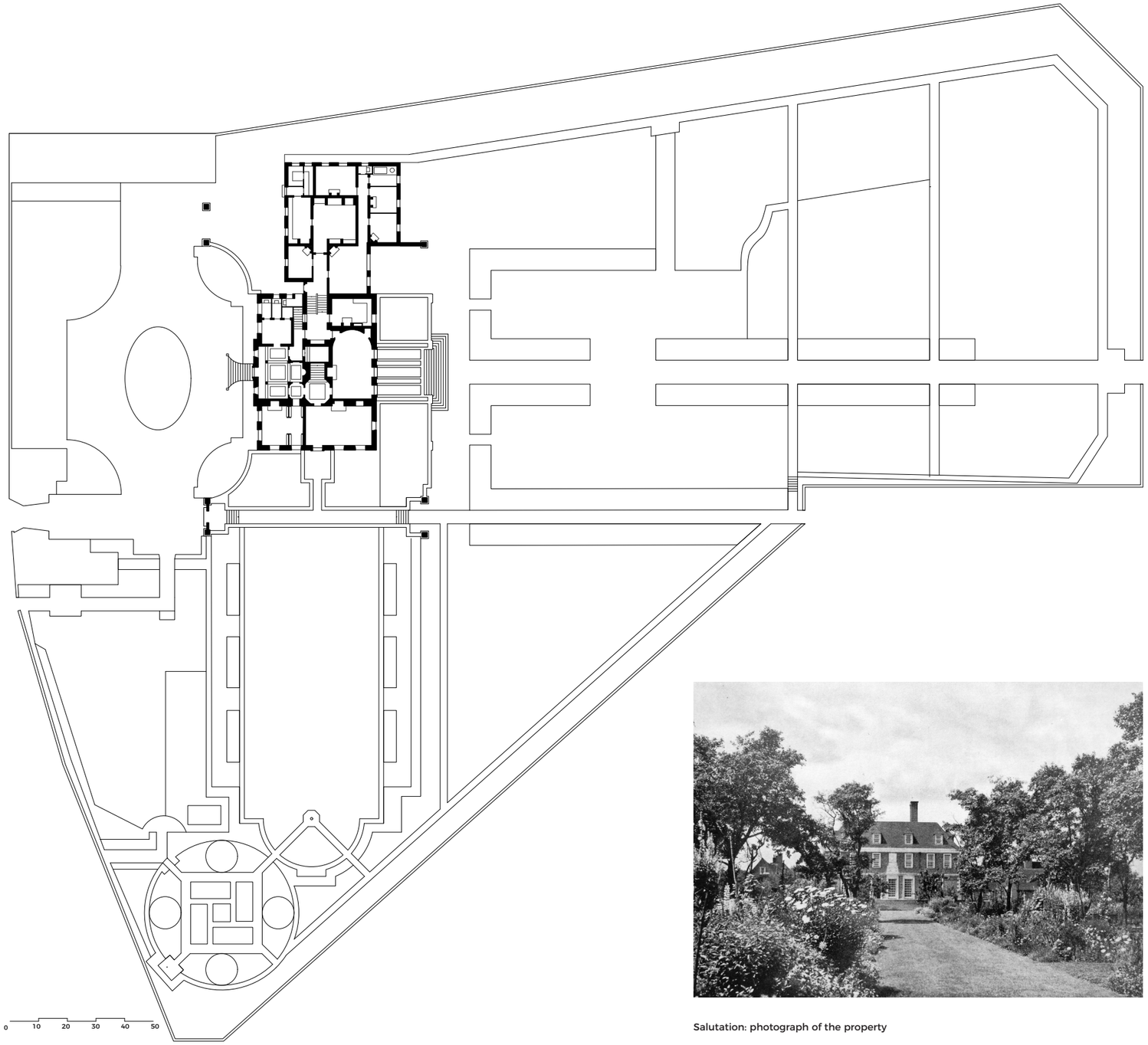
Heathcote: the main staircase and the gallery, drawing by Lutyens

with the exception of a closed staircase, which has a door to enter the floor but it is seen as a single stair to climb from the ground floor to the second floor, the servants' sleeping rooms.

Lutyens' designs of staircases are always elaborated. From the lobby to the stairs' hall, Lutyens conceived a room of rhetoric class. The gallery on the first floor is the same size of the vestibule and with a five Ionic columns to serve as an interior terrace to the open space of the semi vaulted stairs' hall. These stairs are designed with five landings to give the impression of a long and eloquent climb interposed by one great arched window *aspect* west half way of the ascend. Side by side with this window, at the same level of the gallery, two more arched windows bring in natural light and gives a great *prospect* to the user when at the gallery.

Salutation

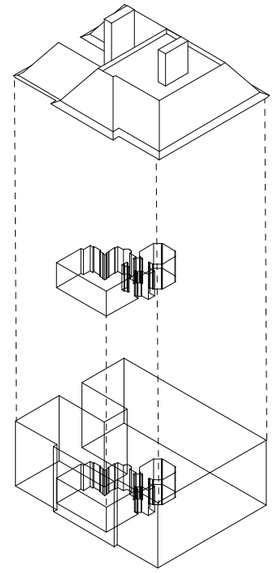
Site

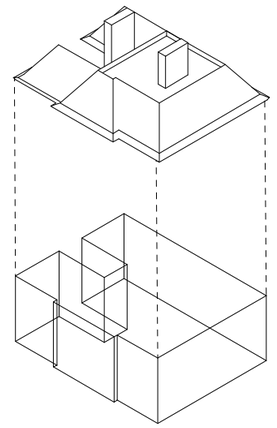


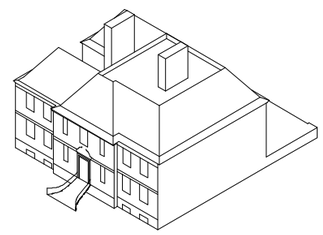
Salutation: photograph of the property

FORM

Volume and Main Space







3.2.4 Salutation

Salutation owes its name to an ancient inn that occupied part of the property. The country house was built in 1911 for Henry Farrer, son of Sir William Farrer, owner of Farrer & Co, a group of solicitors. Lutyens was commissioned to build a house of unusual requirements. The house was meant to be for Henry Farrer and his two brothers, all bachelors. So, the main focus is not the family but the owners, his friends and the house's capacity to host parties. This will lead to some clear differences between Salutation and the other three country houses presented in this chapter. This project might be considered a smaller representation of the Great Mayham (1907) at Rolvenden in Kent or, as discussed above, with similar intentions to Homewood (1900). Salutation is perhaps the major example of the "Wrenaissance" houses which Lutyens called the "High Game".

In terms of size, the site is similar to Heathcote measuring about 3.5 acres but not as regular as the latter. The outdoor garden is divided in two parts: the south side area has a triangular shape, with a bowling green with a statue, and a rose garden; the east end has a polygonal shape covered with grass and paved passes, flanked by bushes, and to where the dining room's terrace faces. The house is a compact volume built in red brick, not a local material. "Every trace of Gothic or Tudor influence has vanished; the houses are not built in materials which are pronouncedly local, nor do they display any constructional detail in the district vernacular."[52] The house is not Gothic, neither vernacular nor Tudor, it is in fact modern.

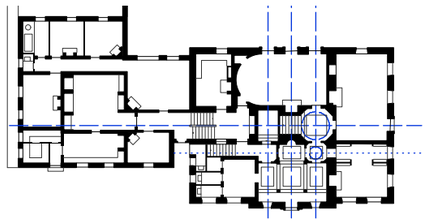
The volume of Salutation is a compact prism only with a recess on the north façade, alongside another smaller volume where the service wing is situated. The main house has three levels, the ground floor and the first floor are located on the base of the volume and the second floor is beneath the roof. The symmetry is absolute in the east, south and west façades. Inside, the ground floor is designed in a way Lutyens articulates, throughout the house, different spaces with different sizes with different characteristics, almost resembling Heathcote. However, the difference in style between the two houses makes them quite distinct, Salutation being a smaller example with special requirements. The sequence of spaces is evident; the main change being that direct entry to the hall is done from the east forecourt, with the library next to the hall, and with windows' *aspect* facing south.

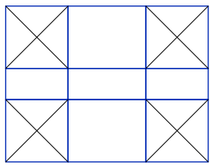
The proportion of the house is based on the rectangular overall form composed by subdivision of the 20 feet square and multiples of five. The four corners of the houses are formed by 20 x 20 feet squares, each one marking a specific space: the library, 2/3 of the salon, lavatory and secondary stairs, and service pantry. The predominant axis in this house is west to east, symmetrically dividing the façades in two exact parts. The opposing

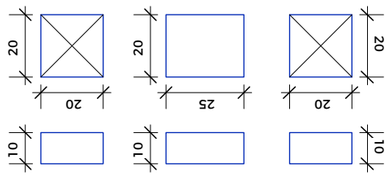
[52] Inskip, 'Lutyens' Houses', p.24.

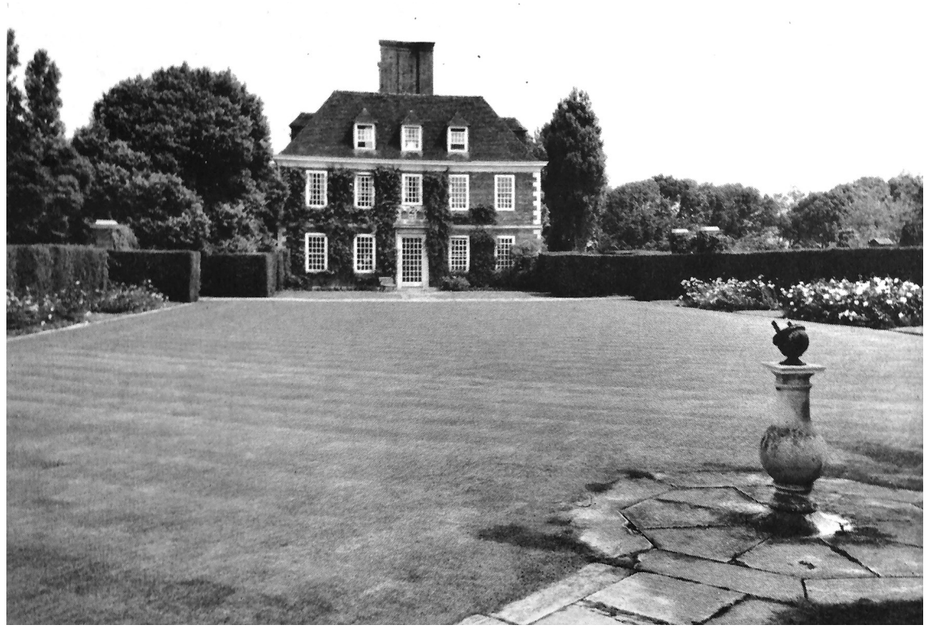
COMPOSITION

Axis and Proportion





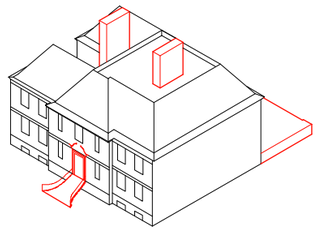


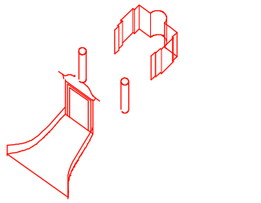


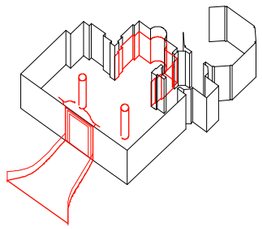
Salutation: photograph of the south façade

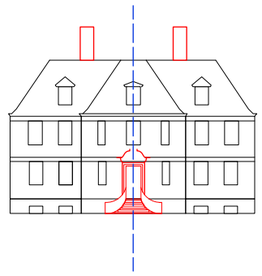
ELEMENTS

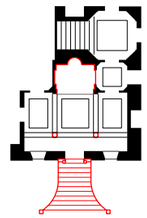
Volume, Façade and Main Space











Salutation: photograph of the main entrance

main axis that crosses the main stairs to the salon also splits the south façade equally. The dining room façade faces east, the hall west, and the library and salon face south. The main space is a sequence of three spaces: 1) the entrance hall, 2) the lobby and 3) the inner hall. The entrance hall measures 20 x 25 feet, the same size of the dining room without the apse part. This proportion is very interesting because is the same that Lutyens uses to design the hall in Deanery Garden, as well as the central part of the square plus the apse at Heathcote. The lobby is contained inside the entrance hall and has a symmetrical space that leads to the passage for the servants' quarters. Hence, the measure of 6 x 6 feet of the lobby is small than the inner hall of 10 feet square, which functions as the antechamber of distribution before the staircase, salon and dining room. This complex system of chambers reveals the creativity and mastery of the architect. The major feature of Salutation is the architect's capacity to control and work with total symmetry in the exterior and to not harm the interior accommodation.

> *He preferred increasingly avoid a rambling plan, to constrain the wings of a house into a balanced form or even to fold them back neatly within a rectangle, roofing the house as he could. For it is difficult to accomplish exact symmetry in a domestic building and, at the same time, house the inmates quite as they should be.*[53]

Lutyens elevated the whole house by creating an entrance from an elegant flight of stairs that culminate in the ornamented French door in white stone. On the other side, the terrace *prospect* to the east faces the major part of the garden. Salutation has no imposing chimneys as the other three country houses; still it has two in the centre of the volume. One of them makes the recess to guarantee the lightning of the main staircase.

During the construction of Salutation, Lutyens was visiting New Delhi and building another country house in Kent, Barham Court (1911). Due to economic reasons, the main space of Salutation gained two columns of black marble while two wooden columns were sent to Barham.[54] These black marble columns at the entrance hall and a niche space between the lobby and the passage are the principal elements in the hall.

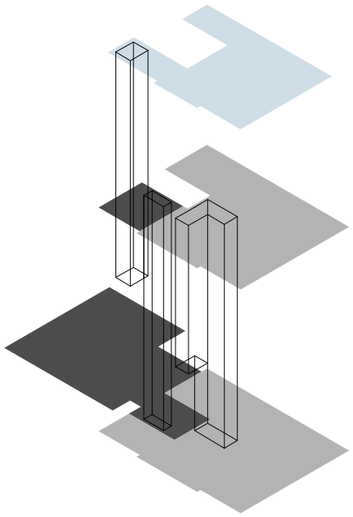
The *accommodation* Lutyens proposes for this dwelling is similar to the other country houses already described. Although, the second floor in the attic is filled with five rooms to accommodate guests and each room has one or two attic windows. The middle floor has three master bedrooms with a designated dressing room, one for each brother. Sleeping rooms are positioned at three of the four corners with windows *aspect* to south, east and west. The *prospect* of the bedrooms is the surrounding garden, but the bedroom at the

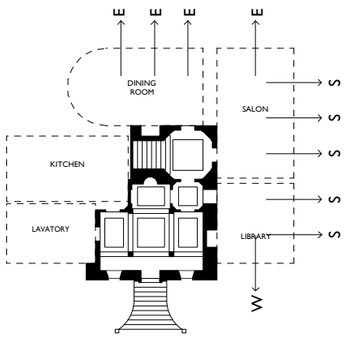
[53] Butler, *The Architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens*, 1: p.36.
[54] Ibid., 1: p.30.

ACCOMMODATION

Programmatic display, Windows *Aspect* in Main Rooms

- Family
- Servants
- Guests



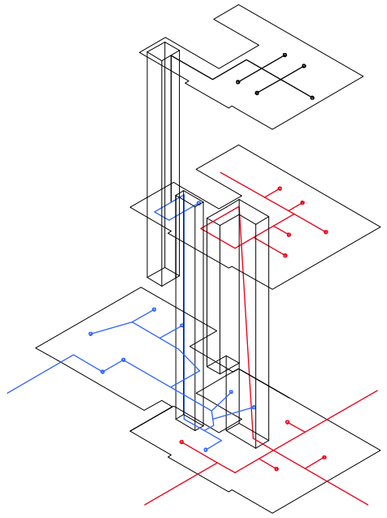


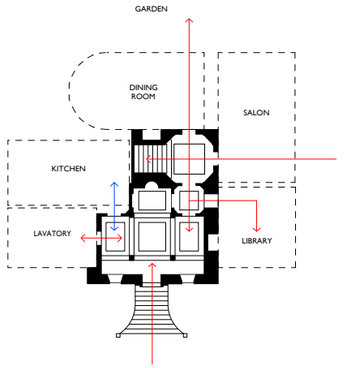
Salutation: photograph of the terrace and the three dining room windows

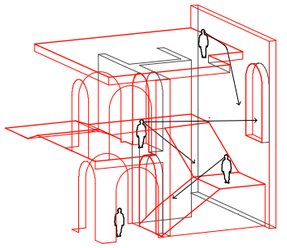
MOVEMENT

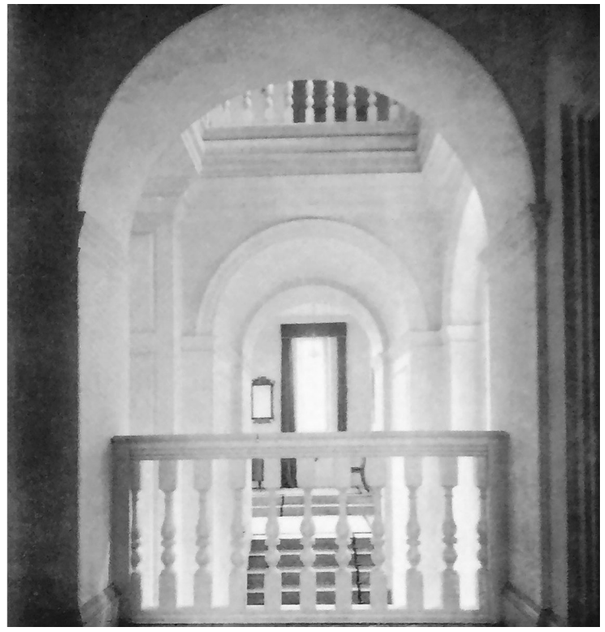
Family, Servants and Guests circulation, Main Rooms connections, Staircase visibilities

- Family
- Servants
- Guests









Salutation's interior: photograph of the inner hall and staircase; first floor balcony to the staircase

northeast end only has windows facing east. On the ground floor, the situation is identical but instead of sleeping rooms we have day rooms: dining room, salon, hall and library. Two of these spaces are worth mention. The dining room could be called breakfast room for its *aspect*, entirely oriented east. A standard space from the eighteen-century, the salon on the south side measuring 20 x 35 feet, with the door in the middle of the axis of the front of the garden, is in direct contact to the principal zone of the garden.

The circulation patterns in Salutation have been thought independently for three groups instance of the usual two: family and servants. The third group were the guests. As the house was built for three bachelor brothers to host their parties' guest it resulted into a third path. The usual paths had been thought by the normal standards, similar to the three previous examples. Therefore, in the whole house there are two independent stairs. Servants circulate in the service wing and have direct access to the dining room and hall. If necessary they would use the secondary stair near the passage to the service wing to access the upper floors. Guests would sleep in the bedrooms in the attic and to go there they would use the same stair as the staff. The ground floor has two important spaces to achieve the better distribution without the use of corridors: the inner hall and lobby are octagonal shaped volumes that facilitate a simultaneous connection to up to four spaces. In Heathcote and in Papillon Hall, Lutyens had already used similar devices to articulate *movement*.

Though, the principal feature concerning movement in this house is the main staircase. It is not just a passage to the upper floor, it is a *promenade architecturale avant la lettre* punctuated with multiple elements. The first thing worth mention is that it is divided into four asymmetrical flights of stairs. When the user reaches the first step, passes the arched portico of the inner hall, and receives natural light from the arched window in front of the first landing. Then, turns left, and climbs to the second and third landings, having by then rotated three times around the central core. The four next steps and two landings incorporate bookcase alcoves to accommodate part of the book collection. The last two steps and the final turn around the core finishes the ascent to the sleeping quarters above the inner hall. There, the user has a direct view through an arched portico (like the one below) of the corridor's balcony to the arched window in front of it. Another interesting feature of the staircase is that above the first landing there is a void square that communicates with the attic floor.

> *If that excellence were not enough, the whole feature adds to itself an element of surprise – in the unusual mounting of the whole staircase between walls, the dramatic lightning, the magnified landing for books, the mysterious final windowed bridge and the corridor's balcony.*[55]

[55] Handley-Read, 'A Lutyens Client in a Golden Age', p.820.

* * *

Lutyens' system of design had two fronts: his office and his genius. The office was the labour class that gave the rigour and precision required to the design. On the other hand, the genius ruled everything. Lutyens was in control of the design and construction of the whole building, never leaving any detail to chance. The "Lutyens' canon" embraces the system of five key-concepts of *form, composition, elements, accommodation,* and *movement* proposed in this thesis to understand his process of design.

Craftsmanship, proportion and beauty were the three main concerns Lutyens had in mind during his process of designing a new house. Each of these concerns was implied on the key-concepts mentioned above. Every step was calculated to achieve perfection, and in his Classical period Lutyens even reinforced this side. I analysed each key-concept separately to better understand how each one works individually, but in reality they were intrinsically linked in Lutyens' mind and cannot be separated. This chapter aimed for a more profound study of four country houses built by Lutyens, unveiling common similarities in mathematical proportion and accommodation purposes. These aspects were important findings to elaborate and defend the existence of an authorial canon. Along with his rigorous personality, Lutyens benefited from a good relationship with wealthy clients that would support his goals, as well as, promote and published his work . These publications, such as "Sir Edwin Lutyens on Modern Architecture"[56] (1923) in *The Architectural Review* or "What I think of Modern Architecture"[57] (1932) in *Country Life*, gave him visibility and credibility to say and think differently from his contemporaries who were joining the Modern Movement.

> *The modern architect must use a finite system of design owing to the absence of artist-craftsmen to interpret the implications of a free system of building such as regional or traditional styles. Therefore the architect's thought and design must be 'super thought', fool proof.*[58]

Still, a modern architect is someone that is producing something new, contemporary, and in control of what novelty is he trying to bring to the architectural community. Lutyens was an architect that did not follow the canons of the new architecture, rather he followed his own canons. His authorial canon presented here is based on old traditional methods, but it might also include new, forward thinking, as we will see in the following chapter.

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[56] Sir Edwin Lutyens, 'Sir Edwin Lutyens on Modern Architecture', *The Architectural Review*, April 1923: pp. XLII–XLIV

[57] Sir Edwin Lutyens, 'What I Think of Modern Architecture', *Country Life*, 1931, RIBA: pp. 775–777

[58] Butler, *The Architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens*, 1: p.38.

CHAPTER 4

Was “Lutyens’ canon” modern?

WHAT I THINK OF MODERN ARCHITECTURE

BY SIR EDWIN LUTYENS.

IT is both exhilarating and somewhat alarming to watch the work that is being produced by the younger men of to-day—youthful glamour striving after something fresh, something better. New materials, new needs and strange sources of ideas have come into being since men of my age began, in our turn, to try to produce fresher and better things. Forty years ago steel construction for buildings was in its infancy. Reinforced concrete was untried. Motor cars, aeroplanes and most of the mechanical contrivances that play so large a part in life to-day were unheard of. It is inevitable, and right, that these things should influence architecture, the machines no less than the materials. But for my part I regret the passing, be it temporary or permanent, of humanism and the personal note; the eclipse by impersonal machines of bricklayer, mason and joiner as the makers of buildings. If you eliminate the personal touch from architecture, you lose a considerable part of its pertinence. Traditional ways of handling material—tiles, bricks, timber and stone—are the basis of style in architecture, besides one of its chief joys. The modern impersonal architecture of so-called functionalism does not seem to me to be replacing the inherited lore of centuries with anything of comparable excellence or to show as yet a genuine sense of style—a style rooted in feeling for the right use of materials. One cannot make friends, through it, with the men who built it. It is all "factory and crane." I can see no wit or humour in the "features," while the architectural relations seem to me haphazard as often as not.

WATER WORKS, FELTHAM.

The best of the old work was composed, the designer never losing control of his orchestra of materials or forgetting the needs they had to meet. The design had a trajectory of scale and idea like that of a rocket, continuous from bang to burst. Modern buildings do not seem to have a feeling of growth. The forms and the details meet as strangers. Their phrasing consists of little more than an initial and a mark of new and complete interrogation.

My generation is—perhaps I ought to say was—a humanist generation. We believed that the measure of man's architecture was man, and that the rhythm of a building should correspond to the rhythms familiar in human life. All architecture must have rhythms, that affect the eye as music does the ear, producing vibrations in the brain. The rhythms of modern architecture rarely produce what I should call a happy or genial vibration in the brain of the spectator. It is either a wearisome staccato like the noise of an hydraulic drill or, to my mind, a confused medley like the tuning of a brass band. Instead of making a statement gracefully, and perhaps with distinction and humour—which is what I require of a building as of an individual—many modern buildings, to me, are just shouting very loud and quite unintelligibly. I catch a phrase here and there, recognise now and then a scrap of English or Italian maybe, but there seems to me no grammar and little sincere effort at style. There is vitality—heaps of it, but crude. Perhaps the human rhythm which modern architecture expresses, along with the rhythm of electric drills and combustion engines, is the rhythm of a football crowd

OLYMPIA.

Page of *Country Life* 1931 no. June 20th: "What I think of modern architecture" by Edwin Lutyens

The main question presented on the title of this chapter will be clarified through the analysis of subsequent questions about Lutyens' work. Each question attempts to illustrate *What did Lutyens think about Modern architecture?* From this issue it came the first subchapter named "Lutyens' thoughts on modernity". My main goal is to discuss Lutyens' relationship and concerns on modernity with the help of articles he wrote to architectural magazines, and journals, during the period after his switch to Classicism. Furthermore, an important letter he wrote to his friend Baker in the beginning of the twentieth century will be considered for the analysis of his ideas.

In this chapter I will first discuss Lutyens and his relation with the Modern Movement, and then compare Lutyens to Frank Lloyd Wright who was a contemporary architect that early in hos career worked on a similar programme of domestic architecture to Lutyens' practice but afterwards had a transitional period towards Modernism. For a term of comparison I will use some of the ideals used by Le Corbusier who was a modern architect from the start of his career, even with his first projects in La Chaux-de-Fonds was already experimenting principles of modern approach to architecture. Modernity is perceived from two different perspectives: 1) refers to the new architecture of Modernism, with work by architects such as Le Corbusier; 2) refers to a contemporary movement that was not Modern with the same principle of the machine but modern contemporary as something new, based on the old tradition and humanism. My question is *What did Lutyens considered modern?*

Lutyens conducted his architecture from the essence expressed in Geoffrey Scott's thesis *The Architecture of Humanism* (1914):

> *Architecture's reflection of life, be it observed; not of abstract values, nor of structural means nor of a building's functional purpose, but the humanity that men of the renaissance age were accustomed to transfer to the forms and proportions of architecture. The operative words are 'through the medium of art'.*[1]

The genius of Lutyens relied on the capacity of handling human concepts and "Lutyens art-medium".[2] *The humanism vs the machine* means the tradition and old materials in opposition with industrialization, new materials and new technologies. Nevertheless, Lutyens was a supporter of "good architecture"[3] and he defended it his entire life. But: *What were his standards for 'good architecture'?* It is clear that he valued above all four major standards necessary to produce a coherent design present in the "Lutyens' canon".

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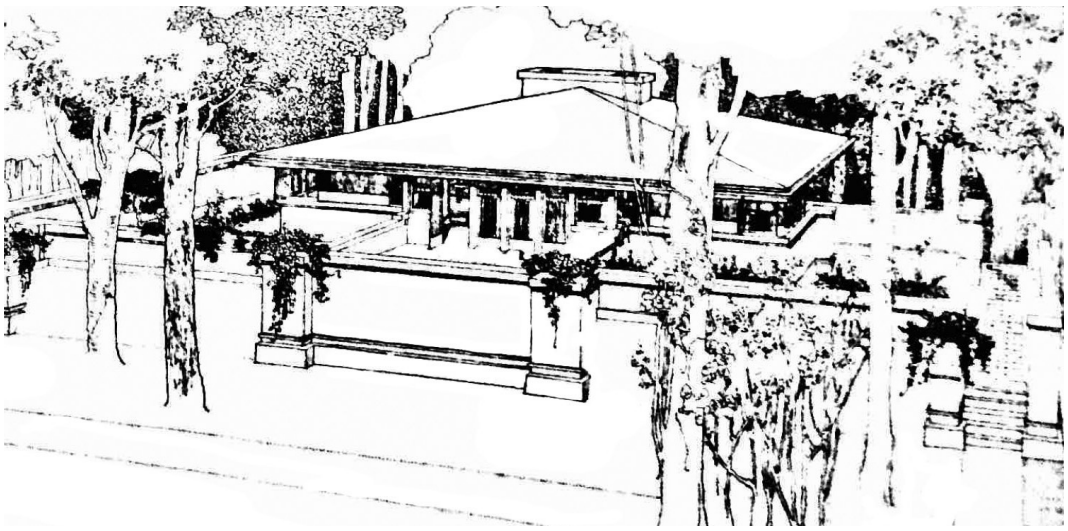
[1] Christopher Hussey, *The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens*, vol. IV, The Lutyens Memorial (London : New York: Country Life ; Scribner's, 1950), p.166.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Sir Edwin Lutyens, 'What I Think of Modern Architecture', *Country Life*, 1931, p.777, RIBA.



Edwin Cheney house, Oak Park (1903) by Frank Lloyd Wright: perspective from the street

These standards might be seen as a "mechanical" view that Lutyens instituted in his process of design. The spatial *composition* and *movement* he accomplished was a modern vision where he transferred the idea from the drawing directly to the construction. To reinforce this aspect, the use of perspective was not allowed in the office, the only use for it was to convince clients of Lutyens' intentions. Perspectives were normally associated with Picturesque because of the watercolours of men like Caldecott or Shaw who painted beautiful landscapes with cottages and small building in the countryside to illustrate the English living. However, from the analysis made during my thesis, Lutyens' canon might seem a set of standardised elements put in place to perform a coherent building; Lutyens might have had these standard thoughts unconsciously. *How did Lutyens might be compared to Le Corbusier?* The article "The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa" will provide an interesting perspective on how Lutyens might be compared to Corbusier. In spite of the article's comparison being between Palladio and Corbusier, Lutyens was aiming to design buildings with a similar approach to Palladio's architecture[4]. Thus, to better understand Sir Edwin's position in relation to Le Corbusier, we could consider Lutyens as a third element in this comparison, almost as a parallel architect to Palladio.

Although, there was an American architect contemporary to Lutyens that, in the beginning of his career, shared similar thoughts about Modernism. Until the end of the prairie houses[5] projects, Frank Lloyd Wright (1867-1959) confronted the machine and indulged traditionalism in his projects. This fact changed during his life, especially in the inter-War period, around 1930, when he started to sympathize with the machine, pre-fabrication and experimented with new technologies in his buildings. The focus of the following analysis will be during the first years of his own practice of the domestic architecture in the countryside in America.

In those years, Wright expressed his thoughts about the Arts and Crafts, the machine, architecture and the architecture through a series of writings, now compiled in the first volume of *Frank Lloyd Wright Collected Writing 1894-1930* edited by Bruce Books Pfeiffer. The second subchapter "Lutyens' canon vs Wright's pattern[6]" will confront two contemporary views about the Modernism and the machine, acknowledging the similarities and differences between both architects. They were working on the same programmatic base of domestic architecture, which benefited the comparative analysis between "canon" and

[4] Sir Edwin Lutyens, 'To Herbert Baker', Handwriting letter, (15 February 1903), RIBA.

[5] Between 1901 and 1909, Frank Lloyd Wright designed a group of houses in Oak Park, Illinois which have been known for Prairie houses

[6] Grant Hildebrand, *The Wright Space: Pattern and Meaning in Frank Lloyd Wright's* (Washington: University of Washington Press, 1991).

"pattern".

> *The Wright-Lutyens touch, the friendly texture of local materials, the big fire, the beamed ceiling, the inglenook, the loose organic plan – for all these qualities the English look back with Lutyens, the Americans forward with Wright.*[7]

Brett was referring to a later period of Wright's work, but can be interpreted differently. The English architects always looked at Lutyens' architecture as based on traditions and for that reason attached to the past. However, in the United States Wright was initially developing houses also based on traditionalism, but was encouraged to continue doing it rather than being criticized for it as Lutyens was in Europe. Below, I will clarify the common aspects between Lutyens and Wright's house regarding some of the parameters proposed to study "Lutyens' canon". The comparison will rely on symmetrical standards; important repetitive elements, composition and movement in order to acknowledge if either architects were aiming to the same goal, or to achieve an alternative modernity.

4.1 Lutyens' thoughts towards modernity

> *I require of a building as of an individual, that a statement be made gracefully, perhaps with distinction and humour. Many modern buildings, to me, are just shouting very loud and quite unintelligibly... there is vitality, heaps of it. But there seems to me no grammar and little sincere effort at style (...) Shall we ever 'conduct' again the iron posts and beams, with which we build, to some rhythm and code of entases, and so bring beauty in their train?*[8]

Lutyens started his professional career working with two other great English architects, Norman Shaw and Philip Webb. From them he received the ideals of tradition and the craftsmanship very much a constant presence throughout his work. Lutyens' thoughts about the new emerging architecture were expressed in letters to his close friend Herbert Baker, and on a series of articles he wrote, including "What I think of Modern Architecture" for *Country Life* (1931), "Sir Edwin Lutyens on Modern Architecture" in *The Architectural Review* (1932), also in *The Architecture Review* "How and Why", and "Tradition Speaks" both in 1923. For a man that Hussey described as a person of a few words[9], he wrote quite a few articles about Modernism.

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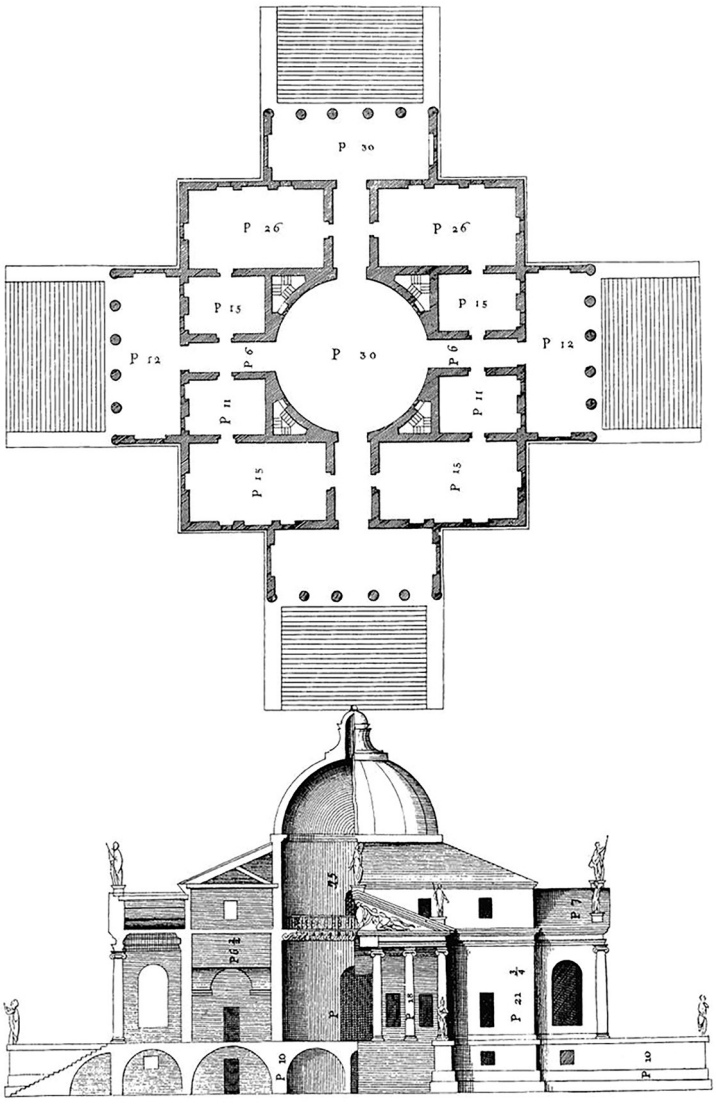
[7] Lionel Brett, 'The Cyma and the Hollyhock', *The Architectural Review*, March 1943, p.81, RIBA.

[8] Sir Edwin Lutyens *cit. in* Francis Pollen, 'The Last of the Classicists: Genius of Edwin Lutyens', *Country Life*, 3 April 1969, p.795, RIBA.

[9] Hussey, *The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens*, IV: p.XVII.



Villa Capra (Rotonda), Vicenza, Italy (1565) by Andrea Palladio: plan and section

Although Lutyens might have criticized Modernism, he would consider "thrilling" to see young architects who engaged in this movement making their first steps in an adventurous path. This was not enough to convince Lutyens to turn his back on his beliefs and endorse the new architecture.

> *It is this kind of haphazardness, lack of grammar, inconsequence that I find disturbing in modern architecture. These adventurous young men thrill me tremendously and all my sympathies are with them. But good architecture needs more than bright ideas, and by my traditional standards most modern buildings seem to me to lack style and cohesion, besides being unfriendly and crude.*[10]

The "Battle of Styles"[11] that took place during the nineteenth century between defenders of Gothic and defenders of Classicism left heavy marks on the architects that continued their practices through the turn of the century. Because Lutyens based his ideals on tradition from the past and humanism, so the description of Modernism as "lack of grammar" "unfriendly" environment was a reaction imposed by the normal requirements of comfort imposed by clients throughout Victorian and Edwardian eras. On the other hand, the "lack of style and cohesion" was contrary to what Lutyens believed about the coherence necessary to build a "home", not a house. Lutyens required that every detail had to be handled with dedication, "face their problems [of design] with sincerity"[12], and did not change the general idea behind the design just because "his world had no time for high art"[13]. The high art was for him the "High Game" or "Wrenaissance" or in another words, the qualities and attributes of Palladio and Wren's architecture. The classical architecture produced by these two architects was the new kind of "good architecture" that should be followed by the young architects, due to his regard for tradition and materials, only at the reach of the most talented architects like Inigo Jones or Christopher Wren. Lutyens wrote about this for the first time in a letter to Herbert Baker in 1904

> *In architecture Palladio is the game!! It is so big – few appreciate it now, and it requires training to value and realise it. The way Wren handled it was marvellous. (...)*
>
> *I feel sure that if Ruskin had seen that point of view he would have raved as beautiful as he raved for the Gothic, and I think he did have some insight before he died: his last writings were much more gentle towards the Italian Renaissance.*

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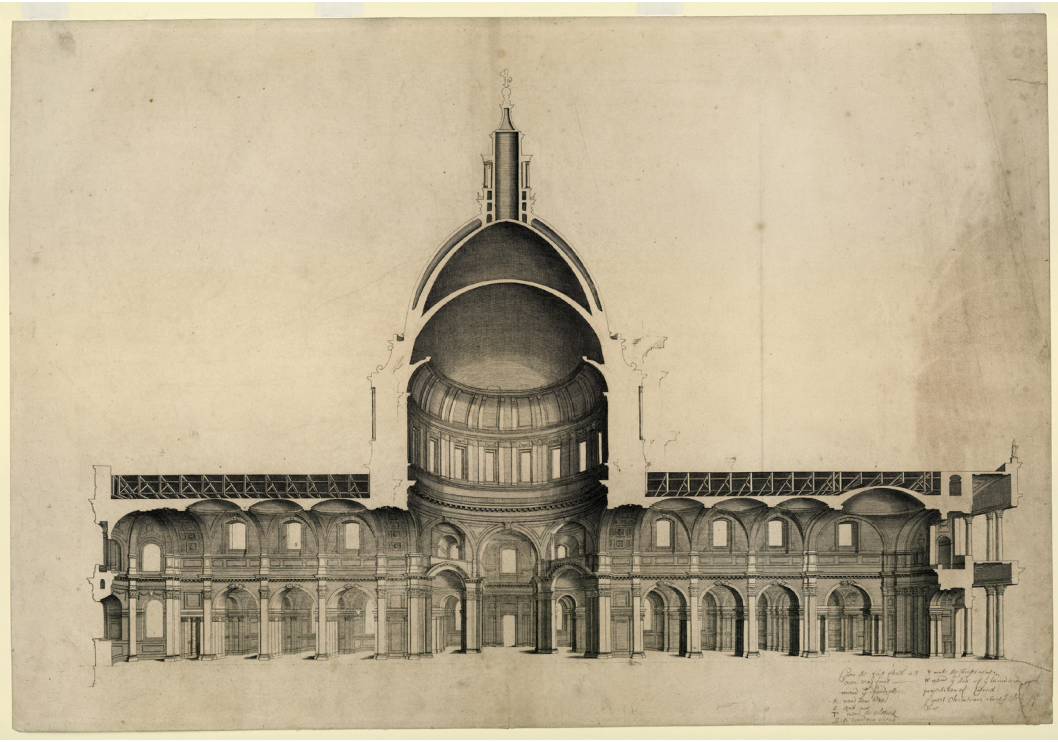
[10] Lutyens, 'What I Think of Modern Architecture', p.777.

[11] Reyner Banham, *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age*, Paperback ed., reprint. first edition 1960 (Oxford: Architectural Press, 2001).

[12] Sir Edwin Lutyens *cit. in* A. S. G. Butler, *The Architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens / A.S.G. Butler ; with Collaboration of George Stewart & Christopher Hussey.*, vol. 1, The Lutyens Memorial (London : New York: Country Life; Scribner, 1950), p.16.

[13] Ibid.



St. Paul's Cathedral, London (1675-1710) by Christopher Wren: section

> *It is a game that never deceives, dodges never disguise. It means hard thought all through – if it is laboured it fails. There is no fluke that helps it – the very what one might call the machinery of it makes it impossible except in the hands of a Jones or a Wren. So it is a big game, a high game, a game that Stevens played well as an artist should - though he never touched Wren (...) and beyond I do not say the mind of Ruskin, for he is a big man, but quite outside his preference.*[14]

Lutyens designed his houses from tradition standards, material truth and rhythm achieved from the mathematical proportion. The first two characteristics are visible in the entire work developed by Lutyens and the last became more explicit after his classical phase. Tradition is connected with historicism, which might be seen in two different ways. In my view, for Lutyens "it is in craftsman's 'how' and not in the historian's 'when' that the primary interest lies"[15], which meant that the knowledge we get from experience is greater than the learning gathered from books. That is, the "how" is the practical, applied work based in the knowledge from the past that should always be regarded as fundamental to every design. Although Lutyens referred to Jones and Wren as architects on the highest place of the podium that he intended to reach, and to get there he needed to respect the nature of materials and their tradition. His origins on the Arts & Crafts movement gave him the capacity to think about commodity in a wider logic than the classical architects had done. On the contrary, for Le Corbusier, historicism is not present in the design in the same way as in Lutyens' Gothic ancestors, but only in "the ideals of *convenance* and *commodité* displayed in the ingenious planning of the rococo hotel, the background of a social life amplified and intimate."[16] The Beaux Arts tradition in France continued present in Corbusier's architecture through the form of independent elements such as vestibules and in his admiration for Byzantine architecture.[17] Lutyens' *convenance* ideals came from a "basic plan" [18] display that was frequently used in the design of country houses during the nineteenth century. Additionally, the *commodité* was something that was intended for his clients, and that he incorporated in his designs through his humanist perspective.

It is not difficult to understand why today Lutyens is considered outside the main currents stream of modern architecture work, but we should not abandon/reject him only because

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[14] Lutyens, 'To Herbert Baker'.

[15] Sir Edwin Lutyens, 'Sir Edwin Lutyens on Modern Architecture', *The Architectural Review*, April 1923, p.123.

[16] Colin Rowe, 'The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa, Palladio and Le Corbusier Compared', *The Architectural Review*, March 1947, p.103.

[17] Ibid., p.104.

[18] Peter Inskip, 'Lutyens' Houses', in *Edwin Lutyens*, ed. David Dunster, Architectural Monographs 6 (London: Academy Editions, 1986), pp.9–29.

he did not fit the today's needs. As architect he worked from the past to the new, and "had reached an advanced stage in his development of the modern country house quite thirty years before steel and concrete took the field."[19] Lutyens like Pugin did not seek novelty to break with tradition as the Modern Movement did, but he sought to re-invent the past. His development during almost an entire career on the same programme – the country houses – helped Sir Edwin to rethink over and over again his methods by incorporating old techniques and concepts, and then giving it a "Lutyenist"[20] approach.

> *New materials have been made the excuse for bad design. Architecture should be the master and not the servant of material. The repetition of classic forms without knowledge is like the chatter of the parrot house. Thus the public turns with relief from the old tradition.*[21]

New materials create new problems in architecture, but the lack of knowledge about them difficult their use. Normally, the old tradition came with an intensive study about handling and application of materials, Modern Architecture is still a work in progress that every day unveils the new materials. The "young architect" was too impatient to learn their limitations and capitulated many things to the engineer and chemist. This was a limitation that Lutyens did not understand; to him engineers needed to be close friends, should be men of experience and truth but the final word belonged to the architect alone who should not leave anything to anyone.[22]

Modern architecture broke traditions and walked alongside with functionalism and the technology. However, Lutyens said "it is not wise to discard the 'secrets' of the past – the 'how' and 'why', with the sequence of rhythm and cadence of style".[23] For instance, the vernacular development of Lutyens' houses reached a higher status than those of his contemporaries; he added the syntax and form[24] (modern concepts) in his houses even if unconsciously. Hence, the rhythm achieved through spatial forms in sequence or solitary is directly related to proportions. Proportions are a very important factor in both Classical and Modern architecture as we might have seen in Palladio intentions of proportion becoming "a matter of individual sensibility and inspiration" whilst Corbusier, "in spite of the comforts which mathematics afford him, occupies no such unassailable position."[25]

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[19] Butler, *The Architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens*, 1: p.22.

[20] The term "Lutyenist" approach is used to identify an authorial canon not a style, something that we could relate to the architect Edwin Lutyens and learn from it.

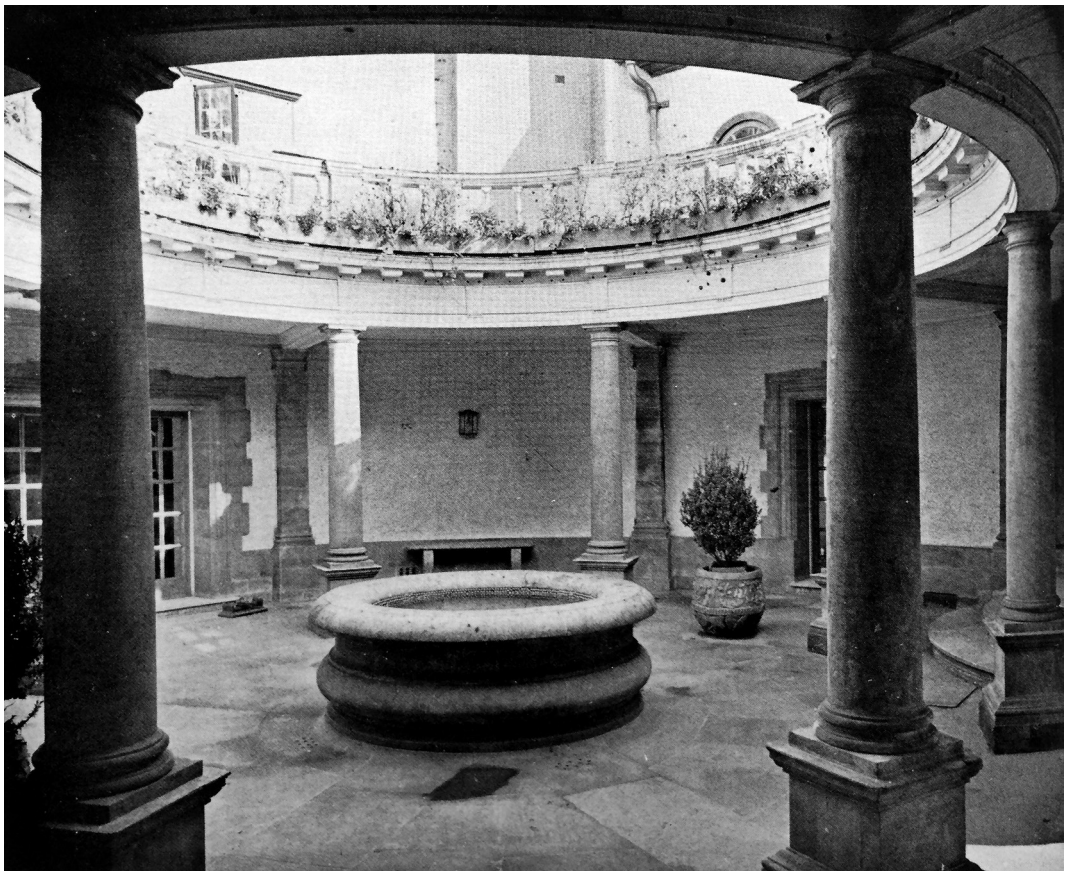
[21] Sir Edwin Lutyens, 'Tradition Speaks', *The Architectural Review*, October 1932, p.164.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid., p.163.

[24] Butler, *The Architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens*, 1: p.23.

[25] Rowe, 'The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa', p.102.



Papillon Hall, Leicestershire (1903) by Edwin Lutyens: photograph of the basin court

Functionalism is a matter to be taken in consideration when talking about Modern concepts. Function arrives as a controller to dictate the organizational display and the positioning of forms. Proportions would be affected by the mainstream of functionalism, but to control the overall shape, exact and neat, Le Corbusier, created "*des vérités réconfortantes".*[26] Lutyens borrowed from Palladio and Corbusier, neither controlling the proportion of his buildings to become a musical harmony, nor he conditioned the disposition of the interior to suit "functional" architecture. Indeed, the romantic movement in Lutyens' design was somewhat elaborated to correct his impression that architecture was outside the main stream of modern work to such an extent that it hardly pays to study it.[27] Lutyens looked for the tradition in the ancient method almost as Palladio who:

> *sought complete clarity of plan, the most lucid organisational of conventional elements based on symmetry, as the most memorable form or order, and mathematics as the supreme sanction in the world of external forms. In his own mind his work was essentially that of adaptation, the adaptation of the ancient house.*[28]

The modern should be based on the knowledge of old traditions or at least include the need to study the elements from the past before adopt them to the new design. The world is a place of learning and the impulse that "thrills" Lutyens also let him down. "Development was, therefore, less of a matter of innovation, than an extension of ideas already implicit."[29]

If Lutyens had decided to join the Modernists, he might have been unable to handle the new architectonic language so fundamentally linked to aspects that he found incomprehensible and with so many faults. Francis Pollen in 1969 initiated the answer to the question "*Why did Lutyens not turn to Modernism?*" by saying one of the reasons was his work opportunities in England for a special kind of traditionalist wealthy client.[30] However, it might be seen this way, his articles mentioned above suggested that the English clientele was not at the top of his concerns regarding the new architecture model.

In 1903, called *annus mirabilis*[31], Lutyens started his ascension to the new classicism. Before 1903, Lutyens' houses were described as romantic vernacular involved by a picturesque overlay. The following years represented a transitional period and it divided the critics. Those who were supporters of *Architecture of Humanism* (1914), disciples of Geoffrey Scott

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[26] Rowe, 'The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa', p.102.

[27] Butler, *The Architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens*, 1: p.22.

[28] Rowe, 'The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa', p.103.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Pollen, 'The Last of the Classicists: Genius of Edwin Lutyens'.

[31] Hussey, *The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens*, IV: p.118.

like A. S. G. Butler, and those like N. Pevsner who talked about a "fatal"[32] reversion to classical revivalism. Lutyens evolved between a dichotomy of romantic and classical styles, which, led him to a stage that no one else could reach.

> *Despite his increasing fascination with the "grammar" of classicism, Lutyens remained a romantic heart, and his best classical work is informed by a romantic ability to project his imagination into the life of his buildings. From architecture too Lutyens derived that skill in handling of materials that was to distinguish so much of his later work.* [33]

Lutyens' constant variation between classical knowledge and vernacular expertise produced a master collection of projects where his genius reflected the ability of a man who questioned every aspects of his work in order to achieve the "natural beauty" that Wren talked about.[34] The perfection attained in his buildings came from the overall aesthetics, and his ability to use one system of rules that was rigorous as the Classicism of Palladio and Wren, in addition to his use of the vernacular tradition that focuses on materials and incorporates character and a romantic appeal to the space as the inhabitants of the houses walked across them. "This was not mere historicism or pastiche".[35]

Pevsner on the other hand, in "Building with wit" searched for parallel attitudes of rejecting Modernism. Although he finds Berlage, De Klerk (1884-1923) and Dudok (1884-1974) having similar origins in picturesque and "two more qualities essential to Lutyens' work – the keen interest on the variety of materials and in craftsmanship"[36], Pevsner continued saying that the latter ones had renounced to every period ties while Lutyens kept liaisons with Palladianism.

The transitional period of Lutyens' ideals meant an evolution in his country houses designs. Although, the criticism to his work created doubts about the revivalism Lutyens had embraced, his designs did not become obsolete. On the contrary, his houses evolved and their design became more sophisticated and complex. Comparing to his contemporaries, Lutyens was either constructing with ancient methods, applying his own concerns to them, or he was just in complete denial with the new emerging architecture, but always improving his designs and questioning the new technologies.

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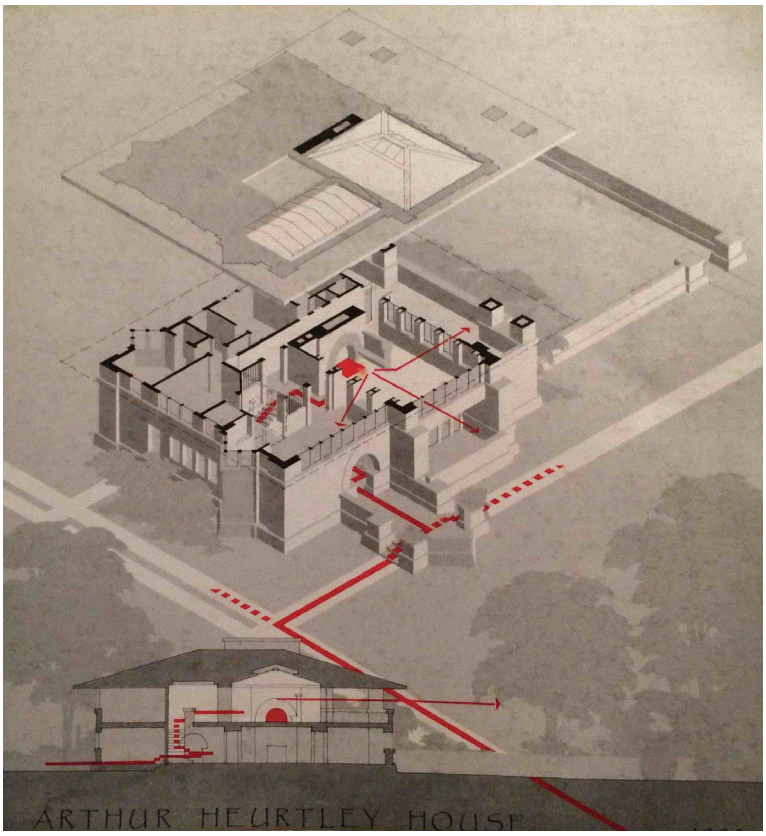
[32] Ian Nairn and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Surrey*, 2nd ed. / revised by Bridget Cherry. 1st ed. 1962, Buildings of England (New Haven ; London: Yale University Press, 2002), pp.65–66.

[33] Jane Ridley and Clayre Percy, *The Letters of Edwin Lutyens to His Wife Lady Emily.* (London: Collins, 1985), p.102.

[34] Rowe, 'The Mathematics of the Ideal Villa', p.102.

[35] Ridley and Percy, *The Letters of Edwin Lutyens to His Wife Lady Emily.*, p.103.

[36] Nikolaus Pevsner, 'Building with Wit, Architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens', *The Architectural Review*, April 1951, p.220, RIBA.



Arthur Heurtley house, Oak Park, Illinois (1902) designed by Frank Lloyd Wright: diagrammatic drawing by William Hook

4.2 Lutyens' canon *vs* Wright's pattern

In the United States, Frank Lloyd Wright, contemporary of Lutyens, had worked on a similar programme to the country houses at the start of his career. Wright, like Lutyens, inspired the integrity of materials and also denied the academic principles gathering experience by doing. Considering broadly the two men's projects from the turn of the century, we might say that is impossible to relate the two architects. From 1893[37] to 1900, Wright designed a wide range of atypical houses when compared to the rest of his career. After this seven years period he began to develop a particular repetitive configuration of key elements in the houses: entry, fireplace, ceiling, solid and glazed walls, and opening to adjacent interior and exterior spaces and terraces.[38]

"To turn from Lutyens to Wright is to experience a wrench so sudden that one can hardly believe they are contemporaries."[39] Yet, in 1929 Henry-Russell Hitchcock wrote *Modern Architecture: Romanticism and Reintegration* where he catalogued the important architects of the last and the present century into two categories: the "New Tradition" and the "New Pioneers". Lutyens and Wright were placed in the "New Tradition" group alongside William Morris, H.H. Richardson, Norman Shaw, Philip Webb, Charles Mackintosh, Charles Voysey, Louis Sullivan, H. P. Berlage, W.M. Dudok, Michel de Klerk, Otto Wagner, Peter Behrens, and Auguste Perret. On the "New Pioneers" Hitchcock included Le Corbusier, J. J. P. Oud, Gerrit Rietveld, Walter Gropius and Mies van der Rohe. This insight about Lutyens and Wright is really interesting because they are put in the same group, making them in some way similar. Another point to have in attention is the title of the book and the fact that Hitchcock classified all those architects in the category of "modern architecture". Taking in consideration "the revival interest in the Arts & Crafts movement which was after all the precursor of the Modern Movement"[40] Hitchcock vision is interesting, and correct.

Lionel Brett in 1943 wrote about Wright and Lutyens, comparing three Prairie houses to three country houses, and considered that "both architects are evidently romantics. That is to say, they loved to listen to emotional and picturesque overtones in defiance of functional or formal necessity."[41] Other intentions are similar in the work of both architects, for example, in their critique of the machine. Wright wrote in 1894:

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[37] 1893 marked the year Frank Lloyd Wright left the offices of Adler and Sullivan, where he started in 1888, to launch his own practice.

[38] Hildebrand, *The Wright Space*, p.19.

[39] Brett, 'The Cyma and the Hollyhock', p.80.

[40] Ridley and Percy, *The Letters of Edwin Lutyens to His Wife Lady Emily*, p.102.

[41] Brett, 'The Cyma and the Hollyhock', p.80.

> *Many people nowadays are content to live in "houses" instead of homes, hiding behind the plea of small means, which can never wash their sins away, for "home" means more than money and the smaller means sometimes show the very best results. (...)*
>
> *Many people seem to think (though I suspect it is because they do not think) that an "artistic" house is more or less of a "fake" anyway and (...) With a comfortable sort of satisfaction with their superior worldly sort of common sense, they invest money in a "house" that is the most impractically practical sort of box and looks as though it had been cut from cardboard with a pair of scissors and whitewashed for luck.*[42]

This argument of a "house" being an instrument and not having the same value as a space to ally comfortably with good qualities – a "home" – was also mentioned in the previous chapters when referring to the *elements* inside a country house. This position is a critique of the industrialized world where craftsmanship was getting fewer followers and the machine became more present in every day life making people believe that art was time consuming. Several years later Lutyens also criticised the humanity of the late 1920s on the release of Le Corbusier's *Vers une Architecture* (1923). Lutyens wrote in 1924 about the qualities of the machine as the main theme in Le Corbusier's architecture, and expressed his discontent with the "Robotism" of mankind contrary to a belief in his own English tradition as the most humanist of them all.

> *Humanity remains and will remain, I trust, humane. It is more likely that we shall return to the gorilla than become Robots, compelled to live in small enamelled cages. Emotion will never be controlled by sparking plugs. The logic of a French mind may make Corbusier house, or even a Versailles, but never a Hampton Court.*[43]

This comparison of Lutyens and Wright was not made only by Lionel Brett, Wright himself wrote a review on *The Lutyens Memorial* volumes in 1951, and it is in this piece that the knowledge and understanding between two men started. It is almost certain that they never met, and it is known that "neither man was influenced by the other. Most of the buildings illustrated [in "Lutyens' Architecture Restudied", 1969] were built contemporaneously or prior to the publication of either the Weaver (1914)[44] or the Wasmuth (1910)[45] monographs."[46] Still, Wright respected Lutyens and often talked about him to his students.[47]

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[42] Frank Lloyd Wright, 'The Architect and the Machine, 1894', in *Frank Lloyd Wright : Collected Writings*, vol. 1: 1894-1930, 5 vols (New York: Rizzoli: The Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation, 1992), pp.20–26.

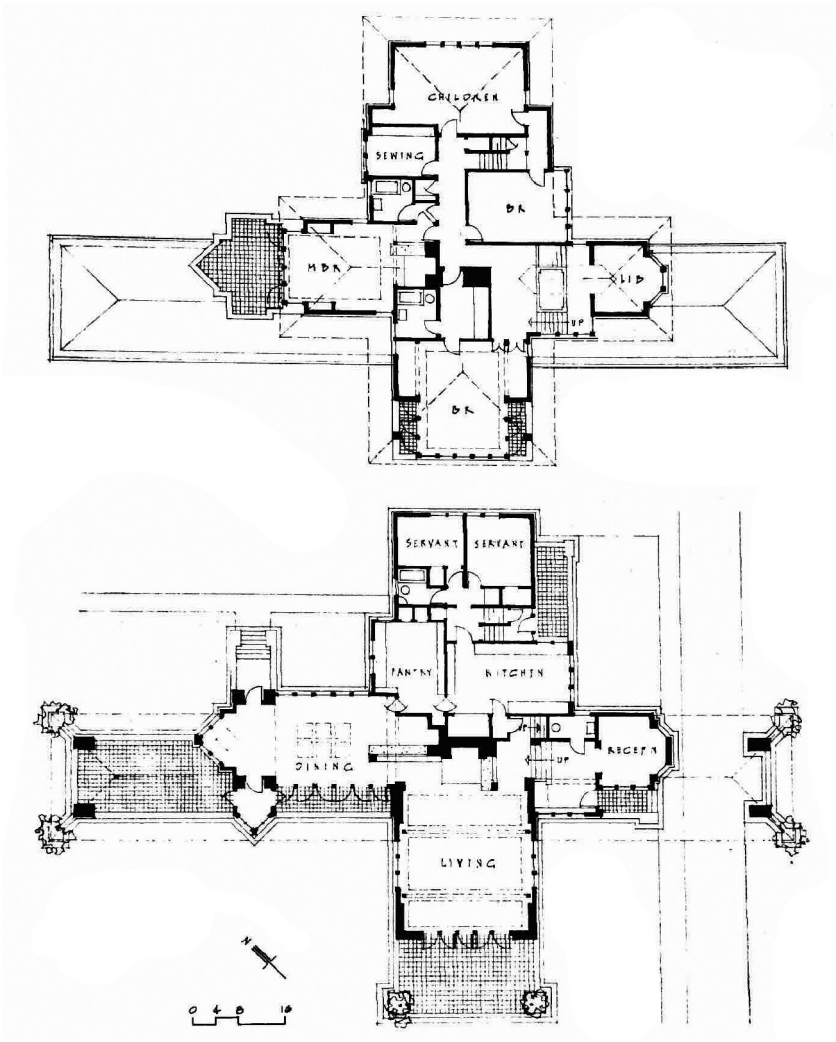
[43] Sir Edwin Lutyens, 'The Robotism of Architecture', *The Observer*, 21 March 1928, ProQuest.

[44] Lawrence Weaver, *Houses and Gardens by E. L. Lutyens.* (London: Country Life, 1914).

[45] Frank Lloyd Wright, *Ausgeführte Bauten und Entwürfe: von Frank Lloyd Wright*, 1st edition, 2 vols (Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth, 1910).

[46] Allan Greenberg, 'Lutyens' Architecture Restudied', *Perspecta*, The Yale Journal Architecture, no. 12 (1969): p.147.

[47] Gavin Stamp, 'The Rise and Fall and Rise of Edwin Lutyens', *The Architectural Review*, November 1981, p.316.



B. Ward Willits house, Highland Park, Illinois (1901) designed by Frank Lloyd Wright: upper and ground floor

> *Now all effort in Art of the quality of Sir Edwin's effort is precious as a natural heritage, and rare.*
> *We can no more afford to build for a sentimental taste in his – our Day and Time. Where we used to feel we now need to know in order to be safe Architects for any Future that is Now. In common with multitudes I liked Sir Edwin the man and I admire his work as a great English architect.*
> *We can follow his own great qualities, not his buildings.*[48]

What Wright intended to say by this last sentence was that his interest in Lutyens' architecture was not the overall finished building but the common "importance of the plan in the design of those buildings".[49] What we might apprehend through this was that Wright's interest concerned the "Lutyens' canon", and its process, but not the final product published in *Country Life*. This was said in a later phase of Wright's career, when he endorsed the prefabrication, standardisation and new technologies with which he experimented. Here, he expressed a feeling of nostalgia towards the concerns of his early works. Meanwhile, in the early phase some of the characteristics of Lutyens' canon might be present in Wright's work. For instance, the symmetrical disposal of rooms, which Wright incorporated in a cruciform plan; or the central *element* of the fireplace or solid mass positioned at the intersection of the main axis, which developed an interest in chimneys as an important exterior element integrated into the *composition*. Even the circulation *movement* deflecting from the main axis[50] can be perceived as a similarity of Wright's work with "Lutyens' canon".

Thus, in 1991 Grant Hildebrand elaborates a hypothesis based on the method used by Frank Lloyd Wright since 1900 and encompassing the years he designed the prairie houses in Oak Park. Hildebrand called this methodological approach "pattern". The Ward W. Willits house (1901) is the first example of the prairie houses type but not the first where all the elements G. Hildebrand described as "Wright's pattern" could be found. This "pattern" is composed by thirteen characteristics of repetitive configuration of domestic architecture that are seen for the first time in Arthur Heurtley House (1901), built a few months after the Willits house. The "pattern" started from a horizontality goal, flat and lower ceilings, central fireplaces, French doors, and walls of windows. Also, the "pattern" is defined by major spaces elevated, overlooking the terrain; fireplace as the heart of the house; low

[48] Frank Lloyd Wright, 'The Memorial Volumes Reviewed by Frank Lloyd Wright', *Building*, July 1951, pp.261–62, RIBA.

[49] Greenberg, 'Lutyens' Architecture Restudied', p.144.

[50] Hideaki Haraguchi, *A Comparative Analysis of 20th-Century Houses* (New York: Rizzoli, 1989), pp.26–27; Greenberg, 'Lutyens' Architecture Restudied', pp.144–45.

Papillon Hall, Leicestershire (1903) designed by Edwin Lutyens: the hall with central fireplace;
Edwin Cheney house, Oak Park, Illinois (1903) designed by Frank Lloyd Wright: living room with central fireplace

ceiling edge; interior views to contiguous spaces; glass and glazed doors located on a wall away from the fire; generous elevated terraces; deep overhanging eaves; central chimney; horizontal grouping windows; balconies or terraces; and connection from exterior to interior done by a long circulation path.[51]

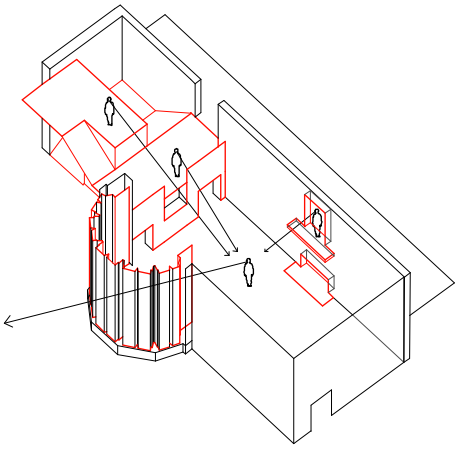
Lutyens used a similar approach that we discussed in previous chapters. For example, Papillon Hall was a house where Sir Edwin added four new rooms to an ancient octagonal volume disposing the rooms symmetrically in four different directions around a central volume, a hall with a fireplace like in Ward W. Willits house, where Frank Lloyd Wright used a cruciform plan around a central core with a system that combined two fireplaces of the main rooms. Fireplaces as referred in chapter 2, were a theme Wright used with a supplementary purpose (more than just heating) as Lutyens did. The Edwin Cheney House, Oak Park (1903) and W. H. Winslow house, River Forest (1893) are perfect examples of Wright's intention of making the fireplace the centre of the entire composition.

> *Your fireplace no longer needs to be an inconsequential piece of wooden furniture, planked against a blank wall, with about as inviting an aspect as the coal had or a pair of tongs and quite as deciduous in character, but may be a substantial thing of beauty that you feel is solidly incorporated in your building. So consider this well in your plan.*[52]

Interior views, interconnections between spaces through architectural screens are typical in both architects' work. Long corridors are a theme Lutyens used in Deanery Garden where they were not closed but open to the exterior by a long glazed window; or opened to the interior (to the lower hall) by means of interior balconies like in Little Thakeham. Wright's corridor in Avery Coonley house, Riverside (1907) had view connections to the contiguous living room, which were possible due to a low separation wall and no door, creating a space infinite and more fluid. Additionally, there was no obstruction from the horizontal windows to capture the natural light inside this large space. Wright used screens to create larger and lighter spaces, without adding walls to close and reduce them. There were no doors in the corridor towards the dining and living room, unifying the three spaces. Lutyens values a sequence of different spaces, punctuated by several doors along the way, making a single space finite; for example Heathcote or Papillon Hall. At the same time, Wright values the infinity of spaces where the user might circulate freely without being stopped by a door. Also an interesting aspect of Wright's work was his ability to create private spaces near the street. If we examine C. Robie house section, in Chicago (1909),

[51] Hildebrand, *The Wright Space*, pp.20–25.

[52] Wright, 'The Architect and the Machine, 1894', p.22.



Little Thakeham, Sussex (1902) designed by Edwin Lutyens: diagrammatic drawing with visibilities to the hall;
Frederick C. Robie house, Chicago (1909) designed by Frank Lloyd Wright: section with visibilities to the street

the visibilities and invisibilities allowed from the street resulted in the privacy needed for the family and a comfortable relation to the street without high walls guarding the main house. Lutyens, on the other hand, either distanced the house from the road or elevated high walls to assure the family's privacy.

Nevertheless, it is through the relation of the plan and movement that both architects were in concordance. This was achieved by the variation of geometrical volumes through a sequence of spaces. In the case of Lutyens, this is visible in Salutation or Heathcote and in the case of Wright it was in Willits house that the geometrical variation occurred between the major rooms by screens projecting out of the fireplaces at the core. "This variation of volume is developed into a system of transitory spaces at Unity Temple (1904)."[53]

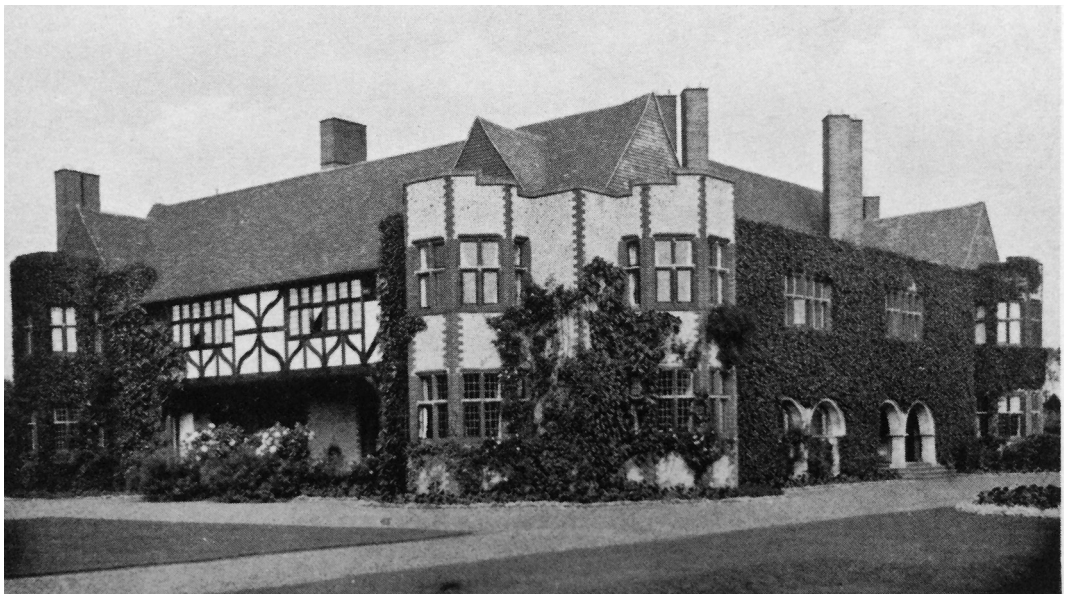
Both architects had similar views about the relation between the house and the exterior and with its surroundings. Lutyens used bow windows with various shapes and sizes to frame the garden, creating a large canvas that the user could see from inside as in Deanery Garden or Little Thakeham. Wright respected the horizontality of the volume and by that he created long eaves and expanse horizontal windows to make the user believe that the outside was an extension of the interior space. Yet, fenestration was not the only concern to both of them. The terrain and the spaces directly connected to it were also properly designed to fit the sloppiness of the grown and merge the whole – house and garden. Lutyens' loggia at Overstrand Hall, right in front of the hall, or the bridge over the tank aligned with the entrance porch on the main axis at Deanery Garden expressed this intention of linking inside and outside. This is also visible on Wright's works. Covered porches and terraces or balconies as in Ward W. Willits house and C. Robie house accomplished the relationship of both house and garden. To complement all these, the garden was thought like every other space inside a house - a space to be designed and to receive particular features such as fountains, pools, statues, flower garden, etc.

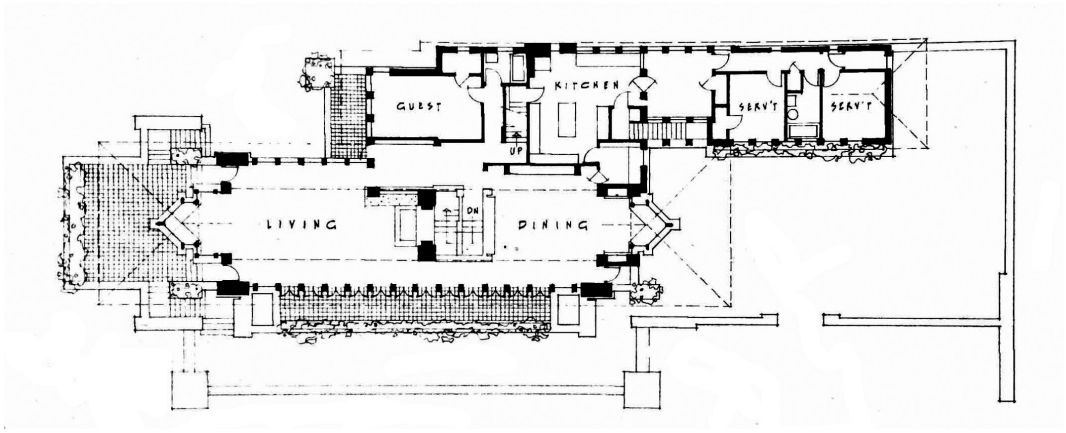
> *The pavilions rise out of the cliff on high bases, ornamental pools... Structure and expression are simple; the scale of the parts, despite their extent, remains domestic; yet the fullest advantage is taken both of the charms of the natural site and the possibilities of rich planting.*[54]
>
> *To elaborate a new kind of house... penetrated from all side by the garden through loggias, a fountain court, and great ranges of leaded glass... its plan radiates far outside the house into terraces, brick paved pergolas, and an intricately stepped and planted pool garden.*[55]

[53] Greenberg, 'Lutyens' Architecture Restudied', p.146.

[54] Frank Lloyd Wright *cit. in* Brett, 'The Cyma and the Hollyhock', p.80.

[55] Sir Edwin Lutyens *cit. in* ibid.





Overstrand Hall, Norfolk (1899) designed by Edwin Lutyens: the loggia;
Frederick C. Robie house, Chicago (1909) designed by Frank Lloyd Wright: ground floor plan, terraces and balconies with hatch

The first citation is from Wright while the second is from Lutyens. However, they were both true if we identified them otherwise. In Wright’ project at Taliesin East (1911) the relationship between volume and terrain is accomplished through the division and expanse of small volumes on the sloped area. Heathcote Mansion and Deanery Garden are prime examples of these philosophies expressed by Lutyens where in the first, the geometry of the main building is reflected on the paved garden, and in the second the line of water crossed the garden, finishing and starting in circular tanks, plus a bridge dividing gardening zones.

> *The similarity to the organizational of Lutyens’ plans is starling. The use of a preconceived geometric plan form, cross axes occupied by a solid mass, asymmetrical circulation within a plan of symmetrically disposed rooms, the interweaving of circulation and axes, and the development of sequences of spaces.*[56]

During the early years both architects adopted a method towards an alternative modernity, renouncing the machine and the standardisation. Both men criticised the lack of coherence in Modernism, founded on a common tradition of Romanticism and Classicism to create a new thinking to be presented to the American and English architecture. It was a new form to adapt the existing concepts and transform them into an original system where we could learn the importance of the knowledge gathered from the past methods and traditions.

[56] About Frank Lloyd Wright *in* Greenberg, ‘Lutyens’ Architecture Restudied’, p.145.

CONCLUSION

A third alternative

My aim with this thesis is, through a methodological analysis, create a hypothesis about two aspects of Lutyens' work. The first regards Lutyens' system of approach to design his projects, which I call "Lutyens' canon". The second draws upon the first and questions whether Lutyens created a new and innovative way of designing in alternative to modernity – a "third alternative". These aspects came to my attention when I questioned why "the greatest artist in building this country [England] has ever produced"[1] was forgotten during his life and only after his death he was remembered and discussed by the architectural community.

Lutyens was a man of great ability and natural sensibility for architecture. He was a great artist, a fine spirit, and a profound thinker[2] not recognised during his lifetime, or just by very few. He devoted his entire life to architecture, on the pursuit of beauty through "Method, Scale and Rhythm."[3] I attempt to explain the meaning of "Method" in my thesis. The method is revealed when his country houses' projects share common features and have similar intentions. From the five key-concepts presented, we can reveal the basic standards for "Lutyens' canon". In spite of, calling them standards, Lutyens did not use them as pre-elaborated themes and applied them to "real" situations. Sir Edwin's achievement was a method based on empirical knowledge obtained during his childhood and throughout his work until he embraced the Renaissance as inspiration. Also, "his whole subconscious and the greater part of his conscious mind ... were entirely immersed on his art"[4], allied with the fundamental respect for absolute values of beauty, truth, human dignity, and, during his Classical stage, mathematical proportions.[5] *Was "Lutyens' canon" a relation between wit and method?* All these aspects are what I consider to make up the "Lutyens' canon", which I then analysed using a specific set of standards, in order to unveil the empirical and "unconscious" method behind the country houses' projects. Although, it seems possible that Lutyens had a set of well-studied themes that he applied to his designs, they were never used neither indiscriminately nor without context. Every *form* and *element* played their part in the *composition*. Every key-concept does not stand by itself. The complexity of Lutyens' plans was neither related to the variety of forms nor to a modular grid alone. The paradox in Lutyens' work is that it seems simple when we regard the method from individual angles, but when we combine two or three or even all the key-concepts we end up with a new complex system of design – the Lutyens' canon.

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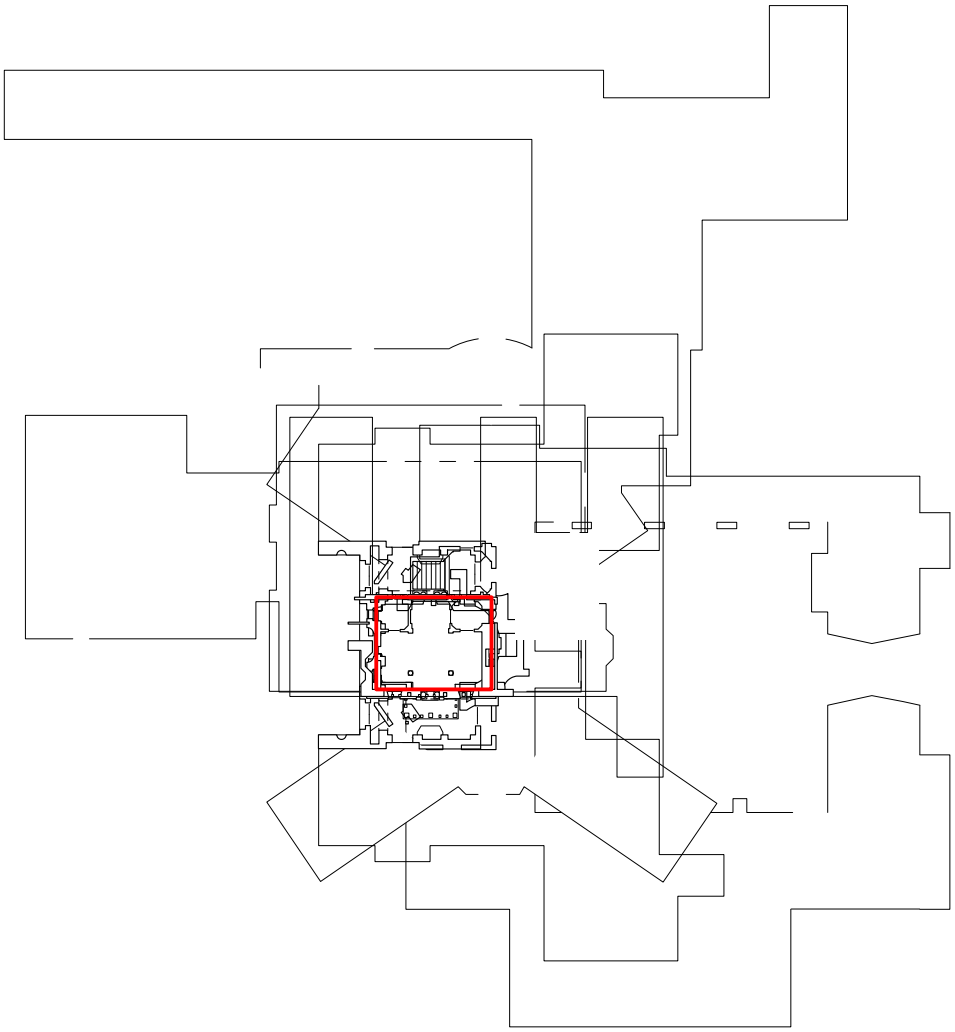
[1] A. S. G. Butler 'Reminiscences on Sir Edwin Lutyens', *AA Journal*, March 1959, p.236.

[2] Christopher Hussey, *The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens*, vol. IV, The Lutyens Memorial (London : New York: Country Life ; Scribner's, 1950), p.583.

[3] Ibid., IV: p.587.

[4] Christopher Hussey, 'The Personality of Lutyens', *RIBA Journal*, no. April (April 1969): p.142.

[5] Hussey, *The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens*, IV: p.586.



Hall - Proportion 25 by 20

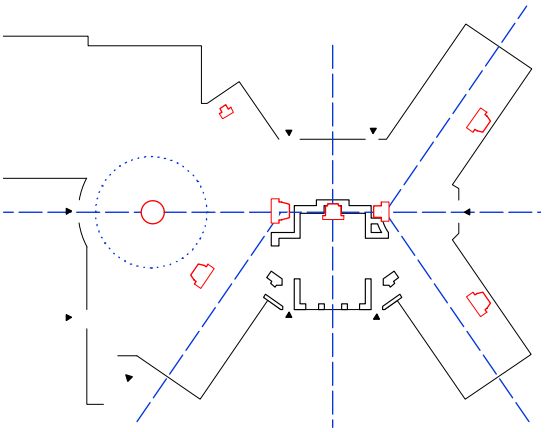
Overlaid Plans: Munstead Wood (1896), Orchards(1899), Deanery Garden (1900),
Papillon Hall (1903), Heathcote (1906), Salutation (1911)

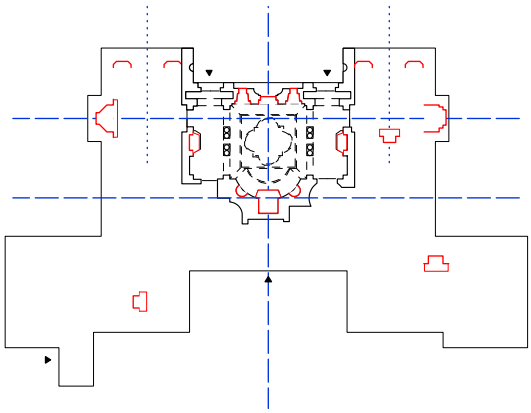
If we pay attention to the country houses previously analysed, six of the eleven examples have similar proportions in the main space area – the hall. These six projects were realized in different styles and in different dates. Yet, Lutyens used the 25 by 20 feet proportion ratio to compose the hall. The first time this measure was used it was in Munstead Wood (1896) and the last (between the period stipulated for the analysis) in Salutation (1911). During fifteen years Lutyens used this method consciously or not at least six times in Munstead Wood, Orchards (1899), Deanery Garden (1901), Papillon Hall (1903), Heathcote (1906), and finally at Salutation (1911). However, it was not always under the same *form*. Lutyens based his canon on common aspects. The canon might have started with a standard feature, but he then adapted it to the specificity of each house and its requirements. In the Orchards' project Lutyens designed a hall with a bay window facing south where the proportion ratio of 25 by 20 feet is only seen in the part of the hall aligned to the bay window, contrarily of what happens in Deanery Garden. There, the 25 by 20 is the entire hall without the bay window. Well, this is an example of one theme in "Lutyens' canon" to which he gave special importance because of its relation to mathematical proportions. Normally in his country houses, as verified in the third chapter, the proportion given to the hall is subdivided or multiplied to compose the modular grid for the entire project of the main building, which led me to consider the importance of the hall not only for *accommodation* standards but also as the main motif that dictated the entire *composition*.

As mentioned previously, the key-concepts are only tools to create a complex system of design, invisible when we read the project as a whole. The association of these ideals composed a "mechanism" that worked with the relation of parts, symmetry, proportion ratios, compositional axis, central elements, and variations of geometry. This "mechanism" is not similar to the machine or pre-fabrication ideals imposed during the Modern Movement. It is only a set of "absolute values"[6] that Lutyens had in his mind during the design process, which he did not take for granted. The interconnection among these values composes the "Lutyens' canon", and makes Lutyens a "legend".[7] If we consider, for instance, three of the five key-concepts: *form, composition,* and *elements,* we might see the complexity and the genius behind every design. Taking a closer look to Overstrand Hall (1899), Deanery Garden, Papillon Hall, Homewood (1900), Heathcote, and Nashdom (1909) we might understand the association of ideas Lutyens intended. This association concerns the *form* of the space located on the south end of each building, associated with the *composition* of the main axis that crosses the space and indicates the direction the building

[6] Hussey, *The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens*, IV: p.586.

[7] Ibid., IV: p.XVII.





Axial composition + Elements + Form

Plans: Papillon Hall (1903) and Heathcote (1906)

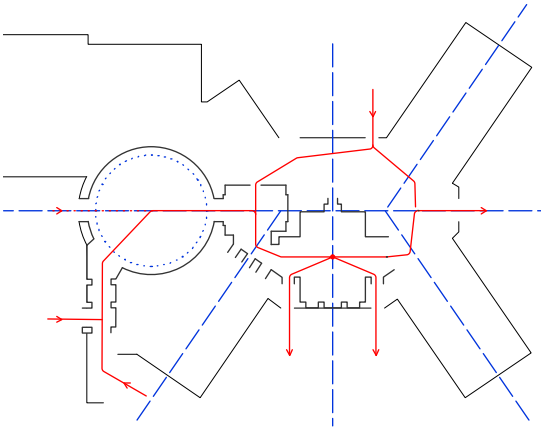
must follow, and the *elements* position in strategic points of intersection between *form* and *composition*. For example, Heathcote has a system of three main compositional axis: two of them transversal, and one longitudinal. The longitudinal intersects the transversal one in the middle of the building. Thus, the intersection of the two occurs at the extremity of the main space, precisely at the apse where the central fireplace is located, the main *element* in the hall. We might say this did not occur by chance. Furthermore, when the second transversal axis intersects with the general outline – the shape – of the building, it creates two more important *elements* to the *composition* and *accommodation* of the interior space – an inglenook and a fireplace. Another example is Papillon Hall where the system of the compositional axis indicates the *form*, and vice versa. As well as, in Heathcote the intersection of axis culminates with important central elements. In this case, the system of the axis is more complex. One longitudinal and one transversal axis intersect and place the grand fireplace in the main hall. The other three diagonal axis intersect the transversal axis creating two other fireplaces – one for the entrance hall, and another for the ante-room. Heathcote and Papillon Hall have a symmetrical *composition* to support these claims and reinforces Lutyens' objectives and purpose.

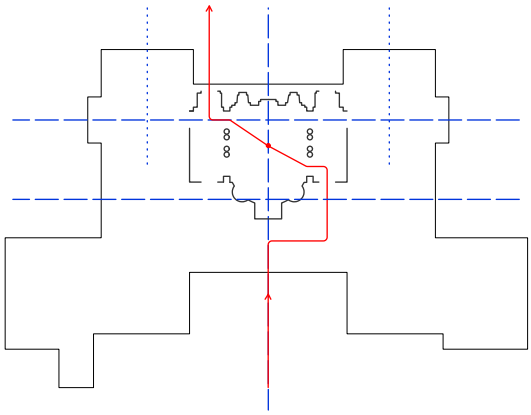
If we look otherwise, as Fernando Távora would say, the contrary is also correct. The compositional axis may influence *accommodation* either through physical connections between spaces such as passages, and doorways or through visual connections, such as windows. Furthermore, these visual connections contributed, to a great extent, to acknowledge the "Lutyens' canon", using the principles of *aspect* and *prospect*[8] introduced in 1864 by Robert Kerr. The *prospect* ideal, particularly, is related to Lutyens' interest in the landscape. *How could the garden be a part of the house? How could the garden become an extension of the interior space?* These main concerns were expressed in his collaboration with Gertrude Jekyll, who helped him use windows as frames to the beautiful exteriors, elaborated by the pair. Lutyens used not only windows to capture this intention, but also bay windows with different forms and sizes, balconies or terraces that would overview the entire property, as well as, loggias where the owner could rest in the shadow and still enjoy the view.

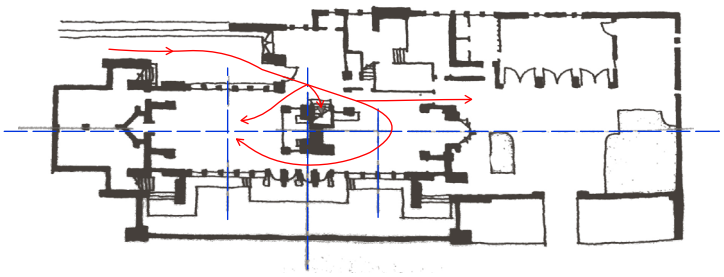
The "Lutyens' canon" is difficult to understand in light of the methodologies of his contemporaries of the Modern Movement. Still, they were very different in *form* but shared some classical and romantic principles.

> *One, Le Corbusier described as the principle of fitting human needs to a finite intellectual system, cellular in character, standardised in type, politically autocratic, aesthetically classical.*

[8] Robert Kerr, *The Gentleman's House; or, how to plan English Residences from the Parsonage to the Palace; with tables of accommodation, cost, and plans*, Third edition, revised. First edition 1864 (London: John Murray, 1871), p.79.







Axial composition + Movement

Lutyens' plans: Papillon Hall (1903) and Heathcote (1906)
Wright's plan: Robie house (1909)

> *The other, less powerful, to which the names of Mumford and Frank Lloyd Wright attach, stands at the opposite extreme, and envisages a reshaping of social, aesthetics, and structural forms to fit the natural proclivities of the human organism; politically democratic, aesthetically romantic.*[9]

Chapter 4 discussed Lutyens' thoughts on Modernism and we concluded that he did not understand why architecture should cut ties with everything from the past. Unlike Le Corbusier, Lutyens believed that tradition and truth were the means to a "good architecture"[10], for spaces to be inhabited, diverging from being a set of standardised procedures and prefabricated materials to build an "unfriendly"[11] whitewashed box made of concrete. Lutyens could be seen as a "third alternative" to Modernism and its complete renouncement, proposing an alternative modernity based on old methods and architecture traditions with a renewed composition. However, in the beginning of the twentieth century, the chance to be a third alternative was rejected and Lutyens and his work were almost forgotten.[12] Just a few architects recognised him as a great architect, most did not support someone who was not thinking along the lines of Modernism of those who were building in central Europe.

If comparing Lutyens and Wright equivalent approaches, the canon and the pattern[13], we might observe more than romantic principles at play: the same base on the use of tradition, unlike Le Corbusier, and similar themes related to Modernism. In addition, Lutyens and Wright had similar concerns about *movement*. This ideal of *movement* is firmly elaborated and firmly adopted by Le Corbusier, that he would call *promenade architecturale*. Lutyens and Wright developed a similar concept inside their buildings, where the user would circulate within an intricate planning of transitory spaces to form a sequence that starts at the entrance leading to the garden or to the hall in Lutyens' case, or to arrive at the main rooms or terraces in Wright's designs. This sequence of spaces is designed according to an axial *composition,* but the *movement* is always deflected from the axis. The main reason for that is to create a more dynamic path, in which the user discovers the space as he/she continues to open doors. The *movement* is also accentuated by the geometric and volumetric variation through a sequence of rooms. If we consider the examples of Lutyens'

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[9] Hussey, *The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens*, IV: p.587.

[10] Sir Edwin Lutyens, 'What I Think of Modern Architecture', *Country Life*, 1931, p.777, RIBA.

[11] Ibid.

[12] A. S. G. Butler, *The Architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens / A.S.G. Butler ; with Collaboration of George Stewart & Christopher Hussey*, vol. 1, The Lutyens Memorial (London : New York: Country Life; Scribner, 1950), p.21.

[13] Grant Hildebrand, *The Wright Space: Pattern and Meaning in Frank Lloyd Wright's* (Washington: University of Washington Press, 1991).

country houses analysed in the thesis, we might observe the *movement* deflected from the axis to make the user walk thought the space, while experiencing each space, one at the time, because each room has its own identity and character. With Wright, on the other hand, if we consider Robie house, the sequence of spaces is different from the sequence in Heathcote. Robie house resembles more to Papillon Hall if we consider *movement*. Both houses have a central piece where the user circles around to arrive at each reception room. In Robie house the central piece is the association of a fireplace and a staircase, and around it are placed the reception rooms. The user circulates around this piece and enters freely in each room without being stopped by doors and with a continuity of windows that *prospect* the surrounding garden. Papillon Hall, is similar in which each space has its own character and the user circles around the grand fireplace of the hall. The difference between the two houses is that Lutyens used the concept of finite space, each room sustained by itself while Wright adopts the infinite space by creating one large space. This is a differentiation that positions Wright near the modernist open space. This space is developed in three directions and one central *element* that makes the user to contour it. Those systems allow the user to discover spaces, making them important pieces to experience the design. The human scale is fundamental, together with proportions and rhythm. This is the new key concept introduced by Edwin Lutyens, and that Frank Lloyd Wright also had in his projects. As Lawrence Weaver, pointed out

> *Architecture can no more invent a new style than literature can create a new language. Just as a modern writer will abjure the precise imitation of Elizabethan forms, though he may seek to express as richly and strongly the spirit of his day out of a vocabulary but little changed, so does the architect set his skill to solve new problems with old materials, and from the same elements to create new compositions.*[14]

Despite his alternative methods being forgotten, after Lutyens' death, a movement of a young generation of architects, different from those who supported Modernism, started to "rediscover Lutyens with excitement and with delight"[15]. This movement, referred to as "Lutyens Revival", was quite vibrant in the 1970s.[16] It may have been started with the intervention at the Victorian Society of Nicholas Taylor and Roderick Gradidge, who organized a series of tours to visit Lutyens' houses. Since then, the Arts Council of Britain organized an exhibition in 1981 that took place at the Hayward Gallery. A second Lutyens' exhibition was coordinated by the same organization paired with Colin Amery, Roderick

[14] Lawrence Weaver, *Houses and Gardens by E. L. Lutyens* (London: Country Life, 1914), Preface.
[15] Gavin Stamp, 'The Rise and Fall and Rise of Edwin Lutyens', *The Architectural Review*, November 1981, p.317.
[16] Ibid.

Gradidge, Margaret Richardson, Mary Lutyens, and Gavin Stamp.[17] However, since the publication of *The Lutyens Memorial* in 1950 critiques began to appear either supporting Lutyens' work or against it. On the celebration of Lutyens' centenary, in 1969, the *RIBA Journal* published a special issue with three articles about Lutyens. The first, already cited here, is by Christopher Hussey and reflects on how Lutyens' personality affected his work. The other two were written one by Alison Smithson and the other by Peter Smithson and are very interesting. They represent a group that reacted against the "Lutyens Revival" more than celebrating his accomplishments.

Alison Smithson discussed a responsibility towards English architecture that Lutyens did not fulfil. Instead, Lutyens "represented a retrogressive step by an architect which because of his plentiful talent probably cannot be forgiven by any who fought for the heroic period of modern architecture, or even, as some did, only caught a whiff of his powder."[18] Her statement presents a duality of opinion: while blaming Lutyens for not using his talent to the benefit of the Modern Movement, speculating about his disinterest on Modernity, she also considers that he might have captured ideas from that movement. As discussed above, Lutyens did not embrace the Modern Movement, but there are some themes and ideas that he might have taken from it. Peter Smithson continued to denunciate Lutyens's work by insisting on its futility to the generation of Modernists.

> *Trying to think about Lutyens is like trying to think about the younger Saarinen: enviable talent, but historically speaking distressingly unhelpful. Lutyens was caught in the box of his time too tightly for it to be possible for my generation to think about his work without pain…*
>
> *And is it being too romantic for one's heart to be still breaking over Mackintosh – born within a year of Lutyens over that talent that died of too much little appreciation as the other's perhaps died of to much?*[19]

His statement diverged considerably from Frank Lloyd Wright's claim on *The Lutyens Memorial* Review that "We can follow his [Lutyens] own great qualities, not his buildings."[20] Still, Smithson vividly opposed Lutyens' intentions of an alternative modernity, refusing to understand his position blaming Sir Edwin for his own neglecting. Moreover, Alison Smithson furthered her argument by criticizing Lutyens' "growing skill as manipulator of forms (…) woven into his increase expertise on an admixture of styles."[21] This critique

[17] Stamp, 'The Rise and Fall and Rise of Edwin Lutyens', p.317

[18] Alison Smithson, 'The Responsability of Lutyens', *RIBA Journal*, no. April (April 1969): p.146.

[19] Peter Smithson, 'The Viceroy's House in Imperial Delhi', *RIBA Journal*, no. April (April 1969): p.154.

[20] Frank Lloyd Wright, 'The Memorial Volumes Reviewed by Frank Lloyd Wright', *Building*, July 1951, pp.261–62, RIBA.

[21] Smithson, 'The Responsability of Lutyens', p.148.

together with Robert F. Jordan's testimony on *AA Journal* in 1959 continued the judgment of Lutyens fight for tradition's standards. He spoke on behalf of the young generation of modern architects and he declared that the older and younger generations wrongly used the terms "tradition" and "contemporary". For Robert Jordan

> *Tradition is what we are given, what is handed down to us. Tradition implies continuity. Lutyens could not have worked in the baroque tradition; to have done so he would have had to learn it from somebody who had learnt it from Hawksmoor. Lutyens, like everybody else in all the stylistic revivals of the last 150 years, was not a traditionalist; he was a superb pasticheur.*[22]

On the eyes of the modernists, "Admixture of styles" and "superb *pasticheur*" were two categories in which Lutyens fitted. However, to categorise him like that is not taking into consideration Lutyens' skills to understand the past and from it elaborate a new composition. Nikolaus Pevsner, also a reactionist, wrote several times about his frustration concerning Lutyens. Pevsner had mixed feelings about Lutyens. In 1951, he wrote to *The Architectural Review*:

> *I have been unfortunate in my first impressions of the work of Lutyens. When I came to England in 1930, I was full of unquestioning faith in the new style in architecture (...) In the meantime, thanks to the twenty intervening years, I do not find them there is more to Lutyens than belated classical revivalism. What is there to him?*[23]

Although, more than ten years later, Pevsner and Ian Nairn (disciple of Pevsner) wrote with full admiration for Lutyens, yet were constantly obsessed with the criminal retrogression of Lutyens' later Classical work. They characterised the early houses as "feminine but not effeminate, as a personal as the series of houses Frank Lloyd Wright was building in the same years"[24] but

> *the genius and the charlatan were very close together in Lutyens. (...) After 1900 his buildings were almost all classical, first gay and pretty... then becoming progressively heavier and drearier. But Lutyens were not really to blame for the neo-Georgian style, although his change of heart must have given it a tremendous fillip.*[25]

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[22] Robert Furneaux Jordan 'Reminiscences on Sir Edwin Lutyens', p.231.

[23] Nikolaus Pevsner, 'Building with Wit, Architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens', *The Architectural Review*, April 1951, p.217, RIBA.

[24] Ian Nairn and Nikolaus Pevsner, *Surrey*, 2nd ed. 1st ed. 1962, Buildings of England (New Haven ; London: Yale University Press, 2002), p.66.

[25] Ibid.

Sir Edwin Lutyens (1869-1944)

On the other hand, four months later, in the August 1969 issue of RIBA Journal, Venturi and Scott-Brown, in the article "Learning from Lutyens" clarified their intentions and with ideas that also support the goal of this thesis: *How may we learn from Lutyens?*

> *The method, if less so the content, of Lutyens' historical eclecticism is valid again in our own pluralist, mobile, pop, mass culture and post-heroic period of Modern architecture. (...) Our greatest lesson from Lutyens is perhaps his tolerance and wit.*[26]

It is true that he crosses different phases during his career, from vernacular styles, and Arts & Crafts related to his first masters – Norman Shaw and Philip Webb. Then, embraces the Classicism of Wren and Palladio, after the medievalism of Pre-Raphaelites, and Tudor influences of the Georgian period; but the real meaning of the "Lutyens' canon" is that behind each style was the same man, with the same architectonic principles and wit. The principles evolved and adapted to the circumstances of each project. Still, he never changed the fundamental purpose of humanism, beauty, rhythm, and scale present in his buildings. In 1959, A. S. G. Butler ends his testimony saying that

> *We should study him for the passion he put into his work, for his love of drawing. Pursue his mathematical ratios, and then invent your own. Do not copy him, but create something equally good in your steel and concrete dreams!*[27]

My analysis attempted to understand Lutyens's legacy to present architecture, and which I designated as *Lutyens' canon, a method towards an alternative modernity*, or about an investigation of a third alternative. I aimed to create a different approach, beyond just another interpretation of Lutyens' work based on new findings and past researches.

"Lutyens' canon" is distinct from his contemporaries, characterized by courageous intentions about leaving his mark in the architectural community, and the knowledge of tradition from the past. "Lutyens' canon" is based on the standards and key-concepts introduced in this thesis but also on the architect's capacity to apprehend the past and re-invent based on it. Sir Edwin did not copy, pastiche, or admix. He was an architect (not an eclecticist) with a method that intended perfection. Lutyens' legacy pursues perfection with a complete understanding of tradition. "Lutyens' canon" teaches us that we must embrace the past and learn from it. Thus, we may not exclude it, no matter what time we are boxed in.

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[26] Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown, 'Learning from Lutyens', *RIBA Journal*, no. August (August 1969): p.354.
[27] A. S. G. Butler 'Reminiscences on Sir Edwin Lutyens', p.237.

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Page 128: Page of Country Life 1931 no. June 20th: "What I think of modern architecture" by Edwin Lutyens, RIBA.
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Page 130: Edwin Cheney house, Oak Park (1903) by Frank Lloyd Wright: perspective from the street
Source: Hildebrand, Grant. *The Wright Space: Pattern and Meaning in Frank Lloyd Wright's*. Washington: University of Washington Press, 1991. p. 38

Page 134: Villa Capra (Rotonda), Vicenza, Italy (1565) by Andrea Palladio: plan and section
Source: available online at https://www.pinterest.pt/pin/354869645612915998/

Page 136: St. Paul's Cathedral, London (1675-1710) by Christopher Wren: section
Source: available online at https://www.stpauls.co.uk/SM4/Mutable/Uploads/imported_media/Wren_Office_Drawing_2.jpg

Page 140: Papillon Hall, Leicestershire (1903) by Edwin Lutyens: photograph of the basin court
Source: Weaver, Lawrence. *Houses and Gardens by E. L. Lutyens*. London: Country Life, 1914. p.112

Page 144: Arthur Heurtley house, Oak Park, Illinois (1902) designed by Frank Lloyd Wright: diagrammatic drawing by William Hook
Source: Hildebrand, Grant. *The Wright Space: Pattern and Meaning in Frank Lloyd Wright's*. Washington: University of Washington Press, 1991. p. 37

Page 148: B. Ward Willits house, Highland Park, Illinois (1901) designed by Frank Lloyd Wright: upper and ground floor
Source: Hildebrand, Grant. *The Wright Space: Pattern and Meaning in Frank Lloyd Wright's*. Washington: University of Washington Press, 1991. p. 21

Page 150: Papillon Hall, Leicestershire (1903) designed by Edwin Lutyens: the hall with central fireplace; Edwin Cheney house, Oak Park, Illinois (1903) designed by Frank Lloyd Wright: living room with central fireplace
Source: Weaver, Lawrence. *Houses and Gardens by E. L. Lutyens*. London: Country Life, 1914. p.117; Hildebrand, Grant. *The Wright Space: Pattern and Meaning in Frank Lloyd Wright's*. Washington: University of Washington Press, 1991. p. 41

Page 152: Little Thakeham, Sussex (1902) designed by Edwin Lutyens: diagrammatic drawing with visibilities to the hall; Frederick C. Robie house, Chicago (1909) designed by Frank Lloyd Wright: section with visibilities to the street
Source: Drawing made by the author; Hildebrand, Grant. *The Wright Space: Pattern and Meaning in Frank Lloyd Wright's*. Washington: University of Washington Press, 1991. p. 55

Page 154: Overstrand Hall, Norfolk (1899) designed by Edwin Lutyens: the loggia; Frederick C. Robie house, Chicago (1909) designed by Frank Lloyd Wright: ground floor plan, terraces and balconies with hatch
Source: Weaver, Lawrence. *Houses and Gardens by E. L. Lutyens*. London: Country Life, 1914. p.49; Hildebrand, Grant. *The Wright Space: Pattern and Meaning in Frank Lloyd Wright's*. Washington: University of Washington Press, 1991. p. 52

Page 160: Hall – proportion 25 by 20, overlaid plan: Munstead Wood (1896), Orchards (1899), Deanery Garden (1900), Papillon Hall (1903), Heathcote (1906), Salutation (1911)
Source: Drawing made by the author

Page 162: Axial Composition + Elements + Form, Plans: Papillon Hall (1903), Heathcote (1906)
Source: Drawing made by the author

Page 164: Axial Composition + Movement, Lutyens plans: Papillon Hall (1903), Heathcote (1906); Wright plan: Robie house (1909)
Source: Diagrammatic drawings made by the author; Robie house plan - Hildebrand, Grant. *The Wright Space: Pattern and Meaning in Frank Lloyd Wright's*. Washington: University of Washington Press, 1991. p. 52

Page 172: Sir Edwin Lutyens (1869-1944)
Source: Hill, Oliver. 'The Genius of Edwin'. *Country Life*, 27 March 1969. RIBA. p.710

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