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Soane and the Picturesque: The Philosophy of Association

David Watkin

Soane's education in the practice, history, and theory of architecture was at the hands of Dance, Chambers, and Thomas Sandby. All, who were foundation members of the Royal Academy in 1768, subscribed to an architectural philosophy to which, especially in the case of Sandby, little attention has been paid by modern writers. This philosophy involved an understanding of the expressive possibilities of architecture which they inherited from the writings of a chain of British poets and philosophers including Locke, Shaftesbury, Pope, Addison, and Gerard. The path which led from a text such as Addison's essay on 'The Pleasures of the Imagination' (1712), to Burke's *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Idea of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757), and to Kames's *Elements of Criticism* (1762), was a reflection of the more consistent tradition represented in France by the writings of Le Brun, de Piles, Dubos, Boffrand, Condillac, and Morel, with most of which Soane was to become familiar. However, the British parallel to this tradition has been rarely studied in most accounts of British architecture in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[1]

The story begins with Claude Perrault in his *Ordonnance des cinq espèces des colonnes* (1683) who overthrew the divine status of the orders which had been rooted in Renaissance ideas of cosmic harmony. He seemed to suggest a new subjectivity in architectural practice which was in some ways akin to Locke's theory of association. Perrault's *Ordonnance* was available in an English translation by John James, published in 1708.

No less influential was the fact that Addison and Pope made architecture and gardening the centre of the programme of reform associated with the Earl of Burlington.[2] Addison's essay on 'The Pleasures of the Imagination' was indebted to the theories of mental association proposed by Locke, whose *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* Addison cited.[3] Chambers made notes on Addison's key essay, 'On the Pleasures of the Imagination',[4] while it was probably known to Soane from at least 1774 when, at the age of 21, he bought a set of the *Spectator*.[5] He studied these volumes carefully.

In his poem, *The Temple of Fame* (1711), Pope's interest in architecture led him to describe a stylistically eclectic temple with four facades, facing the different quarters of the world, each with an appropriate character. It contained six columns dedicated to the great literary names of antiquity and was thus a forerunner of the Temple of Modern Philosophy erected at Ermenonville near Paris (1764–78). Here the columns are inscribed with the names of Newton, Descartes, Voltaire, Penn, Montesquieu, and of Rousseau who was buried on an island in the lake at the foot of the temple. Soane, who identified emotionally with Rousseau, made a charming sketch of Rousseau's island tomb at Ermenonville in the flyleaf of one of his copies of Rousseau's *Confessions*.[6] At Pope's Temple of Fame, the west front, of white marble, was in the Doric order, sacred to heroes and worthies; the east front, enriched with gold and diamond ornament, was Assyrian; the west front was Egyptian, 'the learn'd walls with Hieroglyphics grac'd'; while the style thought appropriate to the north front, 'O'erwrought with ornaments of barb'rous pride', was the northern style, Gothic.[7]

The humanist art theorists of the Renaissance had already inverted Horace's tag, *Ut pictura poesis* (as with painting, so with poetry), and applied it so that painting could be governed by the rules of classical poets.[8] Robert Morris now had the idea of transferring the rules of rhetoric from painting to architecture. Soane began reading Morris in 1776 when, as a young student at the Royal Academy, he made notes on his *Lectures on Architecture*, copying out parts of the key passage in the development of Picturesque theory in which Morris described the composition of the north front of Wren's Chelsea Hospital. With its offices which 'fall gradually away', this, Morris claimed, resembled 'a beautiful landskip.'[9] Morris developed a philosophy in which the moods supposedly evoked by the different orders were suited to different natural settings. In one of Soane's copies of Morris' *Lectures*, the reference to the 'Champaign open country requiring Doric and cheerful vale Ionic', is underlined, doubtless by Soane.[10]

Aspects of Morris' arguments were incorporated in three more profound studies, all of which Soane owned: Alexander Gerard's *An Essay on Taste* (1759), Lord Kames's *Elements of Criticism* (1762), and Thomas Whately's *Observations on Modern Gardening* (1770). Kames, whose *Elements of Criticism* Soane bought in 1778, also made the implications of Locke's philosophy of association available to a wide audience. Whately's book on gardens, translated into French in 1771, contained an influential chapter on character and mood. It was in 1771, in William Newton's preface to the first English translation of Vitruvius,[11] that, elaborating into a central doctrine Vitruvius' brief remarks on appropriate character, Newton became 'the first British architect to discuss in print the notion that a building should be informed by a single, expressive, prevailing "character" '.[12]

The views on the role of association in architecture expressed by Sandby in his lectures at the Royal Academy which Soane attended, were clearly indebted to Kames's *Elements of Criticism* (1762). Sandby's views were also shared by Sir William Chambers and by Sir Joshua Reynolds whose Royal Academy Discourses Soane owned and annotated. In his Thirteenth Discourse, first delivered in 1786, Reynolds argued that,

> 'Architecture certainly possesses many principles in common with Poetry and Painting. Among those which may be reckoned as the first, is, that of affecting the imagination by means of association of ideas. Thus, for instance, as we have naturally a veneration for antiquity, whatever building brings to our remembrance ancient customs and manners . . . is sure to give this delight.'[13]

Sandby's account of the role of association in architecture was also to be of fundamental importance:

> 'Architecture cannot otherwise entertain the mind than by raising agreeable emotions and exciting pleasing ideas. It may therefore be considered as tending to the same agreeable purposes as painting, sculpture, poetry, music, and other liberal arts.'[14]

Sandby did not reveal to his audience that he was here quoting directly from Kames who in his chapter on 'Gardening and Architecture' in *Elements of Criticism*, had written that, 'Architecture cannot otherwise entertain the mind but by raising certain agreeable emotions or feelings'.[15]

It is clear that such ideas were put into practice in the teaching programme at the Royal Academy where, in November 1769, for example, the nine subjects set for the Gold Medal in Architecture were the Gate of a Royal Park, the Gate of an Arsenal, Temples of Mars, Bacchus, Venus, and Neptune, the Door of a church dedicated to the Evangelists, the Mausoleum of an Admiral or General, and the Entrance to a Theatre. From what we know of Sandby's lectures, it is impossible not to suppose that the selection of the appropriate expressive character for each of these subjects was the most important task which confronted the students.

Sandby's reference to emblematic monuments must have been derived from one of the categories into which Thomas Whately divided character in his *Observations on Modern Gardening* (1770). As an example of inadequate emblematic ornament, Sandby criticised Kent's Temples of Ancient and of Modern Virtue at Stowe because their satirical meaning was not immediately evident to the casual observer. This criticism was drawn from Kames's *Elements of Criticism* (1762), though, once more, Sandby did not mention this fact.

In discussing in the sixth lecture 'whether situation, being a primary object, ought not to influence the design of the structure', Sandby claimed that, 'An elegant pile of building on an uncultivated spot would disgust because congruity as a primary object requires a polished country for such a building, and the pleasures of concordance between both objects produces an agreeable emotion in the spectator.'

Soane also read many theoretical works in which architecture was interpreted with reference to an understanding that the common purpose of all art is expression, and that poetic and psychological effects should play a role in the creation and appreciation of architecture. Though he did not, apparently, read Condillac, he studied key authors such as Boffrand, Blondel, Leroy, Le Camus de Mézières, Ledoux, and in Britain, Chambers, Sandby, Kames, and Payne Knight, some of whom had been influenced by the belief, expressed by Locke, Condillac, and Hume, that the origin of human faculties such as imagination, memory, and contemplation, lay in the sensations.

The *Elements of Criticism* (1762), by Henry Home, Lord Kames (1698–1782), was a work of fundamental importance to Soane. Although he did not acquire a copy until 1813, making detailed notes on it in March that year,[16] he had long been indirectly familiar with its contents because they had influenced Sandby's Royal Academy lectures. Kames was, in a sense, the medium by which Locke's philosophy of association became known to a wider English audience, rather as Condillac, similarly indebted to Locke, conveyed the implications of associational theory to many of the French authors studied by Soane.[17] The legacy of Locke involved the privileging of personal sensibility, and of the individual response to art and nature.

Kames was, incidentally, close to Robert Adam who corresponded with him about architectural theory. Kames's *Elements of Criticism* was rightly hailed as long ago as 1957 as, 'the major effort of philosophical criticism in eighteenth century Britain'.[18] However, it has been largely ignored in recent studies of the Picturesque in architecture, even though eighteenth century developments in philosophy contributed so much to the Picturesque aesthetic.

Soane's transcription of Kames's work, in which he debated with Kames at every turn, is one of the most heavily annotated of any of those he made.[19] It records Soane's voyage of discovery through the associationist aesthetic which was rooted in the writings of Locke, Addison, Hutcheson, Hume, Burke, and Gerard.[20] Kames's formation in this school was clear from his opening words, 'That nothing external is perceived till first it make an impression upon the organs of sense, is an observation that holds equally in every one of the external senses.'[21] Soane's reliance on Kames is particularly evident in Lectures X and XI in his course at the Royal Academy where Soane discussed the relation of architecture to natural scenery and also dwelt on his favourite theme of appropriate character.

Kames's chapters included the 'study of emotions and passions' and 'the power of sounds to raise them', 'the causes of emotions of joy and sorrow', 'Fear, Beauty, Grandeur and Simplicity', and 'Concerning the works of Nature, chiefly with respect to uniformity and

variety'. But it was Kames's long chapter on 'Gardening and Architecture' to which Soane devoted most attention.

Soane, no doubt, shared Kames's view that 'Architecture [and gardening] cannot otherwise entertain the mind but by raising certain agreeable emotions or feelings ... Grandeur can be expressed in a building more successfully than in gardening.'[22] To his transcription of Kames's statement that 'Gardening is not an inventive art but an imitation of nature', Soane added his own reflection, 'and therefore inferior to architecture.'[23] He noted Kames's belief that, because of the powers of association, ruins in gardens should be Gothic rather than classical. Despite this, the ruins which Soane had himself erected at Pitzhanger in 1801 had been classical not Gothic. Kames preferred Gothic ruins because they demonstrated 'the triumph of time over strength: a melancholy but not unpleasant thought', whereas classical ruins suggested 'the triumph of barbarity over taste: a gloomy and discouraging thought'. [24] Soane noted at this point, 'apply this to the prevailing taste of the day for modern Gothic.'

Kames's concept of 'congruity' was associated with that other obsession of Soane's, the expression of appropriate character. Thus, according to Kames,

> 'The sense of congruity dictates the following rule, that every building have an expression corresponding to its destination. A palace ought to be sumptuous and grand; a private dwelling, neat and modest; a play house, gay and splendid; and a monument, gloomy and melancholy.'

Soane copied out the footnote in which Kames enlarged this argument:

> 'A house for the poor ought to have an appearance suited to its destination; the new hospital at Paris for foundlings, errs against this rule, for it has more the air of a palace than of a hospital ... A sumptuous charity school besides its impropriety, gives the children an unhappy taste for high living.'[25]

Kames also gave consideration to the related topic of the influence of the setting on the form of a building: 'It would, for example, displease us to find an elegant building thrown away upon a wild uncultivated country ... The old Gothic form of building, seems well suited to the rough uncultivated regions where it was invented.'[26] Soane disagreed with Kames's claim for Roger Morris's castellated Inveraray Castle, Argyllshire (1745–60), that 'The profuse variety of wild and grand objects about Inveraray demanded a house in the Gothic form.' Soane noted,

> 'Indeed, Does any one complain of the palace of Caprarola as not being similar to the wild and grand scenery surrounding it? If Vignola had erected a Gothic building would it not have been more suitable to the natural scenery [?], I say no. To adjust the appearance of the house to that of the country where it is placed is the touchstone of true taste and a just feeling.'[27]

We should turn to one of the chief philosophers of the Picturesque, Richard Payne Knight (1751–1824) whose *Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste* Soane bought in June 1805, the year of its publication. He read it in preparation for his first course of lectures,[28] though the bulk of his surviving notes on it date from March 1813[29] when he was preparing the second lecture of his second course.

Soane made transcriptions of sections of the first half of Knight's book, conducting a sustained dialogue with him in marginal annotations. The essence of Knight's achievement in his *Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste* was to acquaint an English audience with notions inspired by the Scottish philosophy of association, promulgated especially by Kames and Alison. Soane noted Knight's view that imitations of objects which were disagreeable in themselves or had displeasing associations, such as decayed trees, rotting thatch, crumbling plaster, and tattered clothes, could produce beautiful pictures. As an example of evidence,

Knight cited what he regarded as attractive representations in ancient Roman wall-paintings of fanciful buildings and ornaments. For Soane, this was red rag to a bull because he identified closely with Vitruvius' condemnations of such paintings.[30] Knight went on to claim that, 'Yet, were we to meet with such extravagant and disproportioned buildings in reality; or such monstrous combinations of human, animal, and vegetable forms in nature our understandings would revolt at them, and we should turn from them with scorn and disgust'.[31] Soane certainly agreed with this, writing 'as at Bagheria' in the margin. Here he referred to Prince Palagonia's villa at Bagheria near Palermo which had shocked by him its irrationality when he saw it on his Grand Tour.

Knight's praise of composite buildings such as 'the temples, tombs, and palaces of the Greeks and Romans ... fortified with towers and battlements by the Goths and Lombards',[32] led Soane to make one of his most forceful rejections of this kind of haphazard and irrational architecture:

> 'admitted', he agreed, but 'on this principle a ruin may be as well of Grecian architecture as of Gothic and we must have the same or greater satisfaction in seeing a Grecian building in ruins as in its perfect state. I would ask Mr Knight whether if two Grecian temples the one perfect, the other in ruins, were placed before him, whether the sight of both would be equally pleasing to him, and again whether one would not give him high pleasure and the other carrying his imagination through different ages and successive revolutions in taste, arts and sciences, would not give him great pain'.[33]

Though copying out Knight's claim that, 'variety, and intricacy of form, and light and shadow, may be carried to a degree, which no regular or homogenial building ... will admit of',[34] Soane added, 'Is not this buying the picturesque at too dear a rate?'

Seeking to support his case by referring to the essentially mixed architecture which, he argued, had prevailed in many periods, Knight praised 'monastic Gothic'. This, as represented in paintings such as Claude's 'Landscape with St George and the Dragon', had been a source for Downton Castle, a building of which Soane strongly disapproved. Soane thus condemned Knight in an accompanying marginal comment: 'I cannot understand what the admirers of Gothic architecture mean by such expressions. Can this profusion be defended?'[35]

Soane, however, agreed with Knight's claim that, since Greek architecture was 'intended to adorn streets and squares, rather than parks or gardens', it was even more unsuited as a model for a country house. Following his transcription of this passage, Soane wrote:

> 'This bad taste and misapplication had subsided but has lately revived under the auspices of a few fashionable amateurs of architecture and under their sanction the clumsy gloomy Doric is now introduced into our villas where cheerfulness ought to predominate. But such is the influence of fashion that our fine and gay ... lawns are called to assimilate with the heavy Doric.'[36]

Soane copied out from Knight: 'Grecian temples have been employed as decorations ... but ... disappointment has, I believe, been invariably the result.' In copying out this statement, Soane noted in the margin that Stuart's garden buildings at Shugborough provided evidence of the truth of Knight's claim. But when Knight went on to say of such buildings that, 'Nevertheless, they are unquestionably beautiful, being exactly copied from those models',[37] Soane disagreed: 'Query of the same dimensions: Here is one of our great errors. We use on a small scale and with one kind of scenery what we find on a larger scale and with appropriate scenery.'

He therefore supported Knight's claim that, 'In the rich lawns and shrubberies of England, however, these lose the power to please which they so eminently possess on the

barren hills of Agrigentum and Segesta.' Moreover, when Knight referred to 'the scenery, in which they sprang', Soane added, 'and for which they were formed[38] . . . Greek temples must have their natural scenery and appropriate accompaniments of every kind.'

It is nonetheless clear, from his extensive transcriptions of Payne Knight's *Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste* that Soane evidently responded to the subtlety of Knight's mind, and of his arguments concerning the relativity and contingency of aesthetic judgements. Soane was thus sympathetic to Knight's insistence on the importance of relating architecture to its environment, whether historical or physical, in order to avoid offending against propriety of both meaning and place. Yet, always hankering after the certainty provided by first principles, and their supposed expression in Greek architecture, Soane was worried by Knight's latitudinarianism which, he felt, had given undesirable encouragement to the promoters of the Gothic Revival.

One point in which Soane was in agreement with Payne Knight was his admiration for Vanbrugh as a Picturesque architect. In this he was following a common eighteenth century tradition which ran from William and Robert Adam, via Chambers, Sandby and Reynolds, to Price and Knight. Soane wrote of Blenheim that,

> 'The great extent of this noble structure, the picturesque effect of its various parts, the infinite and pleasing variety, the breaks and contrasts in he different heights and masses, produce the most exquisite sensations in the scientific beholder, whether the view be distant, intermediate or near.'

And Soane prepared a series of attractive lecture illustrations of Blenheim to demonstrate this point. The close identification in his mind of the Picturesque and of associationalism is made clear when he goes on to claim that, 'The style of this building is grand and majestically imposing, the whole composition analogous to the warlike genius of the mighty hero for whom it was erected.'[39]

To sum up, I would say that Soane's approach to the Picturesque was extremely complicated and for two principal reasons: it was linked in his mind with the doctrine of appropriate character which, he realised, had essentially classical origins in the theories of Horace, Boileau, and Addison.[40] Secondly, it was also interlocked in his mind with his opposition to the Gothic Revival. He felt, doubtless rightly, that the modern Gothic buildings he so much hated had been made to seem acceptable by Picturesque theory. Yet there was much about Picturesque theory with which he was in sympathy. He never resolved the contradictions in his approach and it is not clear how far it affected his architecture. But as a child of his time he could not but take an interest in the writings on architecture of Kames, Knight, and Price, and that is surely justification enough for following him down the complex paths they opened up.

43 Ibid., p. 150.
44 Ibid., p. 225.
45 Ibid., p. 226.
46 For details of the various sales at Fonthill as well as the history and influence of Beckford's exceptional collections, see C. Wainwright, op. cit.; also Millington, op. cit.
47 Lees-Milne, op. cit., p. 75.
48 W. Hazlitt, *The London Magazine*, Nov., 1822, quoted in *The Complete Works of William Hazlitt*, ed. P. P. Howe, London, 1940. XVIII, pp. 173–80.
49 J. Constable, letter to his wife, 29 Aug. 1823, quoted in C.R. Leslie, *Memoirs of the Life of John Constable*, London, 1951, p. 105.
50 For the contemporary publications on the Abbey, see J. Harris, 'English Country House Guides, 1740–1840' in *Concerning Architecture: Essays on Architectural Writers and Writing presented to Nikolaus Pevsner*, ed. J. Summerson. London, 1968. pp. 68–9, 71; and more extensively in Millington, op. cit., 11–13.
51 *The Gentleman's Magazine* (1821), II, p. 495.
52 Alexander, *England's Wealthiest Son*, op. cit., p. 167.
53 For Beckford, Goodridge and Lansdown Tower, Bath, together with related buildings and garden design, see Lees-Milne, op. cit., pp. 77–93. See also J. Millington, *Beckford's Tower, Bath*, 5th edn., Bath, 1986.
54 *The Gentleman's Magazine* (Dec., 1825), p. 557; *Gardener's Magazine*, XI, (1835) pp. 446–7 [see Appendix B].

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1 A welcome exception is the account in John Archer, *The Literature of British Domestic Architecture: 1715–1842*, Cambridge, Mass., and London 1985, pp. 46–54, with full bibliographical references to modern literature on the philosophy of association.
2 See Morris R. Brownell, *Alexander Pope and the Arts of Georgian England*, Oxford 1978.
3 For an account of the significance of this Lockean essay, see Ernest L. Tuveson, *The Imagination as a Means of Grace: Locke and the Aesthetics of Romanticism*, Berkeley & Los Angeles 1960, ch. V, 'The Pleasures of the Imagination'.
4 BAL MSS, Cha 1/8.xix. where he jotted down headings such as, 'faculties of the mind and soul'.
5 *Spectator*, 8 vols, 1767 (SM GL 22G); Addison's essay is in vol. VI, pp. 62–106.
6 SM GL 26H.
7 *The Works of Alexander Pope, Esquire*, vol. II, London 1751, pp. 56–8 (SM GL 31E).
8 See W. Rensselaer Lee, *Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanist Theory of Painting*, New York 1967.
9 SM AL Soane Case 139, *Extracts from various authors on Architecture J. Soane abt. 1776*, f.[9], and Morris, *Lectures*, pt. 1, p. 113.
10 Robert Morris, *Lectures on Architecture*, 2nd ed., London 1759, p. 67.
11 *The Architecture of M. Vitruvius. Pollio: Translated from the Original Latin, by W. Newton*, London 1771, pp. vii-viii. This volume contained the first five books only, the second five being published posthumously in 1791.
12 Archer, op. cit., p. 49.
13 *The Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds, Knight*, 3 vols, London 1798, vol. II, p. 137 (AL 37H). This Discourse bears Soane's annotations.
14 Ibid., ff. 14–15.
15 Henry Home (Lord Kames), *Elements of Criticism*, Edinburgh 1785, vol. II, p. 431.
16 SM AL Soane Case 161/2, Portfolio 2. These notes and extracts fill 72 ff, stitched together, though only ff. 1–7 are paginated. Occasional dates are March 1813. The notes seem to have been made from the edition of 1800. This is not now in Soane's library where the copy is the 6th ed. of 1785, both volumes of which are inscribed *John Soane archt. 1813*. Soane did not own any of Kames's other works on law, education, antiquities, and morality. There are further notes by Soane on this work in SM AL Soane Case 164, *Miscellaneous Extracts from authors relating ... to architecture*, ff. 94–106, made in either 1813 or 1815.

17 Soane owned *The Works of John Locke*, 4 vols, London 1777, in which the celebrated *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* was contained in vol. I. (SM GL 15F).
18 Walter J. Hipple, *The Beautiful, the Sublime, and the Picturesque in Eighteenth-century British Aesthetic Theory*, Carbondale 1957, p. 99.
19 At one point he noted, '24 March 1813. Evening. after a hard day's work' (SM Soane Case 161/2, f. [49]).
20 Soane annotated his copy of Alexander Gerard's *An Essay on Taste* (1759), noting, for example, his claim that, 'The mind receives pleasure or pain not only from the impulse of external objects, but also from the consciousness of its own operation and dispositions' (p. 3).
21 Kames, *Elements of Criticism*, vol. I, p. 1 (SM AL 2C).
22 SM ibid., ff.3–4, and Kames, op. cit., pp. 431–2.
23 SM ibid., f.[8], and Kames, op. cit., p. 442.
24 Ibid., f. 9, and Kames, op. cit., pp. 446–7.
25 Ibid., ff. [32–33], and Kames, op. cit., pp. 467–8.
26 SM, AL Soane Case 161/2, f. [35], and Kames, op. cit., p. 469.
27 SM ibid., f. [36], and Kames, op. cit., p. 469.
28 The first reference to the book in his notes is a passing one in 1806 (SM AL Soane Case 161/4, Portfolio 2, Hints Feb.17 1806).
29 SM Archives, 1/165.
30 *De architectura*, VII, v, 1–8.
31 SM Archives 1/165, f. [2], and Knight, *Analytical Inquiry*, p. 73.
32 Knight, op. cit., p. 157. Knight also suggested that 'castellated Gothic' was a continuation of Roman architecture.
33 SM ibid., f. [7].
34 Knight, op. cit., pp. 161–2.
35 SM ibid., f. [14].
36 SM ibid., f. [16].
37 Knight, op. cit., p. 166.
38 Soane added at this point the note, 'I tried Segesta in a drawing. Mention this circumstance and elucidate' (f. [18]). The reference is unclear, but perhaps he had in mind the Doric barn which he designed and built in 1798 at Malvern Hall, Warwickshire, for his friend Henry Greswold Lewis, with whom he had visited Segesta in 1779 (du Prey, *Soane Making*, p. 140).
39 Arthur T. Bolton, ed., *Lectures on Architecture by Sir John Soane*, London 1929, p. 89.
40 SM AL Soane Case 174, Portfolio 3, f. 276.

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1 Diary of Katherine Plymley, October 27th 1794. Quoted in 'A Shropshire lady in Bath' by Ellen Wilson in Bath History Vol. IV. Bath, 1992.
2 'The Life of Richard Nash' by Oliver Goldsmith. London, 1762.
3 Diary of Katherine Plymley, October 9th 1794. Wilson, 1992.
4 Bath Chronicle, April 15th 1794
5 'The History and Antiquities of the County of Somerset' by the Rev. John Collinson, 1791
6 Quoted in 'Architectural Drawings of the Regency Period' by Giles Worsley. London, 1991. p. 128
7 'The Annals of Bath' by Captain Mainwaring RN (1838); p. 67
8 Ibid.
9 Quoted in 'In Search of English Gardens': the tours of J.C. Loudon ed. by The National Trust. London, 1990. p. 90.
10 In 'The World' (no. 6); quoted by B. Sprague Allen in 'Tides in English Taste'. New York, 1969. vol. ii p. 218.
11 In 'The Connoisseur' (no. 33); quoted in Sprague Allen (1969), vol. ii p. 221
12 In 'The Connoisseur' (no. 135); quoted in Sprague Allen. New York, 1969. vol. ii p. 219.
13 'In Search of English Gardens', p. 30.
14 Ibid., p. 80.
15 Bath Chronicle, January 25th 1832
16 Loudon, July 22nd 1829 in 'In Search of English Gardens'.
17 Schinkel's Journal, July 28th 1826; Quoted in 'The English Tour' Ed. David Bindman and Gottfried Riemann. Yale, 1993. p. 195.
18 Mainwaring (1838), p. 342.
19 'Walks Through Bath' by Piers Egan (1819)
20 Letter from West recorded in the diary of Joseph Farington, November 10th 1807
21 See cat. Nos. 122–87 in 'Images of Bath'. Richmond-Upon-Thames, 1982.
22 In Ambrose Heal Collection, Bath Reference Library
23 See n. 20.
24 Information from Dr Michael and Mrs Vera Forsyth.
25 Op. cit. by Ian Laurie in 'Oakwood: A Villa Garden' (Bath, 1988).
26 'Bath Old and new' by Peach; information from Arnold Root
27 Building lease of September 30th 1808; information from Dr J.J. Self.
28 Egan (1819).
29 Ibid.
30 'The Williamane: Architecture for the Sailor King' by Tim Mowl in 'Late Georgian Classicism'. The Georgian Group, 1988.
31 'A la Ronde: Of Myths and Men' by Hugh Meller; Apollo Magazine, May 1994.
32 '19th Century Bath: Architects and Architecture' by Neil Jackson. Bath, 1991.