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**‘Art begins where words fail’? Reassessing
the Politics of the Architect Sir Edwin
Lutyens**

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‘Art begins where words fail’?

Reassessing the Politics of the Architect Sir Edwin Lutyens

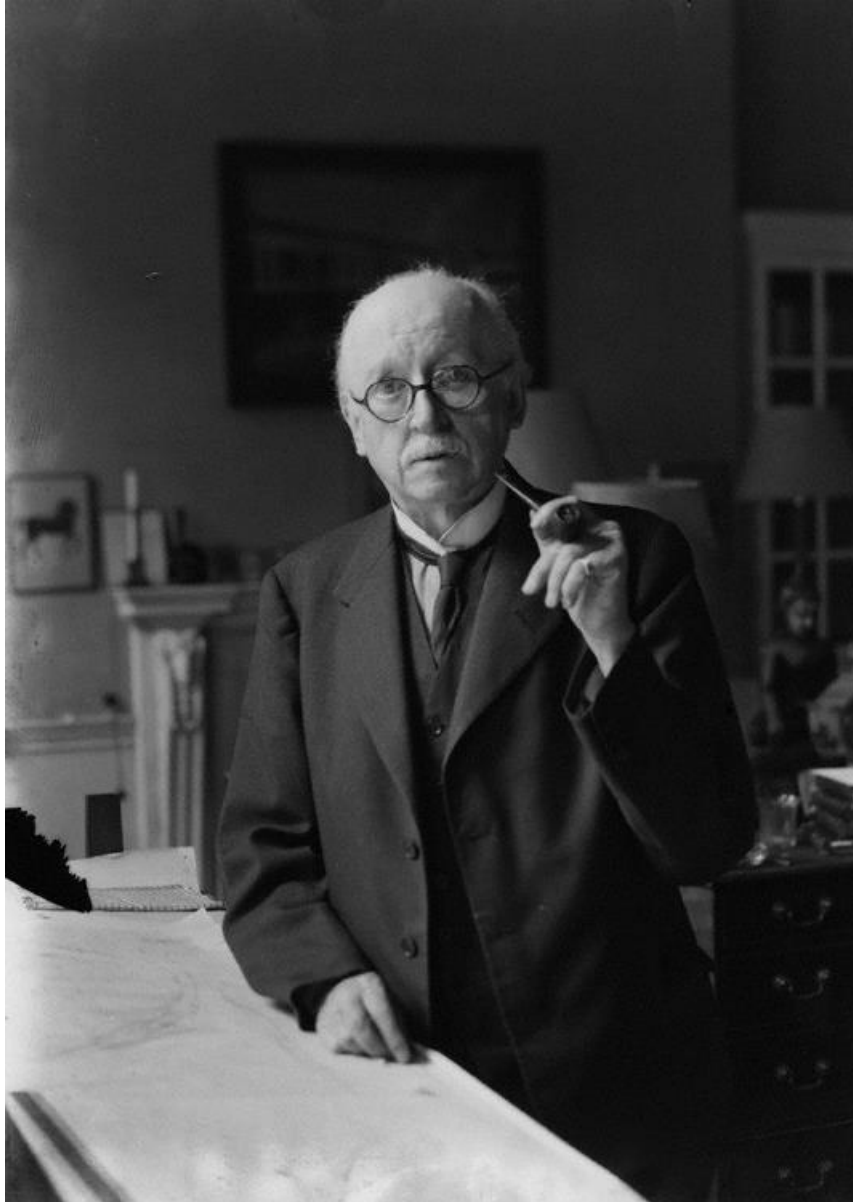


Image: Howard Coster, *Sir Edwin Lutyens*, 1942, National Portrait Gallery.

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Introduction: Playboy of the imperial sunset, or genius artist-introvert?

The British architect Sir Edwin Landseer Lutyens (1869-1944) remains both divisive and abstruse. Despite two meticulous and remarkable biographies, the man behind some of Britain's most iconic twentieth-century architecture has attained little of the eminence enjoyed by that of his close architectural contemporaries, Charles Rennie Mackintosh and Frank Lloyd Wright. A wealth of archival material exists in the form of over 6000 private letters now held by the RIBA (Royal Institute of British Architects), but much of this evidence has proved misleading and problematic in the hands of biographers aiming to give the misunderstood Lutyens a platform from which to 'tell the story in his own words'.¹ Whilst such works provide invaluable chronological accounts, there has yet to be a serious attempt to probe the role the letters played in Lutyens's structuring of his own sense of 'self'. For Lutyens it seems, was a man who consciously, and deceptively, revelled in his rejection of the literary form. Writing to his wife in 1915, he enigmatically stated:

It all seems right with words but when words become deeds they all go woolly and sloppy and nothing matters so long as people don't know and if you can't describe a thing it is a thing that doesn't matter – a gallery I can't play to. I think art begins where words fail it. And art has to be something which it alone can express in its own medium.²

Scholars have simply accepted this, concluding that Lutyens was a perennial *enfant terrible*, apolitical in his views, and interested in aesthetics above all else. This study aims to challenge this. Its first objective is to understand why writers have chosen to interpret Lutyens's words on such a surface level and, more importantly, the role of Lutyens himself in cultivating these findings. The second chapter of this study looks more carefully at his letters and buildings to demonstrate that his motivations were, in fact, deeply rooted in contemporary social and political concerns.

From romantic beginnings as an Edwardian country house architect, Lutyens became a towering figure in British architecture. Unofficially dubbed the 'architect laureate' following his extensive work for the Imperial War Graves Commission and the Government of India, he was knighted in 1918 in recognition of the critical acclaim for his visionary and witty synthesis of vernacular Arts and Crafts forms with the strict proportion and geometry of Classicism. His later, more mature and inventive works – derived in essence

¹ To date, the two major biographies are C. Hussey, *The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens* (London: Country Life, 1950) and J. Ridley, *Edwin Lutyens: His Life, His Wife, His Work* (London: Pimlico, 2002). A small selection of the, much abridged, letters to his wife have also been published, C. Percy and J. Ridley (eds.), *The Letters of Edwin Lutyens: To his Wife, Lady Emily* (London: HarperCollins, 1985).

² London: Royal Institute of British Architects (hereafter, RIBA): LuE/15/1/5(i-ii), Edwin Lutyens to Emily Lutyens, 18 March 1915.

from Classical masters like Andre Palladio, Michele Sanmicheli and Christopher Wren – secured his prominence in architectural history. Both in Britain and around the world, his body of work is extensive and often high-profile, from the Cenotaph in Whitehall (1919-20) to the Viceroy's House in New Delhi (1912-1929), although his later output was largely concerned with banks, commercial offices and drawings for the monumental (but unexecuted) Liverpool Metropolitan Cathedral. His passing in 1944 was mourned like the end of an era, with the *Architect and Building News* publishing a black-edged edition in his honour and obituaries proclaiming him the greatest architect of his generation.³ From this point onwards, however, his architecture was viewed as increasingly problematic. An expensive architect for wealthy clients and a vociferous upholder of tradition and the Classical language of architecture, Lutyens's work held no appeal for the younger generation seeking to reshape post-war society through more modern and egalitarian ideals.⁴ Lutyens has been dogged by the Edwardian playboy idiom; his nadir came in 1969 when plans for a small exhibition concerning his life's work at the RIBA were abandoned owing to insufficient donations. The late 1970s and early 1980s, however, saw a revival in attitudes towards Lutyens. His small following among traditionalists expanded as American writers began to reconsider his significance and in 1978 an exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in New York was held concerning his work. In Britain too, his reputation was reassessed as part of a broader shift in priorities from the largely functional emphasis of the immediate post-war period to a rediscovery of ornament and tradition. The high point of this rehabilitation was a major exhibition at the Hayward Gallery from 1981-2.⁵ But since that time, little has been published on him in contrast to his contemporaries.⁶

It is partly in recognition of this deficit that this study seeks to contribute to the debate surrounding the man himself. Whilst the general trend in architectural history over the last few years has been one of caution against the distorting effects of emphasising 'the architect' at the expense of lower profile actors (namely, assistants, contractors and engineers), it is now clear that this approach leads to a different kind of misrepresentation.⁷ Indeed, the singular creativity of individual architects is now given insufficient prominence in a field which places increasing emphasis on social and topographical contexts like power and space.⁸ This is particularly serious for the study of Lutyens, whose works shows him to be a man of

³ J. Ridley, *Life, Wife, Work*, 416.

⁴ G. Stamp, *Edwin Lutyens: Country Houses from the Archives of Country Life* (London: Aurum Press, 2001),

⁵ D. Cannadine, 'Architect as Hero', *London Review of Books*, Vol.4, No.1, (1982). For two other key works in Lutyens's rehabilitation see also R. Gradidge, *Architect Laurate* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1981); D. O'Neill, *Lutyens: Country Houses* (London: Lund Humphries, 1980).

⁶ Mackintosh and Wright, in particular, command an extensive array of scholarship and frequent exhibitions.

⁷ N. Coldstream, 'The Architect, History and Architectural History', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 13 (2003), 226.

⁸ E. Fernie, 'History and Architectural History', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 13 (2003), 206.

highly individual talent. Whilst this study accepts the need for more scholarship concerning the Lutyens's office and his less prominent subordinates, it maintains that significant holes exist in historiography of the life of the man himself. One important omission being that of a detailed treatment of his problematic politics.

The prevailing interpretation of Lutyens in the literature is essentially eulogistic, portraying him as innocent and apolitical, with an interest in aesthetics above all other considerations. Writing in 1951 the architect's first biographer, Christopher Hussey, argued that Lutyens's petulance towards his collaborator in New Delhi, Herbert Baker, must be seen in terms of his artist's morality:

For Lutyens, ethical values were of value only so far as they corresponded with aesthetic virtues; when they diverged, ethics ceased to count; the purpose of life was the embodiment of divine order in finite form, and when a man fell short in this endeavour, he fell from grace.⁹

While in a much later analysis the architectural historian Gavin Stamp wrote:

[Lutyens] was notorious as a perennial *enfant terrible*. Always accessible and liked by the young, he remained shy and curiously inarticulate despite his fame. He expressed himself in drawings, sketches and caricatures, rather than in words – although he could write well enough when asked. In his manner and in his behaviour, he was not always conventional, as biographies and memoirs make clear, but behind all his jokes and psychological defences, Lutyens was an artist of profound seriousness.¹⁰

In the main, these evaluations are well-founded. Lutyens's letters show him to be profoundly serious about his art, highly judgemental and witty. Yet, it is clear that emphasising his artistic credentials and tragic, apolitical genius above all else, is to disconnect him from his social and political context. A context of upper-class zeal for imperialism and feudal-style aristocratic patronage, and one for which Lutyens shows clear fidelity in both his letters and architecture. It would therefore appear that a correlation exists between the downplaying of this political element in Lutyens's calculations and attempts to salvage his reputation from the staid establishment connotations of Empire, and its attendant cultural chauvinism.

The first section of this study, then, aims to show not only that such assessments of Lutyens come from writers with rehabilitative agendas, but that Lutyens himself consciously constructed an artistic self-image based on being inarticulate, cantankerous and misunderstood. The RIBA's collection of Lutyens's personal

⁹ Hussey, *Life*, 244.

¹⁰ Stamp, *Country Houses*, 44.

correspondence forms the backbone of this paper, but it is important to be aware of the letters' inherent problems. As stated above, there is a tendency in the literature, one reflective of a wider problem of using literary sources in relation to architects and the built form, of employing the letters uncritically.¹¹ Since the 'linguistic turn', historians have become increasingly wary of the risks inherent in allowing documentary sources to simply speak for themselves without accounting for their distorting effects. Indeed, letters do not offer a transparent window into the mind-set of the author, but reveal the complex web of relationships between the individual, family, and society, that shapes a person's sense of self and their understanding of the world they inhabit.¹² However, as Jenifer Wallach has noted, such evidence shows us the 'affective and cognitive inside of a historical moment' to reveal more than what people simply did, but 'what they wanted to believe they were doing'.¹³ For Lutyens, the act of letter writing provided a medium for reconciling the past and present and fashioning a workable sense of 'self'. Thus, treated accordingly, Lutyens's letters can be used to gain a sense of his cultural values. Indeed, drawing on Standish Meacham's work on the clandestine paternalism of Raymond Unwin and the English Garden City movement, this study suggests that the letters represent evidence of a more complicated picture than that previous painted by biographers, in which Lutyens attempted to reassure himself of his status as an artistic 'other' to depoliticise his controversial views and escape from a changing world.¹⁴

Accordingly, the second section of this study builds on this problematisation of Lutyens's own sense of identity to reassess his political and social views within the context of his time. From both his letters and architecture, there is strong evidence that Lutyens favoured, in his own words, a 'Tory feudal' ideal of society; that is, a society in which his clients were primarily royalty and the landed gentry, as opposed to government committees and the nouveau riche. His letters and buildings show clear themes in the way Lutyens perceived specific relationships between architecture, class, power and taste. Of course, as noted above, reaching definitive conclusions from letters, often filled with irony, personal jokes and self-deception, is not without its risks. But this study takes account of more recent ways in which the 'self' has been continuously problematized by modern and postmodernist theories insisting on its complex, fragmented nature; or at least a form very different from the coherent individuality which much traditional

¹¹ R. Legault, 'Architecture and Historical Representation', *Journal of Architectural Education*, Vol. 44 (Aug. 1991), 200.

¹² C. Dauphin in M. Dobson and B. Ziemann (eds.), *Reading Primary Sources: The Interpretation of Texts from Nineteenth and Twentieth Century History* (London: Routledge, 2009), 59.

¹³ J.J. Wallach, 'Building a Bridge of Words: The Literary Autobiography as Historical Source Material', *Biography*, Vol.29, No.3 (2006), 447-48.

¹⁴ S. Meacham, *Regaining Paradise: Englishness and the Early Garden City Movement* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 4-7.

biography, like Hussey and Ridley's, aimed to uncover.¹⁵ This problematizing methodology and awareness of postmodernist approaches to biography study fuels this paper. It seeks to challenge analyses of Lutyens and his work which fail to account for his fragmented sense of self. It is also hoped that the evidence provided by the architecture will add credence to the findings from the letters. Whilst the use of documentary evidence in tandem with the built fabric is a common approach in architectural history, it comes with its own set of problems. Architectural criticism can prove overdetermined if the tensions involved in the separation of form from content are not properly addressed.¹⁶ In the case of Lutyens, however, scholars working in this small field have agreed that the clear themes and continuities in his oeuvre make his architecture a useful tool in biographical research.¹⁷ Overall, then, this paper seeks to approach the Lutyens letter archive in a fresh light in order to expand our current understanding of the architect's motivations and their background. It situates itself within the context of Hussey and Ridley's pioneering scholarship, but seeks to address the specific problem area of Lutyens's political attitudes, understood in the broadest sense to reflect the range of his social and cultural views across his long career.

¹⁵ P. Francis and W. St. Clair (eds.), *Mapping Lives: The Uses of Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 2.

¹⁶ Legault, 'Architecture and Historical Representation', 200.

¹⁷ Hussey notes that narrating the story of Lutyens without his works would 'be to play *Hamlet* without the Prince'. All subsequent writers have followed this lead. Hussey, *Life*, xix.

Chapter 1: ‘The only attainment possible nowadays seems to be words, words, words’

By 1914, Lutyens’s ability to speak in brick and stone for the inarticulate upper-class Englishman was widely lauded. His Edwardian clients, who often had no particular discrimination in architecture, could ‘recognise in his buildings the perfect embodiment of sentiments they most cherished’.¹⁸ And this undercurrent of cultural meaning became a central tenet of Lutyens’s architecture, voicing the prevailing sentiment of the period and reducing it to classic permanence. Yet, Lutyens bitterly resisted attempts to describe his work through prose. When a monograph concerning his country houses, with text by the prominent architectural writer Lawrence Weaver, was published in 1913 he expressed dismay, writing to his wife:

My book by Weaver arrived today. It does make me hot. I do wish he had not mentioned Delhi so often and Oh dear it is just a catalogue of mistakes and failures...The only attainment possible nowadays seems to be words, words, words, words.¹⁹

This picture of the anguished and temperamental artist, accompanied by acute suspicion of the written form, is a prominent and recurring feature throughout his letters to his wife. What this chapter seeks to unravel, though, is how and why biographers and writers of Lutyens have fallen foul of this extremely personalised self-caricature. This chapter shows how the rehabilitative and eulogistic manner in which Lutyens is commonly written about is founded on an uncritical acceptance of the self-image he constructed for himself as an introverted gentleman artist. It aims to extend Ridley’s work on the tensions between Lutyens the public architect and Lutyens the private family man, to show how the self-constructed artist-introvert identity was not simply a means of reconciling the two separate spheres, but a way of legitimising his outmoded political views (upon which Chapter 2 will elaborate). To do this, the study draws on Meacham’s work on the garden city architect Raymond Unwin and the wider depoliticising effects of maintaining an apolitical and aesthetically-driven artist’s reputation. This chapter, therefore, highlights the distortive effects of Lutyens’s rehabilitation, with particular reference to his work in India. In light of this, it then reconsiders his letters, and explores more suitable frameworks of reference.

The rehabilitative stance of writing on Lutyens is most visible in work concerning his activities in India, from where he wrote some of his most opinionated letters and erected some of his most controversial buildings. Indeed, his New Delhi complex, with its centrepiece Viceroy’s House, has been intensively scrutinized in the post-imperial period. Geopolitical studies, situating the built form at the nexus of colonial

¹⁸ J. Summerson, quoted in Stamp, *Country Houses*, 43.

¹⁹ RIBA: LuE/14/2/2(i), Edwin to Emily, 4 February 1914. For the book to which he refers see L. Weaver, *Houses and Gardens by E.L. Lutyens* (London: Country Life, 1913).

relationships between space of power, have recognised Delhi's flagrant political message. The Marxist historian Anthony King, for example, criticised Lutyens's Delhi as a classic example of the dominance-dependence relationship of colonialism whilst the architectural historian Thomas Metcalf has accused Lutyens of imposing unsuccessful symbols of alien imperial rule and cravenly eluding the central problems of British rule, namely communalism.²⁰ It is obvious to see, from the resolutely anti-imperial stance of immediate post-war Britain, why Lutyens's Edwardian attitude to imperialism has had such an impact on his reputation. The letters to his wife, of which both King and Metcalf make extensive use, make damning reading. Lutyens frequently condemns Indian architecture, claiming in one letter that it represented the 'building style of children', and makes openly racist remarks; 'the very low intellect of the natives spoils much and I do not think it possible for the Indians and whites to mix freely and naturally'.²¹ Such evidence has caused the writer William Dalrymple to suggest that Lutyens's intolerance is akin to the Wagner paradox: how could someone with so insular a vision have managed to produce such breathtaking works of art?²²

But Lutyens's rehabilitators have sought to deflect the concerns raised by the content of the letters by undermining their very validity as sources. Ridley argues that such private missives are an 'expression of the moment, true to the feelings of...one relationship, but not true for all time', being 'capable of being contradicted and loaded with subtext'. She attributes their acerbic, chauvinistic tone to the fact that Lutyens's life at this time was 'coloured by despair and anger' owing to his wife's ending of marital relations and adoption of the obscure religious cult of Theosophy. She concludes that the letters offer no clues to his work:

To 'read' Lutyens's architecture in terms of his letters is too simplistic; to condemn the work because one dislikes the letters is unfair. Truly to understand Lutyens's project at New Delhi we need to proclaim the death of the architect; to look at the work in its own terms.²³

This conceptual separation of the architect from his architecture is, of course, indicative of a wider trend in art history and criticism.²⁴ However, in terms of the biographical debate, it is at odds with Ridley's general

²⁰ A. D. King, *Colonial Urban Development* (London: Routledge, 1976), 64-5. T. R. Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 236-43.

²¹ RIBA: LuE/12/11/1(iv), Edwin to Emily, 4 June 1912, LuE/12/10/3 (i-v), Edwin to Emily, 26 May 1912.

²² W. Dalrymple, *City of Djinn*s (London: HarperCollins, (1993), 84.

²³ J. Ridley, 'Edwin Lutyens, New Delhi, and the Architecture of Imperialism', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol.26 No.2 (2008), 76-77.

²⁴ I. Borden and J. Rendell (eds.), *Intersections: Architectural Histories and Critical Theories* (London: Routledge, 2000), 7-19.

approach, which uses the letters to shed light on Lutyens's architecture and 'show how it really was between the Architect and the Wife'.²⁵ There is, then, a fundamental inconsistency between instances when the letters are 'too simplistic' and when they 'show how it really was'. And it would seem that this is intimately linked with the rehabilitation of Lutyens's reputation. If one is attempting to revive a marginalised architect, foregrounding evidence in which that architect bemoans his hapless lack of loquacity and eloquence, provides a useful means of detracting from his vehement and unpalatable political outbursts. Indeed, Lutyens's letters do provide limited support for this characterisation. He makes frequent references to his 'grammar and sentence making difficulties', while from Delhi there are numerous instances in which he expresses his concern over his inability to explain himself 'in a way that is acceptable to those who...express themselves by penmanship'.²⁶ But the often flippant and caustic tone of these sentiments renders them slippery and too insubstantial by themselves to support Ridley's conclusion that 'Lutyens was no imperialist, his response was as much aesthetic as political'.²⁷

Indeed, treated as a whole, the letters reveal a far more complicated picture than that of Ridley's Lutyens, who seems simply too inarticulate and 'ruthless in pursuit of his art' to have been capable of such bigotry.²⁸ Firstly, Lutyens clearly had a more ambivalent attitude towards his ostensibly sub-standard 'penmanship'. The letters themselves contain evidence that he was, on occasion, perfectly capable, not to mention willing, to communicate his ideas through words. In one such missive to his wife, following an exchange in which she requests that her husband make some attempt to explain his work to her, he responds with alacrity to the challenge of describing his work:

I think I do wrong not to make the attempt – and force myself to find the language to describe building and my aspirations in my work to you...and let the technicality go hang and gradually we might get a language that we can understand in and as my language improves your understanding of building will improve too.²⁹

His prose is perfectly workable; precise and loaded with subtext.³⁰ It is much more likely, therefore, that Hussey and Ridley's artist-introvert model corresponds more closely to Lutyens's own self-image. His letters show that an inability to convey ideas or opinions very much suited the way in which Lutyens

²⁵ Ridley, *Wife, Life, Work*, xiii.

²⁶ RIBA: LuE/14/7/11(ii), Edwin to Emily, 27 September 1914, LuE/15/7/6(viii), Edwin to Emily, 4 February 1916.

²⁷ Ridley, *Wife, Life, Work*, 153.

²⁸ Ridley, 'Architecture of Imperialism' 78.

²⁹ RIBA: LuE/8/2/6(i-iv), Edwin to Emily, 6 May 1906.

³⁰ Lutyens also wrote some eloquent newspaper articles: notably, 'Wren and his Tradition', *Times*, 20 October 1932, 'Robotism of Architecture', *The Observer*, 29 January 1928.

conceptualized himself; that of the cantankerous, misunderstood and fundamentally isolated artist, who consistently reassured himself that politics had nothing to do with his life. Writing to his wife in May 1914, he confidently stated that:

The political life and those other professions are all based on literature of sorts. My work cannot be approached by literature, literature at the best produces a Pater or a Ruskin in the arts. I don't want you to be either of these!³¹

Yet, the key word here is 'want'. Together, these letters prove that this was very much a choice, indeed they form the very medium through which Lutyens negotiated and established his identity and self-deception. Ridley does at least hint at this in observing that Lutyens was 'an outsider to the architectural profession' but no writer has so far employed the letters to show how Lutyens fashioned a workable sense of 'self' around tropes he considered an architect should embody.³²

In fact, the letters indicate that Lutyens believed a certain kind of artistic comportment was expected of him as a gentleman architect. He makes frequent mention of his profession and its impact on his behaviour, for example, justifying his largely visual appraisal of his wife; 'you see I am an architect and it is by eye one judges my little pet'.³³ He also evidently felt that it was his duty as an architect to hold staunch, and often contrary views, on celebrated architecture and architects. In his letters he is often at his most entertaining when describing how offended he was by the 'Rococo muck' in Genoa's churches, 'how disappointing a pimple is St Peter's Dome' or how the Parthenon had 'no relation to its site, no dramatic sense such as the Romans had'.³⁴ Of the greatest significance though, are his frequent, and often detailed, references to his architectural heroes.

And oh Wren, Jones are small besides Michelangelo and men like Leonardo da Vinci. They had this touch! and were able to apply it to every work and kind of work they touched, war, architecture, painting, sculpting. The thought of these men makes praise difficult to give and more difficult to receive.³⁵

These are evidently the men Lutyens sought to emulate, not simply in terms of his architectural output but in terms of his lifestyle. Both his work and personality were defined in relation to these greats. Thus, not

³¹ RIBA: LuE/8/2/5(vii), Edwin to Emily, 4 May 1906.

³² Ridley, *Wife, Life, Work*, 177.

³³ Percy and Ridley, *The Letters*, 119.

³⁴ RIBA: LuE/11/2/7, Edwin to Emily, 18 October 1909, LuE/11/2/10, Edwin to Emily, 18 October, LuE/20/1/4, Edwin to Emily, 22 August 1932.

³⁵ RIBA: LuE/9/3/5(i-ii), Edwin to Emily, 10 September 1907.

only do we see further evidence of Lutyens as a man capable of conveying his architectural preferences through words, but we see why, paradoxically, it was desirable for him to profess a hatred of words. To do so, brought him nearer, in his eyes, to the archetypal gentleman architectural genius.

The question remains then, why did the gentleman architect or dilettante image hold such special appeal to a man like Lutyens? One alternative approach to this problem is to consider Lutyens as an aesthete. Defined by the philosopher, Alasdair MacIntyre, as a rich and hedonistic man, ruthless in pursuit of his art, aesthetes exist in their most notorious form as literary characters, notably Sebastian Flyte and Dorian Gray, from Evelyn Waugh's *Brideshead Revisited* and *The Picture of Dorian Gray* respectively.³⁶ Lutyens's letters clearly demonstrate the extent to which art dominated his life. His aesthetic and political considerations have much in common with the hedonistic *fin-de-siècle* morality of the stereotypical and somewhat exaggerated aesthetes of Waugh and Wilde's moulds, who lack formal training but assure themselves of their innate cultural sensitivity. Indeed, despite receiving a rudimentary training at the Kensington Art School, Lutyens was home-educated and largely self-taught. The Arts and Crafts movement, on which Lutyens was raised, had a very similar ideology to the aesthetic movement and its 'Arts for Art's Sake' ideals.³⁷ It clear, therefore, how the most basic associations of innate taste and intuitive eye surrounding the gentleman architect or aesthete could have appealed as precedent to Lutyens. However, the most striking similarity between the aesthete and Lutyens, as presented through his letters, is the desire to escape the social and political reality.

Standish Meacham's work on Raymond Unwin provides a suitable model for this escapist and depoliticising outlook. Meacham argues that Raymond Unwin – the originator of the English Garden City Movement, who sought to move the poor from high density urban housing to spacious, harmonious suburbs – understood himself as an alien, removed from class and other inconvenient political associations. This enabled him to practice his thinly veiled form of cultural paternalism unhindered, despite its controversial foundations in a pre-industrial rural hierarchy and view of the past that lacked the baggage of history.³⁸ This is markedly similar to Lutyens's self-conceptualisation. In obfuscating his political views and accentuating his inarticulacy and artistic credentials, Lutyens, like Unwin, not only distanced himself from risky class and political debates, but could escape the changing world around him. A world in which the middle and

³⁶ A. MacIntyre, *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* (Paris, University of Notre Dame Press, 1985), 40-1.

³⁷ I. Small, *The Aesthetes: A Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 1979), xi-xxix.

³⁸ Meacham, *Regaining Paradise*, 7-8. The notion of benevolent aristocratic paternalism, stability and hierarchy has also been explored in relation popular celebrations in P. Mandler 'In the Olden Time: Romantic History and English National Identity, 1820-50', in L. Brockliss and D. Eastwood (eds.), *A Vision of Multiple Identities: The British Isles* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1997).

upper classes were afraid of what the future seemed to promise. Indeed, the years before the First World War were filled with physical degradation, class conflict, and democracy. To a man of Lutyens's upper-middle class background, these were alarming times, with violent strikes, insurrection in Ireland and the House of Lords, and women prepared to wage war for the vote.³⁹ Hence, by the turn of the century and the maturing of Lutyens's career, the illusion of earthly paradise that had sustained the aesthetes was already seriously threatened, if not wholly corrupted; as Jane Brown notes in her study of Lutyens's Edwardian clients, Lutyens inhabited 'a very real world of vexations and terrors'.⁴⁰

In his employment of the English Tudor style Lutyens's architecture also reflects this defensive posture of the ruling classes. Scholars have highlighted the influence of the English Tudor state in Edwardian conceptions of Englishness, in particular its association with notions of England as enclosed garden, walled off from its enemies.⁴¹ For example, Castle Drogo in Devon (1911-1930) reads like a stubborn defence of privileged English eccentricity, with its severe rectilinear battlemented architecture (Figure 1). Whilst many of Lutyens's gardens designs, for example Hestercombe (1905-6), feature narrow stoned-lined channels of water and high brick walls, evocative of medieval moats and the secretive sanctuary of the English Renaissance garden (Figure 2). Of course, Lutyens's commissions reflected the views of his clients as much as they did his own, but Lutyens tailored his style, and personal views, to their tastes. The evidence provided by the built form, then, corroborates that of his letters to show how Lutyens collapsed temporal boundaries to construct a dream-world of gentlemanly tropes and attitudes in which to escape.⁴² This was a world in which Lutyens could be what he wanted, and discard the harsh realities of social and political context, if it did not suit his self-constructed view of the world.

For Lutyens, then, the epistolary form was vital in the formulation of his self-identity. He wrote letters to his wife habitually, sometimes over three times a day; which in itself suggests that the letters had meaning beyond that of simple long distance communication. Indeed, the letters show how Lutyens insulated himself from the scary realities of his changing world, one that changed irrevocably after the First World War. Hussey argues that Lutyens sought to escape into world of 'pure aesthetics', but this chapter has argued

³⁹ Lutyens's wife and sister-in-law, Constance Lytton, were intimately involved in the suffragette movement, joining the Women's Social and Political Union in 1903 shortly after it was formed by Emily Pankhurst. Lutyens was not pleased; writing to her 'I am sorry you been selling Votes for Women'. Percy and Ridley, *Letters*, 173.

⁴⁰ J. Brown, *Lutyens and the Edwardians: An English Architect and his Clients* (London: Viking, 1996), x.

⁴¹ S. Daniels, *Fields of Vision: Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and the United States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 6.

⁴² For further discussion of the way the garden in this period functioned as an invented tradition, see A. Helmreich, *The English Garden and National Identity: The Competing Styles of Garden Design, 1870-1914* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2002).

that this world was largely self-fabricated, according to the way Lutyens believed an architect of his class should behave.⁴³ Thus, Lutyens's appears as a reactionary, clinging to a bygone idyll, but sufficiently despondent about its ideals to retreat into a world of tacit signs and private letters. Rehabilitators of Lutyens's reputation have accepted this self-view uncritically in their attempts to detract attention from their hero's now unfashionable Edwardian political context. But in downplaying this, they have overlooked the fundamental Lutyens's reactionary politics and its influence on his architecture. The following chapter, then, aims to go some way towards rectifying this.

⁴³ Hussey, *Life*, 462.

Chapter 2: “God Keep the Feudal and preserve all that is best in it”

Reviewing a selection of the volumes which helped rehabilitate Lutyens in the early 1980s, David Cannadine noted soberly that ‘perhaps because their authors are architects and historians rather than psychoanalysts, none of these books gives an entirely satisfactory picture of Lutyens as a man’.⁴⁴ This, as the first chapter of this study has shown, is most certainly a problem in the literature concerning Lutyens. However, Cannadine’s interpretation calls for a return to the view that Lutyens was driven by a primal devotion to his art or, in other words, Hussey’s image of the architect whose ‘ultimate allegiance was...to certain abstract and...eternal values transcending mortal considerations’.⁴⁵ Cannadine concludes:

The Viceroy has vanished and their Raj is rubble; his country houses are increasingly being converted into hotels and schools; even Remembrance Day is hardly a day to remember. But because Lutyens’s loyalty was to eternal verities and transcendent truths rather than to transient empires and ephemeral politics, his work is as playful and powerful today as it was when first conceived...Lutyens Lives!⁴⁶

The crucial separation between Lutyens’s politics and aesthetics is clear. Returning to Hussey’s adulatory tenor, Lutyens’s rehabilitators have recast him as an apolitical iconoclast, disregarding the stale politics of his imperial context for the sake of his art. As this chapter will show, however, the evidence from his buildings and letters suggests that Lutyens’s aesthetic choices were, in fact, rooted in a deep-seated understanding and interest in social and political issues. As Cannadine admits, ‘Lutyens took the established order as he found it, and built for those who could afford it’.⁴⁷ It was, however, more than a tacit acceptance. Ridley comes closest to accepting this:

Lutyens was no progressive. He had no interest in using architecture to change the way people lived, to eliminate servants or smooth social divisions...All he wanted was to build beautiful buildings.⁴⁸

But, whilst his ultimate loyalty rested with his art, Lutyens’s political views still had a profound impact on his work. Indeed, it is impossible to escape the fact that Lutyens’s work is infused with a particular vision of England; one that embodied, as the first chapter of this study sets out, a safe world in which he could design beautiful buildings for rich clients with deep pockets and a suitably discerning taste in architecture.

⁴⁴ Cannadine, ‘Architect as Hero’, 25.

⁴⁵ Hussey, *Life*, xviii

⁴⁶ Cannadine, ‘Architect as Hero’, 26

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ Ridley, *Lutyens*, 177.

This chapter, then, explores Lutyens's engagement with the political and social issues that fuelled this safe world, tracing their development through into his architecture.

In terms of his political views, the founding theme in Lutyens's letters is his preference for the aristocratic or 'Tory feudal' view of society, which he juxtaposes against the vacillating ways of parliamentary governments and committees. Fluctuating from facetious to dour, his letters are peppered with comments on the issues of the day. One particular episode is especially worthy of note. Occupying a series of letters in the early summer of 1909, Lutyens discusses his outrage at the news of Chancellor David Lloyd George's infamous Limehouse Speech, in which he pilloried the Duke of Westminster, owner of the Grosvenor estate, as 'Bendor'.⁴⁹ He wrote to his wife:

Lloyd George attacked the Duke of Westminster and branded him a robber. He has a regular letch for this sort of thing. But the Grosvenor estate of all people! Some twenty years back the old Duke spent so much on public improvements on his London properties that the banks very nearly sold him up...I should say no great estate had ever been so humanely administered as the Grosvenor estate...Compare the Grosvenor estate methods and the Croydon Town Council dealing with Whitgift Hospital [Almshouses, built 1596-9]. If Croydon was the Duke's that awful block of hideous shop buildings would go at once and the old hospital be opened up...The whole thing is childish, having no sense of proportion. Bah! This is what our democracy and vaunted Mother of Parliaments is bringing us to.⁵⁰

A few days later, this same outrage provokes him to compare London with cities, Paris and Berlin, organised on more authoritarian lines:

Our methods are wonderful if quite untaught and irresponsible municipalities, elected by an ignorant and untutored electorate, to simply throw away money in expensive local improvements which are a little less than vulgar aggrandisements, with little linking them as they have in France and Germany. This is where big estates like the Grosvenor estate with their advisers and continued policies pan out so much better for the public good...No work is done best where the men's interests are put first and not the work's. And this, I believe is the big difference between, say, feudalism and democracy...Feudalism only fails 1) where the lord is bad and 2) more generally when the vassals have democratic leanings and work for themselves. Democracy in any case must fail by this one reason alone.⁵¹

⁴⁹ This was a prerequisite to his 'People's Budget', passed in April 1910, which introduced unprecedented taxes on the wealthy, and radical social welfare programmes.

⁵⁰ RIBA: LuE/10/5/5(ii), Edwin to Emily, 5 May 1909.

⁵¹ RIBA: LuE/10/5/5/9, Edwin to Emily, 9 May 1909.

These revealing statements demonstrate the close coupling of Lutyens political views with his aesthetics-oriented identity. He draws a direct link between feudal-style patronage and the realisation of his art. For Lutyens to be the kind of architect he wanted to be, this structuring of society was essential. And thus we see the link between his ‘Tory feudal’ politics and the self-image he constructed for himself as a gentleman architect.

Indeed, it is clear that Lutyens’s self-image was intricately bound up in contemporary ideas of taste, propriety, scornful of the lower classes and nouveau riche. He writes in one letter that the ‘the public don’t know and don’t really care a dog’s leg about architecture. Some may like to talk about it but few can or care to pay’.⁵² Whilst on a visit to the Liberal MP Arthur Mildmay’s house, Flete, built by Lutyens’s one-time hero Norman Shaw, he expresses his disgust at how ‘awfully nouveau riche’ it was, adding:

Neither loveliness nor love can be bought – not by all the millions in the world. There! God Keep the Feudal and preserve all that is best in it and the result is love and kindness.⁵³

There is perhaps, here, a certain amount of pandering to his wife; throughout the letters, he is certainly given to hyperbole and drollery as a means of entreating and charming her. However, this renders these social and political comments no less important, in light of what we now understand these letters meant to Lutyens. Indeed, the letters demonstrate that whilst Hussey was correct identifying how important it was for Lutyens that his ethical and political values ‘corresponded with aesthetic virtues’, this view that his ‘ultimately allegiance’ would be aesthetics was not reached in a political vacuum, but in reaction to the aforementioned perils of his changing world.

In fact, it is clear that Lutyens imbibed the perceived dangers of his time and class to a very great extent, especially as far as the colonial climate is concerned. India, it seems, confirmed his disillusionment with parliamentary government:

India – like Africa – makes one very Tory and pre-Tory feudal! and the rot of party and votes seems like some slow sweet poison to spoil children.⁵⁴

And Lutyens was clearly impressed by the autocratic vibe of the country:

⁵² RIBA: LuE/12/10/3(i-v), Edwin to Emily, 26 May 1912.

⁵³ Percy and Ridley, *Letters*, 199.

⁵⁴ RIBA: LuE/12/8/3(ii), Edwin to Emily, 14 April 1912.

I am awfully impressed by the Civil Service and the unselfishness of our Government here. I wish they would abolish the House of Common and all representative government and start the system in England. My principle quarrel is that there is no taste and love of the beautiful at all.⁵⁵

For Lutyens, the link was clear between his aesthetic ideals and the political ends required to realise them. In this case, his ambition to achieve great work was strengthened by a determination to supply the Raj with an architecture fitting its lofty ideals. He realised that ‘architecture, more than any other art, represents the intellectual press of those that are in authority’.⁵⁶ And thus, he had an interest in keeping abreast of the political scene, which explains his violent railing against the politicians ruling class when they made decisions that jeopardised the culture he held so dear; a culture from which his whole self-image hung. Lutyens’s architecture, too, reflects this unwillingness, visible in the letters, to stray from the old feudal world of aristocratic patronage. In a study of this length, focused primarily on the man as seen through his letters, it is impossible to give his architecture (which numbers over 600 structures) adequate treatment.⁵⁷ However, there are clear themes and continuities. Indeed, many of Lutyens’s works read like a eulogy for lost or rapidly fading world. Lutyens’s traditionalist tendencies have baffled the most eminent architectural commentators; Nikolaus Pevsner recalled his irritation that an ‘architect should still use pilasters and columns and pediments at all in a building of 1928’.⁵⁸ But Lutyens’s elegiac mode skilfully straddles both the monumental and the picturesque in its attempt to underwrite and prolong its *fin-de-siècle*. Castle Drogo, for example, is lavish in both scale and detail, its granite-clad elegance extending even to the service areas; notably the lantern of the basement kitchen, reminiscent of the banking halls of John Soane’s Bank of England (1790-1807) which were demolished while Castle Drogo was nearing completion (Figure 3). Lutyens’s architectural quotations are highly specific: that of an age of learned gentleman architects, long since out of fashion. The castle is an anachronistic folly, a baronial stronghold for the twentieth century. In this respect, it reflects the Lutyens we find in the letters. As Pevsner notes, he was ‘the only architect then alive who could be trusted with such an extravaganza in granite, because he still believed in the pomp and circumstance and at the same time kept clear of sheer *tours de force* in period imitation’.⁵⁹ Lutyens, then, clearly knew how to cater for the tastes of his clients. He, too, shared their dream of maintaining the old hierarchy. Though he was often jokey and facetious, Lutyens was supremely serious about his architecture.

⁵⁵ RIBA: LuE/12/10/3(iv), Edwin to Emily, 26 May 1912.

⁵⁶ RIBA: LuE/13/5/1-9, Edwin to Emily, 2 January 1913.

⁵⁷ Unsurprisingly, Lutyens’s work has received more attention than the man. For the best spatial analysis of the houses to date see A. Greenberg, ‘Lutyens’ Architecture Restudied’, *Perspecta*, Vol.12 (1969), 129-152.

⁵⁸ N. Pevsner, ‘Building with Wit: The Architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens’, *The Architectural Review*, April (1951), 217.

⁵⁹ N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: South Devon* (London: Penguin, 1952), 245.

And we can now see that these aesthetic choices stemmed from serious political considerations too. In light of this, his selection for the job of designing New Delhi becomes clearer.

Lutyens's august and supremely ordered Viceroy's House in New Delhi not only expressed the idea and fact of British rule in India, but achieved the fusion of traditions that both politics and climate dictated.⁶⁰ As his letters show, aesthetics were not Lutyens's only concern in Delhi. Indeed, with its proclivity for architectural synthesis and cultural appropriation in the name of 'civilisation', the massive complex expresses the British imperial ideal as supremely as his country houses expressed the British domestic ideal.⁶¹ In his earliest sketches during the summer of 1912 (Figures 4 and 5), Lutyens reinforced the dominant horizontality of Viceroy's House with a repetitive march of colonnades that recalls neoclassical projects by J.N.L. Durand and E.L. Boullée; whose work he references admiringly in his letters (above) comparing Paris with London.⁶² Such lateral emphasis gives the building a visual stability appropriate to the power and disciplined efficacy of the Raj, emphasising the essence of art of empire's sake, brooding over the city and plain. But, as noted in the first chapter of this study, Lutyens's rehabilitators have sought to downplay his involvement with the political project, stressing his devotion to his art above all else. Hussey, in particular, pits Lutyens against his collaborator, Baker, to emphasise this point:

As time passes we witness Baker's somewhat loose idealism, summary methods, and respect for political realities assuming the colour of sins in Lutyens's eyes, till the crucial moment when the whole range of ethical values – moral, political and personal – are brought into conflict with the spirit of aesthetic integrity on the *glacis* of Raisina Hill. In this celebrated battle...Lutyens was defeated. By the canons of his art and creed, he was wholly in the right; by the rules of practical men, administrators, accountants and lawyers, Baker's position was unassailable.⁶³

And, indeed, the two architects did have very different approaches. But, from the very pomp and ceremony of the designs for Delhi, with their overpowering symmetry and monumental synthesis of Classical and Indian detailing, combined with the evidence we have in the letters of Lutyens's own imperial and chauvinistic attitudes, it is clear that Hussey's interpretation will only go so far. Baker was more willing to sacrifice his art for the sake of politics, but Lutyens was certainly not simply a victim of his own uncontrollable intuition and talent. Equally, whilst the Rashtrapati Bhavan, as it is now known, stands largely repurposed and rehabilitated in Delhi today, this is more indicative of post-Independence attitudes

⁶⁰ For a detailed analysis of the building of Delhi, see R. G. Irving, *Indian Summer: Lutyens, Baker and Imperial Delhi* (New Haven: Yale University Press).

⁶¹ R. G. Irving, 'Architecture for Empire's Sake: Lutyens's Palace for Delhi', *Perspecta*, Vol. 18 (1982), 9.

⁶² See footnote 51.

⁶³ Hussey, *Life*, 244.

to colonialism than any awareness of apolitical aesthetic tropes on Lutyens's part.⁶⁴ The letters and design show us that Lutyens designed this monumental complex with the political, social and cultural values of Britain at the time in mind. In so doing, he summarized the best and worst of imperial sunset.

Lutyens's buildings back home also reflect the preoccupations of the British upper classes at this time. Much like the Viceroy's House, his first full-blown Classical design, Heathcote (1906-8) in suburbs of Ilkely in Yorkshire, represents the architecture of authority and wealth, with its fiercely symmetrical and consummate display of the Doric order (Figure 6). Most of Lutyens's portfolio is bursting with intricate and expensive little jokes which cater to a refined taste or, in other words, the world of privilege and taste he so fiercely protected. No.68 Pall Mall (1928-9), for instance, features igneous and highly unconventional disappearing pilasters that recede into the heavily stuccoed rustication of the first floor (Figure 7). These eccentric details embodied the Edwardian essence of the time; maintaining outward appearances in spite of crumbling inner certainties. Again, this corroborates the evidence from the letters. As Ian Nairn noted, much like Frank Lloyd Wright's work in America at this time, Lutyens's houses have a genuinely personal touch to them, the main difference being that 'Wright was at the beginning of a living style, Lutyens near the end of a second hand one'.⁶⁵ Indeed, Margaret Richardson has argued that Lutyens's attitude to architecture was essentially romantic, tapping into a nostalgia for England's past within the tradition of the English classical house.⁶⁶ This is certainly how much of his work was framed and marketed. Owing to his close friendship with the magazine's proprietor, Edward Hudson, much of Lutyens's work appeared in the pages of *Country Life*.⁶⁷ There it was juxtaposed with articles on Elizabethan and Carolean houses, bolstering its antediluvian temporal and cultural connotations. However, unlike his close contemporary, the architect Reginald Blomfield, Lutyens himself never explicitly situated his work in a discourse of Englishness, such vulgarity would surely have been at odds with his strict sense of artistic propriety. However, one does not require Lutyens's words to see that his houses and cottages are lyrical celebrations of a certain view of Englishness. What writers have attributed to English romanticism – order, friendliness, fitness for their surroundings and for the English climate – can now be seen as fitting closely with Lutyens's preferred Tory feudal view of society. It is then, highly important to recognise that Lutyens's architecture often has a tacit socio-political message and that was, in part, derived from his own view of politics and society.

⁶⁴ David Watkin notes that 'the attitudes of different historians to the architecture of Sir Edwin Lutyens are always a revealing indication of the extent to which they have assumed, probably unconsciously, a Hegelian outlook. D. Watkin, *Morality and Architecture: The Development of a Theme in Architectural History and Theory from the Gothic Revival to the Modern Movement* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 114-115.

⁶⁵ I. Nairn and N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Surrey* (London: Penguin, 1962), 65.

⁶⁶ M. Richardson in C. Amery, *Lutyens*, exhibition catalogue, London: Arts Council, Hayward Gallery, 1981-82

⁶⁷ For more on this partnership see J. Cornforth in *Lutyens*, exhibition catalogue, 25-31.

Conclusion: *metiando vivendum*

Fathoming the motivations and intentions of the ‘architect laureate’, therefore, is an extremely interesting challenge, both in terms of our architectural understanding and the broader cultural history of late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Whilst Lutyens was undoubtedly a man of singular creativity, his letters and work embody the vicissitudes of the Edwardian and late imperial era. A greater understanding of Lutyens’s life and work gives us an insight not only into the society he lived in, but the post-war society that praised, condemned, and finally rehabilitated his posthumous reputation. Indeed, a significant admission from the literature is a detailed reception history. Although this would likely reveal as much about post-war attitudes to imperialism, patronage and *fin-de-siècle* artistic morality as it would about Lutyens himself.

Approaching Lutyens through his letters and buildings, has also raised some wider conceptual and methodological issues. Most notably the degree to which we should use an artist’s biographical information to understand and evaluate their art. Certainly, we should at least attempt to understand an artist’s work according to the ethics of their time; a preferable strategy to simply pretending that the artist in question was disconnected from that society and its values, as Lutyens’s rehabilitators have endeavoured to do. But this tension also raises wider concerns as to the suitability of the literary form as means of approaching art and design. In the case of Lutyens, extensive archival resources facilitate research into both the documentary record and the built fabric as means of easing the potential clash. But there are still, of course, inherent risks in using what we know about an artist to ‘read into’ their art. The trope of synecdoche, defined by Hayden White as ‘the figure by which a phenomenon can be characterised by some quality presumed to inhere in the totality’, haunts many architectural historians attempting to explain a single building through its synecdochic relation to an architect’s oeuvre and ideals.⁶⁸ This danger of fabricating a synthetically unified vision of the subject’s body of work is not confined to this field alone, however. In the context of this study, this conceptual problem could easily apply to the letters. However, if the study of Lutyens shows us anything, it is that an architect’s contribution to architectural study – and, indeed, any individual’s contribution to their biographical history more broadly – can be equivocal.

This paper has sought to employ these more critical approaches – evident in the recent historiography of biography, architecture and popular and elite society – to reassess the evidence from the RIBA archives regarding the politics of Edwin Lutyens.⁶⁹ In accepting the complex projection of the ‘self’,

⁶⁸ H. White, *Metahistory* (Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 1973), 35.

⁶⁹ Many architectural historians, however, continue to be resistant to these influences; Gavin Stamp, for example, described poststructuralism as ‘an irrelevant masturbation’, quoted in Borden and Rendell, *Intersections*, 15.

and challenging previous works on Lutyens that have not taken this into account, it has been able to show the ways in which Lutyens's artistic decisions were deeply affected by his society and surroundings. It is through Lutyens's close links with the upper class society of the Edwardian era that the value of this study to historians of the *fin-de-siècle* and late British Empire is most apparent. Equally, Lutyens and his attitudes and approaches to the politics of his time provide a springboard from which to investigate the role of the artist in Edwardian society and the impact of the First World War. Whilst limitations of space have restricted the chronological span of this study, much remains to be discovered about Lutyens and his formidable oeuvre. Indeed, his work for the Imperial War Graves Commission or a detailed exploration of correspondence with his friend, rival and collaborator Herbert Baker, would be worth separate dissertations in their own right.

These regrettable omissions notwithstanding, this study has been able to shed new light on some of the documents Lutyens left behind. Chapter 1 showed that assessments which portray Lutyens in an apolitical vacuum, disconnected from the grubby, chauvinistic and pro-feudal politics and social attitudes of his age, are based on a misreading of his precisely constructed self-identity. Drawing on two models, the aesthete and Meacham's apolitical 'other', this study showed that Lutyens's self-image not only allowed him to behave in the temperamental and aloof manner of his desired gentleman architect idols, but proved advantageous from the perspective of a jobbing architect unwilling to court damaging controversy. This chapter also demonstrated the ways in which those seeking to resurrect Lutyens's reputation from its post-war ashes drew on this self-image to distance their architect from his unfavourable social and political context. This, as we now see, distorted interpretations of Lutyens and his work. In overlooking or downplaying this context, scholars have missed valuable insights into the mind-set of one of Britain's greatest architects and the social and political customs, views and norms of the upper class society in which he mixed. In this light, Chapter 2 showed that though Lutyens was undoubtedly a profoundly serious artist, his work was still highly influenced by strongly held views. His letters and architecture demonstrate an entrenched allegiance and nostalgia for an England ruled by a moneyed and tasteful aristocracy, with an equally gentlemanly empire abroad. Therefore, as the embodiment of the imperial sunset and its decadent morality, Sir Edwin Lutyens remains both fascinating and valuable to any historian of this period.

Given the conceptual difficulties and subtleties of this subject, however, Lutyens's life motto provides perhaps the most pertinent epilogue; *metiundo vivendum* (by measure we must live).

Appendix



Figure 1: Castle Drogo (1911-1930). Digital image, available from: <http://www.bdonline.co.uk/survival-of-the-fittest/5046042.article> [assessed 15/04/16]



Figure 2: Hestercombe (1905-6), author's image.



Figure 3: Castle Drogo, kitchen basement; note the Soane-inspired lantern above. Digital image, available from: <http://www.countrylifeimages.co.uk/Image.aspx?id=e00d693a-90ce-4cad-ba7d-e110f3a1a073&rd=2%7Ctable%7C%7C1%7C20%7C454%7C150> [assessed 15/04/16]

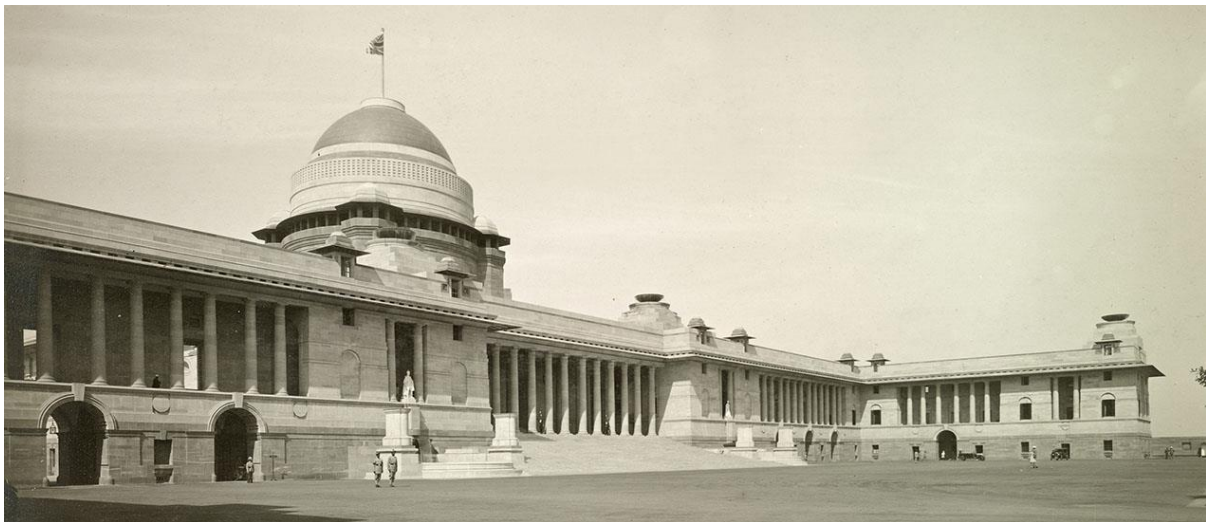


Figure 4: Viceroy's House (1912-29). Digital image, available from: <https://www.architecture.com/Explore/Stories/EdwinLutyensIn1913.aspx> [assessed 15/04/16]



Figure 5: Sketches from a letter from Edwin to Emily, 1912, author's image.



Figure 6: Heathcote (1906-9). Digital image, available from: <http://www.lutyenstrust.org.uk/portfolio-item/remembering-heathcote/> [assessed 15/04/16]



Figure 7: No. 68 Pall Mall (1928-9). Note the playful way in which the pilasters on the first floor appear to vanish into the rustication. Digital Image, available from: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vols29-30/pt1/plate-273> [assessed 15/04/16]

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