

EJE TEMÁTICO 1: Instituciones y campo intelectual

Lawrence Harvey and Architectural Training in Europe

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Was the beaux-arts culture international? To what extent was European academic training in architecture shaped by exchanges, hybridizations and circulations between various pedagogical models?

In the second half of the 19th century, schools specialised in architectural training were a geographical network of internationally attractive institutions, polytechnic institutes and fine art schools. Their pedagogical models have often been opposed to one another as reflecting different conceptions of architecture. On the one hand, the more artistic model promoted by the architecture section of the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris foregrounded skills in composition above all else.¹ It relied on a tradition of *ateliers* and competitions that fostered emulation between students. On the other hand, polytechnic schools, which first appeared in Paris after the Revolution and were already well-established in Germany (Karlsruhe, Stuttgart, Berlin), offered to train students as engineer-architects with a solid scientific background and used a more traditional form of pedagogy with lectures and graded exercises.² These institutions were often in competition with one another, but that did not prevent interactions and mutual influences. Individual students or teachers moving from one school, one city, or even one language, to another, reinforced these relations.

Student mobility was variously motivated in a discipline where travel tours had always been an integral component of education. It was also the result of great spatial disparities in terms of available training programmes. In fact, Switzerland and Great-Britain were late in having

¹ DREXLER Arthur (dir.), *The Architecture of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts*, London/New York, Secker & Warburg, 1977 ; MIDDLETON Robin (dir.), *The Beaux-Arts and Nineteenth-Century French Architecture*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1982 ; LAMBERT Guy, “La pedagogía del atelier en la enseñanza de la arquitectura. Una aproximación cultural y material al caso francés (Siglos XIX y XX)” (or. ed. 2014), *Revista de Arquitectura*, 9(1), 2017, p. 87-94.

² BELHOSTE Bruno, DAHAN Dalmedico Amy, PICON Antoine, *La formation polytechnicienne 1794-1994*, Paris, Dunod, 1994 ; PFAMMATER Ulrich, *Die Erfindung des modernen Architektens, Ursprung und Entwicklung seiner wissenschaftlich-industriellen Ausbildung*, Basel, Birkhäuser, 1997.

schools like those in France and Germany, which explains why young aspiring architects left their countries and attended different schools successively.³ These students participated in building reputations and hierarchies between institutions, producing collective trajectories, which reflected means and career strategies. While fostering comparisons and competitions between schools, students who became architects and sometimes-even teachers were vectors of transfers and exchanges. They contributed to the importation of methods, the translation of concepts, and the hybridization of contents. Therefore, they made local differences more visible and at the same time participated in the homogenisation of European architectural culture.

To illustrate such phenomena, I will present the case of Lawrence Harvey (1845-1920), who typically embodies the movements and transfers of experience I have just mentioned. Born in Geneva as a British citizen, Harvey was the son of an English teacher and a Swiss portraitist. He studied architecture at the Polytechnic institute in Zurich (from 1864 to 1867), then at the *École des Beaux-Arts* in Paris (from 1868 to 1872). He then settled in London in the hope of becoming an architect and teacher. Having failed in both careers, he came back to Switzerland in the early 1890s and taught for a while at the *École des métiers* in Geneva.

Harvey mostly distinguished himself as a journalist for the French and British architectural press, an activity he started at an early age, as early as 1868, while still a student. He is mostly known for having contributed to disseminate the ideas of his former architecture teacher in Zurich, Gottfried Semper, in London and Paris in the 1880s.⁴ He has also been identified as one of the promoters of the model of the Paris *École des beaux-arts* in Great Britain.⁵

What I'd like to underline is his role as a critical observer of the various training systems in architecture, and how he was able to foster exchanges on content and pedagogical methods between the continent and England. To do so, I rely on two types of sources, which in fact participate in disseminating ideas. First, there is Harvey's private correspondence held at the Geneva Library.⁶ These letters provide an overview of Harvey's mindset and shed light on the academic and professional strategies informing his public interventions. Secondly, I examine the vast number of articles he published in various architecture periodicals published in Europe as well as in Chicago, thus exporting his ideas to North America. These texts show how keenly

³ CRINSON Mark et LUBBOCK Jules, *Architecture - Art or Profession? Three Hundred Years of Architectural Education in Britain*, Manchester/New York, Manchester University Press, 1994 ; LÜTHI Dave, *La construction de l'architecte : histoire d'une profession en Suisse romande 1800-1940*, Neuchatel, Alphil, 2010.

⁴ THIBAUT Estelle, "Semper en version française : traductions et interprétations dans la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle", *Revue germanique internationale*, 2017, n° 26, p. 191-210.

⁵ BRUCCULERI Antonio, "Transfert du modèle Beaux-Arts dans le milieu londonien : autour de l'Architectural Association School dans les premières décennies du XX^e siècle", *Cahiers HEnSA20*, 2018, p. 33-39.

⁶ Bibliothèque de Genève (BGE), Harvey Papers, Correspondence, ms 5324 à 5327.

aware of national discrepancies he was and how, because of his multicultural background, he could present himself as both an expert and a key player in the transfer of pedagogical models. By foregrounding the combined advantages of the Swiss, French, and British systems, Harvey developed an eclectic synthesis and outlined an ideal architectural education at the end of the 19th century.

Training methods in architecture: emulation, schoolboy system, pupillage and self-learning

Lawrence Harvey first tackled differences in training methods in an article entitled “Continental schools of Architecture”⁷, published in *The Builder* in 1870. In this text, he compared the German and French systems on the ground of his own experience as a student at the Zurich Polytechnicum and at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris. Unsurprisingly, the comparison resulted in favour of Paris where Harvey had studied in the atelier of Léon Ginain. In Zurich, Harvey had not been entirely satisfied with the training he had received, except the history classes he had enjoyed a lot. Contrary to fellow students who had taken preparatory classes or acquired more practical office training, Harvey had quite poor drawing skills when he began his studies. Also, the emphasis on scientific classes had not enabled him to improve. Due to the lack of such skills, he failed his certificate and discussed his situation with Gottfried Semper, his teacher.⁸ Semper himself had travelled across Europe as a student and teacher and therefore knew well the various types of pedagogies of the mid-19th century. His exile had forced him to accept the position of director of the architecture school at the Zurich Polytechnicum in 1855; however, he had always regretted not having freedom to design the curriculum according to his own views.⁹ He too thought that studies should last longer and that students should be encouraged to carry out actual architectural projects; instead, the programme comprised a multiplicity of courses and exercises. To Harvey and many other students, Semper had therefore suggested they should complement their training at the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, where they would also enjoy numerous architectural models in the monuments of the capital.

⁷ HARVEY Lawrence, “Continental Schools of Architecture”, *The Builder*, XXVIII, n° 1407, 22 janvier 1870, p. 61.

⁸ Lawrence Harvey to his father, 9 August 1867, BGE, ms 5324, f°61r.

⁹ FRÖHLICH Martin, *Gottfried Semper als Entwerfer und Entwurfslehrer*, ETH Zurich, 1974 ; TSCHANZ Martin, *Die Bauschule am Eigenössischen Polytechnikum in Zürich : Architekturlehre zur Zeit von Gottfried Semper (1855-1871)*, Zurich, gta, 2015.

Retrospectively, the solid technical and scientific training of the Zurich polytechnic institute proved helpful for these students to master the Parisian curriculum.¹⁰

In his 1870 “Continental schools of architecture”, Harvey compared the length of studies—3 years in Zurich versus an *à la carte* curriculum in Paris, the average amount of time to become certified being 7 years—, the place of architectural composition itself in the curriculum, as well as the artistic autonomy given to students. He soon concluded that the *École des Beaux-Arts* was far superior: “in the opinion of many competent judges, the mental discipline of the Polytechnicum is too rigid and tend to cramp the originality of pupils”.¹¹ Having defended the Parisian system of *ateliers* and *concours*¹² as more adequate in 1870, he promoted it again in 1884 during a discussion at the Royal Institute of British Architects on architectural training. Lawrence Harvey’s interventions matched those of another former *École des Beaux-Arts* student, Richard Phené Spiers¹³. Mutual teaching and learning, emulation, the freedom left to students in building their own curriculum were opposed to the “schoolboy principle”¹⁴ of the “German education system”. Such pedagogy could be efficient, but it was inadequate to develop true artistic personalities.

In a series of humorous “English letters” published in the French weekly *La semaine des constructeurs* in 1878, Harvey made similar comments on the British situation.¹⁵ He criticised the lack of any real architectural training programmes devised at the State level and pointed at the many excesses resulting from a training at the sole hands of professionals, which mainly relied on pupillage. While some architects made sure they were truly providing their pupils with practical, artistic, and intellectual knowledge, others simply exploited them. Charles Dickens had already exposed the system’s abuses in his 1844 novel *Martin Chuzzlewit*, and architecture periodicals such as *The Builder* promoted more virtuous practices.¹⁶ Lawrence Harvey offered his French counterparts a Dickens-like picture of the English training system rather than a systematic report on its pros and cons. Indeed, his contribution was a deliberately ironic parody

¹⁰ “The Zurich school, which can only be looked at as a preparatory school for the *École des Beaux-Arts*”, letter from Lawrence Harvey to his father, 30 December 1868, BGE, ms 5324, f°67v.

¹¹ HARVEY Lawrence, “Continental Schools of Architecture”, op. cit.

¹² HARVEY Lawrence, “Paris Studios and the Grand Prix de Rome”, *The Builder*, XXVIII, n° 1412, 26 February 1870, p. 163.

¹³ HARVEY Lawrence, “The French Diplôme d’Architecte and the German System of Education”, *Transactions. Royal Institute of British Architects Sessions 1883-84*, 1884, p. 127-128.

¹⁴ “On the French Diplôme d’Architecte and the German System of Architectural Education”, *The Architect*, vol. 31, 17 May 1884, p. 317-320.

¹⁵ HARVEY Lawrence, “Lettres anglaises”, *La Semaine des constructeurs*, vol. 3, n° 10, 7 September 1878, p. 111-112 ; n° 16, 19 October 1878, p. 181-183 ; n° 22, 30 November 1878, p. 253-254.

¹⁶ CRIMSON Mark, LUBBOCK Jules, *Architecture. Art or Profession ? Three Hundred Years of Architectural Education in Britain*, Manchester/New York, Manchester University Press, 1994.

of a work contract between an architect and his apprentice: the document drafted by notaries Dodson and Fogg put young Wastepaper under the authority of architect Greatcanon in exchange for a huge sum of money, without any obligation for the latter to train his apprentice in return.¹⁷ In contrast, Harvey insisted on the warm welcome that Parisian “*patrons*” would grant their young students at the École des Beaux-Arts, thinking probably of his own master, Léon Ginain. But he might also have had in mind the interesting year he spent working at the office of the Geneva-based architect Jacques Louis Brocher before enrolling at the École des Beaux-Arts. In fact, his fierce attack on apprenticeship hid a more balanced appreciation of a system that he could see evolving in a more promising direction. A decade later, he thus claimed that pupillage could easily be turned into something close to the Parisian system of *ateliers*. All that was needed was to allow young students to access complementary training and to make sure employers benefitted from their pupils’ success by being mentioned when they would win competitions.¹⁸

Also, Harvey had well identified the advantages of the British architectural environment, which compensated the lack of virtually any public training system. To his French readership, he extolled the many resources available to a young Englishman willing to learn the craft by himself; among these, architecture journals were particularly important as they took their educative role very seriously. *The Builder*, a weekly created in 1843, thus provided a template for later French periodicals such as the *Semaine des constructeurs* (founded by César Daly in 1876) and its competitor, *La Construction moderne* (founded by Paul Planat in 1885). Harvey also stressed the importance of the debates triggered by public competitions, which the press magnified: “Students can therefore see the best projects that were submitted and learn about the discussions around them. It is as if the competition’s exhibition were taking place all over England at the same time; in short, it is the École des Beaux-Arts de Paris, but on a much larger scale.”¹⁹ Finally, Harvey also applauded professional institutions taking action to set up a more formalised training system.²⁰ At the Royal Institute of British Architects for instance, where he was admitted in 1882, the issue was becoming more and more prevalent. In fact, Harvey taught some classes offered by the Architectural Association, founded in 1847 by young voluntary architects who decided to take charge of their own training, and whose pedagogical missions

¹⁷ HARVEY Lawrence, “Lettres anglaises”, *La Semaine des constructeurs*, vol. 3, n° 16, 19 October 1878, p. 182.

¹⁸ “Architectural Association”, *The Builder*, LI, n°2284, 13 November 1886, p. 715 ; HARVEY Lawrence, “Le meilleur système d’éducation pour les architectes”, *La Construction moderne*, n° 21, 21 May 1887, p. 373-374.

¹⁹ HARVEY Lawrence, “Lettres anglaises”, *La Semaine des constructeurs*, vol. 3, n° 22, 30 November 1878, p. 253-254.

²⁰ HARVEY Lawrence, “Chronique. Le diplôme professionnel”, *La Semaine des constructeurs*, vol. 6, n° 45, 6 May 1882, p. 530-531.

had greatly developed. Having himself been a member of a student association in Zurich, Harvey knew how profitable such activities could be.

Harvey was in such a position that he would encourage his contemporaries to make the most of the three systems: the pedagogy of polytechnic schools, the mutual teaching prevailing in the *ateliers*, and the English self-learning method.

Disseminating composition principles: French unity *versus* English individuality

Harvey also developed an expertise on the main characteristics of French and English architecture. In his correspondence with his brother Robert, he discussed the articles he wrote for the British press in the early 1870s while living in Paris. Robert, who was then a student of English literature in London, served as intermediary with the journals and finalised his brother's texts.²¹ Together, they identified a marked contrast in the artistic production of the two countries, in literature and in architecture, as the result of deep political, moral, and cultural differences. They thus opposed the French Mind that was dominated by a centralizing spirit, to English individualism and its fondness for independence.²² In the wake of an article precisely entitled "The French Mind," and with the help of his brother, Lawrence Harvey published two texts on Charles Garnier's Opera in Paris [fig.1], in which he tried to demonstrate "how the plans of French buildings are the organic outgrowth of that centralizing spirit": "the puzzle, then, for the architect of a playhouse is to find a simple system of lines which will both satisfy the demands of the five main divisions of the house and the spectator's instinct of organic unity."²³

The modes of composition taught at the *École des beaux-arts* were made explicit in these texts, while being implemented by the young architect in his own school projects. The description of Garnier's Opera thus turned into a lecture on the principles that were transmitted orally in the studio. Harvey highlighted the fact that the plan fit in regular geometrical figures and that the different parts were subordinated to the overall composition; the various elements of the programme were distributed hierarchically according to their relative importance, from the

²¹ BGE, ms. 5325, Harvey Papers, correspondence 1870-1884.

²² HARVEY Robert, *The French Mind, or, A Psychological Outline of the French Intellect and Character for the Use of Students of French Literature*, London, Trübner and Co, 1870 ; HARVEY Lawrence, "The French Mind", *The Builder*, XXVIII, n° 1418, 9 April 1870, p. 280.

²³ HARVEY Lawrence, "The new Opera House, Paris", *The Builder*, XXVIII, n° 1418, 11 June 1870, p. 465-466 and XXIX, n° 1499, 28 October 1871, p. 846-847.

stage and the main staircase to the ancillary spaces. There is a much more extensive version of this rather short article in the brothers' correspondence, revealing a deep theoretical background. Harvey was enthusiastic about this text and felt he could continue with "a series of comparative articles on the Paris monuments by the modern school":

"I will relate them to my previous articles like an exhibition where the reasoned study of architecture takes you, I will try to make the English understand the architectural thinking of the French, their plans drawn from a general conception of the totality, the study of proportions in either plans or elevations, and finally the influence of the French spirit on the dispositions and character of their buildings. I will start with the main public monuments, the Opera, the new court of cassation, the École des Beaux-Arts, Les Halles, churches, and end with private mansions and rented houses."²⁴

The project did not come through in the 1870s but—I'll come back to this later—it eventually developed into a series of lectures that Harvey gave in London in July 1887.²⁵

After having explained the French Mind to British architects, Lawrence Harvey, once settled in London, set out to make the French understand the irregular dispositions that were valued across the Channel. In *La semaine des constructeurs*, he presented the Scottish architect Richard Norman Shaw and stated he was as important as "Duc and Duban in France,"²⁶ "an innovator and a real master," even though his way of organising plans was the complete opposite of French unity: "Ideas of growth and development, [this] is what the British architect holds dearest." [fig. 2] He continued his demonstration in a series of articles published in *La construction moderne* in 1885. He described the main characteristics of domestic architecture, in utter contrast with the symmetrical and hierarchical modes of composition being taught at the École des beaux-arts. The Frenchman, whose ideal was public monuments, wanted to apply their regular order to private buildings: "The Englishman is not as embarrassed, since his ideal is private life, whose essential trait is freedom [...] the absence of any system [...] He thus puts what you, French architects, would call the *disconnected* [*décousu*], at the core of his architecture [...] the *décousu* is taught to the young English architect as the monumental, the systematic is to the young Frenchman."²⁷

²⁴ Lawrence Harvey to his brother Robert, 26 February 1870, BGE, ms 5325, f°7v.

²⁵ See note 48.

²⁶ HARVEY Lawrence, "Le style Queen Anne ou des romanciers architectes", *La Semaine des constructeurs*, vol. 7, n° 49, 2 June 1883, p. 582-583.

²⁷ HARVEY Lawrence, "La construction moderne en Angleterre (4)", *La Construction moderne*, 12 December 1885, p. 99-101. See H [HARVEY Lawrence], "Maisons de campagne et villas au bord de la mer", *La*

These views were published in a series of publications which participated in disseminating the aesthetic of English cottages in France, in the wake of Viollet-le-Duc's *Habitations modernes* (1874).²⁸ Harvey's texts could be reactions to those of Émile Rivoalen,²⁹ who had commented on various features of English cottages. These texts also coincided with Harvey's adoption of a hybrid neo-Renaissance style in which rooms achieve their individuality by displacements and façade extensions, as illustrated by the villa project he published in *The Architect* in 1885.³⁰ [fig. 3] Thus the young professional opportunistically played on both his architectural cultures and at the same time promoted the composition methods he had learnt in Paris and then in London in practice and in periodicals.

Knowledge sharing: perspective drawings and descriptive geometry

Transfers of methods and ideas between England and the continent also involved the modes of representation that were privileged for the various conceptions of the architectural project: perspective, which was associated to picturesque compositions, and geometry, the instrument of hierarchical regularity. Harvey introduced his French counterparts to the drawing methods that were currently used in English offices, including the "Centrilinead," a device that simplified the drawing of perspective views.³¹ [fig. 4] Harvey favoured this intuitive and practical approach, in contrast with the excessively theoretical and complex teaching of perspective at the École des beaux-arts, as a consequence of which French architects turned away from it.³² He also drew conclusions on the impact of these drawing methods on the illustrations of journals on both sides of the Channel. Harvey had been disappointed by the engraving of the plan illustrating his text on the Opera. It showed "little architectural feeling, it [failed] to distinguish between the largest and smallest columns, without any light grey tint for the residual spaces."³³ In comparison, English periodicals were illustrated with numerous perspective views. As early as 1879 in *La Semaine des constructeurs*, Harvey had underlined

Construction moderne, 5 June 1886, p. 412-413: "An utterly unabashed approach to the plan, a study of comfort and services, a complete absence of any general conception".

²⁸ LUCAN Jacques, *Composition, non composition. Architecture et théories, XIXe-XXe siècles*, Lausanne, PPUR, 2009, p. 314.

²⁹ RIVOALEN Émile, "Cottages anglais", *La Semaine des constructeurs*, vol. 3, n° 48, 31 mai 1879, p. 571 ; R [Émile Rivoalen] "Anglais et français. Cottages et maisonnettes", *La Construction moderne*, vol. 11, 22 February 1896, p. 248-250.

³⁰ "Design of Villa Campden Hill, Kensington" *The Architect*, 25 April 1885.

³¹ HARVEY Lawrence, "Lettres anglaises", *La Semaine des constructeurs*, vol. 3, n° 37, 15 March 1879, p. 433-435.

³² HARVEY Lawrence, "L'enseignement de la perspective", *La Semaine des constructeurs*, vol. 8, n° 16, 20 octobre 1883, p. 184. The article was discussed in the following issues.

³³ Lawrence Harvey to his brother Robert, 12 juin 1870, BGE, ms 5325, f°9v.

the advantages of photogravures in English journals such as the *Building News*, which published facsimile reproductions of some architects' original drawings, among which perspectives, most often in pen and ink.³⁴ The dissemination of perspective in French periodicals happened later than in England; most importantly, it was motivated not by a concern to reproduce the architects' sketches directly, but rather by the fact that engravings were made from photographs.³⁵ Daly, who was extremely mindful of printing techniques, personally wrote to Harvey that his article had taken him "to deep philosophical thoughts"³⁶ on the variations of taste on both sides of the Channel. Although he was convinced of the value of publishing drawings that were as close to the originals as possible, Daly regretted he could not do so because, first, French architects did not make any pen-and-ink sketches that could be easily printed, and secondly, because readers did not appreciate this kind of illustrations. Daly told Harvey about the negative reactions that followed the reproduction in 1877 of the sketch of Alfred Waterhouse's Manchester city hall from the English journal *The Architect*.³⁷ He never wanted to repeat the experience. However, in 1882, Harvey managed to have some photogravures of his drawings published in the *Semaine des constructeurs* as illustrations of a description of two of his warehouse projects in London.³⁸ Harvey had made the drawings himself and was thus able to insert some witty references to his Genevan origins, in particular a poster for an exhibit of Swiss art that he organised in London.³⁹ [fig. 5] Such images were so rare in the *Semaine des constructeurs* that the editor felt it deserved a pedagogical note: "This drawing is a photoengraved reproduction of a pen-and-ink drawing by Mr Harvey himself; it retains the author's desired effect and is an exact rendition of his thinking. How much we wish that French and foreign architects would take the trouble to draw themselves their works, large or small, if only by making simple pen sketches that the photogravure could follow line by line,

³⁴ HARVEY Lawrence, "Lettres anglaises", *La Semaine des constructeurs*, vol. 3, n° 28, 11 janvier 1879, p. 325-326.

³⁵ See BRESSANI Martin et SEALY Peter, "L'architecture recadrée : la photographie et le nouveau régime visuel dans la presse architecturale après 1870", in Hélène Bocard and Jean-Philippe Garric (dir.), *Architectes et photographes au XIX^e siècle*, [Online], Online since 18 July 2016, connection on 11 February 2019. URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/inha/7092>

³⁶ Daly to Harvey, 1 July 1879, BGE, ms 5325 f°72r.

³⁷ "Nouvel hôtel de ville de Manchester", *La Semaine des constructeurs*, vol. 1, n° 23, 8 December 1877, p. 271. About this in-text image, Daly mentions a "photographic reproduction". We have not been able to determine whether it was an engraving from a photograph of the original sketch or one of the first photogravures that made it possible for illustrated periodicals of the 1870s to reproduce in-text black-and white line drawings with no grey shades. On the matter see GERVAIS Thierry, *L'illustration photographique. Naissance du spectacle de l'information, 1843-1914*, PhD, Paris, EHESS, 2007, p. 141-142.

³⁸ HARVEY Lawrence, "La cité de Londres. L'architecture style Chicaneau", *La Semaine des constructeurs*, vol. 7, n° 9-10, 26 August and 2 September 1882, p. 102-103; p. 114-116.

³⁹ This exhibition of Swiss art, organised by Lawrence and Robert Harvey, was held at 168, New Bond Street in London, from the 14th of March to the 25th of July 1881.

without altering anything.”⁴⁰ As a matter of fact, this genre of illustrations became more and more popular in French journals in the following years. The perspective views sent by Harvey participated in the process of the homogenisation of images, of their content and means of reproduction, in the European architecture press.

It is striking that while Harvey was trying to import English drawing techniques in France, he was also promoting descriptive geometry back in London. In the 1880s, as he was building a career as a teacher, he mentioned the specific skills he had acquired in Zurich and later in Paris. Thanks to his correspondence, we can identify him as the anonymous writer of “The Student Column” which offered weekly lessons in “descriptive geometry” from February 1885 onwards.⁴¹ But his hopes to publish the series as a geometry treatise bearing his name were dashed. However, he used this experience to teach a stereotomy class to masonry students at the City and Guilds of London Institute in late 1886. This establishment had been founded in 1878 to develop a national system of technical education. In order to attract young architects to his class, he advertised in the press this largely unknown field of studies in England, “though it forms an integral part of the curriculum of most Continental schools”.⁴² With the support of the Architectural Association, his practical class of masonry became quite successful and was even for a while considered as the core part of a potential “English polytechnic institute” providing solid technical and scientific knowledge to future architects.⁴³ His teaching experience at the City and Guilds Institute also reveals Harvey’s capacity for adaptation, if not opportunism. Even though he was personally convinced of the pedagogical superiority of the *École des beaux-arts* in training architects, he did not hesitate, when the time came, to promote the foundation of a polytechnic institute in which he could invest his scientific skills.

German history and aesthetic lessons

Among the various pedagogical methods that Harvey promoted, one must also mention the importance he gave to history and aesthetic courses, in accordance with what he had learnt during his first years studying in Zurich. Even though he complained about the predominance of scientific courses, he developed a passion for the art history courses delivered by Wilhelm

⁴⁰ *La Semaine des constructeurs*, vol. 7, n° 10, 2 September 1882, p. 116. On both these illustrations is written “Fernique Ph. Sc”, which indicates that it is the work of photoengraver Albert Fernique.

⁴¹ 46 lessons were published in volumes 48 (1st semester 1885) and 49 (2nd semester 1885) and continued the following year.

⁴² “Practical Class of Masonry”, *The Builder*, LI, n° 2282, 30 oct 1886, p. 625. The lessons were given from October 1886.

⁴³ Lawrence Harvey to his brother Robert, 26 March 1887, BGE ms 5327, f°26r.

Lübke and Gottfried Semper.⁴⁴ In Paris he regretted that there were no equivalent courses and asked the director of the École des Beaux-Arts, Eugène Guillaume, that the library be open at night on the grounds that “art studies with no historical or aesthetic research to complement them” would be inchoate.⁴⁵ At the end of the year 1884, he participated in reviving interest in Semper’s theories by giving a remarked lecture at the RIBA,⁴⁶ followed by another at the AA⁴⁷ the next year. [fig. 6] When his practical class of masonry was successful enough to make him hope he could play a major role in founding an architectural school based on the polytechnic model, Harvey also developed an ambitious series of four lectures entitled “Style and Styles in Building”, which he delivered at the City and Guilds of London Institute in July 1887. Between October 1887 and September 1889, all these lectures were published in Chicago by the *Building Budget*⁴⁸, a periodical dedicated to disseminate the latest news in European architecture in North America and for which Harvey also wrote “London Letters” under a pseudonym, Britannicus.

The four lectures, to which Harvey’s brother contributed on both content and form, began with reflections on style, thus popularising Semper’s complex ideas in highly accessible English. They then spanned the entire history of architecture, from antiquity to contemporaneous constructions in France, Germany, and England, before ending with some personal remarks on his own work as representative of the three cultures. The published versions made abundant use of images. Harvey’s private correspondence confirms that he used his own notebooks from Zurich to write the historical parts; as for the iconography, it came from Lübke’s and Semper’s books. Since he was concerned to present himself as heir to a broad German, French, and British culture, Harvey used some figures from *L’Art de bâtir chez les Romains* by Auguste Choisy and from Eugène Viollet-le-Duc’s *Dictionnaire raisonné*, as well as references to works by George Gilbert Scott.

⁴⁴ Letters from Lawrence Harvey to his father, September 1864-August 1867, BGE, ms 5324.

⁴⁵ Lawrence Harvey to Eugène Guillaume (director of the École des beaux-arts), June 1870, BGE, ms 5325 ; Lawrence Harvey, “Continental Schools of Architecture”, op. cit., 1870 : “one thing, however is wanting in Paris, a searching course of lectures on the history of art, accompanied by competitive examinations in that subject”.

⁴⁶ HARVEY Lawrence, “Semper’s Theory of Evolution in Architectural Ornament”, *Transactions/ Royal Institute of British Architects*, 2nd serie vol. 1, 1884-1885, p. 29-54. pl. ix-xvii. The conference took place on December 15, 1884.

⁴⁷ “Architectural Association”, *The Builder*, vol. XLIX, n°2234, 28 November 1885, p. 748-750 : “Mr Lawrence Harvey read a paper entitled ‘The connection between dress and the art of composing, illustrated by various examples taken from the late Prof. Semper Lessons on Style’”.

⁴⁸ HARVEY Lawrence, “Style and Styles in Building”, *Building Budget*, vol. 3, 1887, p. 110-111, 119-121, 143-145, 165-167; vol. 4, 1888, p. 3-6, 17-18, 27-29, 39-40, 51-52, 63-66, 77-80, 91-93, 105-107, 143-145, 159-161; vol. 4, 1889, p. 3-5, 16-17, 35-37, 47-48, 59-60, 74-75, 87-88, 100-102, 113-115.

In addition, Harvey recycled his previous contributions: his lectures on Semper, which he extended by reflections on the latter's architectural work, and his notes on Garnier's Opéra. In keeping with the project he conceived when analysing the building in 1870, he complemented his study by further examining the French compositions and by choosing illustrations from the most famous examples of his time. The Parisian works of Félix Duban, Henri Labrousse and Louis Duc were thus documented by plates from the *Revue générale de l'architecture* that were provided by Daly. Harvey also gave an overview of German architecture from Karl Friedrich Schinkel to Gottfried Semper and reused what he had previously published in French journals on the recent developments of British architecture. The end result was a picture of the various renaissance styles in the three countries, from general tendencies to local peculiarities.

With this series of lectures, Harvey wanted to produce an eclectic synthesis of architectural knowledge from the main intellectual centres he had visited. His concern to report on the latest developments in architecture and compare them was shared by the architecture press of the time, in which references were international. This was particularly the case of American journals such as the *Building Budget*, which promoted European culture by translating into English excerpts from Viollet-le-Duc and of German authors, for instance August Thiersch. But French journals such as *La Construction moderne* and *L'Encyclopédie d'architecture* also were anxious to report on the art of building in other countries.

Conclusion

With his singular trajectory, the variety of his written production, and his own teaching experiences, Lawrence Harvey stands as a significant figure in the architectural dialogues that took place in late 19th-century Europe. Admittedly, he did not build much, did not publish any books, and taught only a little; also, his articles were published anonymously or under pseudonyms. But it is precisely the difficulties he encountered as an aspiring professional architect and teacher that incited him to make the most of his multifaceted training and detailed knowledge of the various education systems, at a time when English institutions were looking for models to develop their own architectural training curriculum. Although he was personally convinced that the Parisian system of *ateliers* was the most efficient, he was able to broaden the focus by identifying the potential of other systems without neglecting the importance of professional apprenticeship nor the role played by a larger cultural environment, including periodicals. Similarly, his taste for the regular and hierarchical compositions promoted by the *École des Beaux-Arts* shifted in contact with other models as well as with the clients' own taste, urban regulations and the profession's practices. Harvey was an observer of cultural differences

but also a mediator who, like many other press correspondents, worked to mutual understanding and to the dissemination and hybridization of architectural ideas and their visual representations. Examining these mixing processes through their actors helps us understand how internationalisation made the beaux-arts culture open to a diversity of other practices.

Translated by Camille Joseph

Illustrations

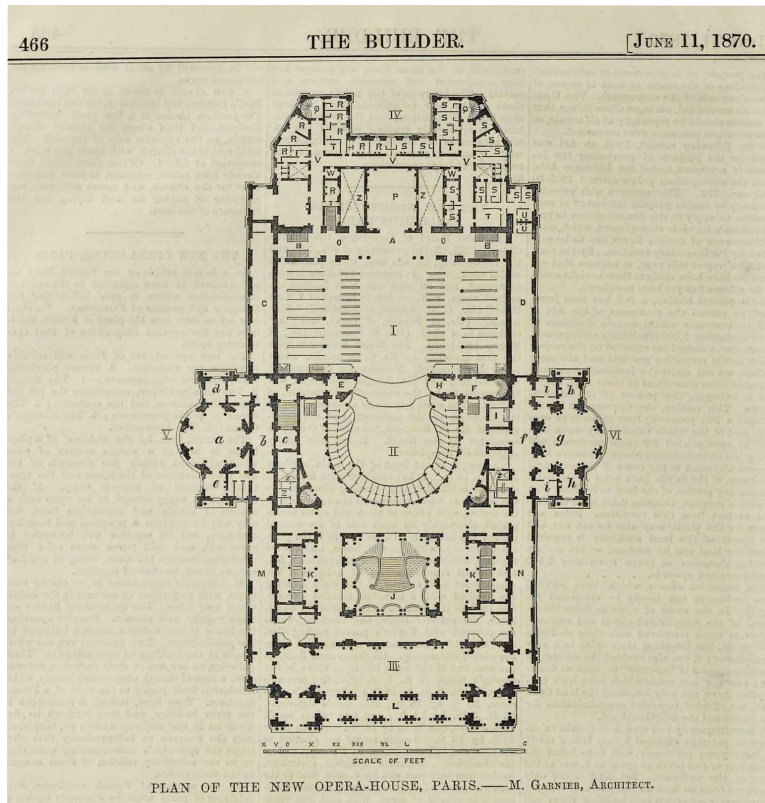


Fig. 1 : “Plan of the new Opera-House, Paris” (Charles Garnier), *The Builder*, 1870, p. 466.

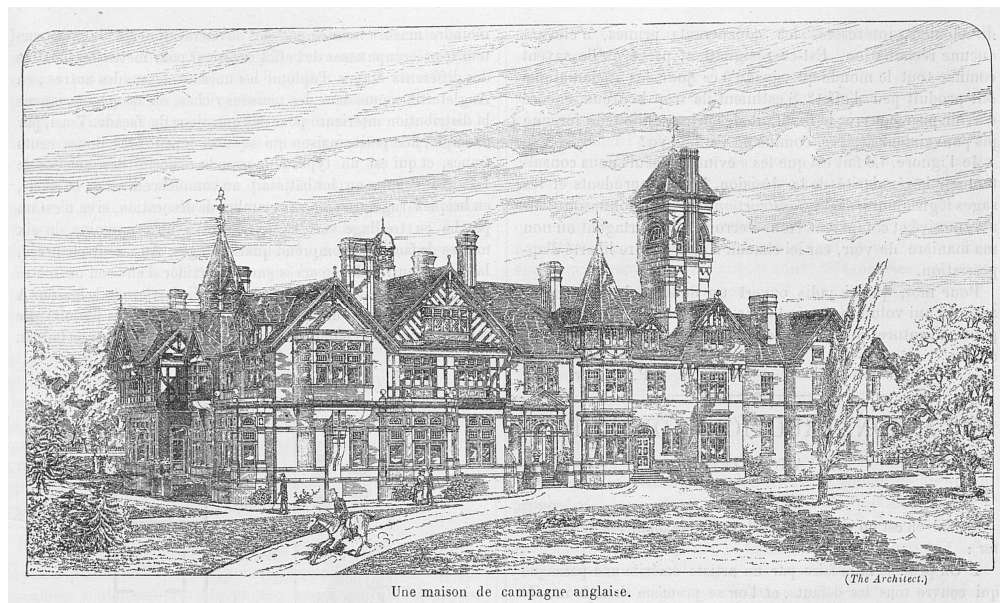


Fig. 2 : “English Country Houses” (Richard Norman Shaw), *La Semaine des constructeurs*, 1883, p. 583.

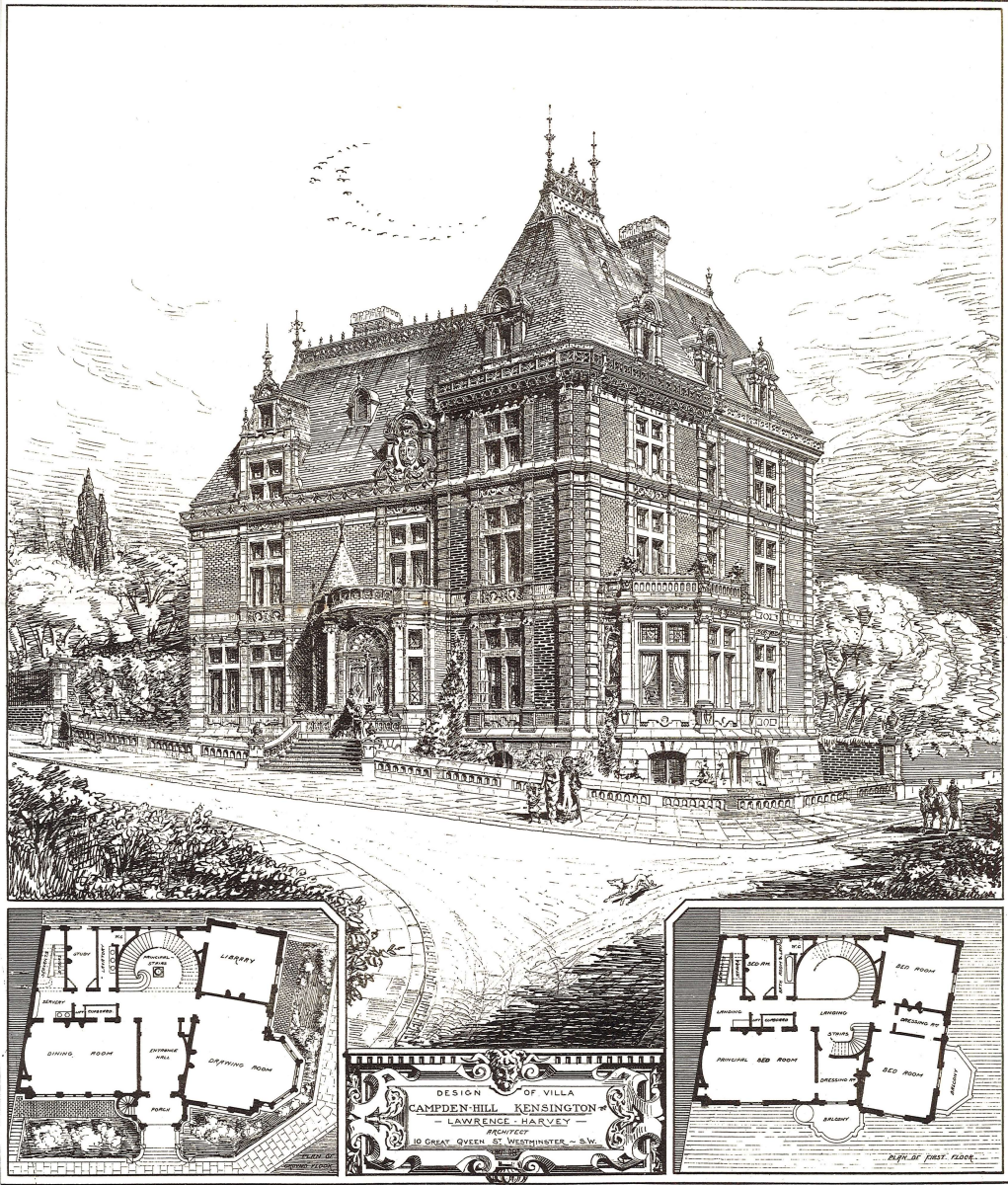


Fig. 3 : “Design of Villa Campden-Hill, Kensington” (Lawrence Harvey), *The Architect*, 1885.

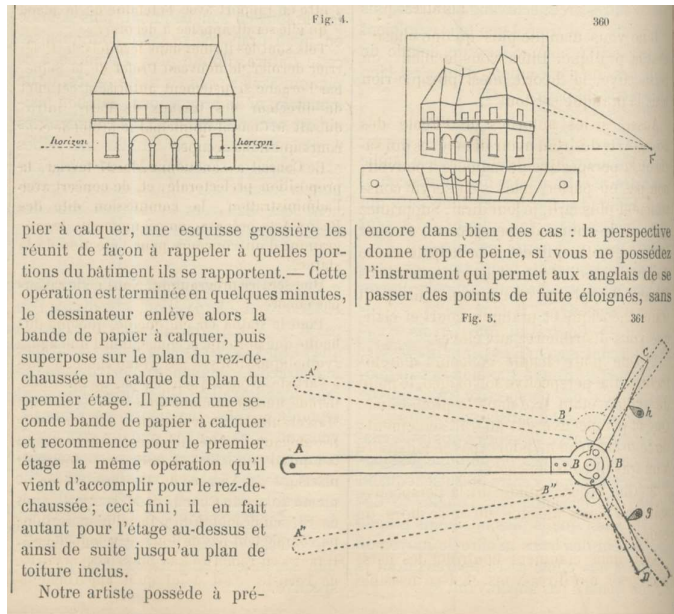
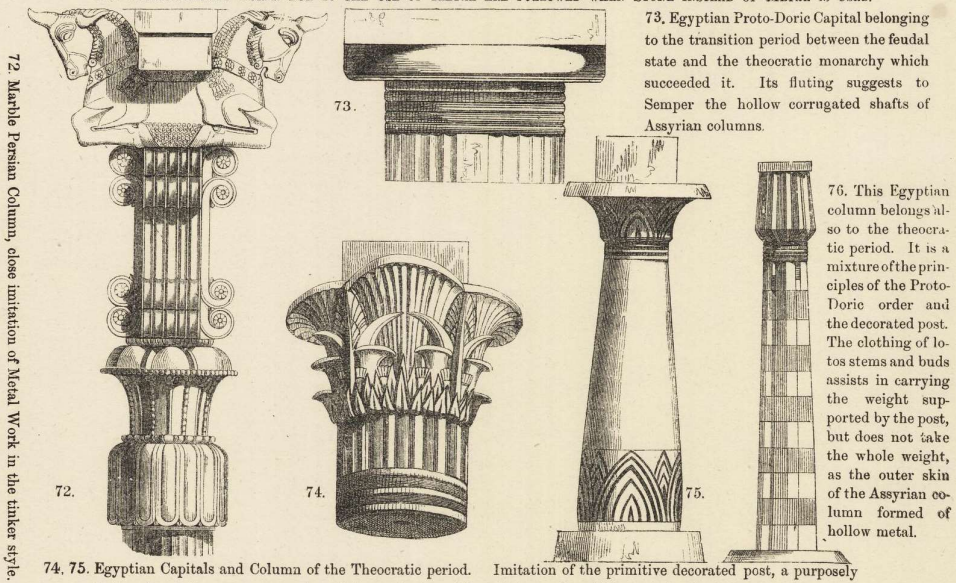


Fig. 4 : "The Centrilinead", *La Semaine des constructeurs*, 1879, p. 434.



Fig. 5 : "House recently built in London" (Lawrence Harvey), *La Semaine des constructeurs*, 1882, p. 103.

THE CHARACTERISTIC FORMS DUE TO THE USE OF METAL ARE FOLLOWED WHEN STONE INSTEAD OF METAL IS USED.



72. Marble Persian Column, close imitation of Metal Work in the tinker style.

73.

73. Egyptian Proto-Doric Capital belonging to the transition period between the feudal state and the theocratic monarchy which succeeded it. Its fluting suggests to Semper the hollow corrugated shafts of Assyrian columns.

74.

75.

76. This Egyptian column belongs also to the theocratic period. It is a mixture of the principles of the Proto-Doric order and the decorated post. The clothing of lotus stems and buds assists in carrying the weight supported by the post, but does not take the whole weight, as the outer skin of the Assyrian column formed of hollow metal.

74, 75. Egyptian Capitals and Column of the Theocratic period. Imitation of the primitive decorated post, a purposely designed archaism, as a suggestion of the antiquity of the religion and traditions of the Egyptian priesthood.

Fig. 6 : "Semper's Theory of Evolution in Architectural Ornament", *Transactions of the RIBA*, 1884-1885, pl. XVI.