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Wm. Roger Louis, CBE, D. Litt., FBA

Kerr Professor of English History and Culture, University of Texas, Austin and Honorary Fellow of St Antony's College, Oxford

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Architecture and Urbanism in the British Empire

Edited by

G. A. BREMNER

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Foreword

The purpose of the five volumes of the Oxford History of the British Empire was to provide a comprehensive survey of the Empire from its beginning to end, to explore the meaning of British imperialism for the ruled as well as the rulers, and to study the significance of the British Empire as a theme in world history. The volumes in the Companion Series carry forward this purpose. They pursue themes that could not be covered adequately in the main series while incorporating recent research and providing fresh interpretations of significant topics.

Wm. Roger Louis

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List of Abbreviations

AA	Architectural Association (London)
AIOC	Anglo-Iranian Oil Company
ANZAC	Australian and New Zealand Army Corps
APOC	Anglo-Persian Oil Company
CAA	Commonwealth Association of Architects
CBF	Colonial Bishoprics' Fund
CCS	Cambridge Camden Society
CDW	Commonwealth Department of Works (Australia)
CIAM	Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne
CMS	Church Missionary Society
DPW	Department of Public Works
EIC	East India Company
INTACH	Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage
IUA	International Union of Architects
JSAH	*Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*
JSSAC	*Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada*
MARG	Modern Architectural Research Group (India)
MARS	Modern Architectural Research Group (Britain)
OETA	Occupied Enemy Territory Administration
OHBE	*Oxford History of the British Empire*
PEI	Prince Edward Island
PWD	Public Works Department
RE	Royal Engineer
RIBA	Royal Institute of British Architects
RMJM	Robert Matthew Johnson Marshall and partners (architects)
SPCK	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
SPG	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts
UAC	United Africa Company
UCI	University College Ibadan
UCWI	University College of the West Indies
UMCA	Universities' Mission to Central Africa
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association

List of Contributors

Samuel D. Albert (PhD, Yale University) is Adjunct Assistant Professor in Art History at the Fashion Institute of Technology, State University of New York (SUNY), New York. He has written extensively on modern architecture in the Habsburg successor states and is currently preparing a book on the architecture and urbanism of Jerusalem during the British Mandate. His publications include 'The Nation for itself: The 1896 Hungarian Millennium and the 1906 Romanian National General Exhibition', in *Cultures of International Exhibitions 1840–1940*, edited by M. Filipová, and 'The Technician is a Citizen of the World: Austrian and Hungarian Architectural Encounters, 1885', *Acta Historiae Atrium*, vol. 49 (2009).

G. A. Bremner (PhD, University of Cambridge) is Senior Lecturer in Architectural History at the University of Edinburgh. His books include *Imperial Gothic: Religious Architecture and High Anglican Culture in the British Empire, c.1840–1870*, and *Making History: Edward Augustus Freeman and Victorian Cultural Politics* (co-edited with J. Conlin).

Preeti Chopra (PhD, University of California, Berkeley) is Professor of Architecture, Urban History, and Visual Studies at University of Wisconsin–Madison. She is the author of *A Joint Enterprise: Indian Elites and the Making of British Bombay*.

Mark Crinson (PhD, University of Pennsylvania) is Professor of Architectural History at Birkbeck College, London. Among his books are *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian Architecture*, *Modern Architecture and the End of Empire*, and *Stirling and Gowan: Architecture from Austerity to Affluence*. His book *Rebuilding Babel: Internationalism and Modern Architecture* will be published by I. B. Tauris in 2017.

Robert Home (PhD, London School of Economics) is Professor of Land Management at Anglia Ruskin University. His books include *Of Planting and Planning: The Making of British Colonial Cities* and *Demystifying the Mystery of Capital: Land Titling in Africa and the Caribbean* (co-edited with H. Lim).

Iain Jackson (PhD, University of Liverpool) is a Senior Lecturer in Architecture at the University of Liverpool. His books include *The Architecture and Influence of Edwin Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew* (with J. Holland), *The Collection, The Ruin and The Theatre: Nek Chand's Rock Garden in Chandigarh* (with S. Bandyopadhyay), and *The Architecture School Survival Guide.*

Harold Kalman (PhD, Princeton University; LLD, University of Victoria) is an architectural historian and heritage conservation planner. He is Honorary Professor at the University of Hong Kong and an affiliate of the University of Victoria, Canada. His publications include *A History of Canadian Architecture*, *Heritage Planning: Principles and Process*, and *The Evaluation of Historic Buildings*.

Anthony D. King (PhD, Brunel University) is Emeritus Professor of Art History and of Sociology at Binghamton University, State University of New York, and now lives in the UK. He has been Visiting Professor in Architecture at the University of California, Berkeley, and was for five years Professor of Humanities and Social Sciences at the Indian Institute of Technology, Delhi. His most recent publication is *Writing the Global City: Globalisation, Postcolonialism and the Urban*.

Stuart King (PhD, University of Melbourne) is Lecturer in Architecture and Design at the University of Tasmania. He wrote his doctorate on the history of colonial architecture in Australia, with a thesis entitled 'Colony and Climate: Positioning Public Architecture in Queensland, 1859–1909', and his publications include 'Eclecticism in the work of Queensland Colonial Architect F. D. G. Stanley, 1871–1881', *Fabrications*, vol. 21:2 (2012).

Ian Lochhead (PhD, Bryn Mawr College) was formerly Associate Professor of Art History at the University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand. His publications include *The Spectator and the Landscape in the Art Criticism of Diderot and his Contemporaries* and *A Dream of Spires: Benjamin Mountfort and the Gothic Revival.*

Daniel Maudlin (PhD, University of St Andrews) is Professor of Early Modern History at the University of Plymouth. His books include *Building the British Atlantic World: Spaces, Places, and Material Culture, 1600–1850* (co-edited with B. L. Herman), *The Idea of the Cottage in English Architecture, 1760–1860*, and *The Highland House Transformed: Architecture and Identity on the Edge of Britain, 1700–1850*.

Louis P. Nelson (PhD, University of Delaware) is Professor of Architectural History and Associate Dean of Architecture at the University of Virginia. His books include *The Beauty of Holiness: Anglicanism and Architecture in Colonial South Carolina* and *Architecture and Empire in Jamaica*.

Ola Uduku (PhD, University of Cambridge) is Reader in Architecture at the University of Edinburgh. Her publications include *Africa Beyond the Post Colonial* (co-edited with A. Zack Williams), *Beyond Gated Communities* (co-edited with S. Bagaeen), and 'Other Modernisms: Recording Diversity and Communicating History in Urban West Africa', *Docomomo Journal*, vol. 48 (2013).

Paul Walker (PhD, University of Auckland) is Professor of Architecture at the University of Melbourne. His publications include *Vertical Living: The Architectural Centre and the Remaking of Wellington* (with Julia Gatley) and 'Brutalism in New Zealand Architecture: Miles Warren and the Architectural Image', in *Neo-Avant-garde and Postmodern: Postwar Architecture in Britain and Beyond*, edited by Mark Crinson and Claire Zimmerman.

Julie Willis (PhD, University of Melbourne) is Professor of Architecture at the University of Melbourne. Her books include *The Encyclopedia of Australian Architecture* (co-edited with P. Goad), *Australian Modern: The Architecture of Stephenson & Turner* (with P. Goad and R. Wilken), and *Women Architects in Australia 1900–1950* (with B. Hanna).

Introduction

Architecture, Urbanism, and British Imperial Studies

G. A. Bremner

Architecture is something that we encounter and negotiate in our everyday lives. The buildings, towns, and cities that we construct and inhabit determine not only how we live but also provide many clues as to why we live the way we do. In some cases, where almost no other traces of civilization remain, it is often buildings (or remnants thereof) that endure as testament to the nature of societies long since vanished. Indeed, as no less a figure than Winston Churchill once observed, 'we shape our buildings and afterwards our buildings shape us'.[1]

Yet, it is remarkable the extent to which this most basic of human needs—architecture—has largely been taken for granted when considering what might be termed the 'shape' of British imperialism. As Mark Crinson has rightly noted, architecture echoed, inflected, and was integral to many of the other practices and relationships that empire required for its furtherance.[2] In other words, colonialism was all but impossible without the buildings and spaces that articulated its presence. Moreover, the remains and legacy of empire are probably most conspicuous at the level of the built environment, with many if not all former colonial towns and cities having a significant stock of colonial buildings and infrastructure, much of which are still in use. This naturally has consequences for how any post-colonial nation state imagines both its past and future, as well as which buildings to conserve and how.

RATIONALE AND SCOPE OF THE VOLUME

As those who work in the general field of British imperial and colonial studies will be aware, there are any number of general primers and histories on the British empire and imperialism. However, none exist specifically on the architecture of empire, and only one on urbanism.[3] There is not even what can be described as

[1] Churchill quoted in G. Stamp, '"We Shape our Buildings and Afterwards Our Buildings Shape Us": Sir Giles Gilbert Scott and the Rebuilding of the House of Commons', in C. and J. Riding (eds), *The Houses of Parliament: History, Art, Architecture* (London, 2000), p. 149.

[2] M. Crinson, *Modern Architecture and the End of Empire* (Aldershot, 2003), p. 4.

[3] R. Home, *Of Planting and Planning: The Making of British Colonial Cities* (London, 1996).

a 'reader' on the subject. This is despite the amount of scholarship now extant on the colonial built environment, as well as its growing importance. Although hardly comparable with the amount of scholarship that exists in mainstream British imperial studies, the field of colonial architecture and urbanism nonetheless warrants such an overview, for which it might be considered long overdue. The closest thing we have to such a volume, dealing with the empire as a whole, is Robert Fermor-Hesketh's *Architecture of the British Empire*, a small collection of journalistic-style essays produced forty years ago.[4] Despite its principal title, not even Jan Morris's *Stones of Empire* (1983) was willing to cover the subject in its entirety, in that case dealing only with the buildings of the Raj.[5] More lately we have seen the appearance of Ashley Jackson's *Buildings of Empire* (2013), a noble attempt to get breadth of coverage, both chronologically and geographically, but one which is limited by its reliance on individual case studies, and Clive Aslet's *The Age of Empire: Britain's Imperial Architecture from 1880–1930* (2015), which, like Fermor-Hesketh's earlier book, is more journalistic than scholarly in style.[6] Thus, nothing that can be identified as both comprehensive and scholarly has yet appeared.

One of the main functions of this volume is therefore to present for the first time a substantive and scholarly overview of British imperial architecture and urbanism from earliest times through decolonization in the mid-twentieth century. It does not claim to be all-inclusive, as not all locations are covered; nor are those that are covered treated equally. Nevertheless, given the obvious constraints on such an undertaking, it offers a coherent summation of the essential issues, themes, and concepts that drove and underpinned the production of the colonial built environment the world over. Given more space, one would ideally have included separate chapters on Ireland, domestic architecture, and perhaps British military architecture. Even the relationship between the Commonwealth idea, decolonization, and architecture would have been a worthy subject, as would the difficult and at times vexed question of heritage preservation—matters touched upon in a number of the chapters here.

With this in mind, the volume is conceived more as an entry point. It is aimed as much at students and those new to the subject as it is at seasoned imperial historians looking for a 'way in' to understanding the major themes of colonial architecture and urbanism. It is also hoped that it will provide a useful comparative reference for established scholars in the field, as well as a guide for teaching and research.

To aid this use, the volume is divided in two main parts. The first is thematic, dealing with some of the major threads common to British imperial and colonial architecture through time and across the world. These include the origins of British imperial and colonial architecture, key concepts in urbanism and master planning, the representation and projection of imperial power through the manipulation of architectural form and space, the advent and consequences of architectural

[4] R. Fermor-Hesketh (ed.), *Architecture of the British Empire* (London, 1986).

[5] J. Morris (with S. Winchester), *Stones of Empire: The Buildings of the Raj* (Oxford, 1983).

[6] A. Jackson, *Buildings of Empire* (Oxford, 2013); C. Aslet, *The Age of Empire: Britain's Imperial Architecture from 1880–1930* (London, 2015).

Modernism, the effects of empire on the buildings and spaces of the metropolis, and the significance of religious and educational architecture(s). The second section then maps these (and others) in various ways onto specific regional contexts, considering how each was carried and adapted—subtly or more profoundly—according to circumstance. The regions covered include British North America and the West Indies, South and South East Asia, Australasia and the Pacific, Sub-Saharan Africa, and North Africa and the Middle East. The first section is thus designed to keep the global dimensions of British imperialism in focus, while the second is intended to capture local variation. In this respect the two sections are supposed to work in tandem. Admittedly, the categories highlighted in part one represent to some extent my own biases regarding topics of importance, such as religion, the metropolis, and the dominions, but all major themes are touched on in some form or other, whether as discrete chapters in their own right, or embedded in one of the chapters that make up the volume.

SCHOLARSHIP IN COLONIAL ARCHITECTURE AND URBANISM

A volume of this kind necessitates a substantial introduction to the principal concerns that have driven past and current scholarship in the field, as well as providing some thoughts on its limitations and what direction(s) it might take in the future. In the case of architecture and empire, the situation is diffuse. To be sure, there has been a small industry of scholarship on British colonial architecture and urbanism over the past forty years or so, which has produced a handful of major studies dealing with specific topics, locations, and regions.[7] Indeed, as pointed out by Kathleen James-Chakraborty, the increased amount of attention given to this aspect of the historic built environment in recent years has made it one of the most dynamic sub-disciplines in the field of architectural history.[8] Needless to say, and as Robert Home and Anthony King helpfully remind us in this volume, the majority of this scholarship has emanated from the Anglophone, first-world West, and been concerned largely, although not exclusively, with British India. In this respect, and historically speaking, the sub-discipline of colonial architectural history has developed a relatively defined profile with regard to its chiefly regional focus and consequent association with post-colonial theory, matters to which I shall return below.[9]

Thus, although having experienced some growth, scholarship on the colonial built environment still pales in comparison to that which has accompanied more

[7] For a recent comprehensive overview of this literature, see K. James-Chakraborty, 'Beyond Postcolonialism: New Directions for the History of Nonwestern Architecture', *Frontiers of Architectural Research*, vol. 3 (2014), pp. 1–9. For an earlier overview of the historiographic relationship between architecture and empire, see T. R. Metcalf, 'Architecture in the British Empire', in R. W. Winks (ed.), *Oxford History of the British Empire*, 5 vols (Oxford, 1999), V, pp. 584–95.

[8] James-Chakraborty, 'Beyond Postcolonialism', p. 2.

[9] *Ibid*. The so-called 'Berkeley school' may be highlighted in this respect.

traditional subjects associated with the study of British imperialism, such as politics, economics, diplomacy, and military history. Even with the advent of 'new imperial' studies in the past twenty to thirty years, where one might have imagined, perhaps even expected, a subject like architecture to have received more attention, the frequency of scholarship has remained relatively modest. To an extent, this is to be expected. Although architecture is now commonly understood as a basic species of material history, its comparative obscurity is partly the fault of architectural historians in failing to make the subject appealing enough, or even recognizable as such, to a wider and interested audience, despite the best studies being framed in ways that reach beyond traditional disciplinary boundaries. Where interest has been generated, it is largely with regard to the post-colonial city, which has experienced something of an explosion in scholarship in recent times. This work necessarily makes reference to the colonial city and its attendant cultural conditions, but is not its main concern.[10]

The difficulties the study of architecture faces in this respect may be explained in part by the perception that architecture (actual buildings) requires a specialist and rather technical knowledge for its understanding, despite calls in some quarters that it is too important a subject to be left to professional architectural historians.[11] Detailed knowledge of the practices and procedures of architecture are certainly helpful in analysing the built environment, but it is by no means essential. Indeed, some of the most insightful studies on the colonial built environment have come from those who are not professionally trained architects or art historians.

Despite these impediments, more research in this area is beginning to appear in schools of architecture, urban planning, and history of art, especially with the dramatic rise in interest in stylistic Modernism as an historical category. This has evolved, on the one hand, as contemporary architects have come to associate themselves in an especially self-conscious way with a particular phase in the trajectory of architecture, seeing themselves as standing at the leading edge of an historical moment. On the other, it has been driven by historians' attempts to understand Modernism increasingly as a global rather than merely regional (i.e. European and more broadly Western) phenomenon.[12] All this has naturally affected the way the subject is conceived and taught in schools of architecture. But any kind of shift towards a greater engagement with the built environment in departments of history has remained stubbornly and disappointingly slight. This is despite the fact that some of the earliest and most important studies on British imperial architecture

[10] For an overview of this phenomenon, see A. D. King, 'Actually Existing Postcolonialisms: Colonial Urbanism and Architecture after the Postcolonial Turn', in R. Bishop, J. Phillips, and W.-W. Yeo (eds), *Postcolonial Urbanism: Southeast Asian Cities and Global Processes* (New York, 2003), pp. 167–83.

[11] See quote by John MacKenzie on the dust jacket to Bernard Porter's *The Battle of the Styles: Society, Culture and the Design of a new Foreign Office, 1855–61* (London, 2011).

[12] For instance, see Crinson, *Modern Architecture*; V. Prakash, *Chandigarh's Le Corbusier: The Struggle for Modernity in Postcolonial India* (Seattle, 2002); and more recently, I. Jackson and J. Holland, *The Architecture of Edwin Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew Twentieth Century Architecture: Pioneer Modernism and the Tropics* (Farnham, 2014). From a wider European colonial perspective, see T. Avermaete, S. Karakayali, and M. von Osten (eds), *Colonial Modern: Aesthetics of the Past Rebellions for the Future* (London, 2010); D. Lu (ed.), *Third World Modernism: Architecture, Development and Identity* (London, 2010). For further discussion of this phenomenon, see Chapter 6 in this volume.

came from that quarter, such as Thomas Metcalf's ground-breaking *Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj* (1989).

Instead, the so-called 'spatial turn' in historical studies has resulted largely in a focus on macro-level phenomena such as cities, landscapes, and other forms of human interaction (and intervention) across expansive and multiple units of time and space.[13] With this has come an engagement with methodological approaches allied to cultural geography, network analysis, comparative and trans-colonial studies, and 'connected histories', among others.[14] While a renewed interest in urbanism and the colonial city can be associated with this focus, again, the study of architecture per se vis-à-vis empire has remained limited. Apart from the technical issues mentioned above, this is perhaps owing to the notion (misconceived or otherwise) that the investigation of actual buildings, or the work of individual architects, at a microlevel, is incapable of yielding wider or profound conclusions about the character of British imperialism, unless studied as part of broader and recurring patterns of cultural production.[15]

Be this as it may, the way in which students of history (of whatever stripe) are trained in universities has not helped. The premium placed upon traditional subject areas, pressures with respect to funding, and the lines along which academic departments are normally organized—especially in the Western, Anglophone world—has tended to marginalize the serious study of phenomena such as architecture, despite continued calls for interdisciplinarity. Again, this might seem all the more inexplicable given that architecture is one of the only major human activities that easily fits the analytical categories of spatial, material, *and* cultural. In overlooking architecture and the wider built environment, historians are in danger of (dis)missing a large and important body of evidence that could support or further problematize their theses regarding British imperial expansion. How an examination of the built environment might fit more easily with the methods and concerns traditional to historical scholarship is another question, but to discount it entirely (in most cases) is perhaps to perpetuate an artificial division between

[13] An early example of this in relation to landscape history was Paul Carter's *The Road to Botany Bay: An Exploration of Landscape and History* (Chicago, 1987).

[14] For an excellent and helpful overview of this phenomenon, see A. Lester, 'Spatial Concepts and the Historical Geographies of British Colonialism', in A. S. Thompson (ed.), *Writing Imperial Histories* (Manchester, 2014), pp. 118–42. For the rationale behind 'connected' histories of empire, see T. R. Metcalf, *Imperial Connections: India in the Indian Ocean Arena, 1860–1920* (Berkeley, 2007), pp. 1–15. Although not explicitly related to British imperialism, historians of imperial architecture might gain something in this respect from the work and insights of Sanjay Subrahmanyam. See S. Subrahmanyam, 'Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia', *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 31:3 (1997), pp. 735–62.

[15] This may be one of the reasons why the word 'architecture' is not mentioned once in Alan Lester's summaries of the spatial turn in history and cultural geography. See A. Lester, 'Imperial Circuits and Networks: Geographies of the British Empire', *History Compass*, vol. 4:1 (2006), pp. 124–41; Lester, 'Spatial Concepts'. However, citing Tonio Andrade's work, Swati Chattopadhyay has recently called for innovative ways of reconnecting micro-histories of architecture with global currents in human history. See S. Chattopadhyay, 'The Globality of Architectural History', *JSAH*, vol. 74:4 (2015), pp. 411–15. To Andrade's work I would add T. Pietsch, 'A British Sea: Making Sense of Global Space in the Late Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Global History*, vol. 5:3 (2010), pp. 423–46.

what can be understood as cognate human endeavours, whether they be political, economic, material, or more broadly cultural.

Even in departments of architecture, undertaking teaching and research on special subjects such as the relationship between architecture and empire is not easy. In such environments, where the tyranny of 'presentism' prevails, a high price is placed upon the instrumentalization of history (i.e. its 'relevance' and 'use-value'). If history is taught at all in schools of architecture, it is therefore usually in an operative mode, where reference to the apparent innovative, avant-garde capacities of Modernism are emphasized as both a practical and foundational creed upon which to achieve a new kind of contemporary condition.[16]

APPROACHES TO STUDYING THE COLONIAL BUILT ENVIRONMENT

To return to the matter of scholarly profile: if one were to take a glance at the body of scholarship on British imperial and colonial architecture and urbanism as a whole—in monograph, journal article, and edited volume form, and particularly prior to the turn of the millennium—then one would find that it deals almost exclusively with the once-termed 'periphery' of empire.[17] Not only is this body of scholarship disproportionally represented by topics relating to the 'Orient', especially South Asia, but the idea of the metropolis as being part of the architectural and urban fabric of Britain's empire does not figure. Moreover, it is weighted overwhelmingly in favour of the analysis of secular architecture, with very little, if any, accounting for religious structures, despite the fact that Christianity was the most pervasive and potent social force in modern British culture until the late twentieth century. It can be suggested that scholarship in this genre has languished in this condition for too long. But there are signs it is beginning to change.

What were the reasons for these emphases? To begin with, and generally speaking, architectural history tends to lag behind the cutting edge in other fields of scholarship, and therefore usually takes some time to absorb wider historiographic and methodological developments. For a long time the 'empire' was considered to be something 'out there', beyond the self-contained, fabled shores of the United Kingdom—historiographically, there was a clear distinction between 'centre' and 'periphery', with Britain not really being considered imperial at all. But this changed with the advent of 'new imperial history' in the 1990s, along with calls as

[16] This also has something to do with recent trends within schools of architecture to cease employing professional architectural historians, instead opting for design professionals who can offer a side-line in 'cultural content'. Naturally, such design-focused professionals have little understanding of the history of architecture beyond the Modernist moment with which they primarily identify. In some respects this is reminiscent of the circumstances that led to George Kubler's famous critique of this culture in schools of design. See G. Kubler, 'What Can Historians Do for Architects', *Perspecta*, vol. 9/10 (1965), pp. 299–302.

[17] This is borne out in Thomas Metcalf's overview of the historiography of the subject published in 1999. See Metcalf, 'Architecture in the British Empire'.

early as the 1970s by historians working at the one-time periphery of the imperial world, such as J. G. A. Pocock, to view 'British history' as a planetary phenomenon.[18] Since then, the notion of the metropolis as part of Britain's imperial experience has become widely understood. In the field of architectural and urban history, this has led to a spate of publications that have worked to articulate the idea of the metropolis (Britain, and London in particular) as a zone of imperial spectacle, performance, and consumption; hence, the inclusion of a chapter dedicated to Britain here.[19] The reconnection of these once disparate histories has made a very welcome addition to scholarship in the field, both widening and complicating our conception of what constitutes 'British imperial architecture'. Indeed, for quite some time Modernist architecture in Britain's empire in particular—with its apparently neutral, ahistorical, 'developmental' image—was seen as unrelated to the internal social and welfare-state concerns of post-World War II Britain. However, as Mark Crinson observes in this volume, this assumption requires reappraisal.

The emphasis placed on South Asia as a locus of architectural and urban activity (and analysis) in the British empire has likewise distorted reception of and scholarship in the subject. Part of the problem has been that, in receiving such attention, Britain's relationship with Asia, especially with what was once termed British India, became something of a synecdoche for British imperialism per se in the minds of historians studying the colonial built environment. Among the reasons behind the sustained focus on India, and other parts of South and South East Asia (and increasingly Africa), has been not only the rise of area studies but also the impact—and to a degree entrenchment—of post-colonial theory, especially the critical power and subsequent popularity of Edward Said's 'Orientalism' thesis (1978). Such theory fostered and maintained a paramount concern for the dynamics of cultural encounter, 'discursive' constructs, and corresponding racial politics, including a fundamental interest in drawing out binary analytical categories such as colonizer/colonized, European/'Other', and black/white. This is certainly understandable, as these categories are readily legible as basic organizing principles in the formal and spatial configuration of many colonial cities. Nevertheless, and despite the importance of this kind of scholarship in reshaping the field, one of the criticisms has been that its dominant theoretical character, including its tendency to

[18] J. G. A. Pocock, 'British History: A Plea for a New Subject', *New Zealand Journal of History*, vol. 8:1 (1974), pp. 3–21. For a comprehensive introduction to the rise, nature, and problems of 'new imperial' history, see S. Howe, 'Introduction: New Imperial Histories', in S. Howe (ed.), *The New Imperial Histories Reader* (London, 2010), pp. 1–20. For an overview of post-colonial theory, its impact and problems, see D. A. Washbrook, 'Orients and Occidents: Colonial Discourse Theory and the Historiography of the British Empire', in Winks, *Oxford History of the British Empire,* 5 Vols (*OHBE*), V, pp. 596–611.

[19] This recognition has occurred particularly at the level of the city, especially London as the former centre and capital of Britain's empire. For instance, see F. Driver and D. Gilbert, 'Heart of Empire? Landscape, Space and Performance in Imperial London', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, vol. 16 (1998), pp. 1–17, and some of the essays in F. Driver and D. Gilbert (eds), *Imperial Cities: Landscape, Display and Identity* (Manchester, 1999). See also G. A. Bremner, 'Nation and Empire in the Government Architecture of Mid-Victorian London: The Foreign and India Office Reconsidered', *Historical Journal*, vol. 48:3 (2005), pp. 703–42. For further references relating to this subject, see Chapter 4 in this volume.

homogenize colonial agency, has meant that the conclusions it draws are often more speculative than grounded.[20]

Methodologically speaking, this approach is predicated on the notion that architecture and its spatial syntax can be 'read' and thus interpreted as a form of cultural discourse in its own right. In this sense it has looked to pose questions (or make inferences) about classic knowledge–power relations embedded in the colonial built environment, seeking to unpack the social processes behind what the French sociologist Henri Lefebvre called the 'production of space'. The general appeal of Foucauldian discourse analysis and ideas of 'governmentality', Said's Orientalism, and other post-modern and post-structuralist modes of critique (including those of Lefebvre) have played their part, often looming large on the surface of this scholarship.[21] These developments—the 'political' and 'linguistic' turns in criticism, with their drawing on feminist, cultural, psychoanalytic, and literary studies—will be familiar to historians of all aspects of British imperialism, and the connection between this type of scholarship and a certain self-conscious positioning (including political commitment) are clearly recognizable.[22]

Similar observations can be made of what might be described as more traditional and thus conservative forms of architectural scholarship, mainly for the opposite reasons in its apparent nostalgic yearning and ignoring (or not taking seriously enough) factors such as imperial ideology, culture, and race.[23] But a lot of this work was carried out before the advent of the various 'turns' in academic scholarship mentioned above. Nevertheless, the post-colonial critique was a point well taken, and the general diffuse effects of more theoretically informed approaches have been profound. Little if any scholarship in the field these days can simply put aside or ignore such factors, even if it would choose to place the emphases differently.

With the desire to draw hermetic (even hermeneutic) boundaries around subfields receding, and the apparent appetite for more syncretic approaches evolving, colonial discourse analysis now stands as but one among an increasing number of ways to analyse and unpack the colonial built environment. For instance, what one observes in relation to scholarship on early modern colonial architecture and urbanism, including slave accommodation, is that painstaking archaeological

[20] For criticisms of this approach, see J. M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester, 1995). In the wider world of British imperial studies, the critique of post-colonial theory has been much more trenchant and sustained. See Howe, 'Introduction', pp. 1–20; Washbrook, 'Orients and Occidents', pp. 602–9. For the work of scholars who have sought to complicate the binary oppositions common to much post-colonial theory, see Chapter 2, pp. 54–6.

[21] For a concise diagnosis of the problems that attend the application of Foucauldian forms of analysis in particular, see M. Crinson, 'The Powers that Be: Architectural Potency and Spatialized Power', *ABE Journal (Architecture Beyond Europe)*, 4 (2013), para. 7. In architecture circles, this approach has partly been informed by the 'deconstructionist' notion in the 1980s that architecture (through time) not only represented a body of knowledge, and therefore constituted a discourse, but that it also carried connotations of language.

[22] This approach to the understanding of the colonial built environment, especially that of South Asia, has largely become associated with the so-called 'Berkeley school', from the University of California, Berkeley, where a great deal of trailblazing scholarship in this regard was undertaken. See James-Chakraborty, 'Beyond Postcolonialism', p. 3.

[23] Metcalf, 'Architecture and the British Empire', p. 594.

excavation and analysis is key to making any claims about the historic built environment. This kind of research views architecture rather more as a form of material culture than as one of discourse, and has aided in revealing at a fundamental level, in the case of slavery, the kinds of familial and wider social relationships enslaved Africans maintained in pre-revolutionary America, including cultural and tribal practices brought from Africa. Here the development and influence of vernacular and 'creolized' forms of architecture are also considered important.[24]

Ultimately there is no one, predominant or exclusive way of viewing the colonial built environment; nor should there be—all have something to contribute, ranging from the archaeologically inclined to the more theoretically informed. Indeed, one of the qualities of the current volume is its implicit demonstration of a variety of different approaches to understanding colonial architecture and urbanism, reflecting not only the different empires (plural) one can discuss in relation to British imperialism, but also the methodological mosaic that is the reality of scholarly work being undertaken in the field. This volume therefore presents something of a corrective, mirroring scholarly trends and currents in the wider field of British imperial studies. It does not present itself as adhering to or promoting any particular 'school' of thought or mode of analysis, but highlights instead the benefits and cross-referential potential of plurality.

THE WAY FORWARD? OBSERVATIONS ON THE FUTURE DIRECTION OF SCHOLARSHIP

If the field of colonial and imperial architecture and urbanism is to continue to develop, then a diverse engagement with what has come to be termed 'new imperial history' is crucial. As touched upon by several authors in this volume, new imperial history has had a profound effect on thinking about and writing on Britain's imperial past. For some twenty to thirty years now, it has redirected almost entirely the way we approach the subject. Although, as Stephen Howe points out, this movement, if we can call it that, is associated with the various post-modernist turns in historiography, including post-colonial theory, it is in reality a much more assorted and catholic endeavour. In its current state it involves a range of new and renewed themes and topics of investigation, not always complementary.[25] Among the most influential of late years has been interest in regional and oceanic frames of reference ('Atlantic', 'Pacific', and 'Indian'), as well as World and Global

[24] For instance, see W. Kelso, *Kingsmill Plantations, 1619–1800: Archaeology of Country Life in Colonial Virginia* (Orlando, 1984); D. Upton and J. Vlach (eds), *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture* (Athens, Ga., 1986); and D. V. Armstrong, *The Old Village and the Great House: An Archaeological and Historical Examination of Drax Hall Plantation, St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica* (Champaign, 1990). See also essays in C. Ellis and R. Ginsburg (eds), *Cabin, Quarter, Plantation: Architecture and Landscapes of North American Slavery* (New Haven, 2010).

[25] Howe, 'Introduction', p. 2. For an overview of recent currents in such scholarship, see also T. Ballantyne, 'The Changing Shape of the Modern British Empire and its Historiography', *Historical Journal*, vol. 53:2 (2010), pp. 429–52.

historiographies.[26] Equally important have been networked or 'webbed' concepts of understanding imperialism and its spatial character.[27] Some recent major studies in the history of British imperial architecture have drawn on these concepts in framing their analyses, but further work is required.[28]

This includes a renewed interest in understanding the political and cultural dynamics behind 'white settler' colonialism and the rise of a 'Greater Britain' and the Dominion idea—what John Darwin once described as the 'real' British empire.[29] Certainly as far as architectural history is concerned, and in comparison to the amount of work on the Asian world, this is a vastly understudied area and therefore represents an exciting prospect for the future.[30] Indeed, given the development of 'four nations' history and its implications for thinking through what it means to speak of a 'British' empire, disaggregating and teasing out contributions made to the colonial built environment by particular cultural and ethnic groups from within the British Isles would yield further insights into why certain architectural ideas and forms were not only privileged but also how they moved around and were appropriated in different ways.[31] This would amount to a de-homogenizing of colonial subjectivity and agency.

The relationship between Christianity and empire in its widest sense (beyond missionary activity alone) has also accompanied this reformation in imperial studies.

[26] See D. Armitage and M. J. Braddick (eds), *The British Atlantic World, 1500–1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 11–27; B. Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concepts and Contours* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005); A. Games, 'Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities', *American Historical Review*, vol. 111:3 (2006), pp. 741–57; P. A. Coclanis, 'Beyond Atlantic History', in J. P. Greene and P. D. Morgan (eds), *Atlantic History: A Critical Appraisal* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 337–56; J. P. Greene, 'Hemispheric History and Atlantic History', in J. P. Greene, *Creating the British Atlantic: Essays on Transplantation, Adaptation, and Continuity* (Charlottesville, 2013), pp. 1–18. For the Indian Ocean, see Metcalf, *Imperial Connections*, pp. 1–15.

[27] For instance, see Lester, 'Imperial Circuits and Networks', pp. 124–41.

[28] e.g., G. A. Bremner, *Imperial Gothic: Religious Architecture and High Anglican Culture in the British Empire, c.1840–1870* (New Haven and London, 2013); Nelson, *Architecture and Empire*. See also D. Maudlin and B. L. Herman (eds), *Building the British Atlantic World: Spaces, Places, and Material Culture, 1600–1850* (Chapel Hill, 2016).

[29] By this he meant what British people understood as 'the colonies' as opposed to the 'empire' of India. See J. Darwin, 'Bored by the Raj', *Times Literary Supplement*, 18 February 2005, p. 5. See also J. Darwin, 'A Third British Empire? The Dominion Idea in Imperial Politics', in J. Brown and W. R. Louis (eds), *OHBE*, 5 vols (Oxford, 1999), V, pp. 64–87. A recent and exciting study in this respect is James Belich's *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo–World, 1783–1939* (Oxford, 2009).

[30] Recent calls for reassessing the way we ought to understand architecture in these contexts have pointed out the necessity to contextualize it in a wider imperial and even global sense. This does not mean merely seeing this architecture as having emanated from elsewhere, which is self-evident, but trying to understand it as the complex intersection of local, regional, and global products, processes, and personnel. For example, see J. Willis and P. Goad, 'A Bigger Picture: Reframing Australian Architectural History', *Fabrications*, vol. 18:1 (2008), pp. 7–23.

[31] e.g., see essays in R. G. Asch (ed.), *Three Nations—A Common History? England, Scotland, Ireland and British History, c.1600–1920* (Bochum, 1993). See also H. Kearney, *The British Isles: A History of Four Nations*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 2012). For some recent analysis of Scottish architects' and migrants' impact on the colonial built environment, see references to F. D. G. Stanley in S. King, 'Colony and Climate: Positioning Public Architecture in Queensland, 1859–1909', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Melbourne, 2010), pp. 181–225; H. Edquist, 'The Architectural Legacy of the Scots in the Western District of Victoria, Australia', *Architectural Heritage*, vol. 24 (2013), pp. 67–85.

This is particularly pertinent to the study of architecture in the wider British world, which, as mentioned, has all but ignored religion as an animating force in the organization and production of space vis-à-vis empire.[32] As scholars such as Catherine Hall, Andrew Porter, Stewart Brown, and Hilary Carey have endeavoured to show, the religious mind-set of British society was fundamental to how Britain's presence in the world was both imagined and configured, and we ignore this at the peril of misunderstanding some of the motivations that lay behind the imperial impulse.[33] Associated with this is, of course, the rise in scholarship on the intellectual history of British imperialism, led by the likes of David Armitage, Tony Ballantyne, Duncan Bell, and Theodore Koditschek. This, too, has given us a much better understanding of the ideological premises underpinning British imperial expansion and its various imaginings.[34]

What these new approaches all have in common is their relationship in some form or other to the broader 'spatial turn' in imperial studies mentioned above, as well as the advent of 'new British' history promoted by the likes of Pocock, and seek to identify patterns, connections, and even entanglements that might otherwise be missed or ignored by area studies specialists.[35] These approaches also embody something of a cultural-geographic understanding of how human activity operates through time and across space, especially with respect to modern European empires.[36] These empires were obviously highly dynamic social, cultural, and political phenomena, and the presence of agency and networking was crucial to their establishment and maintenance, including informal imperialism in places such as Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America. This general spatial conception of imperialism, with its concomitant ideas of movement and scale, has therefore transformed the way we now understand these processes and thus the nature of empire itself. As Alan Lester succinctly puts it:

> 'New imperial historians' have established that, in order to understand British history, one must imaginatively travel in and out of the British Isles, weaving imperial relations

[32] Two recent exceptions to this are L. P. Nelson, *The Beauty of Holiness: Anglicanism and Architecture in Colonial South Carolina* (Chapel Hill, 2008) and G. A. Bremner, *Imperial Gothic: Religious Architecture and High Anglican Culture in the British Empire, c.1840–1870* (New Haven and London, 2013).

[33] C. Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830–1867* (Cambridge, 2000); A. Porter, *Religion versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700–1914* (Manchester, 2004); S. J. Brown, *Providence and Empire 1815–1914* (London, 2008); H. M. Carey, *God's Empire: Religion and Colonialism in the British World, c.1801–1908* (Cambridge, 2010).

[34] For instance, see D. Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge, 2000); for the late modern period, see T. Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire* (London, 2001); D. Bell, *The Idea of Greater Britain: Empire and the Future of World Order, 1860–1900* (Princeton, 2007); T. Koditschek, *Liberalism, Imperialism, and the Historical Imagination: Nineteenth-Century Visions of a Greater Britain* (Cambridge, 2011); D. Bell, *Reordering the World: Essays on Liberalism and Empire* (Princeton, 2016).

[35] For the 'New British' history, see G. Burgess (ed.), *The New British History: Founding a Modern State 1603–1715* (London, 1999). This is related to the advent of so-called 'Four Nations' history mentioned above.

[36] For instance, see D. Lambert and A. Lester (eds), *Colonial Lives Across the British Empire: Imperial Careering in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2006); G. B. Magee and A. S. Thompson (eds), *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World, c.1850–1914* (Cambridge, 2010).

> overseas into the fabric of the national story. Area studies specialists have been persuaded that we cannot fully understand colonial relations within any one region without tracing entities that move in and out of that region, to and from imperial centres and other regions within, and sometimes beyond empire. Historians of the former colonies have begun to think in terms of the transnational processes which gave rise to their nation-states.[37]

As a spatial construct *par excellence*, both in a discrete sense and as a wider matrix of human relations, architecture is perfectly suited to this kind of analysis, especially when considered as the outcome of broader patterns of human activity and agency. Thus, in moving beyond post-colonialism, as James-Chakraborty would have it, architectural historians of Britain's empire would do well to consider how the architectural output of this once vast, truly global phenomenon might be framed with reference to these developments in scholarship. Indeed, this is potentially one of the most fruitful directions in which the study of British imperial and colonial architecture might move. Recognition of this has led to recent calls to rethink not only how we might conceptualize 'imperial architecture' but also how a broader 'connected' understanding of architecture in a global sense might (even ought to) result in a reconstitution of long-held canons and hierarchies in the discipline of architectural history itself.[38]

With this in mind, one question that needs to be considered further is how the cultural and political dynamic between metropolitan and regional centres of imperial authority and control affected architecture. This relates specifically to the idea of the 'network', including 'webs' and 'flows' of information and expertise in relation to architectural production, whether at a regional or global scale.[39] Were regional networks more influential in determining the character of the built environment in certain parts of the British world than ideas emanating from the metropolis? Obviously both came into play to varying degrees, but should we be looking closer at regional patterns and agency in order to reach a more nuanced understanding of the way certain buildings were designed, constructed, and used? To take an example, if one wishes to make sense of early colonial architecture in Hong Kong, would it not be more profitable to consider techniques developed, and networks of professional expertise established, in British India rather than in Britain? Questions of this nature are considered in a number of the chapters in this volume.

It is important to note that, although related, such questions are different to those that might lead scholars to ponder a vernacular explanation, and, if forming the basis of a specific and wide-ranging study, would need to be theorized clearly within a discrete historiographic framework. Considering this, the architectural geography of the British empire—if one could imagine such a thing—would seem to

[37] Lester, 'Spatial Concepts', p. 118.

[38] e.g., see G. A. Bremner, 'Rethinking British Architecture: Towards an Expanded Methodology', in Bremner, *Imperial Gothic*, pp. 431–40; S. Zandi-Sayek, 'The Unsung of the Canon: Does a Global Architectural History Need New Landmarks?', *ABE Journal (Architecture Beyond Europe)*, vol. 6 (2014); Chattopadhyay, 'The Globality of Architectural History'.

[39] For some recent work in this area, see essays in Maudlin and Herman, *Building the British Atlantic World*, and Nelson, *Architecture and Empire in Jamaica*. See also J.-H. Chang, *The Genealogy of Tropical Architecture: Colonial Networks, Nature and Technoscience* (London, 2016). For further discussion on the significance of this approach, see 'Networks and Flows' special issue of *Fabrications*, vol. 26:2 (2016).

make more sense seen as a complex Venn diagram, comprising multiple-set overlaps of network-based influences that, in their kaleidoscopic effect, rarely if ever correspond directly to colonial or post-colonial state boundaries.[40] On this point Thomas Metcalf has observed that the notion of an 'Indian Ocean arena' provides a useful way to conceptualize and understand the British empire and its architecture as a dynamic system that both encouraged and facilitated 'horizontal' inter-colonial relations as much as 'vertical' metropole-colony directed ones.[41]

To return to Crinson's claim from above, such a conception of British imperial and colonial architecture would necessitate focusing greater scholarly attention on more mundane and banal forms of architecture important to the commercial if not political aims of British expansion—infrastructural buildings such as warehouses, port facilities, agricultural structures, and military installations.[42] The continued examination of particular typologies such as state and domestic architectures will always be useful, but these can only tell us so much. It is also important to acknowledge that the dynamic described here elicited tension within imperial power structures regarding architectural production, as the Colonial Office and other metropolitan agencies were often at loggerheads with local administrative officials over what could be built and how.[43] Such incidents necessitate an uneven and variegated understanding of what 'imperial architecture' was supposed to represent, and to whom.

As transnational (or what might more properly be described in this context as trans-colonial/imperial) studies develop, attempts at comparative analyses between Britain's imperial architecture and that of other European and non-European empires and nations will likely reveal new, previously obscured forms of technological influence and exchange. Making such comparisons can assist in achieving an even richer—if more fragmented and non-linear—understanding of British colonial architecture, its character and multiple sources. This is, of course, related to the

[40] This idea of the 'geography of architecture' comes from the pioneering work of George Kubler in the 1960s concerning Jesuit and Mendicant Order missionary architecture in Latin America. See G. Kubler, 'Two Modes of Franciscan Architecture: New Mexico and California', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6:23 (1943), pp. 39–48; and the essay contained in *Santos: An Exhibition of the Religious Folk Art of New Mexico, with an Essay by George Kubler* (Fort Worth, 1964), pp. 1–9.

[41] Metcalf, *Imperial Connections*, pp. 6–13. Indeed, Metcalf has ventured what such a reframed architectural history of the British empire might look like in the chapter entitled 'Constructing Identities' (pp. 46–67). The same would apply to places such as Australia. See J. Broadbent, S. Rickard, and M. Steven, *India, China, Australia: Trade and Society 1788–1850* (Sydney, 2003), as well as the development of domestic housing, as Anthony King has demonstrated with the global spread of the bungalow typology. See A. D. King, *The Bungalow: The Production of a Global Culture* (London, 1984). Again, the idea of regional versus metropolitan centres of power and influence in relation to colonial art was foreshadowed by Kubler. See 'An Introduction to the Artistic Geography of the Americas: The Limits of Kubler's Legacy', in T. DaCosta Kaufmann, *Towards a Geography of Art* (Chicago, 2004), pp. 220–38.

[42] For some important work along these lines, see P. Scriver (ed.), *The Scaffolding of Empire* (Adelaide, 2007).

[43] There was a long history of this with respect to the East India Company, but it also occurred in instances of Crown colony governance. For instance, see G. A. Bremner, 'Fabricating Justice: Conflict and Contradiction in the Making of the Hong Kong Supreme Court, 1898–1912', in L. Victoir and V. Zatsepin (eds), *From Harbin to Hanoi: Colonial Built Environment in Asia, 1840–1940* (Hong Kong, 2012), pp. 156–80. See also T. Livsey, "Suitable Lodgings for Students": Modern Space, Colonial Development and Decolonization in Nigeria', *Urban History*, vol. 41:4 (2014), pp. 664–85.

regional and global approaches mentioned above, but would differ in its explicit objective to compare architectural and urban outcomes across political cultures and space. Indeed, as David Lambert and Alan Lester have urged, this could (and perhaps should) go beyond mere comparison in seeking *actual* historical connectedness.[44] To date very little has been done in this regard, but it is certainly one direction in which architectural scholarship might progress.[45] Indeed, here one thinks of transnational trajectories of architectural development in the 'Third World' or 'Global South', as articulated in recent work dealing with the influence and technical expertise of Communist world countries in places such as post-colonial Africa, Asia, and the Middle East.[46]

Another area that offers potential for further development, and one picked up by Preeti Chopra in this volume, is the incorporation and working through of indigenous perspectives and experience in attempting to gain a fuller, more rounded, and perhaps even entirely alternative understanding of the colonial built environment. As pointed out by Robert Home and Anthony King in Chapter 2, according to Siddhartha Raychaudhuri, the European scholarly obsession with 'the colonial city' has been largely at the expense of the indigenous city—a critique, it may be suggested, that has a much broader significance for understanding the social and spatial transformations of cities outside the west.[47] Here indigenous language sources, where available, are crucial in helping us comprehend to a greater extent how such architecture was perceived as a means of negotiation, whether for individuals, families, or various ethnic and/or religious communities confined within the bounds of British political space.[48] This might include, as Chopra has recently shown in her own scholarship, how certain groups such as the Parsi community in British Bombay were able to carve out a space for themselves—quite literally—in the city through a form of architectural diplomacy.[49] Such an approach

[44] Lambert and Lester, *Colonial Lives*, pp. 1–31.

[45] An interesting study in another context, which attempts to make such comparisons, is Zeynep Çelik's *Empire, Architecture, and the City: French-Ottoman Encounters, 1830–1914* (Seattle, 2008). For a very challenging and provocative call to move in this direction with respect to British imperial studies as a whole, and one from which architectural historians might be encouraged in certain ways, see Antoinette Burton's essay 'Getting Outside the Global: Repositioning British Imperialism in World History', in A. Burton, *Empire in Question: Reading, Writing, and Teaching British Imperialism* (Durham, N.C., 2011), pp. 275–92.

[46] For recent scholarship on this, see L. Stanek and T. Avermaete (eds), *Cold War Transfer: Architecture and Planning from Socialist Countries in the 'Third World'*, special issue of *The Journal of Architecture*, vol. 17:3 (2012); L. Stanek, 'Mobilities of Architecture in the Global Cold War: From Socialist Poland to Kuwait and Back', *International Journal of Islamic Architecture*, vol. 4:2 (2015), pp. 365–98; C. Roskam, 'Non-Aligned Architecture: China's Designs on and in Ghana and Guinea, 1955–1992', *Architectural History*, vol. 58 (2015), pp. 261–91; L. Stanek, 'Architects from Socialist Countries in Ghana (1957–67): Modern Architecture and *Mondialisation*', *JSAH*, vol. 74:4 (2015), pp. 416–42. In other languages, see M. Volait, *Architectes et architectures de l'Egypte moderne: genèse et essor d'une expertise technique locale* (Paris, 2005), and J. Lagae and B. Toulier, 'De l'outre-mer au transnational: Glissements de perspectives dans l'historiographie de l'architecture coloniale et postcoloniale', *Revue de l'Art*, no. 186/2014-4 (2014), pp. 45–56.

[47] S. Raychaudhuri, 'Colonialism, Indigenous Elites and the Transformation of Cities in the Non-Western world: Ahmedabad 1890–1947', *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 35:3 (2001), pp. 677–726.

[48] An example of this would be J. Hosagrahar, *Indigenous Modernities: Negotiating Architecture, Urbanism, and Colonialism in Delhi* (London, 2005).

[49] P. Chopra, *A Joint Enterprise: Urban Elites and the Making of British Bombay* (Minneapolis, 2011).

also recognizes, as John M. Carroll has observed in another context, that not all of those caught within the meshes of British global imperialism necessarily viewed it as a conquest state—indeed, many among what can be described as the local business elite benefited significantly as intermediaries and agents.[50]

Last, but by no means least, the study of buildings has its own historiographic traditions and methods which, among others, concern making sense of aesthetics, as well as the careful description and examination of built form—what is otherwise referred to as formal analysis. Despite being considered somewhat old fashioned, these methods are important and ought to remain at the core of anything that claims to be 'architectural history'. Moreover, they do require a degree of specialist knowledge—nomenclature, stylistic designation, patterns of artistic patronage and influence, formal and tectonic change over time—and, admittedly, are the one area where mainstream historians are most likely to trip up upon entering the field. Looking to the future, these might be brought back more to the centre ground and reinvigorated in various ways.[51] After all, they are architectural history's unique selling point. To be sure, urban history and geography have other concerns, as discussed, but it is worth reminding ourselves that, ultimately, all urban environments are made up of individual buildings.

All of this would mean harnessing, where appropriate, many of these new approaches and their attendant insights in better enabling architectural historians to delineate an architecture-centred 'material history' of empire—one that would speak more fluently to the concerns of mainstream historians, while building upon techniques traditional to the field, including more recent discourse-orientated modes of analysis. To put it another way, this is tantamount to making a distinction between what would otherwise be a 'history of architecture in the British empire' and an 'architectural history of British imperialism'. Where the former might easily detach itself from the spatio-political context in simply accounting for buildings in a given area, focusing on dynamics internal to architectural production, the latter, by necessity, engages specifically with built form as both a medium and type of agency through which empire materializes and facilitates its peculiar presence. In other words, we must ask not only how a building is conceived or what it means, but also what it actually does.

Whatever the future direction will be, an increasingly plural, complex, and interconnected approach—one agile enough to move between and take advantage of various methods from cognate disciplines—will at least guarantee a certain dynamism (and debate) that the field was beginning to show signs of lacking in recent years. We do not want *a* new history of British imperial architecture but *many* new architectural histories of empire. The intention of the current volume is to reflect and encourage this aspiration.

[50] J. M. Carroll, 'Chinese Collaboration in the Making of British Hong Kong', in T.-W. Ngo (ed.), *Hong Kong's History: State and Society Under Colonial Rule* (London, 1999), pp. 13–29.

[51] I was reminded recently of how fundamental and enlightening this approach can be in reading Michael Hall's magisterial *George Frederick Bodley and the Late Gothic Revival in Britain and America* (London and New Haven, 2014).

PART I

THEMES IN BRITISH IMPERIAL AND COLONIAL ARCHITECTURE AND URBANISM

1

Beginnings

Early Colonial Architecture

Daniel Maudlin

During the earliest phases of British imperial expansion in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a range of similar-looking buildings were erected in the Atlantic colonies to the west and on the Indian subcontinent to the east. Indeed, by the later eighteenth century, from fort to church to house, the consistency of neoclassical architectural forms, spaces, and ornament had given a remarkable visual and spatial coherence to the colonial built environment. Although self-evident, this phenomenon nevertheless requires further examination. As soon as one digs down into the complexities of designing buildings for different people in different places at different times, a range of architectural contingences, adaptations, and hybridities emerge that can be seen to subvert British architectural norms on foreign soil. This chapter therefore sets out the physical and conceptual parameters that frame our understanding of the British empire's early architectural history. Looking at these in practice, it considers in particular the craft-based production and consumption of neoclassical architecture as it related to key aspects of the early colonial experience: what here will be referred to as landfall, government, religion, and the home.

The historic period covered by this chapter begins with the foundation of Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607, and ends with American independence in 1783. Within this period the geographical parameters of the British empire extended to the British Atlantic world of the thirteen American colonies; Maritime Canada, including Quebec and river navigations to the Great Lakes (which became British territories following British victory in the Seven Years' War (1754–63) against France); various islands in the Caribbean; and the fortified trading ports of West Africa serving the Atlantic slave trade. To the east it included the territories of the quasi-governmental East India Company (EIC), consisting of the three presidencies of Bengal (centred on Calcutta in eastern India), Bombay to the west, and Madras in the south.[1] The early British empire also included the four nations of the

[1] The British government did not become directly involved in India until the Regulating Act of 1773, and even then the EIC remained largely in control until Crown rule was imposed in 1858. See S. Bose and A. Jalal, *Modern South Asia: History, Culture, Political Economy* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 54–62.

British Isles: England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, where Westminster's rule over the 'Celtic nations' is considered by some as a process of internal colonialism with activities such as the Protestant Anglo-Irish settlement of Ireland and the pacification and commercial exploitation of the Scottish Highlands continuing far into the early modern period.[2] The history of the early British empire must also account for the impact of empire on the home nations. Britain was transformed by the wealth of trade goods and raw materials that entered ports such as Bristol, Liverpool, and Glasgow supplying the Industrial Revolution, enriching merchants and introducing new worlds to British culture, including 'exotic' art and design traditions (see Chapter 4). While many of the architectural themes considered here extended into the nineteenth century, this chapter does not include the architectural history of the independent United States, or other territories colonized post-1783, such as Western Canada, South Africa, New Zealand, or Australia, which are covered elsewhere in this volume.

COLONIAL CULTURAL LANDSCAPES

Within these parameters of time and geography each site of colonial activity was colonized and settled through a specific set of historic circumstances and by a specific group of people (individuals, private and semi-public organizations, and government bodies operating independently or in partnership). Accordingly, different buildings were needed by different people for different purposes in different places at different times. Early colonial architecture, therefore, compromises a rich built environment of towns, cities, forts, government offices, commercial offices, court houses, churches, inns, farmhouses, townhouses, and country houses. This array of buildings reflects the complex cultural landscapes that emerged within the empire, where occupation and inhabitation by a group of people—in this case British colonists—changed the physical landscape in a way that not only came to represent their values but also, in the process, changed and redefined their sense of identity.[3] However, across the length and breadth of these landscapes two building types stand out as forms of universal architecture: forts and churches. In British North America pioneer town-settlements and small colonial dwelling-houses can be added as a third early archetype; this is simply because in British America early forts were generally built to defend settlers, whereas in British India and West Africa, where settlement was limited, they were built to defend trade.[4] These were the pioneer species of empire-building, providing physical and spiritual sanctuary in alien, often hostile, lands. As colonies became established the need arose for on-site colonial government to run day-to-day affairs and, therefore, colonial

[2] See L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1823* (New Haven and London, 1992).

[3] D. Upton, 'Architectural History or Landscape History?', *Journal of Architectural Education*, vol. 44 (August 1991), pp. 195–9.

[4] See R. A. Bach, *Colonial Transformations: The Cultural Production of the New Atlantic World, 1580–1640* (Basingstoke, 2000); R. Blair St George (ed.), *Material Life in America, 1600–1860* (Boston, 1988).

government buildings to house its functions and rituals. By the later eighteenth century public buildings also became a common type.

Housing is more complicated. Patterns of colonial house building vary considerably across the empire in relation to patterns of settlement. For example, Massachusetts—one of the six most northerly of the thirteen American colonies that constituted New England—is famously associated with settlement by Puritan emigrants in the seventeenth century. The Puritans were a devout Protestant Christian religious group who eschewed luxury and wealth, valued close(d) social groups, and were intent on becoming self-supporting farming communities. Therefore, the early colonial architecture of Massachusetts is typified by small towns, modest meeting-houses, and small farmhouses. British colonists in India were very different people from those in New England. In India colonial activities were dominated by the EIC, a London-based joint-stock company, and were focused not on settlement and farming but on extracting profit for its agents, directors, and stock holders. By the later eighteenth century profits mainly came from export (notably opium to China) and through local tax revenues. Therefore, early British colonists in India were mostly male merchants, administrators, and military officers in the employ of the EIC. These men looked to return to Britain for a life of comfortable, moneyed retirement. Indeed, these so-called nabobs left a rich architectural heritage of retirement villas, often along the English south coast, embellished with Indian architectural fragments recalled from memory such as the 'verandah' (a projecting open sun-porch). In India the EIC built forts, docks, administrative complexes, club houses, and churches, not farmhouses. Settlement by British colonists and the associated building of homes, especially in the interior of the subcontinent, did not take place on a significant scale until direct rule in the second half of the nineteenth century and the establishment of the governmental apparatus and administrative class of the British Raj.

The slave-plantations of the southern American colonies and the Caribbean also developed unique settlement patterns and housing needs. Where rural New England was characterized by an architecturally rich patchwork of small holdings and small towns, the landscape of the South and Caribbean was turned to vast single-owner plantations where cotton, rice, and sugar were produced by slave labour. Here there were very few early modern houses: one plantation house per plantation, plus the rudimentary, hut-like dwellings provided for slaves. However, in contrast to the modesty of the typical New England farmhouse, plantation houses were of a scale and luxury that rivalled many British country houses. Building in West Africa was even more limited where it was restricted almost exclusively to forts or fortified port-towns built as trading posts and containment centres for African slaves bound for the Caribbean or North America. It should also be remembered that many British country houses were financed by profits from the slave trade, sugar, and cotton, or more directly through plantation ownership. For example, Saltram House in Devon, today owned by the National Trust and celebrated for its interiors by the architect Robert Adam, was the seat of the Parker family who profited from the Caribbean sugar trade (for the impact of colonial trade on the metropolis, see Chapter 4, pp. 126–40).

CRAFT, DESIGN, AND TASTE

The cultural landscape of colonial architecture is further complicated when the processes of building manufacture and construction are taken into account. From region to region there are myriad differences even when comparing like with like, such as Anglican churches. In a pre-industrial society such as the early British empire, building construction relied heavily on the availability of local materials. Small components such as door handles and window frames could be shipped, but the main mass of a building—the walls and roof—needed a ready source close to hand. This depended upon local climate and geology, whether timber in North America, stone in Scotland, brick in southern England, or coral-blocks in the Caribbean. While unwanted variations in the appearance of materials could often be hidden beneath a veneer of plaster or paint, the structural qualities of different materials could not. This led to regional distinctiveness in the design and appearance of buildings according to factors such as how high a material allowed walls to be raised, how thick they needed to be to support floor and roof loads, or how wide a single-span interior space could be built. Climate led to regional inventions emerging where colonists found themselves forced to adapt standard building types to often extreme weather conditions such as the widespread introduction of open porches and balconies to counter the heat in both India and the American South; the introduction of detached summer kitchens in Canada to keep the swarms of flies away from the main house; hurricane-proofing in the Caribbean; or the prominence of fully enclosed storm porches to keep the cold, wet weather out in Highland Scotland. Consequently the craftsmen who designed and made buildings also changed their practices in response to regional conditions.

Moreover, in the settled urban populations of colonial America, the specific skills needed by craftsmen to work different indigenous woods and stone led to the establishment of regional craft centres which subsequently developed their own traditions and distinct practices by the mid- to late eighteenth century. Thus, buildings were both produced and consumed locally, yet conceived within an intercontinental cultural space. Colonial craftsmen were also exposed to the craft traditions of the colonized culture. In some colonies this led to new hybrid architectures where imported British design fused with indigenous craft traditions, while in others there was no cultural exchange at all. New England, for example, was viewed by the Puritans as a *tabula rasa*—an empty virgin wilderness—where they could make a new, godly, civilization. They did not consider the indigenous Native American population they encountered as a 'civilization' (a culture with its own architectural traditions), so did not consider indigenous design when building their churches and homes. In complete contrast, the early British colonists in India encountered the highly sophisticated culture of the Mughal Empire with its rich and, to British eyes, fantastical architectures and material culture. As such, when it came to building, British colonists in India had to build within an already complex built environment and designers often incorporated local motifs into their work. Furthermore, in contrast to North America, there were few colonial craftsmen, so the British were able to draw upon highly developed indigenous craft centres

(whose artisans often introduced their own construction techniques and decorative details to the designs provided by the British).

However, despite all these variations and contingencies, the buildings of the early British empire did have an architectural coherence: a sameness that is immediately recognizable. Buildings built by the British in Canada, India, and the Caribbean for all their regional differences were built by people who belonged to the same culture. In the early modern period architectural sameness meant the common spatial and decorative language of neoclassicism, with white external finishes whether in stone, render, or painted timber. This approach was universally adopted by architects, builders, carpenters, and homeowners by the later eighteenth century (regional vernacular forms that were commonplace in the seventeenth century were gradually straightened out, given symmetry, and codified through the eighteenth century). As such, the design history of the British empire within the early modern period is part of the wider history of post-Renaissance Europe and the ongoing reinterpretations of classicism (the art and design of ancient Rome and, later, ancient Greece) that defined European art and design from the fifteenth century onwards. British design in the mid- to late eighteenth century was dominated by the strict symmetries, architectural proportions, and stripped-back decorative systems of northern European (Protestant) neoclassicism, which is often referred to in Britain as Georgian (but is also common to northern France, the Low Countries, northern Germany, and Scandinavia). As such, British design was by no means unique, but, in parallel with and at times overlapping with the French, Dutch, Portuguese, and Spanish, it was Britain that held political and economic dominion over the geographic regions of the British empire, and a version of plain neoclassicism was exported and imposed that soldiers, traders, and emigrants would have both recognized and identified as British.

From the perspective of the consumer (the observer, user, or occupant) in the context of an extended overseas empire, a common architectural language was an important asset as it gave visual, experiential, and spatial coherence to a geographically diffuse culture. Arriving in port in Bristol or Calcutta, a ship's company would have been met with the reassuring view of familiar buildings.[5] Once inside an inn, tavern, or private residence, those same travellers may have had difficulty knowing exactly in which part of the world they were save for the local weather (hot and humid in Calcutta, cold and damp in Bristol). A common architecture communicated familiarity and a shared sense of identity and belonging but, more than this ready reassurance, classicism also had profound cultural symbolism. For British social groups, neoclassicism was a universally recognized standard of 'good taste', which was seen as maintaining and communicating particular social standards. Good taste in design represented adherence to a set of 'British' values that neoclassicism was understood to embody from education to morality to godliness, domesticity, good governance,

[5] On Atlantic identity, see R. Olwell and A. Tully, C*ultures and Identities in Colonial British America* (Baltimore, 2006).

and modernity.[6] This culturally coded language was read and understood by visually informed Britons throughout Britain and the wider British world whether they be farmers in Canada, EIC officers, or plantation owners in Jamaica. However, it was at the same time incomprehensible to indigenous populations who did not share this common culture and were not familiar with its visual symbolism. Thus, neoclassicism maintained social groups or hierarchies and served both to include and exclude.[7] Indeed, with time, many colonized peoples, whether they be Native Americans, Indian Sepoys serving with the EIC, Irish Gaels, or African slaves, learnt to read a very different set of meanings into British neoclassical buildings, including fear, violence, and oppression.

TRANS-COLONIALISM AND THE TRANSMISSION OF IDEAS

Neoclassical design was disseminated and maintained across the vast geography of Britain's empire by the ships that ploughed the various shipping routes between British ports, North America, the Caribbean, West Africa, and east into Asia. As a set of abstract design principles, neoclassicism could be carried in printed books, commissioned plans, or as knowledge embedded in the skills of a migrant builder. For example, architectural pattern books produced in London were widely available in the eighteenth-century British Atlantic world, and were known to be used by colonial craftsmen.[8] Organizations such as the EIC, the British Army, and the Church of England commissioned forts, churches, and entire settlements overseas which were either drawn up in Britain prior to departure or designed on arrival by in-house surveyors or engineers. Either way, identifiably British design was effectively transmitted from Britain to the wider British colonial world.

Design practices also followed diverse migration and trade networks as craftsmen moved between colonies. For example, the model for British Canadian farmhouses came not from Britain but from New England as the post-independence Loyalist exodus from that part of the newly established United States included a large number of craftsmen who, in turn, trained apprentices in Canada. The stream of architectural ideas also flowed back into Britain. While, for good or ill, neoclassicism stood out as identifying Britain and British culture in India, Mughal and Hindu architectural motifs stood out as exotic and 'exciting' when used to adorn

[6] For discussion of taste and the consumption of classicism in eighteenth-century Britain and the Atlantic world, see B. L Herman and P. Guillery, 'Negotiating Classicism in Eighteenth-century Deptford and Philadelphia', in B. Arciszwekas and E. McKellar (eds), *Articulating British Classicism: New Approaches to Eighteenth-Century Architecture* (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 187–227; D. Maudlin, *The Highland House Transformed: Architecture and Identity on the Edge of Britain* (Dundee, 2009), pp. 61–79; A. Vickery and J. Styles (eds), *Gender, Taste and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700–1830* (New Haven and London, 2006); and essays in D. Maudlin and B. L. Herman (eds), *Building the Atlantic World: Spaces, Places, and Material Culture, 1600–1850* (Chapel Hill, 2016).

[7] On Pierre Bourdieu's social theory of the social distinctiveness of taste in relation to architecture, see H. Webster, *Bourdieu for Architects* (London, 2011).

[8] A. L. Cummings, 'The Availability of Architectural Books in Eighteenth-Century New England', in K. Hafertepe and J. F. O'Gorman (eds), *American Architects and their Books to 1848* (Amherst, 2001), pp. 1–16.

buildings such as the Prince Regent's seaside palace at Brighton, or a nabob's villa in Sidmouth. As more recent interpretations of history would suggest, including the impact of post-colonial studies, this understanding of how neoclassicism was disseminated within Britain and the wider British world must recognize that both the colonizer and the colonized were transformed by the experience.[9] It also acknowledges that architects and builders did not necessarily take their lead from the metropolis, but that regional influence was a substantive factor also.[10] This trans-colonial or 'transnational' model of overlapping spheres of influence linked by networks of exchange transcends the 'nation' as the primary narrative and has largely replaced the 'outward ripple' or centre-periphery model in what has become known as New Imperial History—an approach that has had a strong influence in shaping geographically contiguous fields of inquiry such as Atlantic History.[11] However, British and American architectural history has been slow to consider the implications of this thinking on our understanding of building design, production, and use in the early modern period. Currently only a handful of studies on the early modern period—mostly referenced in this chapter—by a small number of scholars such as Bernard L. Herman, Peter Guillery, Carl Lounsbury, and Louis Nelson have moved beyond conventional national narratives in taking a more transnational perspective.[12]

The remainder of this chapter will take this perspective in examining some of the key public and private spaces that framed life in the early colonial period, including early settlements and fortifications, government and public buildings, as well as religious and domestic spaces. Besides these key spaces, and only touched upon in this chapter, was the vernacular or everyday built environment of ports, warehouses, storehouses, and factories (spinning cotton grown by African slaves on American plantations). While perhaps lacking architectural expression, these utilitarian buildings were arguably the most common building type within the British empire, making up a significant element of the built environment in every port, city, and town from Boston to Bristol, Calcutta to Cardiff. Monumental projects such as Jesse Hartley's Albert Docks, Liverpool, would follow in the mid- to late nineteenth century, but in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries these buildings were typically simple box-like structures which in their geometry of form and plan and regular arrangement of windows nevertheless observed the rules of what can be called 'vernacular neoclassicism', as executed by skilled but anonymous masons and house carpenters.[13] That is, the small-scale, everyday buildings of the high street, farm, and harbour front of the later eighteenth century may have been

[9] See H. K. Bhabha, 'DissemiNation: Time, Narrative, and the Margins of the Modern Nation', in H. K. Bhabha (ed.), *Nation and Narration* (London, 1990), pp. 291–332.

[10] Arciszwekas and McKellar, *Articulating British Classicism*, pp. ix–xxv.

[11] e.g., B. Bailyn, *Atlantic History, Concepts and Contours* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005); D. Armitage and M. J. Braddick (eds), *The British Atlantic World, 1500–1800,* 2nd edn (Basingstoke, 2009).

[12] For instance, see C. R. Lounsbury, 'Early American Architecture: A Transatlantic Perspective', in C. R. Lounsbury, *Essays in Early American Architectural History: A View from the Chesapeake* (Charlottesville, 2011), pp. 17–32 ; L. P. Nelson, *Architecture and Empire in Jamaica* (New Haven and London, 2016).

[13] D. Maudlin, 'Crossing Boundaries: Revisiting Some Thresholds of the Vernacular', *Vernacular Architecture*, vol. 41 (2010), pp. 10–14.

buildings designed and made by unknown hands, but they were nonetheless works of neoclassical architecture.

LANDFALL

In the context of the early British empire, landfall meant the first arrival of British colonists in a new and unfamiliar land where their presence was more often than not challenged by the indigenous population and/or by other colonial powers. Therefore, the most common landfall building works of Britain's earliest colonial ventures were fortifications. The term 'fort' simply denotes a defensible structure that could be a single building or a large compound enclosing a military garrison or a pioneer settlement. Forts were built to defend colonists from the natives, pirates, and other colonial powers whether by EIC engineers in Madras or pioneer farmers in New England. A fort or fortified settlement with high, thick walls had two roles: to defend a settlement from attack, and to appear strong. Where pioneer settlements often consisted of poorly built temporary dwellings, the fort was a symbol of colonial rule as well as a sanctuary from attack and was intended to convey the idea of British authority to indigenous peoples and/or other colonial powers, as well as providing physical strength. In terms of design, British imperial fortifications of the seventeenth and eighteenth century for the most part shared a common architectural pattern language of geometric plans—triangles, octagons, rectangles, and stars—with high walls and projecting triangular bastions.[14] This formula placed British colonial fortifications within the wider context of contemporary European fortifications. In the sixteenth century the acute return angles of the star-shaped fort, including the projecting triangular bastion, came to typify military architecture across Europe as engineers responded to the rules of post-Renaissance classical architecture and the new technology of cannon (with new architectural consequences for issuing and receiving fire).

The first British settlement in the New World, Jamestown, was established as the capital of the Virginia Plantation by the Virginia Company of London in 1607. Jamestown was initially called James Fort, reflecting the close connection between forts and early British settlement in America. A 1608 sketch by Pedro Zunida, ambassador to King Phillip III of Spain, depicts a small settlement sheltered by a triangular-plan fort with projecting corner bastions. Like other early fortified settlements in North America, James Fort was most likely built of timber palisades. Little is known of the first dwellings built by the colonists in James Fort and similar settlements in British North America, but the need for quick construction suggests simple vernacular structures built from local materials. Shortly after the foundation of Jamestown, the Virginia Company founded its second Atlantic colony of Bermuda in 1612, where stone-built geometric forts—the triangular-plan Smiths Fort, the semi-circular Pagetts Fort, and the circular Warwicks Fort—as

[14] See C. Duffy, *Fire and Stone: The Science of Fortress Warfare 1660–1860* (Edison, N.J., 2006).

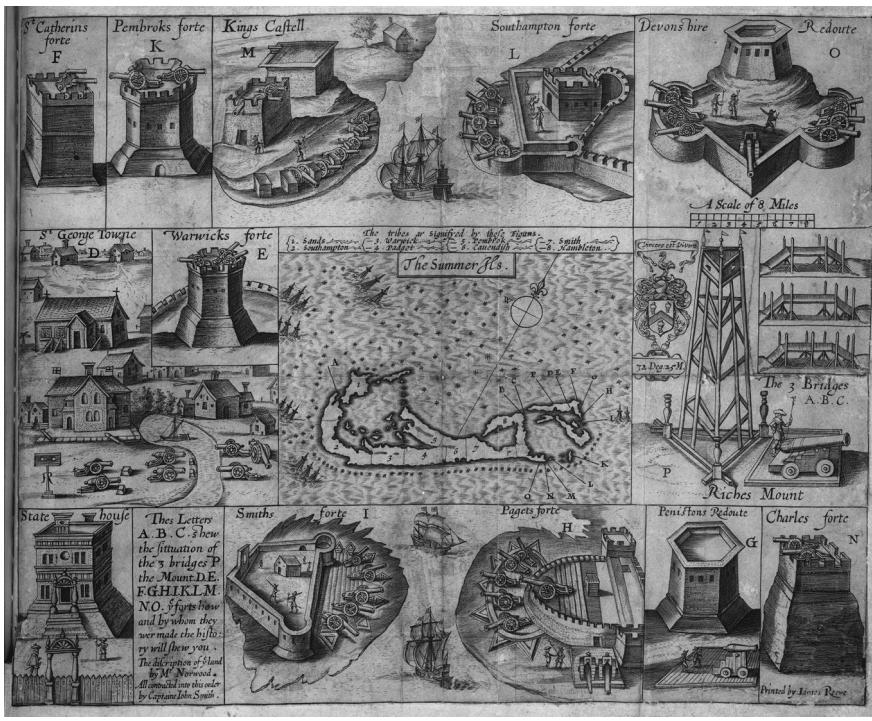

Figure 1.1. *A Mappe of the Somer Isles and Fortresses*, from Captain John Smith's *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England and the Summer Isles* (1624) (*Documenting the American South*, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Libraries).

well as numerous square-plan blockhouses, were built quickly along the coast to defend the island (Figure 1.1).[15]

To the north of Jamestown in New England, British forces were also busy building timber forts such as that at Castle William, Boston, founded in 1634. This simple structure was rebuilt in 1701 using extensive earthwork ramparts, and at this time named Castle William after King William III. It was later rebuilt to a five-sided plan by American forces in 1776 when it was abandoned by the British (and renamed Fort Adams after Revolutionary hero James Adams). Despite these developments, it should be noted that fort architecture per se was neither introduced by nor limited to European colonialists. A published engraving of John White's 1585 watercolour of the fortified settlement of Pomeiooc in the Outer Banks (present day North Carolina), for instance, depicts an indigenous defensive enclosure containing numerous, single-span, curved-roof dwellings of rectangular plan, covered with bark or plant-fibre matting (Figure 1.2).[16]

[15] E. Mann, 'First Lines of Defence: The Fortification of Bermuda in the Seventeenth Century', in O. Horsfall Turner (ed.), *The Mirror of Great Britain: National Identity in Seventeenth-Century British Architecture* (Reading, 2012), pp. 51–73.

[16] <http://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Houses_in_Early_Virginia_Indian_Society>, accessed 16 June 2014.

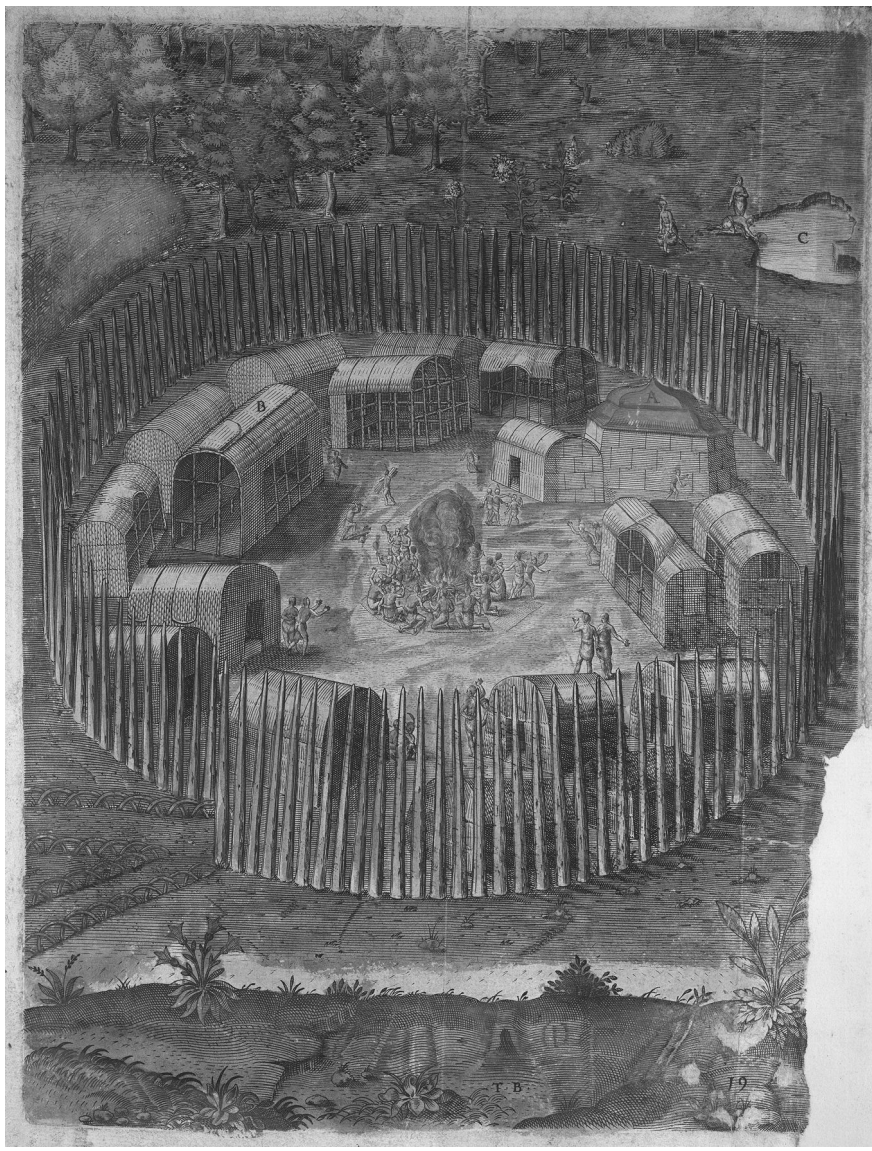

Figure 1.2. The 'Indian Village of Pomeiooc', from Theodor de Bry's *'America'* (1590), after a drawing of John White (© The British Library Board).

At much the same time in Asia (1639), the EIC founded Fort St George, Madras (Figure 1.3). Fort St George featured the same arrangement of high stone walls and star-shaped bastions. Reflecting the Company's concern for maritime trade, with limited interest for inland conquest during this period, the only access to the fort was via a water-gate. The Company also built Fort William, Calcutta, in 1696

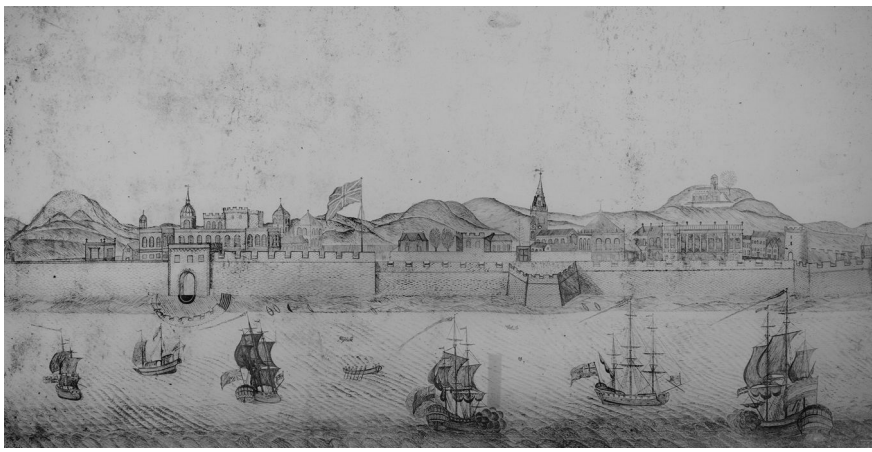

Figure 1.3. Eighteenth-century etched mirror picture depicting Fort St George, Port of Madras (courtesy of Thomas Coulborn & Sons).

(see Figure 8.1).[17] West Africa is the exception to this seventeenth-century pattern of geometric colonial fort-building. In British West Africa colonial forts were not the first buildings—with churches, offices, and houses usually following—but the only ones to be built. In the early colonial period there was never any intention of settling or governing West Africa, and forts were established exclusively as defensible trading centres for gold, ivory, and the transatlantic trade in slaves (most fell into disuse with the decline of the slave trade in the nineteenth century).[18] The first of these forts was founded at Kormantin in coastal Ghana in 1631. These forts rarely followed the European model of geometric-plan and projecting bastions. Most were very basic providing only rough shelter and necessary defence, generally from other colonial powers attacking from the sea, not local African rulers (indeed most forts paid ground rent to a local ruler). Yamyamacunda, for example, was founded on the Gambia River in the 1730s and consisted only of a collection of huts in the indigenous vernacular style. In West Africa building was functional and expedient; buildings were not intended to last, and architecture had no representational role to play.[19] The most architecturally significant fort in West Africa was Cape Coast Castle captured by the Royal Africa Company from the Swedish in 1664 and expanded in the 1670s to form a typical, triangular-plan European fort with stone bastions (Figure 1.4).[20]

[17] P. Levine, *The British Empire: Sunrise to Sunset* (Harlow, 2013), pp. 70–92.

[18] See A. W. Lawrence, *Trade Castles and Forts of West Africa* (London, 1963).

[19] C. DeCorse, L. Gijanto, W. Roberts, and B. Sanyang, 'An Archaeological Appraisal of Early European Settlement in The Gambia', *Nyame Akuma*, vol. 73 (2010), pp. 55–64.

[20] L. P. Nelson, 'Architecture of West African Enslavement', *Buildings and Landscapes*, vol. 21:1 (2014), pp. 88–125; C. DeCorse, 'Tools of Empire: Trade, Slaves, and the British Forts of West Africa', in Maudlin and Herman, *Building the Atlantic World*, pp. 165–87. See also A. Van Dantzig, *Forts and Castles of Ghana* (Accra, 1980), p. 60.

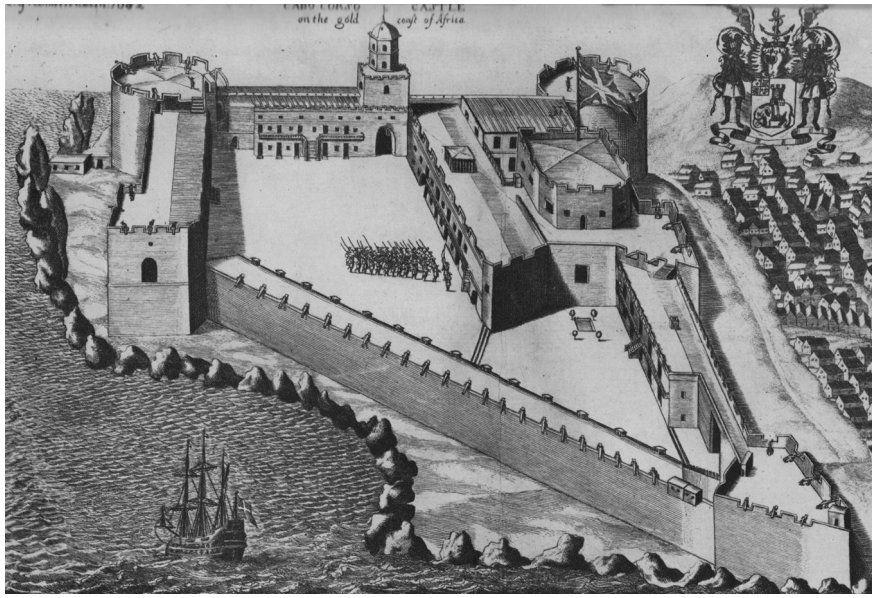

Figure 1.4. Cape Coast Castle, Ghana (after Greenhill), 1682.

Early colonial fort architecture can be considered within the same design tradition as British forts of the period such as the Royal Citadel, Plymouth, built on the orders of Charles II during the Dutch Wars (1664–7). This typology was carried to and established in Ireland, too. In Ulster (present day Northern Ireland), for example, a colonial venture to settle Catholic Ireland with Protestant Scots and English (on land grants known as 'plantations') was established under the Stuart rulers of England and Scotland. From 1610 through to the 1630s, across the modern counties of Donegal, Cavan, Fermanagh, Tyrone, Londonderry, and Armagh, lands and titles were confiscated from the hereditary Irish Gaelic nobility and the peasantry forcibly cleared from the land (new land grants stipulated that no tenancies on plantations were to be given to the native Irish). Settlement under the plantation system was highly organized and administered by and from Westminster. Building regulations stated that all plantations must erect a 'castle' and a 'strong court or bawn' or fortified enclosure constructed of stone and lime. Designed and built by migrant craftsmen from Scotland and England, plans for these defensive complexes reveal geometrically planned bawns with projecting corner bastions, as seen at Manorhamilton, Co. Lentrim, built by 'undertaker' Sir Frederick Hamilton in the 1630s (for more on Ireland, see Chapter 3, pp. 87–98).[21]

As colonies were pacified, early fortified settlements eventually yielded to urban planning. Towards the end of the seventeenth century in British North America the capital of the Virginia Plantation was moved from Jamestown to an inland site known as Middle Plantation when the Jamestown state house burned down in

[21] R. Loeber, 'The Early Seventeenth-Century Ulster and Midland Plantations, Part II: The New Architecture', in Horsfall Turner, *The Mirror of Great Britain*, pp. 101–39.

1698. The new settlement was renamed Williamsburg by Royal Governor Francis Nicholson after William III. The new, unfortified town was laid out to a grid-plan by government surveyor Theodorick Bland and centred on the existing structure of the College of William and Mary (for Williamsburg, see Chapter 5, pp. 185–6).

Nicholson's colonial career as a British officer gives us an insight into the transatlantic processes that led to the foundation of settlements and their associated fortifications. After establishing Williamsburg, Nicholson went on to serve in various imperial campaigns, including the successful expedition to capture Port Royal in Nova Scotia from the French Acadians in 1710, where he oversaw the construction of Fort Anne and the town of Annapolis, the provincial capital until the foundation of Halifax in 1748. The present star-shaped structure of Fort Anne, with heavy earthwork ramparts, was built during King George's War in the 1740s.

A decade prior to the foundation of Williamsburg by Nicholson, the city of Philadelphia was founded on the Delaware River by the Quaker William Penn in 1681 as a utopian planned-city, the capital of the Pennsylvania Colony (the lands were gifted to Penn by Charles II as repayment of a debt). The plan, designed by Penn, was a hierarchical grid centred on a municipal square, although Penn's grid was compromised from the outset with dense housing built along the waterfront and High Street (Figure 1.5; see also Chapter 2, p. 62).[22] Earlier British

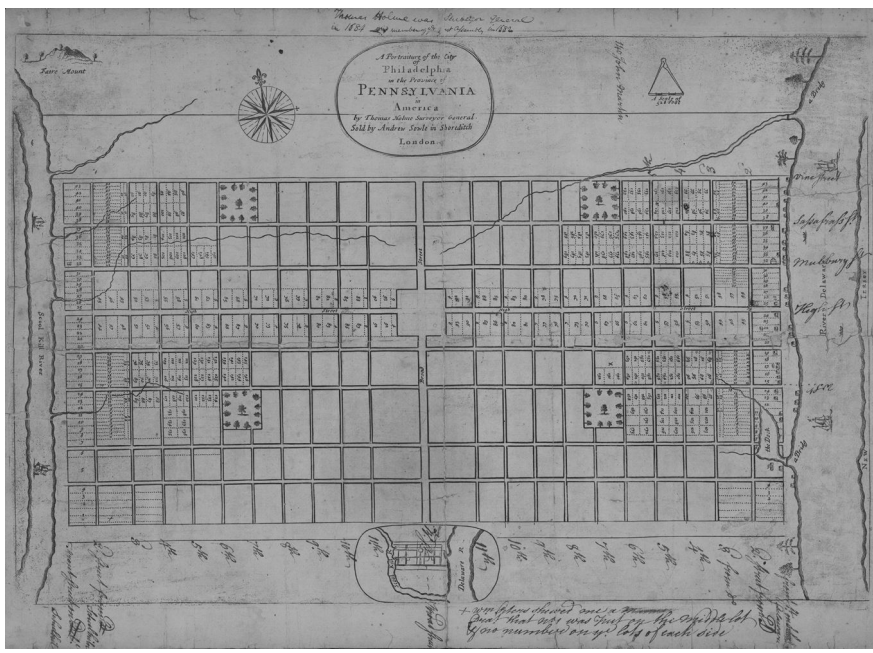

Figure 1.5. Thomas Holme, *A portraiture of the city of Philadelphia in the province of Pennsylvania in America* (1683) (Athenaeum of Philadelphia).

[22] Herman and Guillery, 'Negotiating Classicism', p. 207.

colonial towns were laid out to grid plans such as New Haven (1638), but, significantly, Penn's plan for Philadelphia included public squares as well as the central civic centre. Furthermore, and most importantly in terms of the evolution of American city planning, Philadelphia was not fortified or centred on a fort (although it was close to the fortified Swedish settlement of Fort Cristina founded 1638, and Fort Beversreede built by the Dutch in 1648).

Despite rapid urban growth in some colonial cities, the early eighteenth century saw ongoing military building activity in the Atlantic colonies as the British government fought the French and later its own American colonists. Prominent among British North American fortified settlements and forts in this later period is Fort George, Halifax, Nova Scotia, overlooking Halifax harbour and built by the British in 1749, one of several forts and blockhouses initially built to defend against attack from the French and the native Mic Mac Indians. Fort George originally consisted of a flat earthwork plinth topped with timber palisades (Figure 1.6). The present day, eight-sided, star-shaped stone structure was completed in 1856.

By the late eighteenth century (1773) the EIC had also rebuilt Fort William in Calcutta following its fall to the nawab of Bengal in 1756. While in Britain at this time, Fort George, Inverness, was also being erected in the Scottish Highlands. Fort George, built between 1748 and 1757, is a trapezoid-plan structure with projecting triangular bastions, again built with extensive earth and stonework ramparts. The interior also comprises the typical regular arrangement of offices, barracks, etc. Fort George is also an imperial fort. It was built by the British

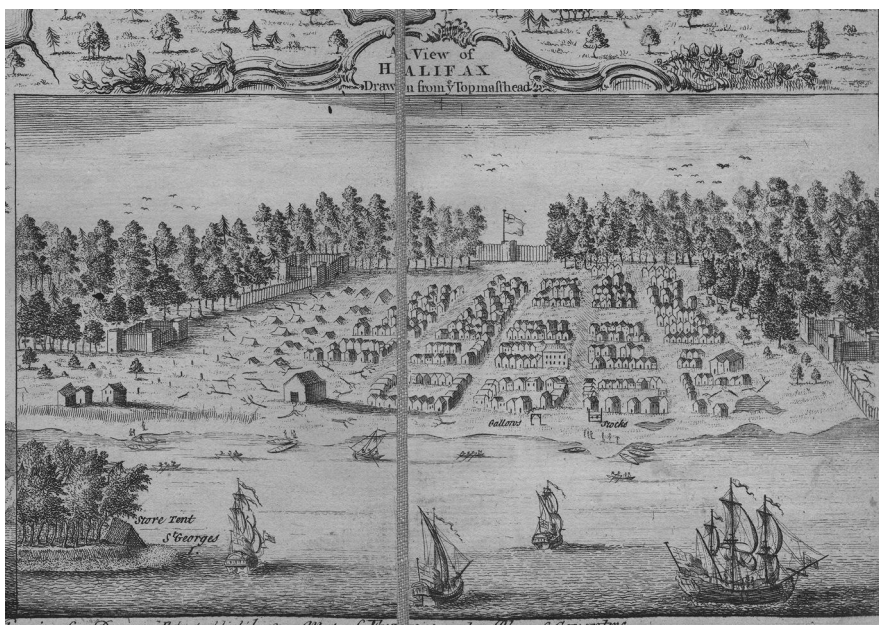

Figure 1.6. 'A View of Halifax Drawn from Ye Topmasthead [1750]', Moses Harris (1750) (Nova Scotia Archives).

(Westminster) government following the failed Jacobite Uprising (1745–6) to ensure that the Highland clans could not be raised again in rebellion against the Hanoverian crown. Significantly, Fort George overlooks the entrance to Loch Ness and the Great Glen, and therefore controlled access between Europe and the central Highlands.

An overview of early British defensive settlements from Jamestown to Ulster reveals that there was a clear universal system of fort building and town planning across the British empire characterized by simple geometric configurations. Plans, surveyors' chains (for laying out sites), building tools, and small building components regularly formed part of a ship's cargo alongside other supplies. Settlement parties also often included trained military engineers or surveyors capable of producing a simple geometric plan on landfall. Thus, whether transmitted from Britain to Bermuda or Madras, in print, or in the imagination of a military surveyor, architectural plans and their circulation gave a distinct degree of formal coherence to colonial settlements of the early British empire.

GOOD GOVERNMENT

Although more detailed accounts of state and civic architectures are given in subsequent chapters of this volume, for the period under discussion here it is nevertheless important to outline the key attributes as they were seen to develop across the British world during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. One such attribute is that the meanings conveyed by the architecture of state—through its decoration, materials, or scale—was frequently of equal value to its utility. This kind of architecture included structures such as seats of legislature, law courts, town halls, state houses, government offices, and official residences, as well as civic infrastructure such as roads and harbours. State architecture was intended not only to represent the power and authority of the state but also to signify other values held to be true by the nation state such as morality, justice, and godliness. With the exception of West Africa, where no lands or peoples were colonized in this period, buildings of this sort were needed throughout the empire. Once a territory had been claimed, conquered, and pacified, it had to be governed—although this did not necessarily mean the governance of British colonists as was the pattern in North America. The indigenous population of those parts of India under EIC rule also had to be governed, taxed, and made accountable to Company law. Hence buildings in India were required to house British officials who administered trade relations and who governed over the native population.

The eighteenth century saw a building boom in urban civic architecture throughout Britain and its empire.[23] With few exceptions, these buildings were designed according to the architectural conventions of the metropolis, namely neoclassicism.[24] Furthermore, whether in India or North America, the forms and

[23] For discussion of early modern public buildings in England, see P. Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660–1770* (Oxford, 1990).

[24] For instance, see S. Nilsson, *European Architecture in India 1750–1850* (London, 1968).

motifs of classicism—columns, porticoes, and cornices—were intended to convey much the same cultural values, whether a law court or state house, in a commonly understood visual language. However, while forts can be understood as a pioneer species of architecture, civic buildings were required only where a colony had a significant population to govern. In British North America this meant governance over the white, European colonial population; whereas, in eighteenth-century India, it meant the EIC's rule over the indigenous population (where Company rule existed). In America a significant colonial population meant the existence of local craft centres, resulting in public buildings often, though not always, being designed by colonial craftsmen rather than a British architect. Such buildings were also often financed by local government, or privately owned, as in the case of governor's residences. Therefore, while classicism prevailed as the common architectural language of British colonial government in North America, there was also a large element of regional variation evident as craftsmen in different locations, cities, and towns developed their own distinct character. For example, by the later eighteenth century the city of Philadelphia had a thriving community of craftsmen, the Carpenter's Company, with their own impressive neoclassical guild hall, Carpenter's Hall, designed by the Scottish-born, Philadelphia architect Robert Smith in 1770. The neoclassical Pennsylvania State House (1732–5) was also design by local master-builder Edmund Woolley, an early member of the Carpenter's Company (see Plate 1).

Public buildings in British America were typically modelled on English examples such as the Assize Courts, York (1773–2), by John Carr, as their function and modes of use were founded on the routines and ceremonies of English statecraft. However, the seats of regional colonial government and local legislatures varied considerably in size, form, and decoration. Broadly speaking, in addition to the variances in regional craft traditions, public buildings in cities and ports tended towards more metropolitan, fashionable tastes arriving on ship from London, whereas remote rural counties controlled by leading families tended towards conservatism in design. In the rural Chesapeake, for example, a region dominated by tobacco plantations, substantial, purpose-built court houses and town halls such as those of Virginia county first appeared in the 1730s and were relatively modest single-storey buildings with hipped roofs and low flanking arcades forming a 'piazza' to the front. This was a device borrowed from the Capitol Building in Williamsburg (1701–5) designed by Henry Car, who had previously worked on the hipped roof 'Queen Anne' style College of William and Mary (1695–1700), reputedly designed, in London, by Sir Christopher Wren (Figure 1.7).[25]

Although the formal and spatial resonances between public buildings in Britain and the North American colonies reflect their common functions and rituals, they also carried symbolic meaning concerning the ideal of British justice and government across the empire. The South Carolina State House, Charleston (1753–6),

[25] C. Lounsbury, *The Courthouse of Early Virginia: An Architectural History* (Charlottesville, 2005), pp. 109–24.

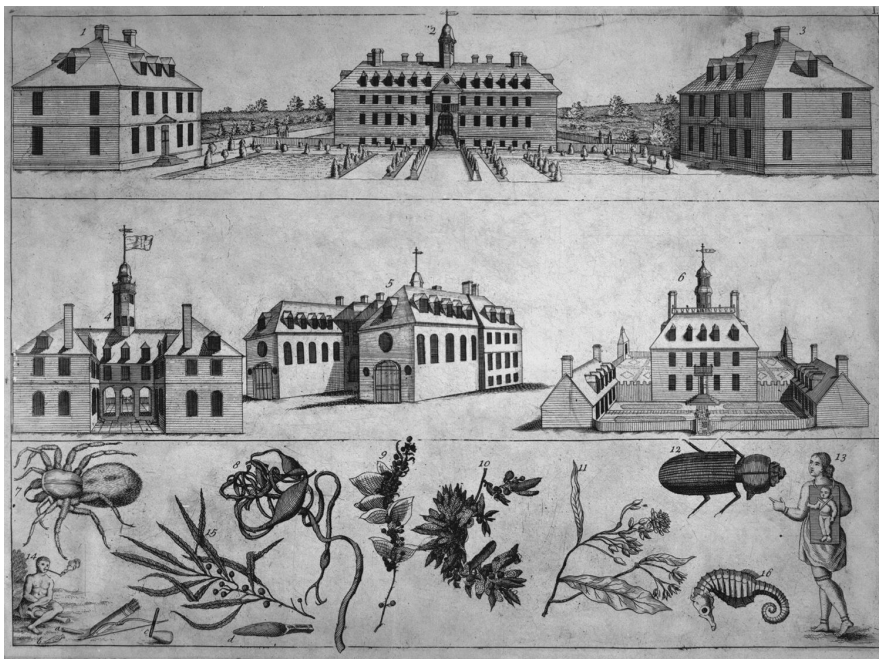

Figure 1.7. 'The Bodleian Plate' of Williamsburg, Virginia (*c.*1740), showing the College of William and Mary (*top*), the Capitol (*middle left*), the 'Wren Building' (*middle*), and the Governor's Palace (*middle right*).

and the Pennsylvania State House in Philadelphia (1732–5), for example, both incorporated open, public court-rooms on the ground floor after the model of English county halls of the period. These North American state houses can be compared to the neoclassical pedimented façades of the King's House, Assembly House, and colonial offices built in the 1760s to form the municipal space of Kings' Square, Spanish Town, Jamaica (see Plate 13). Inside these buildings the attempt to recreate metropolitan standards of living was extended through their furnishings and fittings. The second-floor council chamber of the South Carolina State House, for instance, was lined with timber panelling that incorporated Corinthian pilasters carved in pine shipped from New England, as well as the Royal Arms carved by a Philadelphia craftsman. A portrait of George III hung on the wall and the room was furnished with items by leading Charleston cabinetmakers.[26]

As discussed further by Preeti Chopra in Chapter 8, government buildings in eighteenth-century British India, on the other hand, were designed mostly by engineers of the EIC or, later, British army officers. Settlement by Europeans was limited, and British Indian craft centres had not yet developed. Government House in

[26] C. Lounsbury, *From Statehouse to Courthouse: An Architectural History of South Carolina's Colonial Capitol and Charleston County Courthouse* (Columbia, S.C., 2001), pp. 39–41.

Calcutta (1799–1802), for example, was a tripartite, pedimented design by Captain Charles Wyatt (see Figure 8.2). The design was based on Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire, but adapted to the Indian climate. Similarly, the Grand Arsenal in Madras (1772), designed by another soldier, Captain Patrick Ross, combines neoclassical form with Indian motifs. However, the Writer's Building, Calcutta (1777), designed by Thomas Lyon to house the EIC's administrators, was a three-storey office block, the first in India, of unrelenting neoclassical purity (see detail in Figure 8.1).[27] The late eighteenth century also saw the beginning of significant urban planning and infrastructure projects by the British in India, at least within the cities of the three presidencies. Notable among these was the Hornby Vellard project to build a causeway to link the seven islands of Bombay and create a single enclosed harbour, begun in 1782 by William Hornby, governor of Bombay (1771–84), and completed in 1838.

Coming back to the British Isles, in particular Ireland, public buildings within the 'English Pale' were also part of Britain's early colonial history. The Pale, first established in the late medieval period, was the region of Ireland, centred on the port city of Dublin, that was securely under English control. Dublin thus became the political and administrative centre of English and later British colonial rule in Ireland. A fortified enclave for much of the seventeenth century, Dublin prospered as the civic centre of Anglo-Irish culture in the eighteenth century, symbolized in the authority of Dublin Castle, the residence of the English Viceroy.[28] As in British American cities of this period, there was a flowering of neoclassical public architecture designed and built by both 'British' and 'Irish' architects as the city evolved its own regional craft centre (also producing high-quality furniture and other decorative arts). The architectural career of the London-born architect James Gandon (1743–1823) encapsulates the relationship between Dublin and London, England and Ireland, during this period. As discussed further by G. A. Bremner in Chapter 3 (pp. 95–8), Gandon designed many of Dublin's key public buildings, including the neoclassical grandeur of the Custom House (1781–91; Figure 1.8), loosely based on William Chambers' Somerset House in London (1776); the domed Four Courts (1785–1802); and the Corinthian-columned portico of Parliament House (1784–7).[29]

In Scotland, following the failed Jacobite Uprising, planned villages were established by the government-directed Annexed Estates Commission (administering the confiscated lands of rebel clan chiefs). These so-called *colonae* villages were founded at strategic points such as Kinloch Rannoch, Loch Rannoch, or Calendar in the Trossachs and settled with veterans of the Seven Years' War in Canada. What is significant here in the context of the British empire and colonial architecture is

[27] 'The Indian Subcontinent', in D. Cruickshank, A. Saint, P. Blundell Jones, and K. Frampton (eds), *Sir Bannister Fletcher's A History of Architecture*, 20th edn (Oxford, 2004), p. 1266. See also Chapter 8 in this volume.

[28] For instance, see 'Dublin Castle', in A. Jackson, *Buildings of Empire* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 12–33.

[29] E. McParland, *Public Architecture in Ireland, 1680–1760* (New Haven and London, 2001). See also, H. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840*, 3rd edn (New Haven and London, 1995), p. 386.

Figure 1.8. Custom House, Dublin, Ireland (1781–91), by James Gandon.

that the *colonae* model was explicitly borrowed from the veteran settlements established by imperial Rome in conquered territories.[30] Across the Atlantic in the 1760s the town of Pictou in Nova Scotia was also established as a *colonae* for veterans of the Seven Years' War.

RELIGIONS AND CHURCHES

The relationship between religion, architecture, and empire is covered in detail elsewhere in this volume, suffice to say here that Christianity was a central part of British cultural and political life in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Churches were therefore among the most important buildings for British communities, whether for merchants of the City of London, plantation owners in Virginia, farmers in New England, or the officers of the EIC serving in India. Such was the importance placed upon the presence of a church that they were often among the earliest buildings to be erected in a colony. Indeed, many early colonial churches were built within the compounds of forts. However, not all churches of the British empire were the same. Across the empire there were obvious differences in the size of churches according to their location and the size and wealth of their congregations. Larger and grander churches were often found in populous cities, whereas smaller, simpler churches in poorer rural areas. There

[30] D. Maudlin, 'Robert Mylne, Thomas Telford and the Architecture of Improvement: The Planned Villages of the British Fisheries Society, 1786–1820', *Urban History*, vol. 34:3 (2007), pp. 453–80.

were also differences in building materials and construction according to location and wealth: masonry construction in Scotland, Ireland, and India; stone construction for the richer parish churches and cathedrals of London and, in time, the Atlantic cities of North America, such as Boston and Charleston; while timber construction was standard for churches in the rural towns and farming communities of the Atlantic colonies.

Fundamental variations in church architecture also accorded with denominational difference. Christianity in early modern Britain was divided into distinct groups: the Protestant Church of England (or Anglicans), Roman Catholics, and nonconformist Protestant groups who broke away from the Church of England, such as Puritans, Quakers, and Methodists. Within Britain, religious affiliation and dissent were the source of political and cultural conflict, and British colonial history is as much delineated by the migration of religious groups from Britain caught up in these troubles as it is by trade or war with foreign powers.

Famously, the Puritans left Plymouth on the Mayflower in 1620 to create their own Protestant utopia in the New World. In England the Puritans had re-used Anglican churches, stripping-out 'graven images'. But in seventeenth-century Massachusetts Bay and New Haven they found themselves in what they considered to be a virgin wilderness, and new buildings had to be designed and built. As discussed further by G. A. Bremner and Louis Nelson in Chapter 5 (pp. 165–7), there they did not build churches but 'meeting-houses'. By far the largest structures in each community, these substantial timber buildings were typically of two-storey, square or circular-plan with a pyramidal roof terminating in a bell-tower (Figure 1.9).[31] The design of these buildings was derived from Protestant precedents in Europe such as the meeting-houses of the French Huguenots and Dutch Reformed Church, combined with vernacular elements from familiar agricultural buildings. However, by the later eighteenth century most Reformed congregations in New England were building churches—mostly timber-built, gabled boxes with a spired bell-tower over a pedimented entrance, such as Abington Congregational Church, Pomfret, Connecticut, built in 1751 (Figure 1.10). To the South, in contrast, plantation owners in Virginia and the Carolinas actively maintained strong ties with Britain, often holding property on both sides of the Atlantic, travelling regularly between London and America on business, and sharing a common taste in and for design and material culture with their wealthy British peers. Accordingly, southern plantation owners were Anglicans. While appearing from the outside to be similar to the neoclassical buildings of New England, southern Anglican churches of the eighteenth century such as St Philip's, Charleston (1715–23), are distinguished by the richness of their internal decoration and accoutrements, including lavish plate and vestments, all reflecting the

[31] See P. Benes, *Meetinghouses of Early New England* (Amherst, 2012).

Figure 1.9. 'A Meeting House of the Seventeenth Century' as depicted in E. E. Atwater, *History of the Colony of New Haven to its Absorption into Connecticut* (1902). This is typical of the kind of meeting-house erected in the early New England colonies in British North America.

Figure 1.10. Abington Congregational Church, Pomfret, Connecticut (1751) (Magicpiano).

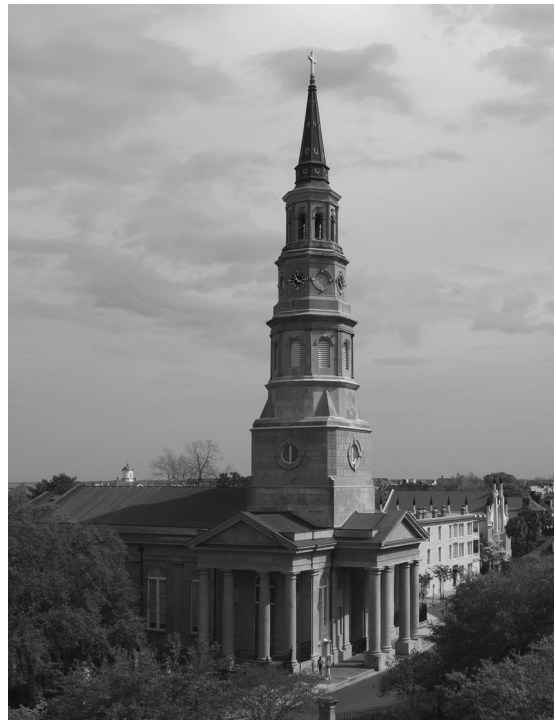

Figure 1.11. St Philip's Episcopal Church, Charleston (1715–23) (photo: Bill Read <https://www.flickr.com/photos/billread/449558802/>).

wealth of their congregations and the aesthetic sensibilities of the High Anglican church on both sides of the Atlantic (Figure 1.11).[32]

Anglicanism and neoclassicism also prevailed in eighteenth-century British India. The first Anglican church built in India was St Mary's, Madras (1680), erected within the grounds of the EIC's Fort St George (founded 1639). It was by and large a simple stone box, with a tiered, neoclassical bell-tower and spire (resonant of Hawksmoor or Gibbs) added in the late eighteenth century (Figure 1.12).[33] The circumstances were similar at St John's Anglican church, Calcutta, erected in 1787 to designs by James Agg. As for many Anglican churches in British North America, the design for St John's was inspired by the churches of London, the principal model being James Gibbs's St Martin-in-the-Fields (1722–4).

Churches also played a significant role in imperialist activities that took place within Britain in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In Scotland, following the religious conflict that underpinned the Jacobite Uprising (1745–6), with the Highland clans supporting the Catholic Stuarts over the Protestant Hanoverians,

[32] See L. P. Nelson, *The Beauty of Holiness: Anglicanism and Architecture in Colonial South Carolina* (Chapel Hill, 2009).

[33] Bose and Jalal, *Modern South Asia*, p. 60.

Figure 1.12. St Mary's Church, Madras (1680–1795) (Sylvia Murphy).

the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK), funded the construction of Protestant, Church of Scotland, churches and schools—often in a single, multi-purpose structure—throughout the Highlands in the later eighteenth century. This programme of church building was intended to 'civilize' the mostly Roman Catholic Gaelic population. The presence of these plain geometric buildings in the Highland landscape was deeply significant.

In Ireland, as part of the programme of plantations in the seventeenth century, Protestantism was forced upon the Roman Catholic population through the confiscation of all lands and buildings belonging to the Catholic Church. All Irish churches, dating from the medieval period to the seventeenth century, were recast as 'Church of Ireland' (the name for the Anglican church in Ireland). For example, the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Dublin has been the seat of the Church of Ireland since the sixteenth century. However, the church itself dates from the twelfth century and therefore was the seat of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland for over four hundred years. By the eighteenth century, new churches were built to reflect the wealth and taste of the Anglo-Irish establishment. In Dublin, the centre of Anglo-Irish culture, the work of neoclassical architect John Smyth is prominent, as seen, for example, in the pedimented portico of St Catherine's (1760–9) (see Figure 5.4) and the interior of St Werburgh's (1754). At both churches, in a direct act of colonial image-making, Smyth's task was to classicize,

or make 'modern', much older Irish Catholic buildings through a process of superficial remodelling.

HOUSING AND THE HOME

The home is of course the centre of family life and the private space of the individual. Therefore, the exterior of houses can be read as public displays that communicated what those dwelling inside wanted the outside world to know about their aspirations, while the interior was reserved for the performance of social ritual (and further display) through an arrangement of private and semi-public spaces. By the later eighteenth century, from Nova Scotian farmers to EIC officials, what most homeowners wished to communicate was their 'good taste'. This idea related to conformity to cultural norms in architecture and design that positively demonstrated a person's belonging to a specific social group, whether, for example, a prosperous farmer or gentleman landowner (and the values of that group such as modernity, education, and morality).

Within the British world it was only soldiers, sailors, and the very wealthy, such as politicians, merchants, or landowners with overseas interests, who regularly travelled abroad. This latter group was perhaps the only one to experience the British empire as a truly coherent architectural experience from one public or domestic space to the next. Other groups such as farmers, shopkeepers, and artisans, including house-builders, lived within the same intercontinental architectural culture but only experienced it locally—their desire to express social standing through a display of architectural 'good taste' was for the benefit of their immediate neighbours, not the wider colonial world.[34] Even settler-migrants to North America generally only experienced two sites: the old country and the new. However, while they may have thought locally, the socially defined tastes of farmers and shopkeepers were nonetheless as transnational as those of the gentleman travelling between London and Charleston: prosperous Canadian farmers built similar looking houses to prosperous Scottish farmers, and Southern plantation owners shared their architectural tastes with British country house owners. As with forts and civic buildings, by the later eighteenth century these transnational social identities were expressed architecturally through the common language of neoclassicism where social distinctions were delineated not through sheer size but through an appropriate scale of classical decoration. The homes of aristocrats displayed columns, porticoes, and cornices equivalent to those found in a civic building, whereas the homes of farmers and shopkeepers were expected to be symmetrical and well-proportioned but modestly ornamented. Those with new wealth tended to make grandiose architectural displays, such as southern plantation owners or returning EIC nabobs, who were criticized publicly for falling foul of rules of social *decorum* (fitness of the habitation to the inhabitant).

[34] For instance, see D. Upton, *Architecture in the United States* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 17–36.

Across the empire certain common house types, designed in a socially appropriate neoclassical manner, were produced and consumed: country houses (including plantation houses), suburban villas, townhouses, farmhouses, and housing for estate workers. Much of this architecture conformed to the principles laid down by the sixteenth-century Italian architect Andrea Palladio (1508–80), especially his designs for villas. 'Palladianism', as it became known, was very influential across the British world at this time.[35] The characteristic three-part, symmetrical front and pediment of Palladio's villas was adopted as the (country) house style of the English, mostly Whig, aristocracy in the early eighteenth century and, despite its Italian origins, has come to be identified with a paternalistic idea of Englishness, even if to its original consumers it was seen to represent the Roman Augustan ideal of liberty.

The spectrum of domestic housing in the British colonial world also included dwellings for the poor and the enslaved, where the architecture represented the values of the owner rather than the occupant, but excludes vernacular dwellings produced by marginalized groups who dwelt within the empire but largely outside of its culturally defined spheres of influence, notably indigenous colonized peoples, Gaelic Irish, and Gaelic Highland Scots. In eighteenth-century Ireland country house building was an intentional process of Anglicization following the forced evictions and confiscation of church land in the seventeenth century. The Anglo-Irish country house sat at the centre of an estate carved up from confiscated lands and intentionally modelled on the English example. Houses such as Strokestown Park, County Roscommon (central block dated 1696, wings and upper storey added by architect Richard Castle, *c.*1740), mirrored the English Palladian country house with the intention of representing the extension of British rule and British aristocratic culture in Ireland (Figure 1.13).

However, the colonial nature of the Anglo-Irish settlement of Ireland challenged and even contradicted this architectural ideal. Strokestown is a substantial Anglo-Palladian mansion with pavilioned flanking wings that once sat at the centre of an 11,000-acre estate granted by Oliver Cromwell to Captain Nicholas Mahon in 1660 for his part in the Cromwellian invasion of Ireland (1649–53). The later Palladian house was built by Thomas Mahon MP in the 1740s and funded by the estate's lucrative export of agricultural produce to England. It is significant that the house was built on, and incorporates structural elements of, the medieval tower-house of the O'Conor Roe Gaelic Irish chieftains. While Palladianism represented liberty to the English, in Ireland the Palladian country house was seen by the Gaelic Irish population as a symbol of oppression, with many being burned down in the 'Burning of the Big Houses' during the Irish Revolution (1919–23).

The meaning of British Palladianism is thrown further into doubt when we consider the eighteenth-century plantation houses of the southern American colonies and the Caribbean. Wealthy plantation owners viewed themselves as part of the British landowning class. They were Anglicans and worshipped in similar churches. They administered their affairs in similar public buildings and they built

[35] R. Tavernor, *Palladio and Palladianism* (London, 1991), pp. 181–7.

Figure 1.13. Strokestown Park, County Roscommon, Ireland (1696–*c.*1740) (Laurel Lodged).

themselves similar country houses at the heart of their estates. However, the moral and political ideas that gave meaning to the neoclassical architecture of Anglo-Palladianism in England would seem out of place in the humid, sun-burned fields of a slave plantation estate such as Drayton Hall, South Carolina (see Plate 2). Drayton Hall (1738–42) lies on the Ashley River outside Charleston and was built by John Drayton as the modish centrepiece of a 400-acre slave plantation focused on rice production. Drayton was a prominent figure in Charleston society and a member of the Royal Governor's Council. He had family connections and business interests in England, and his son, William Henry, was raised as an 'English gentlemen' in England where he attended the University of Oxford.[36] Accordingly, the house is a very English Palladian-style mansion with a two-storey columned portico loosely based on a design from Palladio's *Four Books of Architecture* (a canonical architectural book of English neoclassical architecture that was widely available in the Atlantic world). The architecture and socio-spatial arrangements at Drayton can be compared to the 'Great Houses' of Jamaica's sugar plantations, such as Rose Hall, Montego Bay, a substantial Palladian mansion built from coral blocks in the 1770s for John Palmer in what today is popularly called the 'Jamaican Georgian' style.[37]

As both the British country house and the colonial plantation house stood at the centre of large agricultural estates, they required a resident labour force which also needed housing. Whether for enslaved workers on North American plantations or free workers (legally, at least) on British country estates, rudimentary workers' housing was provided. On both sides of the Atlantic, where a new building programme was undertaken, these typically followed the same basic rules of classical design in a utilitarian vernacular form of neoclassicism, vis-à-vis symmetry, regularity, and proportion. Here the regular boxes of the timber-built slave huts at Drayton Hall can be compared functionally and formally to the regular stone-built cottages of the Highland planned village. They were also seen to carry certain moral connotations in so far as these were understood as representing the classically educated landowner who was duty-bound to provide a decent level of housing—although what was meant by 'decent' in this context was open to interpretation. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, a transatlantic divide opened in workers' housing, where the humanitarian reform movement in Britain led to considerable improvements in the 'habitations of the labourer'—the same grassroots political movement that led to the abolition of slavery in Britain in 1833.[38]

[36] <http://www.draytonhall.org>, accessed 19 June 2014.

[37] For discussion of Jamaican plantation houses, see P. Farnsworth, *Island Lives: Historical Archaeologies of the Caribbean* (Tuscaloosa, 2001). For early social history of Jamaican plantations, see R. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624–1713* (Chapel Hill, 1972).

[38] D. Maudlin, 'Habitations of the Labourer: Improvement, Reform and the Neoclassical Cottage in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Design History*, vol. 23:1 (2010), pp. 7–20. For the architecture of slavery in particular, see the essays in C. Ellis and R. Ginsburg (eds), *Cabin, Quarter, Plantation: Architecture and Landscapes of North American Slavery* (New Haven, 2010).

This pattern of neoclassical house-building extended to 'middling sorts' in the colonies, where suburban villas were built by regional businessmen and politicians. For example, many such villas were built in the countryside surrounding colonial Philadelphia. Among the earliest was Stenton House, built between 1723 and 1730 by James Logan, Secretary to William Penn. Stenton is a two-storey, five-bay neoclassical house with hipped roof and tall chimney stacks to the roof ridge typical of minor English country houses of the early eighteenth century, like Poulton House, Wiltshire (1706).[39] To the north in Canada, Uniacke House outside Halifax, Nova Scotia, is a much later example of a colonial suburban retreat in the Palladian manner built in 1813 by Richard John Uniacke, Nova Scotia Attorney General.

Late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century neoclassical villas can also be found in British India, built as the residences of EIC officers. Here a specific typology of the flat-roofed house within a secure garden compound evolved. Government House in Madras (1800), for instance, with its three-storey colonnaded verandah and classical detailing in white render, was originally the private residence of a Company official (see Figure 8.4). Similarly, the Madras Club (founded 1831) was housed in a former private compound-style villa featuring a central, pedimented-block flanked by a colonnaded verandah.[40] As mentioned, returning EIC officials, having made their fortune abroad, also became associated in Britain with the building of retirement villas, notably on the English south coast, in what many believed to be poor taste. They chose to spend their amassed wealth on luxurious homes infused with Indian architectural elements, such as verandahs that broke established conventions of decorum, marking them as outsiders. As the architect James Malton wrote disparagingly in 1798: 'the returned Nabob, heated in his pursuit of wealth, imagines he imports the chaleur of the East with its riches; and we behold the stretched awning to form the cool shade, in the moist clime of Britain'.[41]

Besides officers' housing and barracks within the EIC's forts, domestic architecture in British India did not expand much beyond the suburban villa type until the establishment of hill stations with the coming of a larger, more permanent colonial population in the nineteenth century (see Chapter 8, pp. 298–300). As such the history of the small house within the British empire of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is predominantly the history of the British Atlantic world. Whether in London, Glasgow, Charleston, or Philadelphia, the common house type of the Atlantic city was the townhouse: a terrace or row house of three or more storeys with a deep plan behind a narrow front facing the street. The number of storeys, the number of rooms, and the arrangement of the internal plan vary considerably from city to city, social group to social group, and house to house, but the basic type is consistent even though the very wealthy were able to afford detached

[39] S. Hague, 'Historiography and the Origins of the Gentleman's House in the British Atlantic World', in Horsfall Turner, *The Mirror of Great Britain*, pp. 233–61.

[40] Nilsson, *European Architecture in India*, pp. 107–8; P. Davies, *Splendours of the Raj: British Architecture in India 1660–1947* (Harmondworth, 1987), pp. 32–9.

[41] J. Malton, *An Essay on British Cottage Architecture* (London, 1798), p. 10.

residences with grounds. Artisan live–work spaces were also common, with workshops or stores occupying the ground floor.[42] Building materials varied from city to city although by the later eighteenth century stone and brick were common in the houses of the wealthy throughout the Atlantic world, reflecting both status and the danger of fire, while timber structures persisted in the poorer regions of many cities.[43]

In terms of design, once again, classicism held sway. Whether in London or Boston, the grand townhouses of the wealthy can be viewed in a way as urban appendages to a family's country residence, and were similarly designed by leading architects or craftsmen and decorated in the latest metropolitan tastes. Moreover, many wealthy colonial families not only maintained a country house and townhouse in North America but also a townhouse in London. For example, Benjamin Franklin owned a three-storey, double-fronted townhouse in Philadelphia from 1763 until his death in 1790, as well as a narrow, three-bay, four-storey 1730s townhouse at 36 Craven St, London (now the Benjamin Franklin House Museum).[44] Broad conformity to classical models also characterized the Atlantic houses of the ordinary city dweller, although, as with farm houses, this conformity was based more on simple rules of symmetry, regularity, and proportion rather than any degree of ostentatious ornament. However, unlike wealthy transatlantic gentlemen such as Penn and Franklin, shopkeepers and artisans experienced life locally—in other words, if their architectural tastes were universal, their sources were local.[45]

The balance between universal and local cultural processes that informed the production and consumption of eighteenth-century vernacular classicism in the urban context of the Atlantic townhouse can be applied equally to the rural context of the Atlantic farmhouse. Whether built by tenant farmers in Scotland, or small-holders in New England or Nova Scotia, farmhouses were mostly unassuming, everyday dwellings, produced by regional craft centres according to transatlantic design archetypes. Built by craftsmen informed by universal ideas of design, these farmhouses, regular in appearance and symmetrical in plan, came to define rural farming landscapes from Virginia and the Chesapeake through to New England and British Canada by the late eighteenth century (see Figure 7.8; see also Chapter 7, pp. 245–50, 258–62). Across these regions timber-frame construction, clapboard siding, timber roof shingles, and sash-and-case windows were predominant, with regional variations in construction and plan, such as gable-end chimneys in Virginia, with the front-to-back central through passage of the 'shotgun shack', or the central hearths and stacks of the New England 'salt box'.[46]

Across North America, universal vernacular classicism emerged as craft cultures in different regions, more or less contemporaneously, absorbed the same transatlantic

[42] Herman and Guillery, 'Negotiating Classicism', p. 207.
[43] *Ibid*.
[44] <http://www.benjaminfranklinhouse.org/site/sections/default.htm>, accessed 17 June 2014.
[45] Herman and Guillery, 'Negotiating Classicism', p. 207.
[46] A. H. Ameri, 'Housing Ideologies in the New England and Chesapeake Bay Colonies, *c.* 1650–1700', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* (*JSAH*), vol. 56:1 (1997), pp. 6–15.

design principles. These design standards superseded diverse regional building patterns of the seventeenth century where the regional craft practices brought by early colonists from home were adapted into distinct colonial practices. It should also be recalled that the traditional buildings of the seventeenth century were themselves a second-generation form of dwelling, replacing the temporary pioneer structures of the earliest settlers. The exception to this pattern is Nova Scotia, British Canada, where eighteenth-century classicism was introduced as part of pioneer farmhouse architecture. Nova Scotia was only extensively settled in the 1780s when the British government provided land and tools to the thousands of refugees who comprised the Loyalists Exodus from New England, such as David Evans, who built his house on the waterfront at Chester, Nova Scotia, around 1780 (Figure 1.14).[47] The establishment of sawmills soon enabled the production of timber-frame houses. However, for those who aspired to the Loyalist community's tastes but could not afford sawn planks, or the services of a skilled craftsmen, cladding a log cabin with the façade of a regular neoclassical farmhouse was sometimes an option.[48] All the while, across each of these landscapes, settlers in Ireland, Scotland, and North America forced out indigenous peoples and claimed their lands, with the vernacular architecture of British colonial farmers replacing indigenous settlement patterns.

Imperial and colonial architecture of the early British empire essentially reflected the human activities that took place within the geographic boundaries of that empire. Initially, colonists built the buildings they needed to survive and prosper in a range of locations and climates. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries colonial activity in the British Atlantic world, including Ireland, was typified by large-scale settlement and displacement of indigenous populations. Under the EIC on the Indian subcontinent, however, colonial activity was largely restricted to trade, administration, and the government of the native population, whereas in West Africa it was exclusively related to trade. As colonies developed from first landfall to thriving communities, forts and fortified towns were followed by churches, urban planning, public buildings, and a range of dwellings from townhouses to modest farmhouses to luxurious country houses. Across all these architectures there was a constant tension between the powerful universalizing force of neoclassical design culture and the contingencies of local building production. However, overall, we may conclude that a coherent, intercontinental form of British imperial architecture was established by the late eighteenth century, especially when we consider the sameness of architecture experienced when, for example, manning a fort in Bermuda, Halifax, or Plymouth; sitting in a parlour in London, Edinburgh, or Boston; or when attending an Anglican church in Calcutta, Charleston, or Bath.

[47] Maudlin, *Highland House Transformed*, pp. 106–27.

[48] R. MacKinnon, 'Log Architecture on Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia: Cultural Borrowing and Adaptation', *Material Culture*, vol. 24.3 (1992), pp. 1–18.

Figure 1.14. David Evans' House, Chester (*c*.1780), Chester County, Nova Scotia.

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2

Urbanism and Master Planning

Configuring the Colonial City

Robert Home and Anthony D. King

This chapter provides a brief framework within which to trace trends and patterns in urban development across Britain's empire from the seventeenth century through to the twentieth. It knits together larger themes in town planning and urbanism that recurred throughout the British colonial world (including Britain) during this period, and critically assesses these in the context of the changing historiographical approaches that have transformed the study of colonial urbanism in recent decades. It should also be viewed in reference to other chapters in this volume, particularly those dealing with specific regions, most of which either touch upon or deal more substantially with issues relating to urbanism and master planning in their respective contexts.

In setting out on such an overview, we may observe that if the colonial city is seen as an arena of contestation between society and state over time, then its built environment of public buildings, monuments, parks, streets, and avenues (including building form, style, and setting) exhibits the control and manipulation of urban space through architecture, urban planning, and legal regulatory frameworks. In this context architecture and planning represent a domain of intention for changing society, repatterning daily life, displaying status, and regulating real estate and power, with urban space both framed by the colonialists' 'gaze of power' and negotiated from below.[1] The grand, often unrealized designs associated with British colonial expansion sought to showcase the 'imperial project' and the controlling ambition of empire. Recognizing these characteristics in the colonial/post-colonial city is important, for the built heritage of former colonial empires remains a part of how we negotiate our post-colonial identities, and colonialism represents a continuing if not contradictory force—at once modernizing and globalizing, yet conservative and traditional.

As colonial urban societies grew, town planning came to be seen as an important technique in the management of social organization. Throughout the course of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in particular, especially in places where the British encountered large, pre-existing indigenous civilizations, the

[1] T. Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt* (Cambridge, 1988); G. A. Myers, *Verandahs of Power: Colonialism and Space in Urban Africa* (Syracuse, 2003).

planning 'tool kit' of master plans, garden cities, segregation, and decentralization were applied for the purposes of control and exclusion.

Here various themes in the history of British colonial urban planning—ranging from basic theoretical and historiographical issues prompted by recent work on the 'colonial city', including the ways in which this concept has been deconstructed in recent decades, to an analysis of several classic exemplars from across the British colonial world—will be explored in order to illustrate the implications on the ground for the creation and reconfiguration of urban landscapes. Although the chapter will consider some early modern attempts at colonial urban planning, it will focus primarily on the two regions of British imperial intervention where the most advanced (and discriminatory) strategies for colonial urban development were evident: South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa.[2]

THE CHANGING HISTORIOGRAPHICAL FIELD

It is now over fifty years since the American sociologist Janet Abu-Lughod wrote:

> The major metropolis in almost every newly-industrializing country is not a single unified city but, in fact, two quite different cities . . . physically juxtaposed but, in fact, two quite different cities . . . physically juxtaposed but architecturally and socially distinct. . . . These dual cities have usually been a legacy from the colonial past. It is remarkable that so common a phenomenon has remained almost unstudied.[3]

Since Abu-Lughod's challenging comment, a steadily increasing number of scholars have interrogated this notion of the 'dual city'. They have concerned themselves especially with the more complex and foundationally important issues subsumed in that concept regarding cultural interaction and exchange (social, psychological, political, economic, architectural, spatial, intellectual) between various European colonisers and different local cultures, whether in Asia, Africa, or the Americas—processes variously termed acculturation, syncretism, and, most recently, hybridization. Given the state of global politics and the uneven development of economic, cultural, and scholarly resources in the immediate post-independence/post-colonial era, it is perhaps not surprising that, with some few exceptions, most of the early studies of colonial architecture and urbanism were largely (if not entirely) the product of European and American scholars.[4]

[2] For recent research on French colonial urban development and links, see L. Bigon, *A History of Urban Planning in Two West African Colonial Capitals: Residential Segregation in British Lagos and French Dakar (1850–1930)* (Lewiston, 2009); and A. J. Njoh, *Planning Power: Town Planning and Social Control in Colonial Africa* (London, 2007).

[3] J. L. Abu-Lughod, 'Tale of Two Cities: The Origins of Modern Cairo', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 7:4 (1965), p. 429.

[4] e.g., S. Nilsson, *European Architecture in India 1750–1850* (London, 1968); A. D. King, *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment* (London, 1976); A. D. King, *The Bungalow: The Production of a Global Culture* (London, 1984); A. D. King, *Urbanism, Colonialism and the World-Economy: Cultural and Spatial foundations of the World Urban System* (London, 1990); J. L. Abu-Lughod, *Rabat: Urban Apartheid in Morocco* (Princeton, 1980); V. T. Oldenburg, *The Making of Colonial Lucknow: 1856–1877* (Princeton, 1984); Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt*; T. R. Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision: Indian*

As discussed in the introduction to this volume, since this time the historiography of British imperialism in general has undergone a substantial reassessment, with the 'New Imperial History' (concerned more with cultural than political and economic factors) drawing in areas of scholarship such as anthropology, literary studies, philosophy, geography, gender studies, and sociology. The basic terminologies of empire, imperialism, and colonialism have been both re-examined and recast in this process.[5] Within the unequal or asymmetric colonial power relationship, theories of cultural hegemony deriving from Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937), and those concerning governmentality and power-knowledge from Michel Foucault (1926–84), have increasingly influenced scholarship in the area. Grounded in this influence, Edward Said's critique of 'orientalism', along with the rise of post-colonial and subaltern academic approaches, including recognition of indigenous perspectives and experiences (with the use of indigenous language materials), have enabled researchers, especially from former British colonies, to investigate the formation of colonial and post-colonial identities. Again, this has challenged the traditional Eurocentric analysis of the colonial urban environment, allowing the exploration of ideas about cultural, racial, and gender difference, including the social and cultural conditions through which empire operated.

Indeed, the importance of the ever-expanding urbanization of society, and its implications for the social production of urban space and everyday human life, were recognized by the influential French sociologist and philosopher Henri Lefebvre (1901–91). Although concerned mainly with the Western capitalist world, they are relevant to the complex phenomenon of the colonial city and its continuation in the rapidly growing cities of the tropical or so-called 'global South'. Opening up the 'dual city' idea, post-modernist geographers have sought to understand the complex cultural and physical boundaries between colonizer and colonized; the relationships between architecture, planning, and colonial societies; and the often contradictory and political processes behind the production of space. Understanding the power relationships that shaped urban landscapes has helped post-colonial intellectuals understand contemporary inequalities and develop ideas on social justice and the right to the city.

Architecture and Britain's Raj (London, 1989); P. M. Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989); N. AlSayyad (ed.), *Forms of Dominance: On the Architecture and Urbanism of the Colonial Enterprise* (Aldershot, 1992); G. Wright, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism* (Chicago, 1991); R. Home, *Of Planting and Planning: The Making of British Colonial Cities* (London, 1997); M. Fuller, *Moderns Abroad: Architecture, Cities and Italian Imperialism* (London, 2007); P. Scriver and V. Prakash (eds), *Colonial Modernities: Building, Dwelling and Architecture in British India and Ceylon* (London, 2007); S. Legg, *Spaces of Colonialism: Delhi's Urban Governmentalities* (Oxford, 2007). One exception is Mariam Dossal in Mumbai. See M. Dossal, *Imperial Designs and Indian Realities: The Planning of Bombay City 1845–1875* (New York, 1991).

[5] For instance, see S. Howe, 'Introduction: New Imperial Histories', in S. Howe (ed.), *The New Imperial Histories Reader* (London, 2010), pp. 1–20. Imperialism is here taken to mean the imposition of power of one state over the people and territories outside its borders. Colonialism means economic, political, and cultural control and domination by the imperialist state. Imperial or post-imperial cities are in the metropole, colonial or post-colonial cities in the colony.

Yet, as the Indonesian urban and architectural historian Abidin Kusno has observed, although these important new approaches have adopted a variety of innovative theoretical perspectives, foregrounding the relationship between architecture, space, and power, the 'standpoint or focus from which these works are written, still tends to be that of Europe'.[6] Of course, Abu-Lughod's reference to two cities, 'architecturally and socially distinct', implying total separation, and her comment on the absence of investigation, was no doubt proffered in order for it to be challenged. While later work on the notion of the 'colonial city' was to acknowledge its essential Eurocentricism,[7] and problematized its authenticity,[8] more recent scholarship—much of it referring to South or South East Asia—has not only brought more fundamental criticisms but also drawn on a much wider range of perspectives.

For example, Jyoti Hosagrahar, writing about Old Delhi, makes use of letters, novels, and diaries in indigenous languages, as well as official reports and other materials, to question previous assumptions about the extent of social and spatial segregation between residents of the old city and those in the new imperial capital during the course of its construction.[9] Rejecting representations of Delhi as a divided city, she shows how the new colonial space provided opportunities for an emerging local bourgeoisie to develop alternative lifestyles, and create new forms of urban modernity. The architecture and spaces of Old Delhi were transformed and modernized along with the building of the new capital. In describing these developments, Hosagrahar eschews such binary categories as 'traditional/modern', 'colonized/colonizer', and 'European/Indian' as not only too restrictive and simplistic but also inadequate to describe emergent lifestyles.

Swati Chattopadhyay, in *Representing Calcutta* (2005), takes a different angle, focusing on the racial characteristics in the 'dual city', a defining feature that was central to the notion of the 'colonial city'.[10] References to 'the black city' and the 'white city' may have circulated among the European population but are rarely found in indigenous language sources. These were terms used by the British 'to sustain an imperial narrative of difference and European superiority'; the demarcation between the two was quite arbitrary. Using the terms 'black' and 'white' towns was a 'way of seeing' for English residents. While the terms might exist cartographically, they were a 'misreading of reality'. The larger part of the native city was 'never adequately explored visually except as a foil for the white town . . . [At] no time did the "white town" form a homogenous space of European inhabitants'.[11]

[6] A. Kusno, *Behind the Postcolonial: Architecture, Urban Space and Political Cultures in Indonesia* (London, 2000), p. 6. Here Kusno cites in support of this viewpoint Chakrabarty's influential work on the need for 'provincializing Europe'. See D. Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, 2000).

[7] A. D. King, 'Colonial cities: global pivots of change', in R. Ross and G. Telkamp (eds), *Colonial Cities: Essays on Urbanism in a Colonial Context* (Lancaster, 1985), pp. 7–32.

[8] M. Kosambi, 'The Colonial City in Its Global Niche', *Economic and Political Weekly* (22 December 1990), pp. 2775–81.

[9] J. Hosagrahar, *Indigenous Modernities: Negotiating Architecture, Urbanism, and Colonialism* (London, 2005). These and other issues are developed in J. Hosagrahar, 'Interrogating Difference: Postcolonial Perspectives in Architecture and Urbanism', in G. Crysler, S. Cairns, and H. Heynen (eds), *The Sage Handbook of Architectural Theory* (Aldershot, 2012), pp. 70–84.

[10] S. Chattopadhyay, *Representing Calcutta: Modernity, Nationalism and the Colonial Uncanny* (London, 2005). See also Home, *Of Planting and Planning*, Chapter 5.

[11] Chattopadhyay, *Representing Calcutta*, pp. 10, 60, 76–7.

Another common assumption in colonial literature is that Calcutta was 'a British creation', a city where the colonizers were 'the only active agents in the scene, relegating the colonized population to the role of passive inhabitants, or, at best, resistors of domination'. This, according to Chattopadhyay, is 'not at all peculiar to Calcutta but common to the study of colonial cities. . . . By emphasizing the duality of the "black" and "white" towns', she writes, 'one misses the idea that the critical aspects of colonial cities lie not in the clarity of this duality, but in the tension of blurring boundaries between the two.'[12]

Similarly, where Bombay has frequently been represented as having been largely built by the British, Preeti Chopra provides a wealth of evidence to show how the city was, in the words of her title, the product of 'a joint enterprise'—the outcome of a collaboration between the British and an Indian elite.[13] Nihal Perera's study of Colombo illustrates yet another perspective. As a Sri Lankan architect and planner, Perera puts greater emphasis on subjecting existing (Western) literature to a rigorous reinterpretation, critiquing 'modern' architectural and planning developments, introduced from the West, from a perspective steeped in the values of vernacular Sri Lankan building.[14]

William Glover, too, in *Making Lahore Modern* (2009), documents the development of a city produced by collaboration. Focusing particularly on planning, he traces the late nineteenth-century introduction of three 'modern' criteria in the development of the city: zoning, a form of institutionalized governance, and the concentration of industrial and commercial activities in the service of a broader regional economy.[15] Brenda Yeoh, in her work on Singapore, and making use of previously unused materials, has not only shown how far colonial authority was resisted and contained but also the extent to which the anti-colonial Chinese community retained control over their own space.[16] According to Siddhartha Raychaudhuri, the European scholarly obsession with 'the colonial city' has been at the expense of following the development of the indigenous city, a critique that has had a much broader significance for understanding the social and spatial transformation of other cities in the world, outside the West.[17]

These and other studies demonstrate the need for a much more sophisticated and complex understanding of colonial urbanism. Colonial architectural, and especially planning, influences, coming initially from Europe, met with a wide variety of different responses: indifference, mimicry, adaptation, hybridization, and appropriation.[18] Research has moved away from focusing primarily on a theme

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[13] P. Chopra, *A Joint Enterprise: Urban Elites and the Making of British Bombay* (Minneapolis, 2011).

[14] N. Perera, *Decolonizing Ceylon: Colonialism, Nationalism and the Politics of Space in Sri Lanka* (Oxford, 1999).

[15] W. Glover, *Making Lahore Modern: Constructing and Imagining a Colonial City* (Minneapolis, 2008).

[16] B. S. A. Yeoh, *Contesting Space in Colonial Singapore: Power Relations in the Urban Built Environment* (Oxford, 1996).

[17] S. Raychaudhuri, 'Colonialism, Indigenous Elites and the Transformation of Cities in the Non-Western World: Ahmedabad 1890–1947', *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 35:3 (2001), pp. 677–726.

[18] For example, see J. Nasr and M. Volait (eds), *Urbanism: Imported or Exported? Native Aspirations and Foreign Plans* (Chichester, 2003).

of 'colonial domination'[19] and the 'Westernization' paradigm and, in Chattopadhyay's words, has 'restored the power of imagination to the colonized and ex-colonized'.[20] Researchers have found in the historical record alternative voices, incommensurate with the authority of the colonizer. The colonized 'countered, replaced, modified and bypassed colonial intentions . . . conferring entirely new sets of meanings upon colonial built forms and their own habitations'—protests against sanitation regimes, the right to representation in municipal politics, and the anti-colonial nationalist campaign were determined to make the colonial city over in its own image.

Moreover, colonial cities changed and were transformed during the period of colonial rule. At what specific moment does the social or spatial reality of such cities correspond to a particular theoretical representation or category? Recent research has suggested that, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, some eighty major cities in the world (according to a given set of criteria) have qualified to be called a 'world city'.[21] Some two thirds of these would, a century earlier, have been classified as colonial or imperial cities, had such categories existed.[22]

This raises the important issue of positionality. So far an implicit distinction has been made between 'indigenous' and 'non-indigenous' scholars. In his book *Postcolonialism* (2001), Robert Young writes:

> Nowadays, no-one really knows where an author 'is' when they read a book, apart from guarded information about their institutional affiliation on the dust jacket, and nor should it matter. The difference is less a matter of geography than where individuals locate themselves as speaking from, epistemologically, politically, culturally and politically, who they are speaking to and how they define their own enunciative space.[23]

While it is easy to agree with this in principle, it is statistically more likely that members of the one-time colonized society (rather than that of the colonizer) are not only fluent in the colonial as well as their own national language, but possibly, also in local and regional languages of the one-time colonial state. They may also have better knowledge of (if not always access to) local sources. Exactly where scholars undertake their research, where they write up their results, and what intellectual, social, political, and cultural environments influence their subjective identities, may be more or less important to how they interpret the built environment. It should also be recognized that our understanding of colonial urban environments has benefited from the immense acceleration in knowledge exchange that has resulted from developments in global communication, transportation, and the nature of information technologies in recent times.

[19] S. Sen, 'Between Dominance, Dependence, Negotiation, and Compromise: European Architecture and Urban Planning Practices in Colonial India', *Journal of Planning History*, vol. 9:4 (2010), pp. 203–31.

[20] S. Chattopadhyay, 'Urbanism, Colonialism and Subalternity', in T. Edensor and M. Jayne (eds), *Urban Theory Beyond the West: A World of Cities* (London, 2012), p. 86.

[21] P. J. Taylor, 'Historical World City Networks', in B. Derudder, M. Hoyler, P. J. Taylor, and F. Witlox (eds), *International Handbook of Globalization and World Cities* (Cheltenham, 2012), p. 9.

[22] A. D. King, 'Imperialism and World Cities', in *ibid.*, p. 33. See also A. D. King, *Writing the Global City: Globalisation, Postcolonialism and the Urban* (London, 2016).

[23] R. J. C. Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (Oxford, 2001), p. 62.

FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE: EARLY COLONIAL URBAN PLANNING 1620–1850

Before discussing the rise of 'town planning' (and its colonial consequences) as a professional discipline in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it is first pertinent to outline the evolution of some of the basic ideas and outcomes that accompanied the formal approach to urban settlement in the British colonial world from earliest times.[24] To be sure, the need to marshal and implement urban planning strategies (on whatever scale) is an observable characteristic of all forms of English, and later British, colonization. Whether in Ireland, the Americas, Asia, or Australasia, both the theory and practice of town planning for the purposes of permanent settlement and/or the holding of territory was important to the realization of English global expansion.

In its earliest guise, this idea was supported through the rise of 'plantation' culture during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, promoted by the likes of the noted English essayist and philosopher, Francis Bacon (1551–1626).[25] Indeed, British colonization of the Americas presented an extraordinary opportunity for experimentation in urban planning on an entirely new scale. The vast majority of the very earliest settlements in colonial America were little more than clusters of buildings within the walls of a wooden palisade or, later, a larger cluster of buildings along a single street or road. However, by the later seventeenth century, all this had changed as colonies began to prosper, thus requiring capital cities. The first substantial city to be planned in colonial America was Charleston, in South Carolina, laid out sometime around 1670. Within a decade, William Penn's plan for the new city of Philadelphia was underway. Important city plans were also implemented for the capital cities of Annapolis in Maryland and Kingston in Jamaica, either side of 1700.

Although early colonial settlements varied according to time and place, by the late seventeenth century certain theories and patterns of colonial urbanism had begun to emerge. These theories and patterns crystallized around the so-called 'Grand Modell' of colonial town planning, which established a set of features that would remain a relatively consistent aspect of British colonial settlement worldwide. Alongside a policy of deliberate urbanization, these features included wide streets laid out in geometric, usually grid-iron form; land rights allocated in standardized, often rectangular plots; space reserved for public purposes, such as public squares; towns planned and laid out in advance of settlement; and a clear distinction between town and country, usually by common land, or, later, by a green belt.[26]

Some of these features had gained credence prior to their formalization in the Grand Modell through the 'plantation' settlement of Ulster in the north of Ireland during the early seventeenth century following the union of the English and

[24] The authors wish to acknowledge the assistance of Louis Nelson and Alex Bremner in compiling this section of the chapter.

[25] See F. Bacon, 'Of Plantations', in *The Essayes or Counsels, Civil and Moral* (London, 1625).

[26] Home, *Of Planting and Planning*, p. 9.

Scottish crowns in 1603. The planning and construction of the city of Londonderry (Derry) from 1613 through to the early 1620s, for instance, displayed many of the formal characteristics that would later appear as part of the Grand Modell, such as a basic grid-iron layout, regularized plots, a central square (or 'diamond'), and a 'garden belt' of sorts, all contained within heavily fortified walls (Figure 2.1).[27] These settlements, which were carried on under Cromwell and then William of Orange throughout the seventeenth century, were in many respects a foreign and thoroughgoing urban imposition on the Irish landscape, designed to demonstrate (indeed, intimidate) in very clear spatial and formal terms the coming of a new, imperial world order (see Chapter 3, pp. 88–93). For Bacon, this meant nothing less than 'reclaiming' the Irish from 'their barbarous manners', and to 'populate, plant and make civil all the provinces of that kingdom'.[28] In other

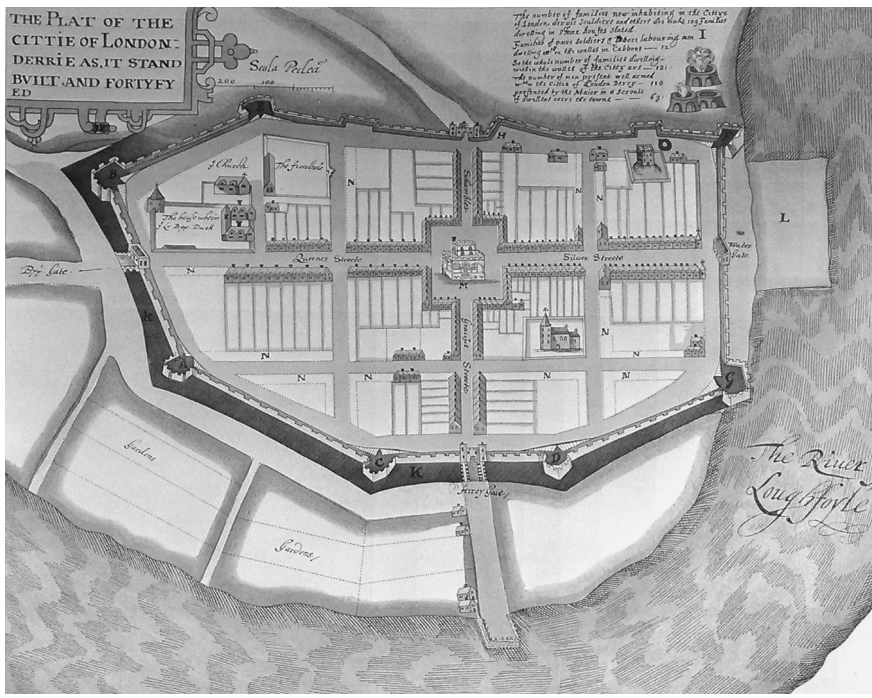

Figure 2.1. Plan for Londonderry, Ulster, Ireland (1622). Facsimile of a manuscript drawing by Sir Thomas Philips and Ralph Hadsor (from Raven), published in J. Gilbert's *Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland* (1884). The centre of the plan shows the 'diamond' in which is located the town hall and market house (Historic Urban Plans).

[27] The construction of Derry was the principal concern of the Irish Society (based in London) between 1613 and 1618. The city was designed by Sir Edward Doddington, surveyed and measured by Thomas Raven, and largely built by the tiler and bricklayer Peter Benson. See T. W. Moody, *The Londonderry Plantation 1609–41* (Belfast, 1939), pp. 274–6.

[28] See F. Bacon, 'A Proclamation, Drawn for His Majesty's First Coming In' in *The Works of Francis Bacon*, 10 vols (London, 1824), III, p. 241.

words, urbanism had become an instrument towards military, political, and cultural domination.[29]

It is noteworthy that William Penn (1644–1718), founder of Pennsylvania, had spent time in Ireland, especially Ulster, as had his associate, Thomas Holme, the planner of Philadelphia, who was an officer in Cromwell's army there during the 1650s. Both would have known the plantation settlement model. Moreover, the celebrated philosopher, George Berkeley (1685–1753), Bishop of Cloyne, and John Perceval (1683–1748), first Earl Egmont, both of whom were involved in the founding of Georgia, were Irish and are known to have corresponded about the Londonderry foundation.[30]

The origins and dissemination of these ideas on colonial urbanism, especially after the appearance of the Grand Modell, are of particular interest. Indeed, if one considers more carefully how, and by whom, these ideas were devised and transmitted within the British colonial world, then several key figures emerge. In the period before 1800 they were Anthony Ashley Cooper, first Earl Shaftesbury (1621–83), James Edward Oglethorpe (1696–1785), and Granville Sharp (1735–1813). After 1800 and the advent of 'systematic colonization', they include figures such as Colonel William Light, Edward Gibbon Wakefield (1796–1862), Charles Compton Reade (1880–1933), and Henry Vaughan Lanchester (1863–1953).

The Shaftesbury connection is important to the extent that Cooper may be credited with initiating this model of British colonial planning in its widest sense, being, as he was, sometime president of the council of trade and foreign plantations in the English government. Cooper was also in touch with experienced colonizers through his involvement in various trading ventures such as the Hudson's Bay Company, and, most importantly, was among the holders of the charter for the refounding of the colony of Carolina in 1663. The noted English philosopher, John Locke (1632–1704), who was Cooper's private secretary, was also instrumental in helping devise his strategy for colonial planning as secretary to the Lords Proprietor of Carolina. Locke would himself become secretary, and then treasurer, to the newly constituted Board of Trade and Plantations, successor to the council of trade and foreign plantations.

The Irish link to the emergence of British colonial urban planning is certainly important, but the initial boom in formalized planning that followed the emergence of the 'Grand Modell' must also be understood in the context of the plans prepared for the rebuilding of London—the imperial capital—after the Great Fire of 1666. As Michael Cooper has pointed out, plans for the rebuilding of the city of London were already underway in 1662 with the establishment of a Royal Commission to reform London's buildings and streets.[31] Within two weeks of the fire, plans for the rebuilding of the city had been presented to the King, first from

[29] For this aspect of the colonial experience in Ireland, see M. Dorrian, 'On Some Spatial Aspects of the Colonial Discourse on Ireland', *Journal of Architecture*, vol. 6:1 (2001), pp. 27–51. See also N. P. Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580–1650* (Oxford, 2003).

[30] Home, *Of Planting and Planning*, p. 16.

[31] M. Cooper, *'A More Beautiful City': Robert Hooke and the Rebuilding of London after the Great Fire* (Stroud, 2003), p. 111.

architect Christopher Wren (1632–1723), and two days later from his peer, the diarist John Evelyn (1620–1706). Architect and philosopher Robert Hooke (1635–1703) also took a plan to the City authorities, with the support of the former Lord Mayor, later presenting it to the Royal Society. A fourth plan was produced by Richard Newcourt (d. 1679), a cartographer who had completed the most recent and accurate survey of London before the fire. The first two, by Wren and Evelyn, were characterized by radial streets and dramatic Baroque axes, while the latter two (Hooke and Newcourt) conformed much more closely to an orthogonal grid.

Among these plans the most influential on city planning in early colonial America appears to have been Newcourt's (Figure 2.2).[32] The lengthy description of the plan which appended his drawing outlined foremost the importance of the arcaded terrace which was to run along the waterfront of the Thames, with a wharf running the entire length, free from any buildings that might interrupt the view of

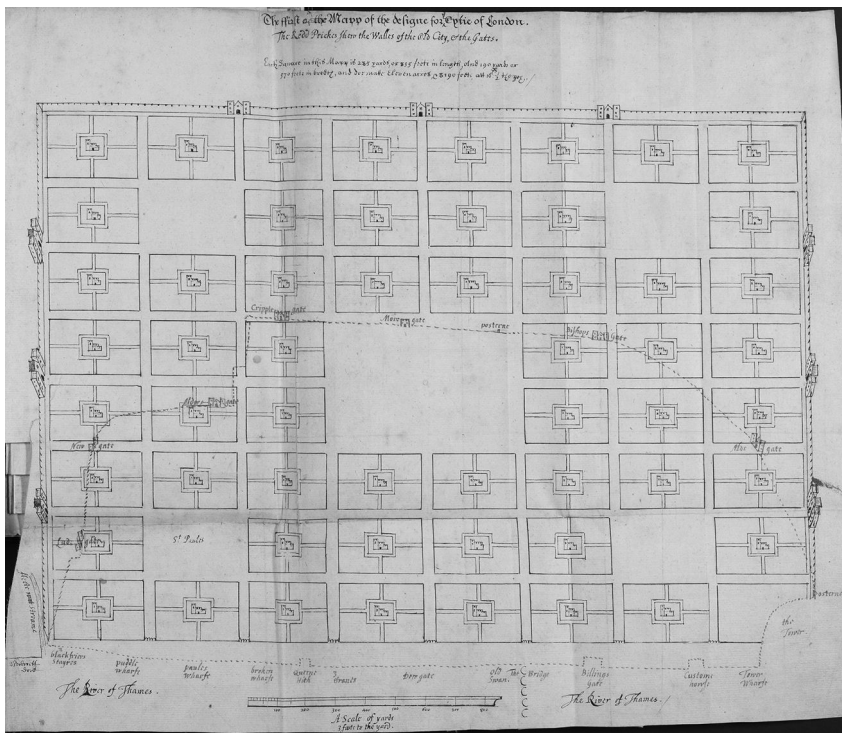

Figure 2.2. 'The First Mapp for the Designe for the Cytie of London' (1666) by Richard Newcourt (London Metropolitan Archives, City of London [CLC/481]).

[32] This plan may have been published, but survives to us today only in original manuscript form. See the description of the attendant manuscript to Newcourt's plan as reprinted in D. Hughson, *London: Being an Accurate History and Description* (London, 1804), pp. 251–7. A solid overview of town planning in British North America can be found in J. Kornwolf, *Architecture and Town Planning in Colonial North America*, 3 vols (Baltimore, 2002).

the city from the water. Behind this waterfront terrace extended a grid of straight streets that subdivided the city into sixty-four equal-sized parcels. Four of those parcels in the centre of the city were to be given over to a large central piazza occupied by the city's most important public buildings. At the centre of each of the four quadrants surrounding this piazza was another open parcel given over to public space: three open piazzas for markets, and the fourth for the reconstruction of St Paul's cathedral. Each parcel was to be its own parish—fifty-five in all—with a parish church standing on an open space in the middle of each. In this way the city was organized around a descending hierarchy of spaces, from the large central piazza with buildings of importance to the whole city, down to open parcels in each parish with a central parish church. Finally, Newcourt presumed that the streets were similarly hierarchical, from grand streets that ran through the city, to local lanes that provided circulation within a parish. Newcourt's plan was orthogonal, orderly, and hierarchical.[33]

Laid out in *c.*1670, the city of 'Charles Towne' (Charleston), South Carolina, is possibly the first echo of Newcourt's design (Figure 2.3). Although the initial

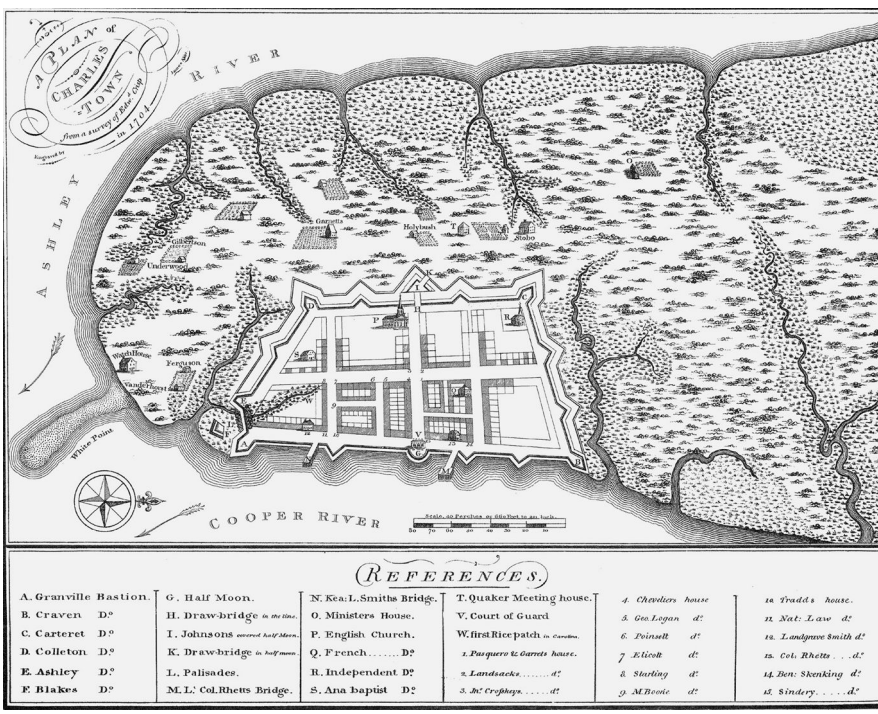

Figure 2.3. Plan of Charleston, North Carolina (1704), from David Ramsay's *History of South Carolina* (1809) (Historic Urban Plans).

[33] See J. Hanson, 'Order and Structure in Urban Design: The Plans for the Rebuilding of London after the Great Fire of 1666', *Ekistics*, vol. 56:334/335 (1989), p. 29.

settlement on the peninsula was begun well before the production of the oldest copy of the Grand Modell (1725), the distribution of lots in those early years suggests that the 1725 version was a copy of a plan that probably existed from before, or just after, the 1670 occupation of the site.[34] By 1682 it was clear that the city was composed around an orthogonal grid with 'large and capacious streets', and a central square dedicated to 'a Church, Townhouse, and other Public Structures'.[35] While Charleston's Grand Modell does not embody Newcourt's hierarchical organization, the plan's orthogonal grid and large central square would certainly have been known to the Lords Proprietor, who worked to establish the city from London in 1670, only four years after Newcourt had offered his plan for consideration.

The dependence of English colonial cities in the New World on Newcourt's design is demonstrated even more clearly in the plan for the city of Philadelphia, conceived in 1682 by the Quaker convert, William Penn, and represented by Penn's Surveyor General, Thomas Holme, later the following year.[36] Both plans were organized according to an orthogonal grid, contain a substantial central square for government buildings, or 'buildings for Public Concerns', and include secondary squares located centrally in each quadrant (see Figure 1.5). As with Newcourt's proposal for London, Holme's Philadelphia was represented both visually and in writing. Similarly, Holme's description began by describing the city's waterfront streets. Penn's conception of the plan also echoed the hierarchical organization that served as a foundation for Newcourt's urban vision—each purchaser of a city lot in the new city of Philadelphia was to receive, in addition, a 20–50-acre lot in the 'liberties' surrounding the city, and a plantation of up to 5,000 acres in the countryside beyond.

The other major attempt at perpetuating this urban planning tradition in British North America was the city of Savannah, in the Province of Georgia (Georgia Colony), developed in 1734 by soldier and Jacobite sympathizer, James Oglethorpe.[37] Oglethorpe, who was ably assisted in his endeavour to promote the colony of Georgia by John Perceval, founded his idea on the traditional notion that Britain's overseas colonies were places where the less savoury yet conscientious and able in British society ought to be sent to 'improve' themselves—in effect, social dumping grounds. Given its proximity to Spanish Florida, the colony was also intended to serve as a territorial buffer between the existing Spanish and established English colonies on the eastern seaboard of the North American continent, with many of its new settlers envisaged as 'farmer-soldiers'.

[34] H. A. M. Smith, 'Charleston—The original Plan and Its Earliest Settlers', *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Journal*, vol. 9:1 (1908), pp. 12–27. For an account of Charleston's early development, see E. Hart, *Building Charleston: Town and Society in the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic World* (Charlottesville, 2010), pp. 17–37.

[35] Cited in Thomas Ashe, 'Carolina, or a Description of the Present State of the Country' (London, 1682).

[36] This issue has been examined in detail in J. Reps, 'William Penn and the Planning of Philadelphia', *The Town Planning Review* (April 1956), pp. 27–39. For the Penn plan, see also E. Milroy, '"For the like Uses, as the Moore-fields": The Politics of Penn's Squares', *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 130:3 (2006), pp. 257–82.

[37] See S. Anderson, 'Savannah and the Issue of Precedent: City Plan as Resource', in R. Bennett (ed.), *Settlements in the Americas: Cross-Cultural Perspectives* (Delaware, 1993), pp. 110–44.

Significantly, the initial plan for Savannah depended heavily, in part at least, on Penn's insistence on the correlation between urban lots and larger rural parcels, although at a different scale. Each city lot in Savannah was linked with a garden plot of 5 acres in the districts surrounding the city, and then, further beyond, to a farm of just under 45 acres (Figure 2.4). Oglethorpe's plan also depended on Newcourt's insistence on a correlation between the plan and social organization. Just as in Newcourt's London, Oglethorpe's Savannah had a clear hierarchy of streets. Furthermore, each large city block in Savannah was its own ward, with a large open square at its centre. The remaining spaces around the square were then subdivided into ten different parcel types, corresponding closely with Newcourt's idea for parishes. The only major difference was the absence of any higher organizational frame above the ward. Unlike Newcourt's London, Oglethorpe's Savannah made no provision for a monumental centre.

In this socio-organizational respect, Savannah's plan differed markedly from the 1699 plan for the city of Kingston in Jamaica. Jamaica's first principal city, Port Royal, was devastated by earthquake in 1692. Refugees from the earthquake fled to the hinterland and began occupying the broad, flat plain on the mainland side of the island's largest natural harbour. Soon thereafter the site was designated as the new city of Kingston, intended to replace the now much reduced Port Royal as the colony's major mercantile centre. Lots in the new city were available for

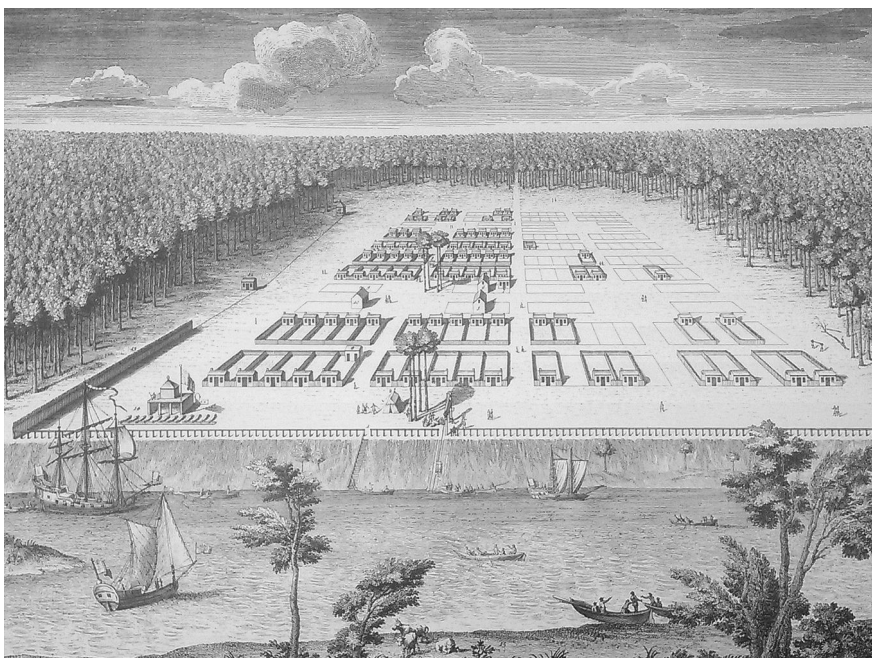

Figure 2.4. View of Savannah, Georgia (1734), by Peter Gordon, after Oglethorpe's plan (Historic Urban Plans).

purchase by 1693.[38] By the opening years of the eighteenth century the city's new grid plan markedly differentiated it from its predecessor.[39] The best representation of the city appears in a map produced in about 1745. Unlike the winding streets of earlier Port Royal, the streets of Kingston were broad and straight: King Street, the major north/south thoroughfare, and Queen Street, the major east/west one, were each 60-ft wide, while subsidiary streets were either 50-, 30-, or 20-ft wide, depending on their prominence. One of the critical features of the plan was the presence of covered walks fronting the houses.[40]

While the plan for Kingston is orthogonal, with a large central square, it lacked the organizational hierarchy of wards or parishes that otherwise characterized cities in the Grand Modell tradition. In this regard it was perhaps taking its cue from an alternative tradition in colonial urban planning: that of imperial Spain. With its central square and straight streets, Kingston resembled fairly closely the ordinances of *The Laws of the Indies*—the famous set of urban planning regulations for new cities in the Spanish Americas. The *Laws* were first published by Phillip II in 1573, but were republished by Charles II in 1680 in their most widely dispersed form as *Recopilación de las Leyes de los Reynos de Indias* (Compilation of the Laws of the Kingdoms of the Indies), just over a decade before the planning of Kingston.[41] The central planning feature of the *Laws* was a large central plaza, not unlike the large central square at Kingston. One of the distinguishing features of Spanish Caribbean urban squares, along with their corresponding thoroughfares, was the practice of sheltering sidewalks from the sun. The Spanish *Laws* dictated that 'The whole plaza and the four main streets diverging from it shall have arcades, for these are a great convenience for those who resort thither to trade.'[42] Such features were clearly in place in Cuzco, Lima, and Mexico City by the seventeenth century, where painted views of these cities show arcades lining one or more sides of their plazas.[43] The new piazzas of Kingston may be taken as material evidence of the interconnectedness of the British and Spanish Caribbean. Indeed, one visitor to Kingston noted that, with its covered walkways, the city 'reminds me very much of many of the towns I saw in Spain'.[44]

[38] H. P. Jacobs, *A Short History of Kingston: Part I (1692–1871)* (Kingston, 1976), p. 9. See also, J. G. Young, 'The Founding of Kingston', in W. A. Roberts (ed.), *The Capitals of Jamaica: Spanish Town, Kingston, Port Royal* (Kingston, 1955), pp. 38–47.

[39] J. G. Young, 'Who Planned Kingston?', *Jamaican Historical Review*, vol. 1 (1946), pp. 144–53.

[40] See comment by contemporary visitors in A. Dodd, *The Importance of Jamaica to Great Britain Considered*…(London, *c.*1740), p. 5; J. Knight, 'The Natural, Moral and Political History of Jamaica…to the Year 1742', British Library, London: Add. MSS 12419.

[41] On the *Laws of the Indies*, see D. P. Crouch, D. J. Garr, and A. I. Mundigo, *Spanish City Planning in North America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982).

[42] *Laws of the Indies*, 1573, quoted in K. Donahue-Wallace, *Art and Architecture of Viceregal Latin America, 1521–1821* (Albuquerque, 2008), p. 74.

[43] G. A. Bailey, *Art of Colonial Latin America* (London, 2005), pp. 138, 142, and 200–1. Arcades were also a defining feature of the city of Havana, Cuba, by the early eighteenth century, which was just to the north of Jamaica. See L. Llanes, *The Houses of Old Cuba* (London, 1999), pp. 33, 62, 65, 71, 77, 87. For an eighteenth-century example of an urban colonnade in Puerto Rico, see M. de los Angeles Castro, *Arquitectura en San Juan de Puerto Rico* (Santiago, 1980), p. 145.

[44] 'Journal of…Loanhead near Rathven, Banffshire', 1823–34 (National Library of Scotland), University of the West Indies, West Indies Collection, Microfilm 3518, p. 16.

In contradistinction to both the British and Spanish planning models, Francis Nicholson's 1695 plan for the city of Annapolis, capital of Maryland, presents itself as something of an exception (or perhaps development). Dominated by two large circles, one each for the church and the state house, Annapolis boasts an array of gridded districts overlaid by radial streets emanating from these circles (Figure 2.5). One district stands out from the rest: Bloomsbury Square (centre left of plan). Proximate to both church and state house circles, it was characterized by a series of blocks surrounding an open public square, the whole uninterrupted by radial streets. Clearly modelled on the new and fashionable squares of London, Bloomsbury Square was intended to be an exclusive district, materially resisting the socio-economic integration presumed in city plans like Savannah. In this way, Annapolis bears a much closer resemblance to Christopher Wren's or John Evelyn's Baroque plans for London, rather than Newcourt's.

The marked differences in the plan for Annapolis raise obvious questions about the correlation between urban planning and visions of social and political order. Francis Nicholson (1655–1728) was a royal governor, a member of the Royal Society (which had also claimed Wren and Evelyn among its ranks), and an unabashed monarchist. His extension of an aristocratic social and political structure with a

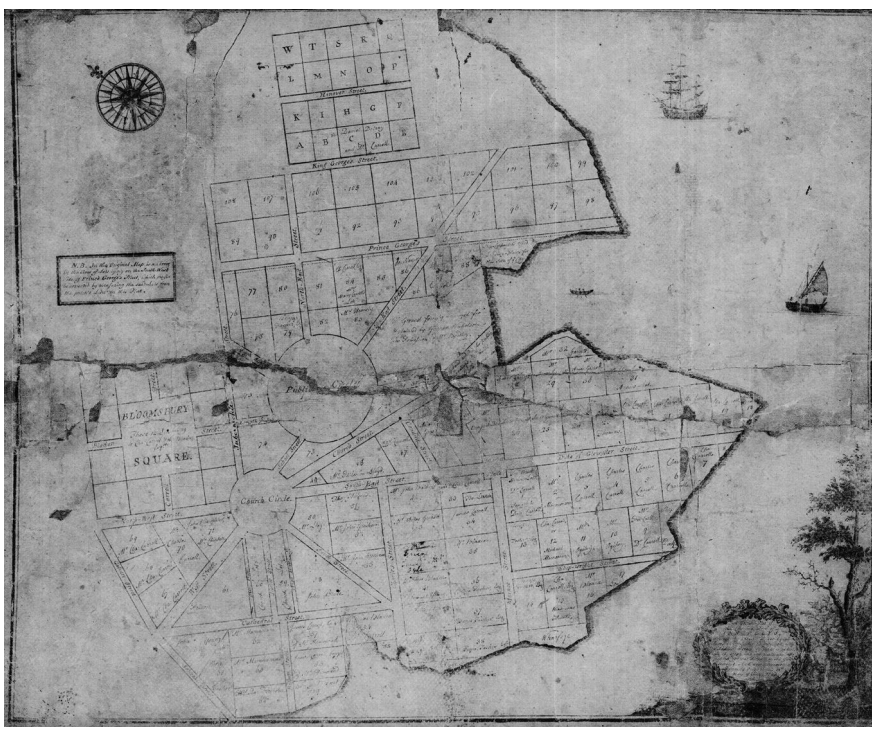

Figure 2.5. 'A Ground Plat of the City and Port of Annapolis' (Maryland) by James Stoddert (1743) (Collection of the Maryland State Archives).

shared centre of authority between church and state in his new capital was therefore hardly surprising. Newcourt, conversely, was a cartographer who certainly saw the city from a lower station than did Wren or Evelyn. Similarly, Penn's Quaker sensibilities meant that he intended for the city of Philadelphia a very different and more egalitarian social and political structure. But perhaps the most radical vision in this regard was in fact Oglethorpe's, whose Savannah presumed a stable social structure in the collectives of wards, with no space at all dedicated to a centralized political structure.[45]

The Newcourt-cum-Grand Modell approach to colonial urbanism was promulgated into the latter part of the eighteenth century, as seen, for instance, in the founding and laying out of the settlement of Halifax, Nova Scotia (1749), following British military victories against the French in Canada in the 1740s (see Figure 1.6). Nearly half a century later many of the socio-organizational principles that had come to characterize the model also found new expression in the noted abolitionist Granville Sharp's proposal for the establishment of the West African colony of Sierra Leone for 'loyal blacks' displaced following the American Revolution. In 1792 the new city of Freetown received over one thousand of these refugees from the cold of Nova Scotia. Although he did not produce a plan as such, Sharp's relations with the ageing Oglethorpe, along with his drawing upon the experiences of Carolina and Georgia, meant that his proposal for Freetown was intended to follow and improve upon the Grand Modell system. Despite never being built as Sharp would have hoped, the Freetown proposal went on to influence town planning in Australia and North America.[46]

By the time we reach the early part of the nineteenth century a new spate of colonial urban planning was underway, this time associated with the concept of 'systematic colonization' in Australasia. This idea was peddled by the forceful will of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, an enthusiastic and visionary reformer who believed in instituting a more politically organized and economically efficient mode of colonization that would encourage self-sufficiency and, ultimately, responsible government. The formation of the colony of South Australia in 1834, and subsequently its principal settlement, Adelaide, five years later, thus witnessed the extended use, albeit in evolved form, of the Grand Modell of colonial urban planning, as was the case for the layout of Melbourne in the settlement of Port Phillip (1837), later the colony of Victoria (1851). The plan for Adelaide, devised by Colonel William Light (1786–1839), was clearly based upon the key principles of the model, with its wide, orthogonal streets, grid-iron planning (in two parts, separated by the river Torrens), strategically located public squares, and green belt (Figure 2.6). The extended district plan showed how the methodically arranged and numbered plots in the city proper were to be associated with surveyed rural subdivisions spreading beyond the outer limits of the city. Interestingly,

[45] For a fuller discussion of the radical political vision of Savannah's city plan, see S. Anderson, 'Savannah and the Issue of Precedent: City Plan as Resource', in R. Bennett (ed.), *Settlements in the Americas: Cross-Cultural Perspectives* (Newark, 1993), pp. 110–44.

[46] Home, *Of Planting and Planning*, p. 25.

Figure 2.6. 'Plan of the City of Adelaide, in South Australia' by Col. William Light (1840) (State Library of South Australia, SLSA: C194).

there are some features of the plan that might be likened to Londonderry—the city in which Light was married in 1821—in particular the idea of a major central square occupied by key civic buildings. Both the 'system' and model were carried forward to the colonization of New Zealand in the 1840s, with the planning of settlements such as Wellington (1841) and Christchurch (1848), both of which display fundamental characteristics of the model, especially Christchurch (see Plate 3). By the time we reach the middle of the nineteenth century, however, colonial urban planning in Britain's colonies had taken on a degree of laissez-faire

liberalization, with the followers of Wakefield arguing against government-controlled urban development.

But, as Paul Carter has argued, it is always important to remember that spatial formations such as cities are a means through which culture is able to declare its presence, imposed or otherwise. In the naming of roads and streets, with their reference to foundation myths and imperial narratives, 'space is transformed symbolically into a place, . . . a space with a history'.[47] We are reminded of this when we see names such as Torrens, Wakefield, and Halifax in Adelaide; Flinders, La Trobe, and Bourke in Melbourne; or, indeed, Hereford, Lichfield, and Barbados in Christchurch.

NETWORKS OF SPACE AND KNOWLEDGE IN BRITISH COLONIAL URBAN PLANNING

The connection and interdependence of networks outlined above are important to understanding how urbanism was realized in the British colonial world. The concomitant association between space and knowledge is also crucial if one is to comprehend how colonial urbanism actually operated. This reminds us of Edward Said's observation, working from Michael Doyle, that 'imperialism' is the imposition of power of one state over the people and territories of another, frequently by military force. Whilst *imperialism* originates in the metropole, what happens in the colonies resulting from economic, political, and cultural control and domination is deemed 'colonialism'.[48] As far as architecture, planning, and urbanism are concerned, colonialism is also about the built and spatial forms of dominance that particular colonialisms take.[49] Indeed, this form of colonialism is associated with what can be termed the 'British colonial urban system', the ideological and practical origins of which were evidenced in the Ulster plantations mentioned above. A topographical description of this system in its modern form was set out in tabular form in an earlier essay by one of the authors of this chapter.[50] Sixty major cities were shown from around the year 1900, according to continent, the date at which the territories of which they were part came under British political and cultural control, and their approximate population size in 1800 and 1900. What are not shown are those major port cities in the imperial metropole (e.g. London, Liverpool, Bristol, Glasgow) which are linked to the colonial urban system (see Chapter 4, pp. 127–34).

While the table includes both port and inland cities, either newly founded or located at already established settlements, and does not claim to be fully

[47] P. Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay: An Exploration of Landscape and History* (Chicago, 1987), p. xxiv.

[48] E. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London, 1993), p. 8.

[49] For instance, see essays in AlSayyad, *Forms of Dominance*. See also Sen, 'Between Dominance', pp. 203–31.

[50] For this table, see King, *Urbanism, Colonialism and the World-Economy*, pp. 141–2.

comprehensive, it nonetheless provides us with a preliminary historical and spatial framework within which we can begin to examine the connections between the imperial system and society, its architecture and urban spaces.[51] Again, the essence of the table is that it represents an economic, political, and spatial *system*. This implies that the different urban places are, in various ways, connected to each other and, historically, gradually came to have more in common with each other—architecturally, linguistically, culturally, demographically, and in other ways—than they have with indigenous urban settlements, where these existed. These major cities have normally been referred to as colonial cities (e.g. Singapore, Hong Kong, Cape Town, Mombasa, Colombo, Calcutta, Bombay, Sydney, etc.), a concept the understanding of which, as mentioned, has undergone significant changes in the last two or three decades.

Likewise, Britain's empire and its colonial urban system depended upon networks of knowledge: flows of ideas, books, arguments, money, and people moving from the metropole to the colonies and between colonies and continents.[52] The Colonial Office in London, which had replaced the old Board of Trade and Plantations in its various guises by the mid-nineteenth century, provided a degree of central supervision, and British colonial administrators from both the Indian Civil Service and the colonial service in general provided the elite cadre of governors, lawyers, and senior officials whose relationships with imperial power structures were responsible for shaping policy. In addition, new and expanding professions were also embedded within the bureaucratic structures of the colonial project. As improved transport technologies facilitated the movement of people around the world, officials and professional consultants could transfer their expertise between colonies. So reliant had the 'system' become on this kind of knowledge transfer and control that a Colonial Office official in the 1920s was able to say that he was 'a little distressed over Kenya's increasing inability to move in any direction without the assistance of an outside expert'.[53]

Underlying the networks of specialist knowledge was the philosophical justification for colonial rule itself.[54] For instance, Francis Bacon in his famous tract 'Of Plantations' (1625), who no doubt had the problems associated with Spanish imperialism in mind, encouraged the idea that plantations (i.e. colonies) ought to be geared towards permanent cultivation and settlement, not the 'Base and Hastie drawing of Profit'. From this emerged the liberal tradition, observed in the writings of Edmund Burke (1729–97) in the eighteenth century, that colonies were a sacred trust placed upon imperial powers, rather than mere possessions to be exploited. Thus, by the time of the 'Scramble for Africa' in the 1880s, European colonial

[51] Information for this table was gleaned from G. Gill, *The British Colonies, Dependencies and Protectorates* (London, *c.*1900).

[52] For instance, see T. Ballantyne, 'Empire, Knowledge and Culture: From Proto-Globalization to Modern Globalization', in A. G. Hopkins (ed.) *Globalization in World History* (London, 2002), pp. 115–40; D. Lambert and A. Lester (eds), *Colonial Lives Across the British Empire: Imperial Careering in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2006).

[53] Minute by Bottomley, 25 May 1926, National Archives, Kew: CO 533/605.

[54] See K. Mantena, *Alibis of Empire: Henry Maine and the Ends of Liberal Imperialism* (Princeton, 2010).

expansion had claimed for itself a 'civilizing mission' under international law, and after World War I the League of Nations contributed to the idea of a general 'trusteeship' duty upon colonial administrations towards the indigenous peoples they governed, which was perceived to be justified because of those peoples' vulnerability to the disruptive forces of modernization. The writings of Henry Maine (1822–88) in the nineteenth century contributed to colonial ideologies of indirect rule and the so-called dual mandate, associated in particular with Sir Frederick Lugard (1858–1945), that sought to protect 'native' society against corrupting outside influences, and to separate the urban areas created by and for the European colonizers from the surrounding societies that had implications for land tenure and urban development.

Here Foucault's genealogical method offers a research approach that enables us to understand better the rules and techniques of colonial urban management, excavating their 'mundane and inglorious origins'. The rules devised during the three centuries of slavery to control workers in the slave plantations of the Americas were transposed to control populations and plan towns in the newer British empires of Asia and Africa after emancipation and the abolition of the slave trade. The influence of Benthamite Utilitarianism upon local government and urban society in England after the Industrial Revolution was translated to the rapidly growing colonial towns and cities, as witnessed in places such as Australia and New Zealand. The military and health concerns behind the creation of cantonments and their regulation in British India were soon transferred to Africa and its emerging townships. These techniques of colonial management were advocated and championed by their respective networks of experts, the authority of which was reinforced by professional institutions in the metropole, including land surveyors, engineers, doctors (specializing in sanitation and public health), judges and lawyers, and architect-planners. For example, engineers (both civil and military) trained in 'practical architecture' often provided the standard designs for common military and civil buildings, such as barracks, hospitals, or housing (Figure 2.7).[55] In the early days of colonial expansion military engineers laid out towns and their defences. Civil engineers later built infrastructure projects such as ports and railways, and were usually employed in public works departments or improvement trusts.

As discussed further in Chapter 3, architects designed the grand public buildings and master plans of the colonial project, such as those in New Delhi, and Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) status (membership of the Royal Institute of British Architects) bound the profession together internationally through competitions and commissions, as well as architectural pattern books and manuals. Later a 'tropical' architecture emerged, largely the work of Modern Movement architects, especially in West Africa during the period of colonial 'development and welfare'. Regional centres of building research linked to the metropole were established to develop building technology and materials suited to tropical conditions. Architect-planning consultants were also commissioned to prepare grand designs and master

[55] e.g. Colonel Pasley's Practical Architecture course taught in the Royal Engineers' Chatham College 1826. See also, King, *Colonial Urban Development*, pp. 97–122.

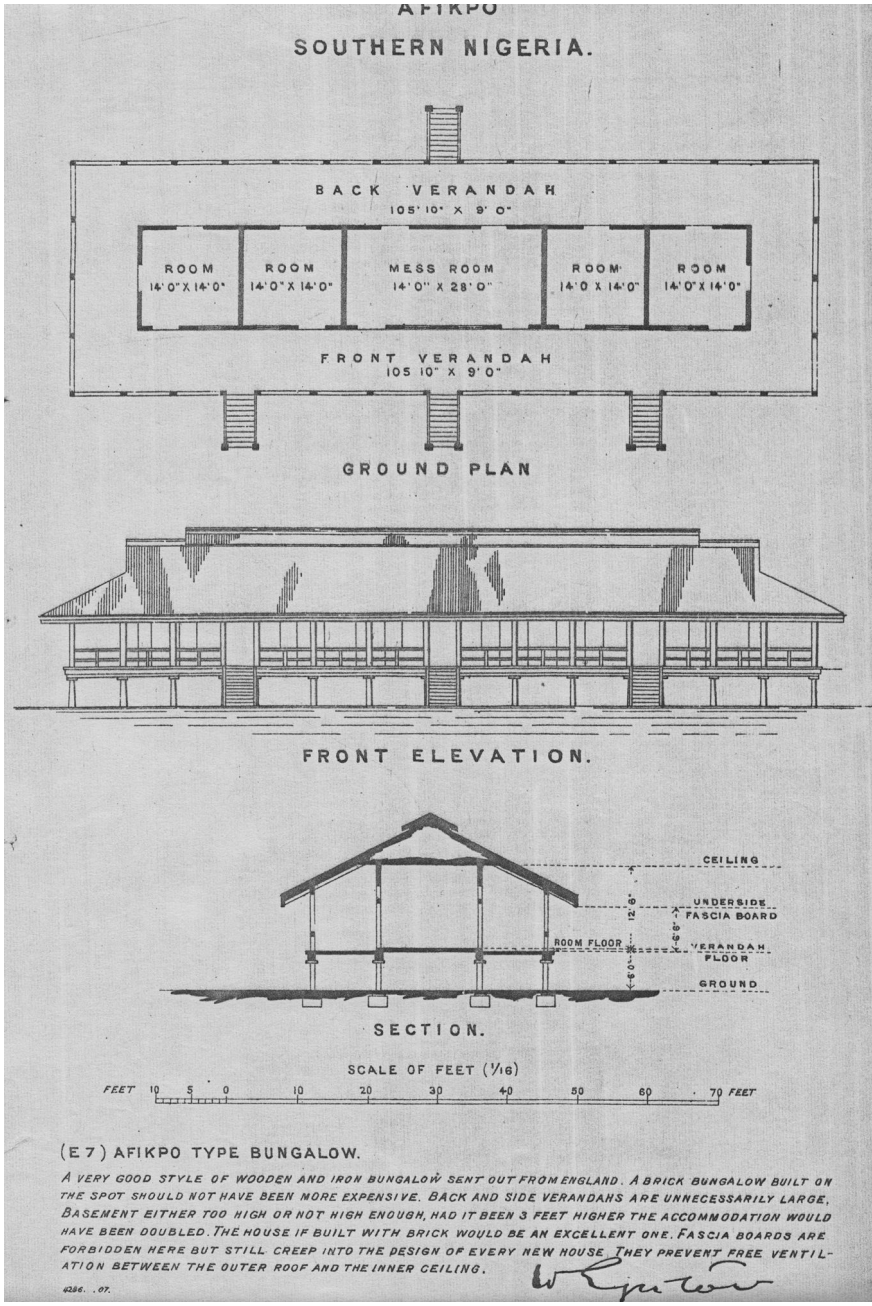

Figure 2.7. '"Afikpo" Type Bungalow', Nigeria, from the Colonial Office publication *Design of Bungalows Provided for Government Officials in West Africa* (1909).

plans, moving between the metropole and different colonies: Edwin Lutyens in India, Herbert Baker in India and South Africa, Charles Compton Reade in Malaysia and Rhodesia, Albert Thompson in South Africa and Nigeria (planner of Pinelands in Cape Town), and H. V. Lanchester in India and Zanzibar.[56]

Design styles included Indo-Saracenic, Gothic Revival, neoclassical, Scottish Baronial, and Modernist. These were imported by architects from Britain, often in an explicitly 'imperial' style as formulated by Baker, Lutyens, and others, sometimes absorbing local influences (see Chapter 8, pp. 300–6). Modernism had a profound impact on the practice of architecture and urbanism in the 1950s and 1960s, which had antecedents in Lutyens, Baker, and Walter Sykes George.[57] Modern architecture was very much part of the immediate post-colonial period, with architects like Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew designing schools, universities, and other administrative buildings (see Chapter 11, pp. 410–12).

Another profession which profoundly influenced the shaping of towns was medicine, especially doctors specializing in public health and sanitation, again with a distinctive tropical focus developed in the late nineteenth century. At a time of imperial competition between the European powers, persistently high levels of epidemic mortality could be criticized as poor colonial management, and the fear of catching tropical diseases such as plague and malaria provided a pretext for racial segregation in urban residential areas.[58] Public health rules and practices devised for British municipal government (sometimes called the Chadwick approach, advocating piped water and drainage) were transplanted and adapted for colonial ports and cities through various commissions of inquiry into the health, security, and housing of the British living in the tropics.

One leading exponent of the new 'tropical' medicine was William Simpson (1855–1931). Having established his reputation combating the plague epidemic in Calcutta in the 1890s, which evoked deep-rooted fears of the 'Black Death' among the expatriate community there, Simpson, who was a professor in tropical hygiene at London University, was commissioned as a consultant to various colonial authorities. He advocated a standard scheme of racial segregation, to be enforced by teams of local inspectors through building-free zones, wholesale demolition, and reconstruction.[59] In Africa 'Asiatic Bazaars' were demolished as an anti-plague measure, and their inhabitants moved to new segregated locations at the urban edge, while a spate of laws, proclamations, and decrees laid down detailed rules. Thus, in Kenya, for example, the Townships (Public Health, Segregation of Races) Rules empowered the governor to reserve areas for the following land uses:

[56] Home, *Of Planting and Planning*.

[57] For Sykes George, see R. Butler, 'The Anglo-Indian Architect Walter Sykes George (1881–1962): A Modernist follower of Lutyens', *Architectural History*, vol. 55 (2012), pp. 237–68.

[58] Segregation in its association with physical separation of races is dated by Dubow to the year 1908, thus contemporary with the new term of town planning. See S. Dubow, *Racial Segregation and the Origins of Apartheid in South Africa 1919–36* (Oxford, 1989).

[59] Simpson undertook consultancies in South Africa (1900–1901), West Africa (1908), East Africa (1913–14), the Gold Coast (1924) and Northern Rhodesia (1929). See R. A. Baker and R. A. Bayliss, 'William John Ritchie Simpson (1855–1931): Public Health and Tropical Medicine', *Medical History*, vol. 31 (1987), pp. 450–65.

a) European residential, b) Asiatic residential, c) Locations for 'Asiatics of the working classes', d) 'native' locations, e) commercial areas for Europeans and/or Asiatics (but not natives), and f) open spaces. In Nigeria, too, Lugard's policy for townships distinguished not only between the 'native' population and the 'Europeans', but identified other intermediate racial groups for whom a separate 'non-European' reservation was to be laid out.[60]

TOWN PLANNING AS MODERN COLONIAL MANAGEMENT

Based on what has been discussed so far, the history of colonial planning can be usefully divided into three phases: 1) a period up to the early twentieth century when settlements, camps, towns, and cities were consciously laid out according to various military, technical, political, and cultural codes and principles, the most important consequences of which was military and political dominance; 2) a second period, beginning in the early twentieth century, that coincided with the development of formally stated 'town-planning' theory,[61] ideology, legislation, and, as mentioned above, professional knowledge in Britain, when the structure of colonial relationships was used to convey such phenomena (on a selective and uneven basis) to the dependent territories; and 3) a third period of post- or neo-colonial developments (after 1947 in Asia, and 1951 in Africa), when cultural, political, and economic links within a larger network of global communications—and, in many cases, a situation of economic dependence—provided the means to continue the transplantation of ideologies, values, and planning models, generally in the 'neo-colonial modernization' of one-time colonial cities.[62]

European colonialists had, of course, founded and laid out (in effect 'planned') towns before the early twentieth century, but the specialism of 'town planning' in Britain was associated with the garden city movement (which quickly became international from its origins with Ebenezer Howard (1850–1928) and Letchworth Garden City), achieving legislative recognition in the Housing and Town Planning Act of 1909. This was followed by institutional recognition with the founding of the Town Planning Institute in 1914.[63] Its advocates, such as Patrick Geddes (1854–1932) and Charles Compton Reade, claimed to offer a modern approach to colonial management, making towns and cities worthy of an empire, and the garden city concept provided an alluring model for self-contained and racially segregated communities in the colonies. The town planner's tool-kit comprised master plans, layouts for local areas, decentralization policies, and a legal regulatory framework. These were all largely transferred from emerging practice in the metropole, and were exported by a small network of self-confident and even evangelical

[60] C. Nightingale, *Segregation: A World History of Divided Cities* (Chicago, 2012), chapter 6.
[61] The term 'town-planning' seems to have originated in Australia in 1890. See Home, *Of Planting and Planning*, pp. 2–3.
[62] King, *Urbanism, Colonialism and the World-Economy*, p. 47.
[63] Royal was added by royal charter in 1959.

experts, although, as Mark Crinson argues in Chapter 6 (pp. 211–14), many of these concepts were tested in colonial contexts before finding their way back to the metropole.

In India, outside the port cities, the most widespread example of urban planning before the twentieth century was the location and layout of forts and military cantonments, the primary purpose of which was to protect trade and provide for the ultimate sanction of force over the colonized population (see Plate 4).[64] Located alongside the cantonment was the informally planned 'civil station', or 'civil lines', accommodating a collection of large, isolated bungalows in extensive compounds, each of which housed the European civilian 'managers' of the colonized society—the judge, district officer, missionary, civil surgeon, schoolmaster, district engineer, *inter alia*.[65] For reasons discussed below, the cantonment and civil station were located at some distance—perhaps two or three miles—away from and windward of the 'native city'.[66] These general locational characteristics applied to most of the medium- and larger-sized towns of (especially northern) India: the marking of limits and boundaries was the task of the Public Works Department. The principal buildings in such settlements, designed by civil engineers or, later, by government architects, included one or more churches, barracks, and offices on the cantonment, police station, municipal offices, circuit house, and dak bungalow—all in the same colonial vernacular classical architecture.

After the Revolt of 1857 (First War of Indian Independence), European troops were moved away from the indigenous settlements and relocated in huge, well-planned cantonments, often three or four times the size of the 'native city', and three miles distant from it. European troops were housed in barracks, with their own parade ground and facilities, while Indian troops were accommodated in lines (Figure 2.8). Arguments concerning defence and public health were combined with theories of white racial superiority to justify the segregation.[67] Over a hundred of these cantonments were created following the 1857 revolt, each governed by Cantonment Acts which effectively functioned as municipal laws, governing everything from liquor licensing to disease prevention, taxation, and building control.[68]

Again, at the root of all town planning practice in both the cantonment and civil station was the ostensible and often stated aim of always maintaining public health, underpinned for decades by the underlying (and erroneous) belief that disease, especially malaria, was caused by 'bad air' (miasma), and the environmental conditions causing it. This belief ideally determined location, site, and layout of settlements and buildings in relation to the prevailing winds and the indigenous settlement, seen as the source of disease.[69] This also determined the low density of buildings, and the generous space allocation between them. Even after the discovery

[64] For early colonial urban planning in India, see P. Mitter, 'The Early British Port Cities of India: Their Planning and Architecture Circa 1640–1757', *JSAH,* vol. 45:2 (1986), pp. 95–114; A. Balachandran, 'Of Corporations and Caste Heads: Urban Rule in Company Madras, 1640–1720', *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, vol. 9:2 (2008).

[65] King, *Colonial Urban Development*, pp. 97–122.

[66] King, *Urbanism, Colonialism and the World-Economy*, p. 50.

[67] Home, *Of Planting and Planning*, p. 122.

[68] *Ibid.*, p. 125.

[69] King, *Colonial Urban Development*, pp. 108–15.

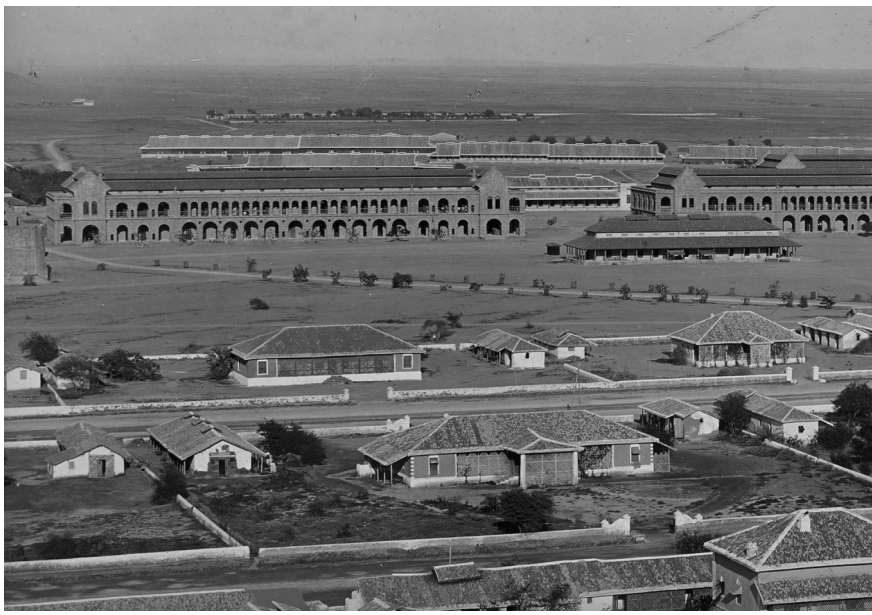

Figure 2.8. Napier Barracks, Karachi, *c.*1900 (© The British Library Board).

of the waterborne nature of disease (in the 1850s), and, more importantly, Robert Ross's discovery of the link between malaria and the anopheles mosquito in 1897, space standards for European residential settlements in tropical colonies was significantly higher than in Britain. Similar reasoning helped to explain why colonial buildings were often located on higher ground, though this was also a sign of colonial status and power. Cultural preferences were also important in determining where buildings were located. In the post-independence era these overblown space standards were to be a major obstacle to equitable planning, inflating expectations of government servants and increasing travel distances for the poor. These, and other related factors, are at the heart of the nineteenth-century development of what would later become known as 'tropical architecture' (for this concept in the twentieth century, see Chapter 6, pp. 214–21, and Chapter 11, pp. 408–12).[70]

The cantonment model, as a set of abstract planning principles, was transplanted to Africa in the guise of both corporate and government stations and townships. It appears, for instance, with the advent of barrack compound housing devised for local indigenous and migrant workers associated with the mineral extraction economy in southern Africa during the 1870s (Figure 2.9). Here we see what might be described as the sinister flipside (or perhaps logical conclusion) of the disciplinary

[70] For more on the development of this concept in colonial architecture, see J.-H. Chang and A. D. King, 'Towards a Genealogy of Tropical Architecture: Historical Fragments of Power-knowledge, Built Environment and Climate in the British Colonial Territories', *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 32 (2011), pp. 283–300; J.-H. Chang, *The Genealogy of Tropical Architecture: Colonial Networks, Nature and Technoscience* (London, 2016).

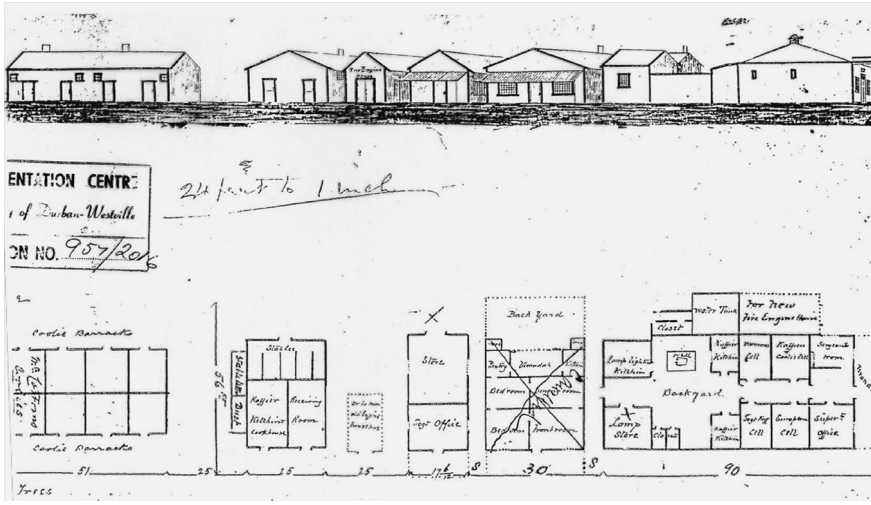

Figure 2.9. Worker housing in Durban (1872), showing (*from left*): 'coolie barracks' for the reception of Indian indentured workers; 'kaffier [kaffir] reception' building (for African *togt* (day) labourers); 'togt office' for administration of day labour system; (*far right*) prison compound with cells (archives University of KwaZulu Natal).

rationale that governed the spatial configuration of the military cantonment in the desire to survey, control, and even humiliate indigenous labourers through a policy of forced containment and conditioning. The planning of these barrack compounds was based around the presumed criminality of their inmates—concerning the theft and illicit trade in gold and diamonds—and was thus predicated on modes of detention, contributing not only to the genealogy of a penal landscape in southern Africa but also the biopolitical production of race that defined the apartheid era in the twentieth century.[71] As Lindsay Weiss observes: 'the penal pedigree of the compound space, in its extra-legislative capacity to order and punish by race, was an architectural product of a "state of exception" in which the security of commodity flow came to usurp political and legal infrastructures'.[72]

This pedigree became most explicit in the concentration camps set up for the detention of mainly Boer women and children as part of Britain's 'scorched earth' policy during the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902). By 1901, echoing the landscape of the diamond fields from decades earlier, the region became criss-crossed with the barbed wire, tents, and blockhouses of the forty-five camps

[71] For instance, see L. Weiss, 'Exceptional Space: Concentration Camps and Labor Compounds in Late Nineteenth-Century South Africa', in A. Myers and G. Moshenska (eds), *Archaeologies of Internment* (New York, 2011), pp. 21–32. Another of the precedents drawn upon for these labour camps, introduced into the Kimberley by the Cornish mines inspector Thomas Kitto, was the slave lodge system in the Brazilian diamond fields. See also, R. Home, 'From Barrack Compounds to the Single-Family House: Planning Worker Housing in Colonial Natal and Northern Rhodesia', *Planning Perspectives*, vol. 15:4 (2000), pp. 327–47.

[72] Weiss, 'Exceptional Space', p. 26.

constructed for Boers, and sixty-four built for black Africans.[73] Through their inadequate sanitary conditions, poor shelter, and negligible food supplies, these camps resulted in the deaths of tens of thousands of detainees, causing a scandal in Britain. As mentioned by Mark Crinson in Chapter 6 (pp. 224–7), such spatial planning and processing practices continued well into the twentieth century, becoming a hallmark of the modern imperial state, the most notorious instances of which were to be found in the 'rehabilitation villages' of Malaysia and Kenya in the 1940s and 1950s.

The cantonment model also found its way to Nigeria via Lugard's Townships Ordinance (1917), which defined a 'township' as an 'enclave outside the jurisdiction of the native authority and native courts, which are thus relieved of the difficult task (which is foreign to their functions) of controlling alien natives and employees of the government and Europeans'.[74] The 'dual mandate' approach associated with Lugard in Africa meant that towns were regarded as essentially European creations, with an African presence restricted to those whose labour was needed. This resulted in separate development, both of urban and rural areas, and of racial groups, as in the case of South Africa (Figures 2.10 and 2.11). For all the rhetoric of trusteeship, the 'intrinsic racism of colonial space' remained.[75] Little provision was made for Africans despite the fact they made up the vast majority of the population.[76]

Elsewhere ethnic and racial segregation had other logics. In Raffles' planning of Singapore, for instance, it was used as a form of social control (as it would later in British Hong Kong), with members of different ethnicities being housed together, or deliberately kept apart.[77] In some Indian cities, such as Delhi and Lucknow, supposedly in the interest of hygiene (though, in reality, of policing and social control), the British drove roads through the centre, razing housing, mosques, and historic structures.[78]

Master plans at urban scale were few during the colonial period, and rarely implemented, although they grew in number and aspiration during the immediate post-colonial era. Perhaps the most noted example is the hugely ambitious and costly plan for New Delhi (1912–31), discussed further in Chapter 3 (pp. 112–21). Africa saw more modest attempts at master planning. In Northern Nigeria, for example, there was the new administrative headquarters at Kaduna (after 1910),

[73] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

[74] F. D. Lugard, *Revision of Instructions to Political Officers* (London, 1919), p. 118.

[75] Myers, *Verandahs of Power*, p. 22.

[76] For example, S. D. Adshead's proposal for Lusaka envisaged a population of 5,000 Europeans, 1,000 African police, and 4,000 other Africans, although within a few years there were already 10,000 Africans living within 10 miles of the town centre. The Geoffrey Jellicoe plan of 1950, however, reserved 7,000 acres for a projected future European population of 22,000, and 5,280 acres for a projected 133,000 African population (equating to a population density of four per acre for Europeans, but thirty for Africans). Less than 20 years later, Lusaka's African population was quarter of a million. See 'Introduction' to K. Bradley, *Lusaka 1935* (London, 2013 [originally published 1935]).

[77] Home, *Of Planting and Planning*, pp. 118–22. For Hong Kong, where both racial and 'public health' issues were cited, see G. A. Bremner and D. P. Y. Lung, 'Spaces of Exclusion: The Significance of Cultural Identity in the Formation of European Residential Districts in British Hong Kong, 1877–1904', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, vol. 21 (2003), pp. 223–52.

[78] Oldenburg, *The Making of Colonial Lucknow*.

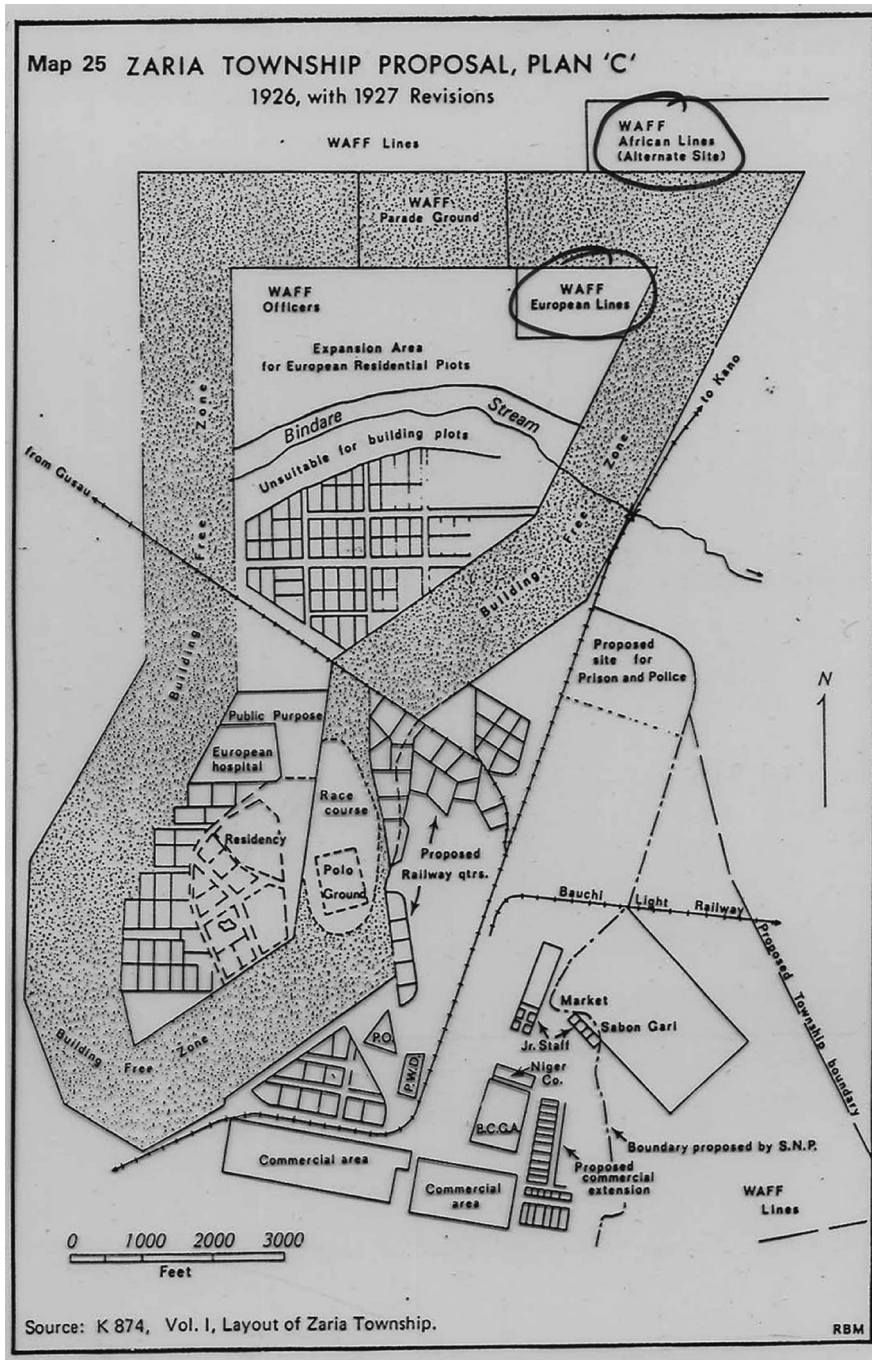

Figure 2.10. 'Zaria Township Proposal, Plan "C"', Northern Nigeria (1926). Plan for the expansion of Zaria Township showing a 'building-free zone' (shaded) surrounding the township. Top right shows the separation of white and African barracks of the West African Frontier Force, and the European residential area (*centre left*) with polo and other recreational facilities. The 'native town' of Zaria is off the map.

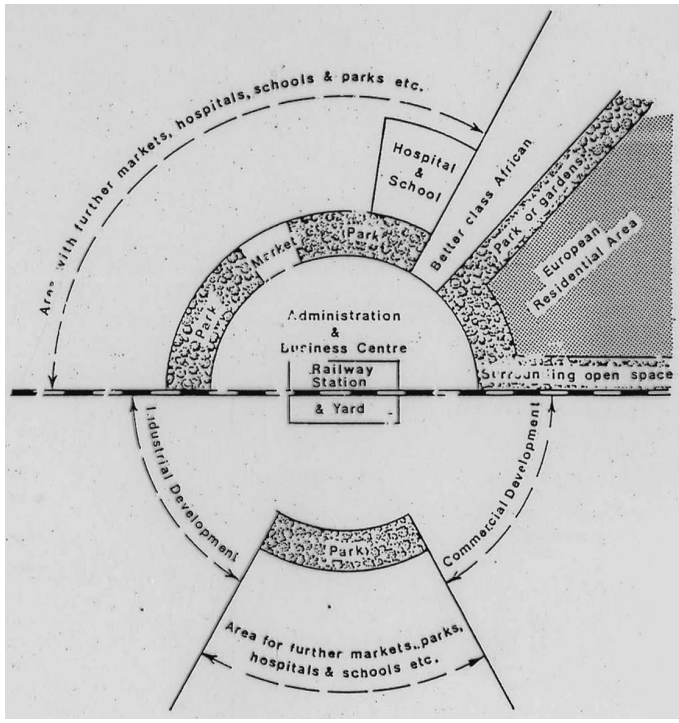

Figure 2.11. 'Suggested principles for the planning of new towns', from F. D. Evans and G. J. Pirie, *Selection of Site for Towns and Government Residential Areas* (1939). First attempt at a general physical planning approach to new railway towns in Africa, produced by the Directors of Public Works and Medical Services in Nigeria, following the segregation principles of Simpson and Lugard.

and at the new capital of Lusaka in Northern Rhodesia. The initial master plan for Lusaka was a brief report prepared by S. D. Adshead, a planning professor on a short consultancy from London. The spacious landscaped layout that resulted led to Lusaka being called the 'first planned garden city in Africa'.[79] Later master plans provided symbolic forms for post-colonial nation states such as Chandigarh in India, Lilongwe in Malawi, Abuja in Nigeria, Dodoma in Tanzania, and Canberra in Australia (Figure 2.12; for Canberra, see Chapter 9, pp. 351–2).[80] As Samuel Albert recounts in Chapter 12, master planning strategies were also employed by the British in Egypt and the Middle East in the 1920s and 1930s, in places such as Alexandria, Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and Basra.

[79] D. Simon, *Cities, Capital and Development: African Cities in the World Economy* (Belhaven, 1992), p. 147. The first garden city in Africa is more correctly identified as Pinelands, a whites-only suburb of Cape Town. Lusaka was officially opened in 1935. Stanley D. Adshead's master plan for Lusaka, from his 1931 report, followed the orthodoxy, with the indigenous people subordinated and kept at a distance.

[80] L. J. Vale, *Architecture, Power and National Identity* (New Haven and London, 1992), pp. 105–14, 133–60.

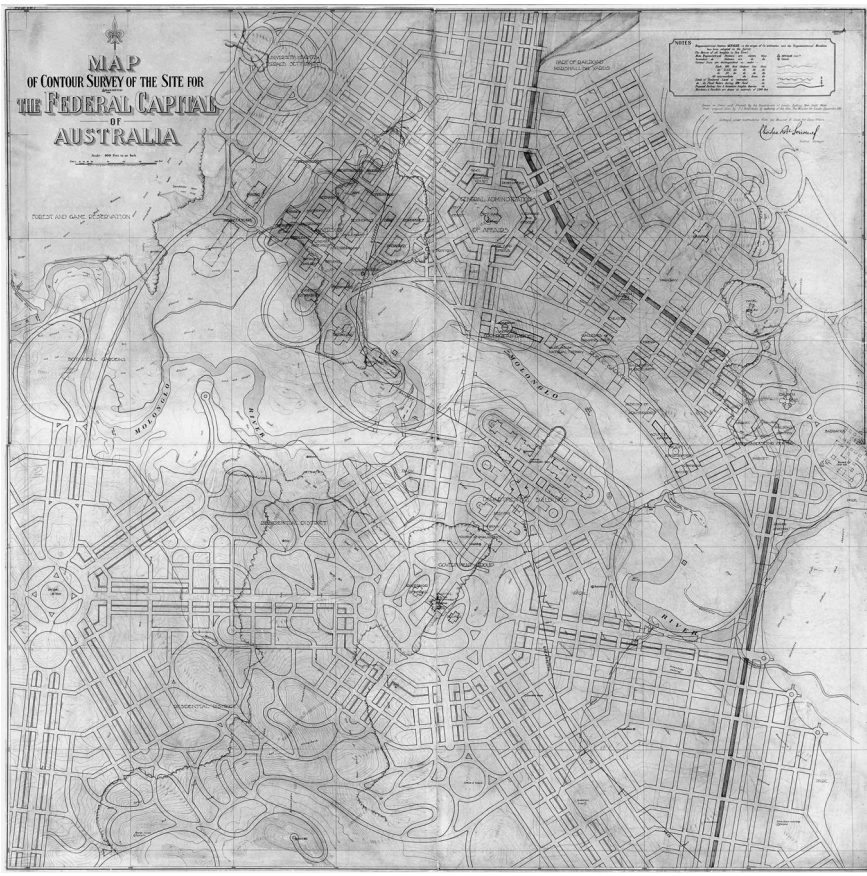

Figure 2.12. 'Map of Contour Survey of the Site for the Federal Capital of Australia' (1911), showing axial and radial layout of the city of Canberra.

Other examples that went unrealized include E. P. Richards' massive report on Calcutta (1914) and Lanchester's Madras plan of 1923 (Figure 2.13). W. C. Bissell has also shown how little physical evidence survives for colonial planning interventions in the island state of Zanzibar.[81] The British had a diplomatic presence there from the anti-slave trade days, and when they further enlarged their East African colonies by taking German East Africa after World War I, the idea of town improvement stimulated various surveys and reports on Zanzibar following the emerging scientific discourse of town planning. Lanchester prepared a master plan report during a consultancy fitted in while travelling from his Indian office to England in 1922–3. He had little contact with residents and undertook no social survey work during his short visit, and his subsequent plan followed Simpson's

[81] W. C. Bissell, *Urban Design, Chaos, and Colonial Power in Zanzibar* (Bloomington, 2011).

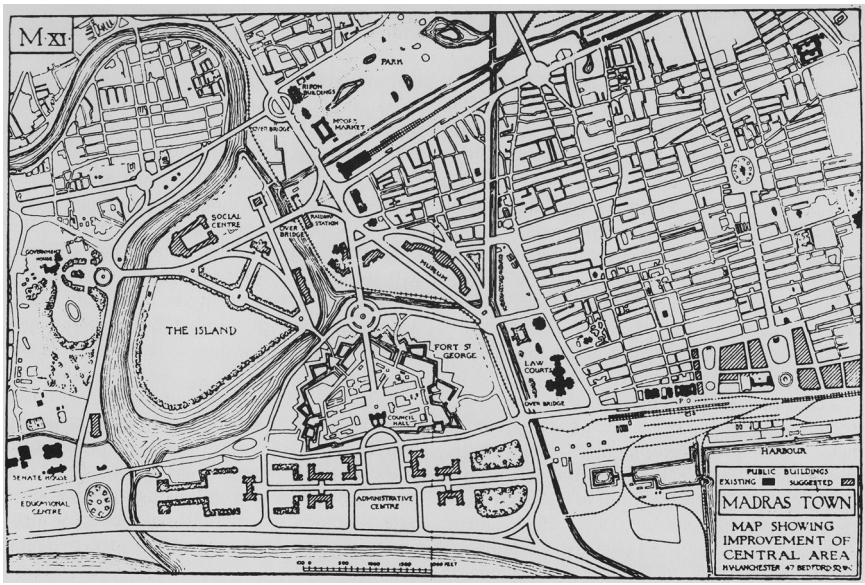

Figure 2.13. Henry Lanchester's planning scheme for the improvement of Madras central area (1916). His proposals combined the Geddes 'conservative surgery' approach with new roads. Lanchester also worked on plans for New Delhi and Zanzibar.

earlier report in advocating segregation and select demolition as a public health measure, with open spaces and building-free zones. His proposals were approved in 1924 by the Colonial Office in London, but no funding was allocated, and the local officials took fright at the political and financial costs of compulsory property acquisition. While six hundred copies of Lanchester's report were printed, they were stamped 'strictly confidential' and hidden away. Other grand plans for Zanzibar followed, self-referential and increasingly complex, and divorced from the world that they sought to reshape, while the only projects implemented were infrastructure improvements to roads and the port (for more on Lanchester and town planning in Africa, see Chapter 11, pp. 404–8).[82]

Below the master plan scale at local level, individual layouts and road schemes were planned, usually in the form of racially segregated residential areas enclosed by building-free zones. Formalized racial segregation was largely abandoned after about 1930 because colonial administrators recognized its cost and negative economic effects, and doctors were no longer convinced of the medical justification. Racially exclusive, low-density European residential areas became increasingly embarrassing, for colonial administrators understood that impending world war would test loyalties. They survived in South Africa, however, where the election of a Nationalist government committed to apartheid in 1948 was soon followed by the Group Areas Act 1948, consolidating a distinctive racially defined

[82] *Ibid.*

urban form, later labelled the *apartheid* city.[83] South Africa also found attractive separate development combined with the concept of planned decentralization borrowed from British planning practice. Natal, for instance, drew upon the Barlow Report on industrial decentralization, forming a Town and Regional Planning Commission which led to segregated African townships on urban fringes using Green Belts and 'buffer strips' as physical separation measures.

Town planning got its champion at the Colonial Office when Lord Passfield (the Fabian Socialist, Sidney Webb) held the post of Colonial Secretary between 1929 and 1931. He issued a circular commending it in cautious terms 'as an orderly and scientific method of controlling work already in progress or inevitable in the future, in a manner which secures the best and most far-reaching economic results from current expenditure as it takes place'.[84] The new approach began to appear in individual colonies. In 1929 the Directors of Public Works and Medical Services in Nigeria published a guide to laying out towns and European residential areas, which remained official policy into the 1950s. In the same year, when it became apparent that the Northern Rhodesia Copperbelt was set for dramatic growth, the newly established colonial administration passed a Town Planning Ordinance. The planners of Lusaka, for instance, aspired to an ordered city, stipulating that there would be: 'no untidy mingling of shops and garages with private houses . . . There is no reason why ugly houses, slovenly shops and garages, overcrowding or, in fact, any of the evils that characterise a city of undirected growth should ever arise.'[85]

The mining corporations in the Copperbelt, who were building American-style company towns in which they owned all property and provided most public services, had to plan for mining and public townships side-by-side (the twin townships) in negotiation with the local officials and the Colonial Office (Figure 2.14). Nevertheless, the Colonial Office remained cautious, observing that, 'it is not our business to increase the profits of a largely American absentee landlord by facilitating their control over our own people'.[86] Indeed, throughout the dominions and white settler colonies town planning legislation was joined to other statutory powers of local authority, as seen, for instance, in Kenya (1919), New Zealand (1926), and Western Australia (1928). In the following years individual colonies passed town planning acts of their own based upon the 1932 English Town and Country Planning Act.[87]

The Colonial Office was becoming converted to a progressive model of colonial development and welfare, at a time when anti-colonial pressures were growing and war with Nazi Germany approaching. Town planning might hold out the promise of urban improvements, but, as a more perceptive colonial official later recognised

[83] J. B. Robinson, *The Power of Apartheid: State, Power and Space in South African Cities* (London, 1996).

[84] Quoted in Home, *Of Planning and Planting*, p. 180.

[85] Bradley, *Lusaka 1935*, pp. 28, 34.

[86] 1932, quoted in E. Mutale, *The Management of Urban Development in Zambia* (Aldershot, 2004), p. 90.

[87] After the Trinidad Ordinance of 1938, others followed, including the four British West African colonies in 1945–6, and then Nyasaland and Uganda in 1948.

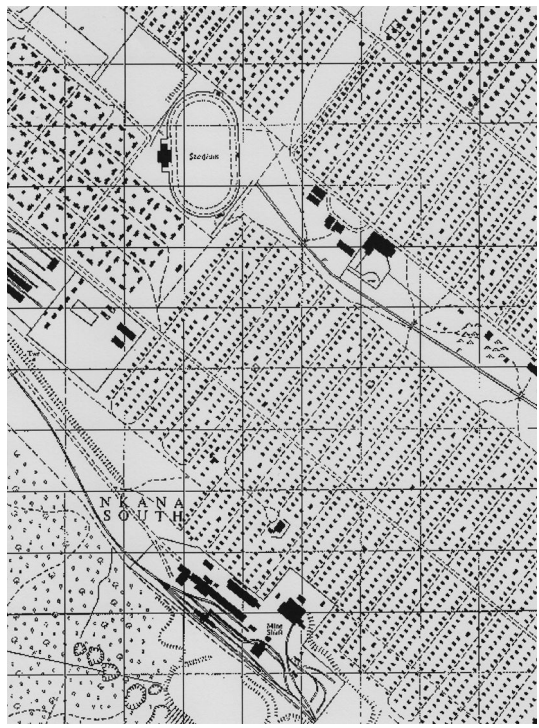

Figure 2.14. A company town in the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt (*c.*1950). The layout of the Nkana mining township (Kitwe) shows the railway connecting to the main mine shaft, long lines of bachelor housing (*right*), sports stadium, and administration buildings (*centre*), and family housing grouped in the imitation kraal formation preferred by the mining corporation (squared off rather than circular) (source: E. Mutale, *The Management of Urban Development in Zambia* [Aldershot, 2004]).

in his memoirs: 'planning without knowing how to meet the cost is no more than mere speculation. The UK held out prospects of generous contribution, but one suspected that Britain, like the old woman who lived in a shoe, had so many charges she would not know what to do.'[88]

For all its limitations, town planning is still etched on the landscape and practices of urban environments in much of the former colonial world. The initial processes of founding towns live on in their subsequent story, inscribed as a sort of DNA upon urban form, entwining history with the social production of space. British planning experts might only stay in individual colonies for periods of weeks or months, but their activities had a continuing impact upon the urban landscape. The attraction of town planning as an all-embracing state activity remained strong, for local politicians as well as colonial officials, with its symbolism and promise

[88] C. Dundas, *African Crossroads* (London, 1955), p. 232.

of modernity, and continued into the post-colonial period through the activities of international development agencies such as the United Nations Development Programme. Colonial housing forms in high-income enclaves have been maintained, with spacious detached housing on securely fenced compounds, protected by a legal cordon. Elsewhere mass house-building by government was never enough to meet the need, and was largely replaced by cheap 'sites-and-services' schemes promoted by aid agencies.

With colonial planning still embedded in the landscapes of post-colonial cities, future research from various disciplinary and interdisciplinary perspectives can be expected to focus more upon the shaping of local urban forms and communities. The idea of a common right to the city, first articulated by Lefebvre, can be fed by a historiography of urban transformations, popular resistance to evictions, and the social value of urban land and space.[89]

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[89] For example, see H. Lefebvre, 'Right to the City' (*Le Droit à la Ville* [1968]), in E. Kofman and E. Lebas (eds and trans), *Henri Lefebvre: Writings on Cities* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 63–181.

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3

Stones of Empire

Monuments, Memorials, and Manifest Authority

G. A. Bremner

The idea that a substantive connection exists between architecture and British imperialism would seem axiomatic. But what constitutes this relationship, and how might we understand its configuration and meanings? Whenever we encounter the phrase 'British imperial architecture', the first structure that usually springs to mind is the majestic Viceroy's House in New Delhi by Edwin Lutyens, completed in 1930 at the twilight of the British Raj in India. In many ways this is the enduring image of empire, not least because it is still in use but also because it came to signify British imperial rule at its most magnificent if hubristic. Architecturally speaking, it was the centrepiece of the 'jewel in the crown' that was Britain's empire in South Asia, surpassing even the splendour of the Victoria Memorial in Calcutta. Nestled at the head of a truly impressive urban planning scheme, at a scale designed to awe, it rose as nothing less than a monument to the imperial idea. Its virtual obsolescence at the time of completion only added to its mystique and majesty. Although in many ways a vain folly, it has never ceased to impress from that day to this, and captures perhaps better than any other single building the presence and authority of political mastery, eclipsing even the self-conscious grandeur of the architecture of Imperial Rome.

However, a building like Viceroy's House suggests to us that a distinction can be drawn between what might nominally be described as 'colonial' and 'imperial' architecture. Imperial architecture can be, and often is, colonial, but colonial architecture is not always imperial. Although it can be argued that all colonial architecture by its very existence is in some sense imperial (as part of a wider social, economic, and political system), a typical domestic dwelling, for instance, is very rarely, if ever, an imperial statement.[1] For a building to carry the added designation 'imperial' (in an active, self-conscious sense) it must therefore embody and convey an idea of imperial rule. Projection of this kind in architecture was often intended to impress the colonizer as much as the colonized. Such buildings not only intimidated those over whom their rule extended but also acted as beacons to those who created them. As its name

[1] Louis Nelson has shown how domestic architecture can be understood as 'imperial' in particular contexts. See L. P. Nelson, *Architecture and Empire in Jamaica* (New Haven, 2016).

indicates, Viceroy's House was an oversized domestic dwelling. But, more than this, it was a gesture towards Britain's image of itself as a global imperial power, as anxious and fraught as that image had become by the early twentieth century. It is mainly for these reasons that Viceroy's House sticks in the mind as the specimen of imperial architecture *par excellence*.

In a volume such as this, it is necessary to draw specific attention to the types of building that were understood to carry such a symbolic burden as the British empire began to expand and coalesce as a self-conscious polity, teasing out in both theory and practice the relationship that was seen to exist between architecture and imperial ideology. This relationship applies also to buildings the primary function of which was not essentially gubernatorial, but which were nonetheless associated with the idea of *imperium* through a combination of their siting, form, and symbolism. In other words, there are many buildings to which one might point that had a direct and obvious connection to the state and imperial governance, whether through administration (government houses, town halls, Residencies, legislatures), the rule of law (court houses, prisons), or the regulation of trade (customs houses), but just as many, or more, that merely had associational significance, such as memorials to individuals (royalty, colonial statesmen, pioneers, explorers) or conflicts (war memorials). More or less, an aura of empire and imperial dominion was understood to emanate from such structures.

As agents of empire, architects too were often crucial to articulating this relationship. Some, such as Herbert Baker, William Emerson, and Aston Webb, to whom we shall return later, were imperial enthusiasts. If inspired, architects could craft buildings layered with meaning and intent, finessing their creations with degrees of association, as in the case of Viceroy's House, or indeed Baker's Union Buildings in Pretoria. As Thomas Metcalf reminds us, the assertion of such ideals through built form was nearly always done with a view to its political effect, making the architect a key intermediary in the creative process.[2]

The objective of this chapter is to trace by example the imperial idea through built form. There are, of course, a huge number of buildings that could be discussed in this regard, far too many to mention here. But through citing representative examples, especially the work of Baker and Lutyens, we will see how and why architecture played this role, and consider the various contexts that were understood to make it necessary. In so doing we shall ask not so much how architecture is imperial but how imperialism took architectural form, thus lending a monumental and supposedly permanent character to the imperial idea.

FROM MEDIEVAL TO MODERN: ASSERTING AUTHORITY THROUGH BUILT FORM IN IRELAND

For Britain, empire is not strictly a modern phenomenon. Although the 'British empire' as we understand it today had its origins in the sixteenth and seventeenth

[2] T. R. Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj* (London, 1989), p. 13.

centuries, England, via the Anglo-Normans and their Plantagenet rulers, had invaded and colonized parts of Ireland as far back as the twelfth century. This period of Lordship, as it is known, was ultimately restricted to the area in and around Dublin, subsequently referred to as 'the Pale', but had reached into many parts of the island by 1300. The foreign, English presence in Ireland therefore has a very long history, and its architectural consequences are not only visible today but, in some instances, became the foundation for larger and longer-lasting interventions, such as Dublin Castle. Ireland thus offers a good point from which to begin an analysis of the relationship between architecture and imperial power, and how this developed over time into and through the early modern and modern periods. If Ireland can indeed be considered a kind of 'laboratory' of empire, offering a terrain in which both the English and Scots could try techniques of conquest and domination, it is here too that we find early experiments in the physical infrastructure of colonization and imperial rule.[3]

The Normans: Precedents and Patterns

Norman success in Ireland, as elsewhere, was partly attributable to the rapid erection of strongholds in strategic locations in order to secure territorial gains.[4] Starting off as timber and earthwork castles, primarily in the form of mottes and baileys, they soon developed into stone fortresses of varying size, including hall houses and tower houses. Although the Norman invasion of Ireland is not directly connected to the rise of modern British imperialism, it is worth observing nonetheless that Norman fortified architecture, which had spread over much of Ireland between the late twelfth and early fourteenth centuries, set a clear precedent for modern types of 'strong house' architecture that followed with plantation culture in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[5] Moreover, the Norman motte-and-bailey-cum-stone-castle type was not merely a functional structure (accommodation, centre of administration, defence) but a political one, too. Its very presence indicated organization, control, and authority. As time went by, these structures, having evolved into larger, even rambling, stone fortresses, also came to signify permanence. Thus, whether referred to as a process of colonization or not, put simply, the presence and durability of Norman castles in Ireland meant the coming and imposition of a foreign, ruling power.[6] This was a phenomenon that would

[3] A succinct account of Ireland in this regard can be found in J. H. Ohlmeyer, 'A Laboratory of Empire?: Early Modern Ireland and English Imperialism', in K. Kenny (ed.), *Ireland and the British Empire* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 26–60. See also N. Canny, 'The Origins of Empire', in N. Canny (ed.), *OHBE*, 5 vols (Oxford, 1999), I, pp, 1–33. This point is made respecting architecture by Eric Klingelhofer in E. Klingelhofer, *Castles and Colonists: An Archaeology of Elizabethan Ireland* (Manchester, 2010), p. 2.

[4] J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The Character of Norman Settlement in Ireland', in J. L. McCracken et al. (eds), *Historical Studies*, 5 (London, 1965), p. 76.

[5] For Anglo-Norman architecture in Ireland, see T. McNeill, *Castles in Ireland: Feudal Power in a Gaelic World* (London, 1997) and D. Sweetman, *Medieval Castles of Ireland* (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 33–88.

[6] Brendan Smith argues that 'colonization' is a useful term with respect to analysing the Norman invasion of Ireland. See B. Smith, *Colonisation and Conquest in Medieval Ireland: The English in Louth, 1170–1330* (Cambridge, 1999).

have been understood as much by the native Gaelic population as by later waves of Tudor and Stuart undertakers (colonists who 'undertook' to hold crown lands). Ireland was a militarized landscape of conquest, political alliance, and division. As David Sweetman has observed, the location of such castles on high ground and in strategic positions, close to river crossings and ports, 'must have had a dramatic effect on the lives of the native Irish. Not only did they control the commerce of the country but these massive piles dominated the landscape and intimidated the people.'[7]

The stone fortress at Trim, Co. Meath (*c.*1175–1204), the stronghold of Hugh de Lacy, was the largest and most impressive of these castles; but perhaps the most significant and enduring was that in Dublin, begun at the command of King John of England in 1204. Dublin Castle is significant because it remained the centre of English and then British administration in Ireland until the early twentieth century. Dublin's strategic location as a port city on the central east coast of Ireland, in close proximity to Britain across the Irish Sea, meant the Castle provided an ideal power base for the English, with the River Liffey giving easy access to the Irish interior. Extending over one and a quarter acres, it was the largest single structure in the medieval city, making it a very prominent symbol of English dominion.[8]

Tudors and Stuarts: The Early Modern Period

Norman castles set the tone for future developments, establishing a mentality that associated Ireland, conquest, and fortified architecture in the English (and Scottish) imagination. Given the history of feudalism, subjugation, and forced cultural transformation connected with medieval and early modern Ireland, it is perhaps not surprising that colonial, or 'plantation', architecture was understood as essentially defensive. Ireland remained a contested domain right up until its independence in 1922, but was considered especially 'obstinate' in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. 'In the wake of the Reformation,' Audrey Horning has observed, 'recalcitrant Catholic Ireland served as an ever-present cause of anxiety and an object of fear [to the English], soon translated into a subject of conquest'.[9] Possession of Ireland was thus a strategic necessity.[10] The ordering of plantations, first by Tudor monarchs (1556, 1586), and then James VI and I (1609), was therefore a punitive undertaking, and an attempt not only to reassert English authority but also a project aimed at 'civilizinge' the native inhabitants, which included inculcating the Protestant religion. This was a process of colonization in all but name.[11] As mentioned by Robert Home and Anthony King (Chapter 2,

[7] Sweetman, *Medieval Castles of Ireland*, p. 33.

[8] See 'Dublin Castle', in A. Jackson, *Buildings of Empire* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 12–33.

[9] A. Horning, *Ireland in the Virginian Sea: Colonialism in the British Atlantic* (Chapel Hill, 2013), p. 17.

[10] The standard account of this process and its consequences is N. Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580–1650* (Oxford, 2003).

[11] Some have argued that Ireland cannot be considered a colony of England as it had acquired the status of a kingdom by 1542. However, as Jane Ohlmeyer observes, this is something of a red herring as the process of conquest, plantation, and its cultural consequences was certainly one of colonization

pp. 57–9), plantation culture had very specific spatial characteristics, ranging from landscape enclosure and transformation via modern agriculture, through the erection of towns and settlements, to individual forts and estates.[12] For the Tudors, this concerned the erecting of fences, diches, hedges, houses, and walls of various kinds to make a clear distinction between 'ordered' and 'wild' space. As John Patrick Montaño has observed, the strategy was to build with 'quality' materials such as stone so that houses and fortifications would become 'a visible indication of the control of the landscape that all might equate with authority and civilization'.[13] Indeed, upon his appointment as Lord Deputy, Sir Henry Sidney noted how the rudiments of Tudor settlement in Ireland were 'in effecte the onelie monuments of obedience and nurceries of civilitie in this Countrie'.[14]

Although the results of the Tudor and Stuart colonization of Ireland were mixed, distinct sets of rules were drawn up for plantation. In Tudor times there were, among other documents, the 'Ordinances for Ireland' (1534), as well as the numerous 'Instructions' issued by queens Mary and Elizabeth in the 1550s and 1560s. In the early seventeenth century a more comprehensive and systematic strategy emerged for the plantation of Ulster, which reinforced the policy of erecting substantial buildings. Known as the 'Orders and Conditions', and initiated in January 1609 by the Commissioners for Irish Causes in London, these rules stipulated, among other things, that undertakers granted 2,000 acres or more were required to 'build thereupon a castle, with a strong court or bawne about it'. Those of less than 2,000 acres were required at least to 'build a stone or bricke house', likewise with a bawn.[15] In addition, each applicant 'before he be receiued to be an Undertaker shall take the Oath of Supremacie, either in the Chancerie of England or Scotland, or before the Commissioners to bee appointed for the establishing of the Plantation' (i.e. he must promote Protestantism).[16]

This renewed determination to build masonry structures clearly connected the plantation strong house to earlier, medieval tower and castellated house types in Ireland.[17] As undertakers moved in from England and lowland Scotland to take up

whether one wishes to define it legally that way or not. See J. Ohlmeyer, 'Introduction: for God, King or Country? Political Thought and Culture in Seventeenth-century Ireland', in J. H. Ohlmeyer (ed.), *Political Thought in Seventeenth-Century Ireland: Kingdom or Colony* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 15.

[12] For the Elizabethan enterprise in Munster, see Klingelhofer, *Castles and Colonists*. For a theoretical account, see M. Dorrian, 'On Some Aspects of the Colonial Discourse on Ireland', *The Journal of Architecture*, vol. 6 (2001), pp. 27–51. For the Tudor legacy and empire, see J. S. Hower, 'Under One (Inherited) Imperial Crown: The Tudor Origins of Britain and its Empire, 1603–1625', *Britain and the World*, vol. 8:2 (2015), pp. 160–80.

[13] J. P. Montaño, *The Roots of English Colonialism in Ireland* (Cambridge, 2011), p. 244. Chapter 5 of this book is the single most comprehensive account of the strategy of material culture in the Tudor colonization of Ireland.

[14] Sidney quoted in *ibid.*, p. 249.

[15] *A Collection of Such Orders and Conditions are as to be observed by the Undertakers upon the Distribution and Plantation of the Escheated Lands in Ulster* (London, 1609).

[16] Select Documents 'XXVIII. – The revised Articles of the Ulster Plantation, 1610', *Historical Research*, vol. 12:36 (2007), p. 181.

[17] S. Weadick, 'How Popular were Fortified Houses in Irish Castle Building History? A Look at their Numbers in the Archaeological Record and Distribution Patterns', in J. Lyttleton and C. Rynne (eds), *Plantation Ireland: Settlement and Material Culture, c.1550–c.1700* (Dublin, 2000), pp. 61–85.

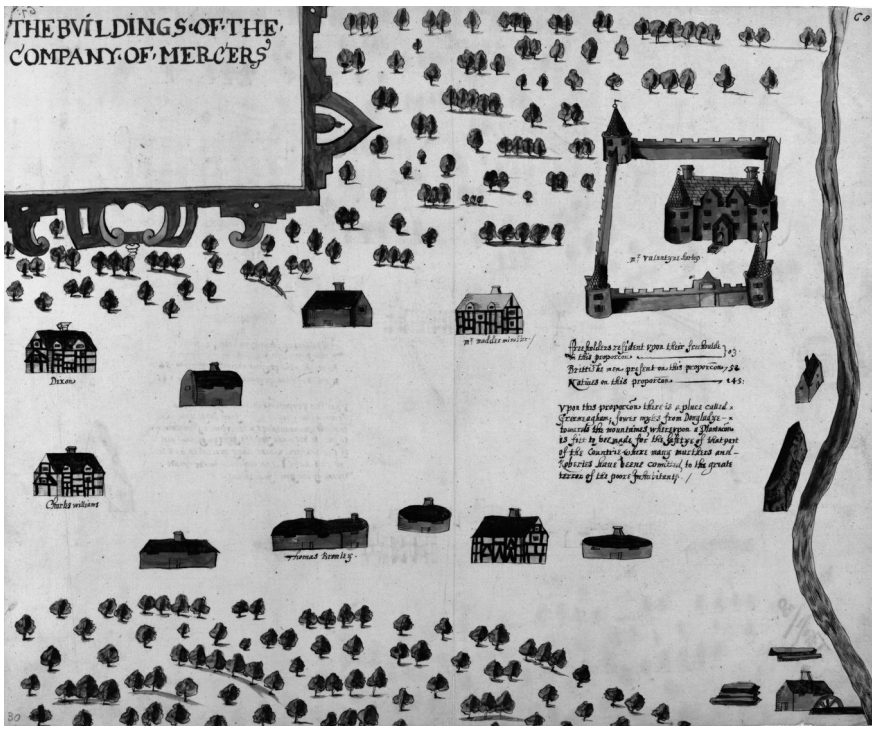

Figure 3.1. Detail of Thomas Raven's 1622 map of Co. Londonderry, showing the 'buildings of the company of Mercers' at Movanagher. The strong house (*top right*), typical of such constructions, was described in Pynnar's survey as 'thoroughly finished and . . . not inferior to any'. However, the plantation was overrun by insurgents in 1641–2 and later abandoned (courtesy Deputy Keeper of the Records, Public Record Office of Northern Ireland and Lambeth Palace Library, T510/1/30).

holdings in Munster, Ulster, and elsewhere, they built in such a way as not only to protect their interests but also to demonstrate their hold over the land (indeed, Irish laws were overturned to facilitate this).[18] Much like Norman fortified architecture before it, the plantation strong house was both a domestic dwelling and a kind of military installation. Its thick stone walls, including characteristic features such as bartizans, parapet walls, flanking towers ('flankers'), battering, and bawns, often with loopholes, expressed an overtly cautious if not aggressive air, connoting both physical and metaphorical strength (Figure 3.1). Ultimately, such architecture

[18] Montaño, *Roots of English Colonialism*, pp. 220–1, 229–30, 243–4. A concise account of this architecture can be found in R. Loeber, 'The Early Seventeenth-Century Ulster and Midland Plantations, Part II: The New Architecture', in O. Horsfall Turner (ed.), '*The Mirror of Great Britain': National Identity in Seventeenth-Century British Architecture* (Reading, 2012), pp. 101–38. See also, H. G. Leask, 'Early Seventeenth-century Houses in Ireland', in E. M. Jope (ed.), *Studies in Building History: Essays in Recognition of the Work of B. H. St. J. O'Neil* (London, 1961), pp. 243–50. For the Elizabethan period, see Klingelhofer, *Castles and Colonists.*

signified the imposition of an alien culture intent upon overrunning, and to a large extent excluding, the 'meere Irish' and their Gaelic heritage.[19]

It is interesting to note that this kind of architecture, aside from being a continuation of previous practices, also carried specific cultural markers. Scots planters in Ulster, for instance, imported fortified 'Z'- and 'L'-plan tower house models from their native lowland Scotland, complete with corbelled turrets and crow-step gables.[20] Prominent examples of this type in Ireland include Monea Castle, Co. Fermanagh (1618); Ballygally Castle, Co. Antrim (1625); the Customs House, Bangor (*c.*1637), Co. Down; and Derrywoone (*c.*1620) and Mountcastle (1619), both in Co. Tyrone. This phenomenon is perhaps not surprising given the Scots' proclivity to congregate, intermarry, and patronize one another, as if creating a microcosm of Scotland abroad.[21]

In addition to English and Scottish styles of architecture, planters of all stripes were keen to adopt metropolitan fashions in an attempt to demonstrate their 'civilized' and 'improving' credentials.[22] This conscious self-fashioning through built form and material culture resulted in an unparalleled architectural phenomenon that ultimately and all but completely transformed the character of the Irish landscape between 1590 and 1650. In towns and cities, too, this desire was no less apparent. The instatement of modern techniques of spatial organization led to wide, orthogonal streets, arranged according to the latest theories of European master planning, including sturdy fortifications. This cast a new kind of order over Ireland, evident in the plans for settlements such as Coleraine, Londonderry, and Bandon. In Raven's 1622 plan for Londonderry, for instance, lying at the centre of the scheme, in the 'diamond', was the proposal for a large, semi-fortified town hall and market house, bristling with cannon (see Figure 2.1).[23] Although not built in this manner, the idea nonetheless embodied a certain political economy regarding the fusion of government, commerce, and defence that lay at the heart of the plantation enterprise in colonial Ireland.

Thus, in so many ways, plantation architecture was a key infrastructural component of English colonization in Ireland and its accompanying imperialist ideology. It had become the physical manifestation of a distinctive political discourse concerning the conquest and reformation of that territory. Without it, it is hard to

[19] As Montaño observes, this is something that the Irish fully understood in relation to this architecture. See Montaño, *Roots of English Colonialism*, pp. 217–18, 247–8.

[20] E. M. Jope, 'Scottish Influences in the North of Ireland: Castles with Scottish Features, 1580–1640', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 3rd series, vol. 14 (1951), pp. 31–47; D. M. Waterman, 'Some Irish Seventeenth-century Houses and Their Architectural Ancestry', in Jope, *Studies in Building History*, pp. 251–74.

[21] Canny, *Making Ireland British*, pp. 234–5. Enniskillen Castle, Co. Fermanagh, is another exemplar of this tradition, in particular the so-called Watergate. Although erected in 1607 by order of Sir William Cole, it is very much in the Scottish tower-house manner, and was most likely built by Scottish masons active in the area. See E. M. Jope, 'Enniskillen Water-Gate: A Further Note', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 3rd series, vol. 16 (1953), p. 68.

[22] Ohlmeyer, 'A Laboratory of Empire?', p. 47.

[23] E. McParland, *Public Architecture in Ireland 1680–1760* (New Haven and London, 2001), p. 31. See also A. Kincaid, *Postcolonial Dublin: Imperial Legacies and the Built Environment* (Minneapolis, 2006), p. xix.

imagine just how the process of colonization and 'pacification' could have taken place. Plantation architecture in Ireland symbolized, both in its form and character, the dawn of a new, more systematic and determined age of empire—one that would soon be exported overseas, to the Americas and beyond.[24]

Protestant Ascendency: Dublin as Administrative Centre

By the end of the seventeenth century the Protestant Ascendency in Ireland had become thoroughly entrenched. With lands having been confiscated on a massive scale in the aftermath of a century of conquest, war, and rebellion, the Protestant elite maintained a tight grip over Irish affairs. Their powerbase was Dublin, in the ultimate personage of the Lord Lieutenant, or viceroy, who was the official representative of the English monarch (subsequently Great Britain and the United Kingdom) in Ireland, and who acted on advice given by the chief secretary for Ireland as administrative superintendent. Both resided at Dublin Castle, where the Lord Lieutenant lived and where the chief secretary's offices were located. Thus, despite Ireland's designation as a separate kingdom in 1542, and the creation of its own independent legislature in 1782, Westminster retained much executive power at Dublin Castle.

Having fallen into substantial disrepair and near ruin by fire in 1684, the castle underwent several stages of refurbishment beginning with the Duke of Ormonde and subsequent Lords Lieutenant. By the 1750s, the complex had been largely altered and rebuilt, with several fine specimens of Anglo-Palladian classicism making up the State Apartments in the Upper Yard, including the majestic Bedford Tower and its flanking gateways (Figure 3.2). The Georgian splendour that the castle had come to reflect by the late eighteenth century, both inside and out, was a world away from its early modern state of dilapidation and near abandonment.[25]

If the viceroy was the personification of Ascendency culture and its ruling practices (and prejudices) in Ireland, then Dublin Castle and its architecture was nothing less than a symbol of that imposition. In much the same way that Viceroy's House in New Delhi came to embody British imperialism in South Asia, Dublin Castle was a monument to the same idea in Ireland. As Ashley Jackson reminds us, the Castle's cultivation of a courtly culture mirroring that of St James's in London, including its rise as a centre of patronage, discrimination, and excess, meant that it gained a reputation as a locale of sycophantic social climbing as members of the Protestant elite clambered for preferment and promotion. It was here, through the Castle's increasingly well-appointed and decorated corridors and apartments, that those institutions at the foundation of

[24] For the export of this kind of architecture to the Americas, see Nelson, *Architecture and Empire*, pp. 54–64.

[25] The standard account of the rebuilding of Dublin Castle can be found in McParland, *Public Architecture in Ireland*, pp. 92–113.

Figure 3.2. Palladian splendour: Bedford Tower (1750–*c.*1758), in the Upper Yard at Dublin Castle, by Arthur Jones Neville and Thomas Eyre.

English, and later British, rule in Ireland—the army, the judiciary, government, and the church—traced their legitimacy.[26]

But Dublin Castle was not the only building that embodied this imposed political order. Indeed, much of the wider evolving urban landscape in Dublin had become a semiotic domain by the mid- to late eighteenth century, in which contested visions of Irish identity and politics were played out through civic improvement and street widening initiatives. Here public statuary was key. Those that focused attention most were the equestrian monuments of kings William III, George I, and George II, erected between 1701 and 1758. As Yvonne Whelan and Robin Usher have argued, these statues, through their siting and appearance, were seen both to embody and consolidate Ascendency order, constructing the idea of Dublin as a loyal, Protestant, and ultimately modern city—one that could take pride of place in the ever-expanding commercial and political interests of the British imperial state.[27] Their iconographic efficacy in this regard is betrayed by the fact that they were never secure or uncontroversial symbols of identity, often

[26] Jackson, *Buildings of Empire*, pp. 24–9. See also, R. Usher, *Protestant Dublin, 1660–1760: Architecture and Iconography* (Basingstoke, 2012), pp. 142–9.

[27] Y. Whelan, 'The Construction and Destruction of a Colonial Landscape: Monuments to British Monarchs in Dublin Before and After Independence', *Journal of Historical Geography*, vol. 28:4 (2002), pp. 508–33; Usher, *Protestant Dublin*, pp. 96–128.

acting as lightning rods for civil unrest and discontent, leading to their ignominious demise in the early twentieth century following Irish independence.[28] Among the most controversial was that erected in memory of Queen Victoria in 1908, the unwanted effigy of that 'oriental potentate', as derided in the *Dáil Debates*.[29] It was relatively short-lived, however. Despite being unveiled amid considerable pomp and circumstance, it was torn down in 1948. It remained in Ireland, first in the grounds at the Royal Hospital, Kilmainham, then forgotten in storage, before ending up, ironically enough, in Sydney in 1986 as a gift from the people of Ireland for the celebration of Australia's bicentenary.[30]

Thus, the way in which the principal thoroughfares of the city were steadily remade from the 1750s onwards, linking key buildings and spaces, including numerous politically freighted monuments, worked to make clear the connection between the kingdom of Ireland and its colonial rulers. Much of this replanning was carried out under the auspices of the centrally administered Commission for Wide and Convenient Streets, which was essentially an urban regeneration and beautification agency acting in the interests of the Protestant ruling elite.[31] Certain landmark buildings, such as the Royal Exchange, the Custom House, the Four Courts, and the new Irish Parliament building—paid for by Westminster via the administrative government in Dublin—lay at the heart of this 'improving' agenda, standing in as symbols of a reformed and 'civilized' polity. High-minded officials viewed architecture and urban 'improvement' in this respect as one of the most effective means of expressing the benefits of imperial union, both economically and artistically.[32]

On this point it is worth pondering the Four Courts building (1785–1802). This structure, located at Inns Quay and designed by James Gandon (1743–1823), an English architect trained under William Chambers in London, was the seat of the Lord Chancellor and Lord Chief Justice of Ireland. Architecturally, it is distinguished by its grand and stoic demeanor, characteristic of the neoclassical tradition of eighteenth-century British architecture in which it is styled—a mode of architecture heavily associated with the British social and political elite (Figure 3.3). It had long been the ambition of the civic authorities in Dublin to furnish the city with a more stately and commodious form of administrative architecture. By the 1750s the time appeared right to reclaim the buildings in and around the Inns Quay from 'prostitutes and thieves' and to erect in their place an imposing 'Suit of Buildings' for public convenience.[33] Although originally planned as Public Offices,

[28] Y. Whelan, 'Monuments, Power and Contested Space—The Iconography of Sackville Street (O'Connell Street) before Independence (1922)', *Irish Geography*, vol. 34:1 (2001), pp. 11–33.

[29] Whelan, 'The Construction and Destruction', p. 524.

[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 524–8. For statues to Queen Victoria in other parts of the British empire, see 'Sculpture and Ceremonial', in M. Droth, J. Edwards, and M. Hatt (eds), *Sculpture Victorious: Art in an Age of Invention, 1837–1901* (New Haven and London, 2015), pp. 102–47.

[31] M. Fraser, 'Public Building and Colonial Policy in Dublin, 1760–1800', *Architectural History*, vol. 28 (1985), pp. 113–20.

[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 102–23.

[33] E. McPharland, 'The Early History of James Gandon's Four Courts', *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 122 (Nov. 1980), pp. 727–8.

Figure 3.3. Four Courts, Dublin (1785–1802), by James Gandon.

the project came to include by the 1780s a 'Hall of Justice', resulting in the building we see today.

The court's prime riverfront location on the Liffey merely amplified the commanding presence of its architecture, proudly pronouncing the political and legal basis of colonial authority. The rule of law was of course central to that authority's ideology of supposed benign domination. Indeed, in his *A New Picture of Dublin* (1821), John McGregor observed of the building how 'the panels over the entrances . . . represent William the Conqueror establishing Courts of Justice . . . King John signing Magna Carta, Henry II receiving the Irish Chieftains, and James I abolishing the Brehon [Celtic] laws'. The message seemed clear. As Andrew Kincaid has remarked: 'Enlightened English law' was understood as both 'evolutionary and based on the submission of an older, more tribal, Gaelic order'.[34] Thus, the Four Courts, with its sentinel-like dome peering across the Dublin skyline, reflected not only ideas of prosperity, modernity, and the dignity of state but also, and more specifically, the political and cultural authority of Westminster (the metropolis).

[34] Kincaid, *Postcolonial Dublin*, p. xxv.

Figure 3.4. Detail of waterfront façade to the Custom House, Dublin (1781–91), by James Gandon, showing Edward Smyth's pediment sculpture depicting the benefits of Anglo-Irish union.

Gandon's new Custom House (1781–91) also embodied these sentiments (see Figure 1.8). Its size, elegance, and coherence as a grand work of British neo-classicism—located prominently on the north bank of the Liffey, just east of the city centre—was invested, as Robin Usher has noted, with an iconography that played up the altruistic guidance offered to Ireland by imperial authority.[35] The building's ornamental sculpture, executed by Edward Smyth, communicates a narrative of cooperation and mutual benefit through commerce and union. On the river façade can be seen heraldic cartouches depicting the Irish harp flanked by a British lion and unicorn recumbent, surmounted by an imperial crown; while in the pediment, figures representing Hibernia and Britannia are shown embracing, with Neptune expelling famine (Figure 3.4). On the rear façade, directly above the entrance portico, are located allegorical figures depicting the four corners of the globe, emphasizing Ireland's global connections through imperial trade. Indeed, the latest theories on civic architecture, proffered by none other than Gandon's former master, William Chambers, had sought to link classical architecture with the virtues of commerce. The wrangle between central administration in the Castle and the Dublin Corporation over the building's existence and siting serves to prove that the Custom House had indeed become a significant component of British imperial policy in Ireland.[36] Again, in the words of Usher: '[h]ere, eloquently but

[35] Usher, *Protestant Dublin*, p. 164.
[36] See Fraser, 'Public Building and Colonial Policy', pp. 107–13.

insistently, is William Pitt's…vision of a prosperous, but subordinate, Ireland bound to Britain by barter'.[37] It is little wonder then that buildings such as the Four Courts and the Custom House ended up being targeted and partially destroyed during the Easter Uprising (1916), the War of Independence (1919–21), and the subsequent Irish Civil War of 1922–3.

THE 'EDWARDIAN BAROQUE' MOMENT: STYLING THE EMPIRE IN ASIA AND AFRICA

Moving beyond Ireland, into the wider British world, it is easy enough to find themes of this nature repeated in any number of buildings and monuments. The other chapters in this volume highlight many of these, discussing them in the context of their production and stressing the contingencies that shaped their character. However, given the nature of architectural training, agency, and professionalization coming into the nineteenth century, as well as networking and the increasing movement of personnel and ideas around the world, certain patterns are both observable and recurring. This family resemblance, as it were, which relates to style, materials, spatial arrangement, and/or programme, is evident everywhere, but more so in particular places at specific times. Where the British encountered large, pre-established cultures and civilizations, as in Africa and Asia, the 'fabric' of imperial rule tended to be more forthright, conspicuous, and even self-conscious, partly out of a need to impress authority through symbols of power, and partly for the British governing classes (both at home and *in situ*) to convince themselves of their right and 'duty' to rule. In other types of colony, such as crown colonies and dominions with higher degrees of self-government, such as Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, the stress on 'control', segregation, and the exercise of authority was less pressing, if at all—here issues of cultural continuity and identity were more important, as witnessed in legislative buildings which, despite stylistic correspondence with the metropolis, embodied a certain desire for self-determination. To be sure, all 'imperial architecture' is a combination of these factors, but the emphases may be seen to vary from context to context, building to building.

An instructive episode in the history of such architecture, and one that self-consciously allied itself to ideas of empire and their formal representation, was the so-called Edwardian Baroque movement in British architecture. As discussed in Chapter 4 (pp. 150–1), this movement, which at the time was referred to as the 'Renaissance Revival' or 'Grand Manner' style, and which flourished between about 1895 and 1920, reaching a peak around 1905, also evolved in an atmosphere of heightened imperial consciousness, including an anxiety that Britain was in a state of economic and political decline. It was a style of architecture that drew specifically on a national tradition of classicism, in particular the great seventeenth- and eighteenth-century 'English masters' Christopher Wren, Nicholas Hawksmoor, John Vanbrugh, James Gibbs, and Inigo Jones, and was adopted

[37] Usher, *Protestant Dublin*, p. 165. See also Kincaid, *Postcolonial Dublin*, pp. 1–6.

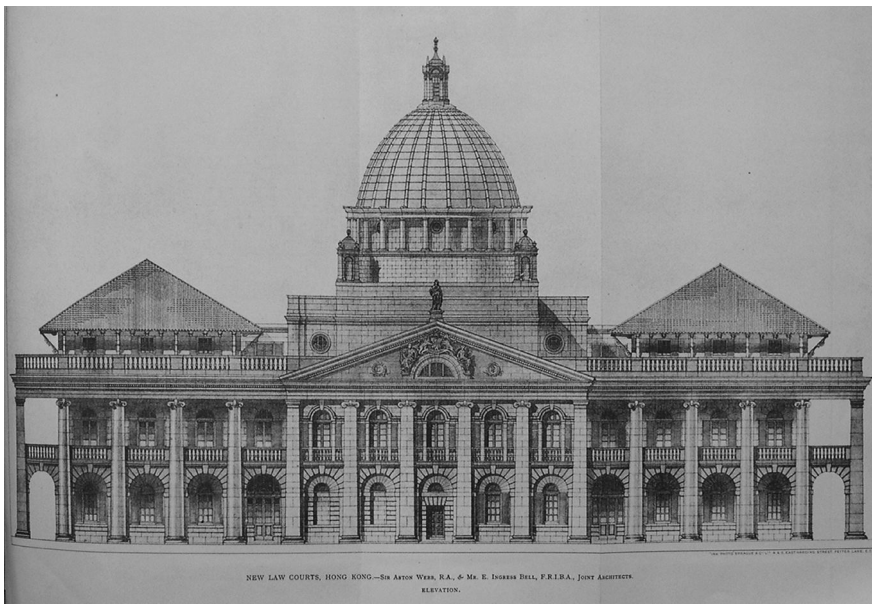

Figure 3.5. Aston Webb and E. Ingress Bell's final design for the Hong Kong Supreme Court, Hong Kong (1898–1912), as exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1908 (source: *The Builder*, May 1908).

throughout Britain and the wider British world, especially in the dominions. Seeking a certain masculine sobriety, it was an architecture of 'the stiff upper lip', and the closest Britain came to forging a true and consistent imperial style, one that Herbert Baker would later suggest was a manifest expression of 'law, order, and government'.

There are numerous examples of this type that one could point to, including Belfast City Hall (1896–1906), Durban City Hall (1905–10), or the Saskatchewan Legislative Building (1908–12), but the one that highlights some of the tensions inherent in the movement, as well as the ideas it attempted to communicate, is the Hong Kong Supreme Court (1899–1912), designed by the London-based partnership of Aston Webb and E. Ingress Bell (for other buildings in this style, see Chapters 7, 9, and 10, pp. 269, 348–9, 378–9). Beginning with the building's overall appearance, perhaps its single most striking feature (in comparison to the type of architecture that had come before in Hong Kong) was its distinctly 'English' character. In short, it was an intelligent and knowing response to English 'Renaissance' models (Figure 3.5). The architects intended the building to recall St Paul's cathedral in London—the great masterwork of Christopher Wren, and a building that by the late nineteenth century had come to symbolize both Britain and metropolitan values in general.[38] In this sense, notions of identity were clearly at the forefront of

[38] The National Archive, London: Colonial Office series CO129, Hong Kong/302, 141.

the architects' minds. But what did identity mean in this case, and how was it related to imperial dominion?

The Hong Kong Supreme Court, by its very existence, was designed not only to administer the law but also to represent it. The 'rule of law' was a cornerstone of British culture and civilization, and the British naturally exported it—in various states of perfection—wherever they went as part of their self-appointed civilizing mission. As we saw in the case of the Four Courts in Dublin, court houses were more than just buildings: they were a key piece of institutional machinery through which British society might be replicated and 'backward' and insurgent forms of 'native' culture tempered, suppressed, and even eradicated. This was the overriding sentiment that accompanied the ceremonies for both the laying of the Supreme Court's foundation stone in 1903, and its official opening in 1912.

For instance, in his speech at the lying of the foundation stone, as if conjuring the building's final form, Chief Justice Sir William Goodman—himself something of a colonial careerist, having previously served as Attorney General and then Chief Justice of British Honduras—drew attention to Britain's responsibilities as a European power in Asia, observing how it was 'most important, *especially so in the Oriental countries*, that justice should be administered not only with firmness, impartiality and promptitude, but also with dignity'.[39] Nine years later, at the building's official opening, Sir Frederick Lugard (1858–1945), the colony's then governor and also a colonial careerist, observed how '[its] massive granite walls and pillars' stood unrivalled in the Far East, adding: 'it seems to be a thoroughly British sentiment that our Courts of Justice shall always surpass all other structures in durability, firm set on their foundations and built four-square to all the winds that blow. . . . It is a grand conception—it is the conception on which the British Empire has been built.'[40]

Apart from their banality, what these statements point to in the case of Hong Kong is the colonial society's heightened sense of isolation and vulnerability in the face of the overwhelming threat of mainland Imperial China—a threat that may not have been imminent, but one that was ever present, especially as the Hong Kong Chinese population outnumbered the Europeans on the island some twenty to one.[41] Hence the strident emphasis on law and 'justice', expressed unequivocally in the building's apparently confident if sober massiveness. These characteristics, however, would have meant something entirely different to the majority of the Chinese migrant population living on the island, approximating something closer to oppression than justice.[42]

Nevertheless, the enthusiastic rhetoric that accompanied the advent of this building belied the tension that resided at its heart. Initially, as in the case of the new Custom House in Dublin, the local administration resisted strongly the

[39] *Hongkong Telegraph* (12 November 1903). [40] *Hongkong Telegraph* (15 January 1912).

[41] G. A. Bremner and D. P. Y. Lung, 'Spaces of Exclusion: The Significance of Cultural Identity in the Formation of European Residential Districts in British Hong Kong, 1877–1904', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, vol. 21 (2003), pp. 239–40. See also K. Lowe and E. McLaughlin, 'Sir John Pope Hennessy and the "native race craze": Colonial Government in Hong Kong, 1877–1882', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol. 20 (1992), pp. 223–47.

[42] For instance, see C. Munn, 'The Criminal Trial under Early Colonial Rule', in T.-W. Ngo (ed.), *Hong Kong's History: State and Society under Colonial Rule* (London, 1999), pp. 46–73.

overtures of the Colonial Office to dictate how and by whom the new court should be designed. Webb and Bell were considered 'foreign' architects, with little or no understanding of local conditions. Moreover, they merely devised and sent their plans from London, not ever having visited the site (a not uncommon practice). A row erupted, with the Colonial Office eventually prevailing on account of its financing the project. Part of the problem was that much nineteenth-century architecture in British Hong Kong was not in fact metropolitan but regionally influenced, owing to the colony's relationship to India, Singapore, and Australia. Therefore the Hong Kong Supreme Court was an imperial statement in two senses of the term: upon Asia and the peoples and civilizations of that region, and upon the colonial administration itself.[43] The building was also erected by a noted Hong Kong Chinese contractor, revealing the levels of cooperation and collaboration between the Colonial authorities and the local Chinese inhabitants. As Preeti Chopra discusses further in Chapter 8, such factors are important to how we interpret a building as 'imperial', and on what terms.

Many of the sentiments regarding architectural principles, style, and symbolism expressed in the Hong Kong Supreme Court were reflected in another imperial edifice of this period: the Victoria Memorial Hall (1906–21) in Calcutta (Figure 3.6). Rising 160 feet above the flat of the *maidan*, and dominating the skyline immediately west of the city, the building is among the more overt and visually spectacular symbols of imperial rule in Britain's empire. Constructed of the same white marble as the Taj Mahal, which came from the very same quarries in Makrana, it was intended as a deliberate echo of that most famous and romantic of Mughal mausolea. The proposal was the brainchild of Lord Curzon (1859–1925), viceroy of British India at the time of queen Victoria's death, who took the opportunity to present the memorial as a kind of imperial Valhalla, bemoaning 'how little anyone seemed to care, or even remember, the mighty deeds that had been wrought [by the British] on Indian soil'.[44] For Curzon, a noted imperialist, the Memorial was to be nothing less than a 'monument' to empire, and would, he hoped, be 'one of the architectural masterpieces of the world'.[45] Indeed, as Thomas Metcalf has observed, it was designed not just to impress Indians but also the British and their continental rivals of the power and splendour of the Raj. To this end the building would be turned over to receiving and displaying objects (artefacts, prints, drawings, paintings, and models) that recounted Britain's achievements on the Indian subcontinent.

Its architect was William Emerson (1843–1924), someone who had experience in India, and someone who was sympathetic to the Indo-Saracenic approach in architecture. However, upon Curzon's insistence, Emerson based his design on

[43] For a detailed account of this building, see G. A. Bremner, 'Fabricating Justice: Conflict and Contradiction in the Making of the Hong Kong Supreme Court, 1898–1912', in L. Victoir and V. Zatsepin (eds), *From Harbin to Hanoi: Colonial Built Environment in Asia, 1840–1940* (Hong Kong, 2012), pp. 156–80.

[44] Curzon quoted in P. Davies, *Splendours of the Raj: British Architecture in India 1660–1947* (Harmondsworth, 1985), p. 211.

[45] Curzon quoted in Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision*, pp. 203, 205.

Figure 3.6. Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta (1906–21), by William Emerson.

classical European models to fit with the architectural surrounds of Calcutta, but subtly infused it with indigenous flourishes (a 'suggestion of orientalism', as he called it). These can be seen, for instance, in the domes of the corner turrets. Directly beneath the great dome itself, which, among its other allusions, recalled that of St Paul's in London, was a statue of the young queen, while on the inside drum murals were placed depicting scenes from the queen's life, including her inauguration as queen-empress at the Delhi durbar (Imperial Assemblage) of 1877. In leaving India in 1905, Curzon was therefore anxious to leave for posterity a monument that spoke to the greatness of Britain's civilizing mission in Asia, demonstrating how it was sometimes the decisive intervention of ideologically minded individuals that led to the creation of such buildings.

Herbert Baker and Cecil Rhodes in South Africa

One of the most imperially minded British architects of this period was Herbert Baker (1862–1946).[46] His example is instructive for what it reveals about the

[46] As noted in the obituary of Baker that appeared in *The Round Table* (36:142, 1946): 'the two absorbing passions of his life were architecture and the British Commonwealth. His artistic imagination stimulated, and was in turn nourished by, his faith in the civilizing power of the Empire' (pp. 107–8). For more on Baker as an imperial ideologue, see D. E. Grieg, *Herbert Baker in South Africa* (Cape Town, 1970), pp. 33–7; R. G. Irving, *Indian Summer: Lutyens, Baker and Imperial Delhi* (New Haven and London, 1981), pp. 275–8; M. Keath, *Herbert Baker: Architecture and Idealism 1892–1913. The South African Years* (Gibraltar, n.d.), pp. vii–viii.

agency of particular architects, their ideological disposition, and the realization of their ambitions through circles of patronage, all at a time when British imperial sentiment was at its climax.

Born in Cobham, Kent, and articled to his cousin, Arthur Baker, Herbert became an 'improver' in the office of Ernest George & Peto, before making his way to South Africa in March 1892, not long after having gained his RIBA accreditation. Here, 'in this land of promise', he dreamed of forging a great architectural career. He was in luck. The interest of his brother Lionel in fruit farming brought Baker into contact with one Cecil John Rhodes (1853–1902), the immensely wealthy and controversial mining magnate, imperialist, and Prime Minister of the Cape Colony. Rhodes quickly realized Baker's potential as an architect, both to himself and for his vision of a united South Africa, recruiting him to renovate and extend his principal residence, Groote Schuur, the seventeenth-century Cape Dutch house on the slopes of Devil's Peak at Rondebosch in Cape Town (see Figure 6.1). A firm friendship ensued, with Rhodes becoming a mentor and patron to Baker.

The basis of their friendship was a shared ideal concerning the purpose and meaning of architecture.[47] Inspired by the great buildings of ancient Greece and Rome, and alive to the unifying potential of 'political architecture', Rhodes was in search of a monumental style that would both adorn a newly federated South Africa and be a fitting emblem of the political and cultural ambitions of British imperialism. His vision was to bring Boer and Briton together through the reconciliatory power of built form, and as the Second Anglo-Boer War neared its end in 1902, the idea began to quicken. Indeed, as Donal Lowry has noted, Rhodes had long been sensitive to the symbolic importance of architecture, having built a house for himself on the site of Lobengula's kraal, Matabeleland, following the Matabele wars (1893–4, 1896) 'as if to highlight his claim to succeed the king [Lobengula] as ruler of Matabeleland [Rhodesia, modern Zimbabwe]'.[48] Moreover, and no doubt stirred by his recollections of Ruskin while at Oxford, Rhodes's 'doctrine of ransom' dictated that if progress required the defilement of the 'fair face of Nature', then due reparation ought to come in the form of great and inspirational works of art. In the words of Baker: 'The contrast of the tin shanties of Kimberley with the architectural glories of Oxford may have stimulated his conception of the doctrine. . . . He was wont to say that through art Pericles taught the lazy Athenians to believe in Empire.'[49]

In aid of his vision for nation and empire, Rhodes sent Baker on an all-expenses-paid tour of Egypt, Italy, and Greece, to the same places that he himself had visited only a few years earlier. Here Baker studied the temples and palaces of

[47] Rhodes's views on empire extended well beyond territorial expansion for its own sake, being built ultimately upon the notion of a pan-global union of 'English speaking peoples', and the propagation of peace and 'civilization' that would come with this. For an overview of Rhodes's views on empire, see W. T. Stead, *The Last Will and Testament of Cecil John Rhodes* (London, 1902), pp. 51–175.

[48] D. Lowry, '"The granite of the ancient North": Race, Nation, and Empire at Cecil Rhodes's Mountain Mausoleum and Rhodes House, Oxford', in R. Wrigley and M. Craske (eds), *Pantheons: Transformations of a Monumental Idea* (Aldershot, 2004), p. 200.

[49] H. Baker, *Cecil Rhodes by His Architect* (London,1934), p. 10.

Thebes, Rome, and Athens, in particular the Acropolis; but it was southern Italy and Sicily and the ancient sites of Paestum and Agrigentum that captured his imagination. What struck Baker most of all was the 'magnificent conception' of the Greek cities, often perched high on a 'kopje', overlooking the sea. He concluded that the carefully studied scale and imaginative distribution of the temples and other public buildings in these cities were designed to 'impress the beholder' at a distance.[50] This characteristic dovetailed precisely with Rhodes's architectural instincts. Baker later recalled how Rhodes had a predilection for 'the big and simple, barbaric if you like' in architecture. In this idea 'imperfection meant perfection hid', as Rhodes groped after a raw, masculine classicism, one that 'its generation had not realized was becoming classical', and one that would be most suitable to the climate, landscape, and peoples of southern Africa.[51] If the vision was hazy, the sentiment was clear: in this architectural partnership Baker was to aid Rhodes in becoming the 'Pericles and Hadrian' of modern Africa.

Initially at least, the purpose behind Baker's tour was to formulate an adequate commemorative response to those who had fallen at the Siege of Kimberley (October 1899–February 1900) during the outbreak of the Second Anglo-Boer War.[52] Controversially, Rhodes, whose leading role in the botched Jameson Raid (29 December 1895–2 January 1896) had been one of the main causes of the war, had come to Kimberley just prior to the onset of the siege. The town was the base of operations of his diamond mining company De Beers. Here, languishing as a 'sterilized dictator', he turned his attention to contemplating how he might best memorialize the defenders of the town once the siege had lifted.[53] Appealing to Rhodes's notion of the elemental in architecture, Baker at first proposed a massive podium topped by two monumental 'cones', based on the remnants of the so-called tomb of Romulus on the Alban hills in Rome. No mere totem of victory, this was intended to symbolize Rhodes's political goal of uniting the 'two equal races' of Briton and Boer within the confines of a consolidated British empire.[54]

However, Baker's proposal was considered unsuited to the flat urban site in the town that had been set aside for the memorial. Working on a second design, he turned to the tomb of Theron at Agrigento (Akragas) for inspiration. Baker had sketched this ancient dilapidated monument during his visit to Sicily, translating its massing and proportions as the base for the memorial, and topping it with a four-square, columned tetrastyle temple (Figure 3.7). Although Rhodes would not live to see the memorial's completion (1904), Rudyard Kipling, who, as the great poet of empire, was asked to compose the inscription, later wrote to Baker describing it as a 'wonderful bit of work'. If nothing else, the memorial certainly captured

[50] H. Baker, 'The Architectural Needs of South Africa', *The State* (May 1909), pp. 514–15. See also H. Baker, 'Style in Architecture in Relation to Building Problems in South Africa' (n.d.), RIBA Library Drawings and Archives Collection, Baker Letters: BaH/64/1, pp. 393–4.

[51] Baker, 'The Architectural Needs of South Africa', pp. 15, 22.

[52] See letter from Rhodes to Baker (March 1900) reproduced in Baker, *Cecil Rhodes*, p. 16.

[53] *A Handbook of the Boer War* (London, 1910), p. 88.

[54] H. Baker, *Architecture and Personalities* (London, 1944), p. 37; Baker, *Cecil Rhodes*, pp. 52–3. For the design, see H. Baker, 'Kipling on My First Design for the Kimberley War Memorial', Rhodes Archive, Bodleian Library, Oxford: MSS Afr. s8: 11–12.

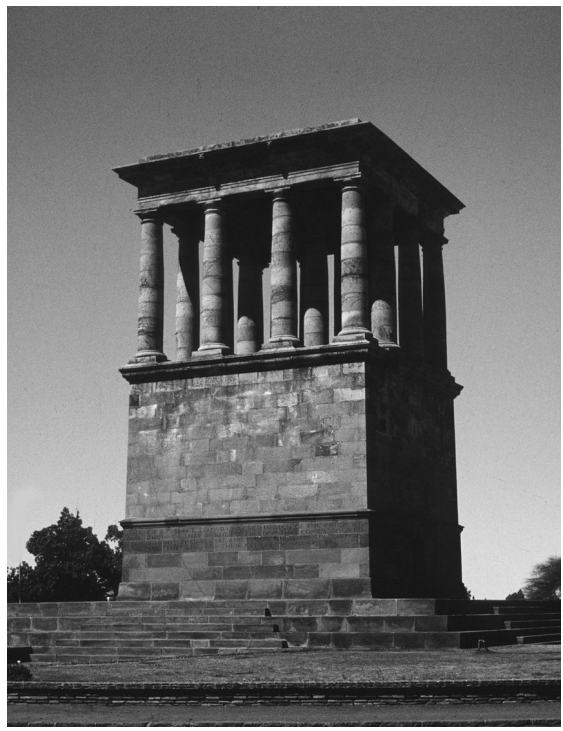

Figure 3.7. Kimberley Memorial, Northern Cape (1904), South Africa, by Herbert Baker (courtesy Gavin Stamp).

the sense of dignity and power that lay at the foundation of Rhodes and Baker's vision for architecture, prefiguring in its elemental geometry the memorials to the slaughter of World War I.[55]

With Rhodes dead by 1902, and the South African war now over, Baker turned his attention to designing a memorial to his patron. The selection of site was all important. In his biography of Rhodes, Baker observes at the beginning, as if to set the tone, how the statesman was a lover of nature, to the point of 'worship'. Mountains in particular captured his imagination, especially Table Mountain. This majestic outcrop, looming over the settlement of Cape Town, and at the base of which Groote Schuur clung, was his 'church', and its spirit drew him like a magnet where he was often found contemplating 'the advancement of his country and the betterment of humanity'. It was from this vantage point that he 'dreamed of the extension of the Empire from Cape to Cairo', and from where he formulated the idea for the famous scholarship scheme that now bears his name.[56]

[55] R. Gradidge, 'Baker and Lutyens in South Africa, or, the Road to Bakerloo', in A. Hopkins and G. Stamp (eds), *Lutyens Abroad: The Work of Sir Edwin Lutyens Outside the British Isles* (London, 2002), p. 153.

[56] Baker, *Cecil Rhodes*, p. 164.

Baker recounts in his own autobiography how he knew perhaps better than anyone Rhodes's 'vision of monumental architecture on this mountain-side'.[57] After some deliberation, a site above Groote Schuur, looking northwards out over the hinterland of the African continent, was chosen.[58] Rhodes had admired the temple architecture of Paestum, and had once imagined a lion enclosure fashioned as a great classical temple on the slopes of the mountain.[59] 'The old Roman in him', noted Baker, 'pictured the beauty of lions moving through great columns'. But Baker felt that the temples at Agrigento and Segesta in Sicily, on mountainsides overlooking the Sicilian seas, were a more noble and fitting model. To Baker such exemplars were infused with what he called the 'grand manner', structures that subordinated details of design to a 'big conception' and the demands of surrounding nature.[60] In the event he opted for a Hellenistic edifice, in the form of a columned peristyle with two projecting portico wings, jutting from the mountainside based on the Altar of Zeus at Pergamon in Asia Minor (modern-day Turkey, 180–150 BCE). Hewn from the light grey granite of the mountain, the Rhodes Memorial (1905–8) rises, as Lowrey observes, as if to seem organic, rooted within and emerging out of the mountainside (Figure 3.8).[61]

One of the memorial's most characteristic features is the impressive cascade of steps leading from the bronze bust of Rhodes on the inside back wall of the colonnade down to the equestrian statue of *Physical Energy* by G. F. Watts at its base, both peering out across the landscape, with the restless vigour of Watts's statue capturing precisely the impatient imperial ambitions of Rhodes himself.[62] The steps are flanked by eight, sphinx-like bronze lions couchant, life-size, as if echoing Rhodes's long-held desire for a 'lion house' on the mountainside.[63] Again, as Lowrey contends, the Rhodes Memorial was 'intended to highlight the rootedness of European civilization . . . at the foremost tip of Africa, and the connection between the British Empire and the empires of Greece and Rome'.[64] The great 'brooding spirit', as Kipling mused, had found a fitting refuge; Rhodes, the

[57] Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, p. 39.

[58] For instance, see Kipling to Baker (9 Feb. 1905), Rhodes Archive, Bodleian Library, Oxford: MSS Afr. s8: 16–18. See also letters on the matter between January and May 1909 in RIBA Library Drawings and Archives Collection, Baker Letters: BaH/12/4.

[59] Baker had drawn plans of such an enclosure for Rhodes in 1894. For an account of Rhodes's fascination with the lion as a motif of British imperialism in this regard, including a discussion of the enclosure, see L. Gibson, 'The Groote Schuur Landscape Considered as an Imperial Dream Topography of Cecil John Rhodes, 1890–1929', MA dissertation (University of Cape Town, 2006), pp. 42–62.

[60] Baker, 'The Architectural Needs of South Africa', p. 512.

[61] Lowry, 'The granite of the ancient North', p. 207. He would later refer to this as good architecture's 'leading principles', especially state and imperial architecture. See H. Baker, 'Architecture of Empire' (n.d.), unpublished manuscript for the *Round Table* magazine, RIBA Library Drawings and Archives Collection, Baker Letters: BaH/64/2.

[62] The 'bust' of Rhodes was only partially completed by the sculptor J. M. Swan upon his death in 1910. Baker preferred the term 'collossal [*sic*] head' instead of bust, believing that it better represented the 'thinking head' of Rhodes in a 'spiritual' rather than 'real' sense. See H. Baker, 'Temple and Statue', RIBA Library Drawings and Archives Collection, Baker Letters: BaH/12/4.

[63] For instance, see 'Memorandum of Rhodes' Memorial', University of Cape Town Libraries, Special Collections, Manuscripts and Archives, Fleming Collection BC605.

[64] Lowry, 'The granite of the ancient North', p. 207.

Figure 3.8. Rhodes Memorial, Rondebosch (1905–12), Cape Town, by Herbert Baker. Photograph depicting the unveiling ceremony (RIBA Library Photographs Collection).

'statesman–dreamer', could now rest assured that his Periclean fantasy was edging towards fruition.[65]

Milner's 'Kindergarten' and the Union Buildings in Pretoria

Following the conclusion of hostilities in 1902, Baker found opportunity in the Transvaal. In Johannesburg, as deliberations over the political settlement between the Cape and Natal colonies and Boer Republics rumbled on, he remade his acquaintance with Lord Alfred Milner (1854–1925), then British High Commissioner for Southern Africa and newly appointed administrator of the Transvaal and Orange Free State. Milner, hand-picked by Joseph Chamberlain to be Britain's man on the spot, was among the most imperially minded statesmen England ever produced. He had been deeply impressed by J. R. Seeley's *The Expansion of England*, published in 1883, and believed, like Seeley, in a 'constructive', state-sponsored approach towards imperial development and unification.[66]

[65] *The Times* (6 July 1912).

[66] For 'constructive imperialism', see A. S. Thompson, 'Imperial Ideology in Edwardian Britain', in A. Bosco and A. May (eds), *The Round Table: The Empire/Commonwealth and British Foreign Policy* (London, 1997), pp. 3–19.

Like Rhodes, his ultimate mission in South Africa was to unite Englishman and Afrikaner within the wider firmament and security of Pax Britannica, the vision for which later led him to become a founding member of 'The Round Table' movement in British imperial politics (est. 1910). In this respect Milner was an able and determined propagandist for what became known as 'Imperial Federation'.[67] Having recently lost one mentor with views sympathetic to his own, Baker was naturally drawn to Milner.

Even before hostilities had ceased, Milner begun gathering around him his famous troop of young Oxford acolytes known as the 'Kindergarten', tasked with the political reconstruction of South Africa in the interests of Britain and its quest for world order. This 'brotherhood' of imperial ideologues included men such as Lionel Curtis, Patrick Duncan, Robert Brand, Philip Kerr, and John Dove, 'men renowned', recalled Baker, 'for their power, giving counsel by their understanding, and declaring prophecies'. By 1905 Baker was if not a core member of this group then certainly a close associate, often being seen photographed alongside them. He was essentially their 'architect', having designed Stonehouse (a 'Moot House'), Johannesburg (1902), where a number of the group's members lived, including himself, and where meetings and other activities connected with South African union regularly took place.[68] Given their shared vision for empire, Baker's genius would soon be called upon for much higher, monumental ends.

It was Baker's connection to Brand that would ultimately secure him the project for the architectural centrepiece of the new Union of South Africa: the capital buildings in Pretoria. As Secretary to the Railways, Brand had commissioned Baker to design the railway station there (1908), the success of which 'influenced Ministers' in giving him the prize job.[69] By 2 June 1909 Baker was already discussing the matter of contracts with E. P. Solomon, Minister of Public Works. Indeed, the motifs of unity and post-war cooperation that had inspired Rhodes and animated Milner would become the symbolic basis of these new legislative buildings. As their name clearly implies, the Union Buildings were intended to represent in their overall form and planning the final coming together of the 'two races' (Briton and Boer) of South Africa. The indigenous population were, of course, conveniently excluded from this manifest image of political and cultural reconstruction, with the Natives' Land Act (1913), significantly restricting black ownership of land, coming into force the same year the buildings were completed.[70] Rising on the slopes of Meintjes Kop above the bustling town of Pretoria, the Union Buildings

[67] For Milner and these ideas, see J. L. Thompson, *A Wider Patriotism: Alfred Milner and the British Empire* (London, 2007), pp. 11–23, 107–21. In his autobiography, Baker also observed that Milner had 'invited me to go up there [the Transvaal] to aid in introducing a better and more permanent order of architecture'. See Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, p. 47.

[68] *Ibid.*, p. 48. See also, Keath, *Herbert Baker*, pp. 87–9; J. Kendle, *The Round Table Movement and Imperial Union* (Toronto, 1975), p. 21.

[69] Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, p. 57.

[70] Despite this, Baker had originally intended to include what he called a 'Hall of Fame or Heroön' on the ridge of Meintjes Kop overlooking the Union Buildings as a 'shrine of the Great of all races in South Africa'. This was not built. See *ibid.*, p. 60. For the Apartheid undercurrents, see N. Coetzer, *Building Apartheid: On Architecture and Order in Imperial Cape Town* (Aldershot, 2013).

would thus mark a new high point in the evolution of an architecture that was the embodiment of Pax Britannica.

The design and construction of the Union Buildings was a complex process, too detailed to recount in full here. There are aspects, however, that reveal something of the building's political and ideological agenda. Although Baker's design for the building went through a number of iterations between June 1909 and February 1910, what is clear is that his vision stemmed from his encounter with the architecture of ancient Greece and Rome. As the National Convention for the unification of South Africa drew to a close in May 1909, Baker penned a full-length article for the Kindergarten-sponsored organ, *The State*, entitled 'The Architectural Needs of South Africa'.[71] In this piece he was able to expound at length on his notion of the 'grand manner' in architecture. Essentially, this was a condition through which a building (or city) might appeal to its people and foreign visitors by articulating an 'idea of civic and national dignity and power', striking a perfect balance between scale, symmetry, order of arrangement, and simplicity.[72]

Baker pointed to the hilltop temple complexes in cities such as Agrigento, Selinus, Athens, Halicarnassus, and Pergamon as prime examples of this condition. This genius for effect of arrangement in Ancient Greek architecture was then picked up and absorbed, according to Baker, by the 'far-seeing statesmen' of the Roman empire, who made it a general principle in all their great civic works. In Baker's mind there was both a natural and logical connection between these ancient precedents and contemporary happenings in South Africa. Located in a place the climate of which was very similar to that of the Mediterranean, and in a territory that was part of the world's greatest modern empire, the Union Buildings in Pretoria were thus intended as a present-day Acropolis, and all that this idea embodied concerning the superiority of Western civilization and its extension across the globe.[73]

Baker credited Rhodes for these insights, both for sending him on his Mediterranean tour, and for his musings on 'the greater buildings of South Africa' that would arise following the province's unification as 'all one colony'.[74] In the words of Doreen Grieg: 'He [Rhodes] emphasised that he wanted Baker to visit classical countries, because in classical architecture he could see a means of expressing imperialism. . . . Thus Baker's latent imperialism was quickened: "he was enthralled with the promise of crystallising in stone the soul and spirit of a great Empire".'[75]

But in the general spirit of the Edwardian Baroque movement there was also a specifically nationalist dimension to Baker's creation. Given the siting and climate, the building's architectural vocabulary might naturally have recalled that of the

[71] H. Baker, 'The Architectural Needs of South Africa', *The State* (May 1909), pp. 512–24.

[72] *Ibid.*, pp. 514–15.

[73] These ideas were also part of both his unpublished articles 'Architecture of Empire' and 'Architecture in Relation to the Empire'. For the latter of these, see RIBA Library Drawings and Archives Collection, Baker Letters: BaH/64/1.

[74] Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, p. 58.

[75] D. E. Grieg, 'The Work of Sir Herbert Baker from 1892 until 1912 and His Contribution to Architecture in South Africa', *South African Architectural Record* (Sept. 1963), p. 13.

ancients and Renaissance Italy, but it was the classical tradition of his own native Britain that held special appeal. This is most evident in the way the whole ensemble is composed around two broadly symmetrical blocks, each of which is caped with a domed tower highly evocative of Christopher Wren's Royal Naval Hospital at Greenwich (see Figure 11.4).[76] Writing a little later of his thoughts on a suitable architecture for New Delhi, Baker provided a clue to this association, observing, like John Brydon before him, that English Renaissance architecture was 'the architecture of our public buildings in England while the Empire was in the making, the classical style of Jones and Wren and their followers in the eighteenth century, and the pastime of Chatham and the Empire builders. . . . It was the genius of Wren which interpreted the English character and stamped sanity and sobriety on our architecture'. The essential qualities of this architecture, which provided the basis for its modern revival, were that it embodied 'the attributes of law, order, and government'.[77]

The virtuous circle was thus complete. What the ancients had gifted the modern world, the Englishman had studied, distilled, and perfected. Under the lodestar of the 'grand manner', architecture could now return to fulfil its destiny in meeting the needs of what Rhodes was wont to call the 'civilising genius of the English race'.[78] In this, Baker's Union Buildings were intended, as he and Rhodes had originally hoped, to conjure the famous words of Wren himself: 'Architecture has its political Use; public Buildings being the Ornament of a Country'.[79]

But as with the Hong Kong Supreme Court, not all is as it seems. Marcus Binney has shown that Baker did not have it all his own way, despite the rather sanitized story he relays in his autobiography. In October 1910 a government appointed Advisory Board recommended that alternatives be sought to Baker's design, criticizing its inappropriateness, and thus threatening Baker's grip on the project.[80] In the event, Baker was able to rebuff the board's concerns, but it could easily have turned out very differently. Perhaps one of the reasons it did not is down to the *realpolitik* that characterized the post-war peace negotiations.

Although Lord Selborne had replaced Milner as British High Commissioner by this time, the Kindergarten continued in its attempts to manipulate the negotiations in Britain's favour, pushing to have the Union government located in Cape Town. In this they came up against the Afrikaner leadership of generals Louis

[76] D. Radford, 'Baker, Lutyens, and the Union Buildings', *South African Journal of Cultural and Art History*, vol. 2:1 (1988), p. 66.

[77] H. Baker, 'The New Delhi. Eastern and Western Architecture. A Problem of Style', *The Times* (3 Oct. 1912), p. 7. See also Baker, 'Architecture of Empire', p. 6.

[78] Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, p. 189. For more on the imperial resonances of Baker's Union Buildings, see M. Keath, 'Visions of Greatness: Herbert Baker's Imperial Idealism and the Union Buildings', *Architecture South Africa* (June 1989), pp. 35–6.

[79] C. Wren, 'Of Architecture; and Observations on Antique Temples & c.', in *Parentalia: or, Memoirs of the Family of the Wrens* (London, 1750), p. 351. This passage was also republished at the head of Chapter 3 in Baker's *Cecil Rhodes*. He had also quoted it in a letter to Smuts, as well as in numerous unpublished lectures and articles.

[80] M. Binney, 'Attributes of the Eternal: Sir Herbert Baker's Union Buildings, Pretoria', *Country Life* (25 Feb. 1982), p. 468. See also, Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision*, pp. 192–3.

Botha (1862–1919) and Jan Christian Smuts (1870–1950) of Het Volk ('The People' party). These men saw the Union Buildings project not as an emblem of unification but as a pawn in their endeavour to concentrate power, and thus the political future of South Africa, in the Transvaal. Alive to the role that Botha and Smuts would play in the realization of any national legislative building, Baker was keen to curry their favour, having walked over the site with Smuts and discussed sketch plans. In his autobiography, Baker suggests that it was the power of his vision that won Smuts over, but, as Ellen Christenson has argued, it was really the urgent desire to have the centre of political power in Pretoria that prompted Botha and the Transvaal Parliament to commit, illegally and under the noses of the newly formed Union government, over a million pounds towards the project.[81] Baker may have been focused on the niceties of Italian and English allusion in his design, but Botha and Smuts were concerned with much more practical considerations—for them it was not so much about symbolism as survival.[82] Baker was certainly aware of the sudden urgency to get the project underway, but does not mention the political implications of this, if he was indeed aware of them.[83] He only mentions the 'penetrating look of trust and confidence' that Botha gave him in getting the drawings finished as quickly as he could.

Given the 'union' theme underpinning the project, and the various interests bound up in its realization, it is difficult to state unequivocally that the Union Buildings are an unalloyed symbol of British imperialism. Despite Baker's rhetoric, the situation was more complicated. For the Boer, the union of South Africa meant something entirely different to the Briton.

BAKER AND LUTYENS AT NEW DELHI: CREATING AN IMPERIAL CAPITAL

By early 1913, before the Union Buildings were completed, Baker had left South Africa for India. He had been appointed joint architect of the new imperial capital at Delhi, with his friend Edwin Lutyens. As we shall see, many of the same ideas that animated Baker's work in South Africa are also present at Delhi. This project, and the principal monuments that constitute its landscape, including the Secretariat Buildings and Viceroy's House, are undoubtedly the greatest architectural gesture to British imperialism ever erected, and it is to this example that we now turn in the final part of this chapter.

[81] E. Christenson, 'Herbert Baker, the Union Buildings, and the Politics of Architectural Patronage', *South African Journal of Art and Architectural History*, vol. 6:1–4 (1996), pp. 1–9.

[82] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

[83] In a lecture read much later at the RIBA in November 1927, Baker hinted at the fact he was aware of the political machinations. See H. Baker, 'Union Buildings, Pretoria', unpublished lecture 'Part 1', RIBA Lecture (1927), RIBA Library Drawings and Archives Collection, Baker Letters: BaH/64/1, p. 2.

Planning the City: Imperial Delhi and its Environs

The story of New Delhi begins in Calcutta. The proclamation in December 1911 by the king-emperor George V to move the capital of British India from Calcutta (where it had been since 1772) to Delhi came in the wake of Lord Curzon's bungled partition of Bengal in 1905. Then viceroy, Curzon's separation of the Hindu and Muslim populations of the province of Bengal led to the rise of substantial and sustained nationalist sentiment, thus rendering Calcutta an unstable and potentially dangerous place for the centre of British government in India.[84] Delhi, some 900 miles north-west of Calcutta, was chosen for a number of reasons, including its proximity to the summer capital of Simla, as well as the renewed alliance the Raj had forged with the princes and Muslim population of northern India.[85] But perhaps the most inspired reason was the historical resonances Delhi and its environs had as a site and theatre of imperial power.

Delhi had for centuries before the arrival of the British been the capital of the Mughal empire, and, since 1877, for the same historical reasons, the location for the 'Imperial Assemblage' (durbar) of Britain's Raj. With such a rich heritage and clear imperial connotations, it made perfect sense that Britain's new centre of imperial administration should be located in or near this ancient and fabled city. As Lord Hardinge, then viceroy observed: 'Delhi is still a name to conjure with. It is intimately associated in the minds of the Hindus with sacred legends which go back even beyond the dawn of history. . . . To the Mohammedans it would be a source of unbounded gratification to see the ancient capital of the Moguls restored to its proud position as the seat of the Empire.'[86] Anthony King, Bernard Cohn, and Hosagrahar Jyoti, among others, have argued how this decision was bound up in a process of 'desacralization' and subsequent renovation of the idea of imperial rule based upon the appropriation by the British of the indigenous tradition of the Durbar.[87] As Jyoti notes, the *durbar* was a ceremonial event—organized within defined spatial and sequential parameters—originally used to sustain and validate the structure of society in Mughal India.[88] With a view to presenting themselves and their monarchs as the legitimate heirs to the Mughal empire, the British thus co-opted and refashioned this tradition for their own political ends. Hence the three spectacular 'durbars' staged outside Delhi of Queen Victoria, and kings Edward VII and George V, in 1877, 1903, and 1911 respectively.

Given the historical legacy of the site, the planning of New Delhi was a carefully orchestrated affair. According to the then Secretary of State for India, Lord Crewe, the raising of such a city would represent nothing less than 'an unfaltering determination

[84] For the background to this, see D. A. Johnson, *New Delhi: The Last Imperial Capital* (London, 2015), pp. 21–38.

[85] Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision*, p. 211. [86] Hardinge quoted in *ibid*.

[87] A. D. King, *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment* (London, 1976), pp. 223–8; B. Cohn, 'Representing Authority in Victorian India', in E. Hobsbawn and T. Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983), pp, 165–209; H. Jyoti, 'City as Durbar: Theatre and Power in Imperial Delhi', in N. AlSayyad (ed.), *Forms of Dominance: on the Architecture and Urbanism of the Colonial Enterprise* (Aldershot, 1992), pp. 83–105.

[88] *Ibid.*, p. 86.

to maintain British rule in India'.[89] Ultimately, it became an exercise in creating vistas and linking monuments, both ancient and modern, across a vast and imposing urban landscape (see Plate 5). Located immediately to the south of the old city, and knitted together by an impressive Baroque-cum-Beaux-Arts style web of monumental and processional axes, it took inspiration from a range of sources, including Christopher Wren's and John Evelyn's plans for the rebuilding of post-fire London (1666), Sixtus V's urban regeneration of Rome (1580s), Louis XIV's vision for Versailles (late seventeenth century), Pierre L'Enfant's new US capital of Washington (1790s), Haussmann's redevelopment of Paris (1853–70), especially the Champs-Élysées, and even Walter Burley Griffin's plan for the new capital of Australia, Canberra (1911) (see Figure 2.12). A two-mile-long processional route, known as King's Way, formed the backbone of the scheme, connecting at its head (running from west to east) Viceroy's House, the Jaipur Column, the Secretariat Buildings, the All-India War Memorial Arch, the monument to King George V, and beyond towards the ruins of the ancient city of Indrapat (*Indraprastha*). The scale and monumentality of the whole boarded on the sublime, and was intended to intimidate as much as inspire. The various axes connected key buildings with other ancient monuments, including Asoka's Pillar at Feroz Shah Kolta, the great Jama Masjid mosque, the tomb of Safdarjung, and the mausoleum of the sixteenth-century Mughal emperor Humayun (1508–56).[90] The new city thus 'pivoted', affirmed Baker, 'on monuments hallowed in both Hindu and Mahomedan history', firmly enmeshing it within an antique setting that would make manifest Britain's claim to imperial succession.[91] Thus, in both conception and planning, New Delhi was an urban landscape of power and authority designed to rival even the most admired achievements of the Mughal emperors.

Baker and the Secretariat Buildings

The leading hand in the conception of this commanding scheme was none other than Baker's colleague, Edwin Lutyens (1869–1944). Lutyens, who was appointed as one of three 'experts' to the Delhi Town Planning Committee, arrived in India in March 1912 following the decision to relocate the capital. He would soon be joined by Baker, who had been praised by George Swinton, chairman of the Committee, and recommended to Lord Crewe by the Governor-General of South Africa, Viscount Gladstone.[92] Upon receiving the telegram of his appointment while

[89] Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision*, p. 211.

[90] According to Herbert Baker, the 60° angle created between the vistas of Indrapat and the Jama Masjid mosque became the 'geometrical key' to the entire scheme. See H. Baker, 'The New Delhi', *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, vol. 74 (2 July 1926), p. 776.

[91] For the planning of New Delhi, see King, *Colonial Urban Development*, pp. 231–75; Irving, *Indian Summer*, pp. 53–90; Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision*, pp. 211–39; J. Ridley, 'Edwin Lutyens, New Delhi, and the Architecture of Imperialism', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol. 26:2 (1998), pp. 71–4. See also A. Volwahsen, *Imperial Delhi: The British Capital of the Indian Empire* (London, 2012); L. J. Vale, *Architecture, Power and National Identity* (New Haven and London, 1992), pp. 105–14, 133–60. Jyoti, 'City as Durbar: Theatre and Power in Imperial Delhi', pp. 83–105.

[92] Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision*, p. 221.

in Rome, Baker was naturally delighted, for 'in day-dreams I sometimes fancied how splendid it would be if we could work together on some imperial theme'.[93] His dream had become reality.

As an administrative centre, the most important buildings in the New Delhi scheme were the Government House (Viceroy's House), the Secretariat Buildings, and the Council Chamber—buildings that were located at the head of the plan, in close proximity to one another, and buildings from which the day-to-day affairs of British India were to be directed.[94] Lutyens was to take control of planning Government House, while Baker would be responsible for designing the Secretariats and the Council Chamber. The 'question of style' naturally arose. It soon became urgent and vexed. Cogent arguments were made in support of both 'European' versus 'Indic' approaches, as well as by those who favoured something in between. Most of the leading proponents, including Baker himself, preferred a compromise, in which the 'nobler features' of Indian architecture would be grafted onto and thus remain subordinate to an underlying classical idiom.[95] The former viceroy, Lord Curzon, was adamant that, by a process of practical elimination, it was 'well-nigh inevitable' that one or other classical style would need to be adopted. But he echoed the views of many in suggesting that this classicism ought to be tempered and adapted, like all great architecture throughout the ages, to 'historic traditions, and the conditions of climate'. Of course the buildings of the new capital had to be a 'fitting symbol of the orderly splendour of British rule', and classicism was perfectly adapted for this role; but, through the judicious harnessing of native craftsmanship, the capital's architects might also lend an 'Indian flavour, a native *aura*, to the forms of the West'.[96] Curzon's then contemporary successor as viceroy, Lord Hardinge, agreed. It was of 'political importance', he stressed in a letter to Curzon, that the British avoid 'building in the plains of Delhi a purely Western town'.[97]

For Baker the task of designing these buildings, as well as helping plan their interrelationships, was self-evidently one of 'imperial importance'.[98] Indeed, he had remarked in a letter to Lutyens that Delhi 'must not be Indian, nor English, nor Roman, but it must be Imperial'.[99] His goal was, 'first and foremost', to 'imprison' the spirt of British government in stone and bronze.[100] Exactly what he meant by this is not entirely clear, but in returning to his thoughts on Wren and the classical tradition we gain some insight. In a letter to *The Times* newspaper penned in October 1912, Baker firmly asserted that, in the case of India, an architecture was required that must be the embodiment of the law and order which had

[93] Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, p. 64.

[94] Baker, 'The New Delhi', pp. 778–82. See also H. Baker, 'New Delhi', unpublished lecture 'Part 2', RIBA Lecture (1927), RIBA Library Drawings and Archives Collection, Baker Letters: BaH/64/1, p. 1.

[95] For further analysis of this debate, see Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision*, pp. 212–28.

[96] Lord Curzon, 'The New Delhi. Lord Curzon's Suggestions. The Evolution of the Classical Style', *The Times* (7 Oct. 1912), p. 6.

[97] Harginge quoted in Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision*, p. 219.

[98] Baker, 'The New Delhi. Eastern and Western Architecture', p. 7.

[99] Baker quoted in Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision*, p. 222.

[100] Baker, 'The New Delhi. Eastern and Western Architecture', p. 7.

been 'produced out of chaos by the British Administration'. Again, and not surprisingly, it was the architecture of the 'English Renaissance', of Jones and Wren and their followers, that best captured these sobering qualities. Therefore, it was only in allowing the 'eternal attributes' of the European classical tradition to shine through, via English modification, that the 'stamp of British sovereignty' would come to characterize New Delhi and its buildings with true imperial monumentality.[101] These underlying principles and their accompanying symbolism were like 'fixed stars', believed Baker, guiding the architect to produce great works. Whatever adaptions and concessions to local and national conditions might be made, they should not interfere with this fundamental sense of order and dignity.[102]

With these ideas in mind, and absorbing all that he could on Indian history, mythology, and art, Baker set about designing his Secretariats. Still firmly wedded to his belief that the greatest monumental achievements of mankind were ultimately traceable to the ancient Greeks and Romans, Baker was wont to describe the ensemble of key government buildings in New Delhi as 'the Acropolis'. The allusions he wished to make were clear, both in the siting of his Secretariats and their underlying architectural vocabulary. Located at the leading edge of Raisina Hill, and some three storeys high, they rose upon a great platform, which jutted out to command views over the city and plains below. As if invoking an Eastern precedent, he likened this operation to Darius raising the city of Persepolis.[103] It was truly a 'sahib site' and, as Robert Grant Irving has observed, was designed deliberately to impress Indians and inspire a sense of reverence in all those who approached (Figure 3.9).[104] Among the key architectural features of the Secretariat buildings, and those that lent them their distinct Western classical air, were the colonnaded porticoes, or 'temples' as Baker liked to describe them, protruding at various points along the main and eastern façades of each building. These were very similar to those he had employed on the main frontage to the Union Buildings in Pretoria only a few years earlier, thus linking the projects, stylistically and ideologically, across an ocean and two vast imperial dominions. Indeed, recalling Rhodes, and cognisant of their gubernatorial function, Baker's ambition with these 'temples' was to allow the eyes and hearts of narrow-minded men (i.e. bureaucrats) to be lifted over the historic and ruinous scenery to the new capital, uniting 'for the first time through the centuries all races and religious of India'.[105] The heady symbolism of the enterprise could not have been more inspiring or profound for an architect like Baker.

[101] *Ibid.*

[102] Baker came to articulate this position more clearly in an unpublished lecture entitled 'Architecture in Relation to the Empire', *c.*1919. See RIBA Library Drawings and Archives Collection, Baker Letters: BaH/64/1. An edited version of this talk was later published in P. Skipwith (ed.), *Style of Empire: Great Britain 1877–1947* (Miami, 1986), pp. 8–12. See also Baker, 'Architecture of Empire'.

[103] Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, p. 67. See also Baker, 'The New Delhi', p. 776.

[104] R. G. Irving, 'Bombay and Imperial Delhi: Cities as Symbols', in Hopkins and Stamp, *Lutyens Abroad*, p. 176. For more on Baker's thinking behind this project, see Johnson, *New Delhi*, pp. 130–4.

[105] Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, p. 69. He said the same of the 'temples' at the Union Buildings. See Grieg, *Herbert Baker*, p. 224.

Figure 3.9. Secretariat Buildings, New Delhi (1912–27), by Herbert Baker (Conway Library, The Courtauld Institute of Art, London). The dome of Viceroy's House can be seen looming in the background.

The characteristic indigenous features that were to infuse this basic classical grammar were the *chajja*, a projecting stone slab or cornice for shading; the *jaali*, pierced stone lattices to admit air; and the *chattri*, a type of columned turret which Baker deployed to foil the long horizontal rooflines of his buildings (Figure 3.10). In their materiality the Secretariats were also in dialogue, if not competition, with the ancient and surrounding Mughal monuments, being composed of the same distinctive beige- and rhubarb-coloured sandstone.[106] Only by combining all these traditions, features, and materials could a truly 'British Indian', no less 'imperial' architecture be forged.

Continuing the imperial theme, and located amidst the two buildings in the garden piazza (Government Court) that linked them across the platform, were the so-called Dominion Columns. Part of Baker's original plan, and based on the ancient monumental columns that the emperor Asoka had scattered throughout India, two of which lay in the vicinity of the site, they were intended as a gesture of imperial friendship and unity. There was one for each of the four dominions—Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and South Africa—to be distinguished with emblems characteristic of each location. The idea initially met with a cool reception, but some years later, in the late 1920s, the proposal finally achieved unanimous approval, with the completed columns being formally unveiled in 1931. Each was surmounted by a fully rigged bronze ship, symbolic of the oceanic origins and links of Britain's empire (see Figure 3.10).[107]

[106] It was also observed by Baker that this somewhat strange bipartite colouration, with 'red on the lower story, helps to reduce the glare, the worst of enemies to a European's eye and brain'. See Baker, 'New Delhi', p. 6.

[107] Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, pp. 74–5. See also, Irving, *Indian Summer*, pp. 291–4.

Figure 3.10. South Secretariat block, New Delhi (1912–27), by Herbert Baker (RIBA Library Photographs Collection). One of the Dominion Columns can be seen at far left of the picture.

Edwin Lutyens, Viceroy's House, and the New Delhi Memorials

Apart from playing a leading hand in the city's layout, the chief contribution of Edwin Lutyens to New Delhi, and the one for which he is most often remembered, was the design of Viceroy's House (1912–30) (Figures 3.11 and 3.12). In every sense of the term, this majestic and imposing structure was the head of the New Delhi plan. Residence of the viceroy and symbolic emblem of British rule, its epic scale and dauntingly impressive dome marked it out as the building to and from which all lines of authority led, not just within the capital but across British India. If there was ever a building that Baker hoped would be 'imperial', this was it.

Unlike Baker, however, the imperial aspirations of Lutyens as an architect are more difficult to pin down. Although one might assume that, as with many of his ilk, Lutyens was largely sympathetic to Britain's cause in India, he was no imperial ideologue in the vein of Baker. Indeed, perhaps jealous and uneasy with Baker's adroitness as a politician, he believed that Baker wore his imperialist sentiments too openly on his sleeve, grumbling that 'his work all centres round and [is] built on phrases that will sound well with his Round Table friends'.[108] If Lutyens did

[108] Lutyens quoted in Ridley, 'Edwin Lutyens', p. 77.

Figure 3.11. Viceroy's House, New Delhi (1914–29), by Edwin Lutyens (RIBA Library Photographs Collection).

have any views on empire, they were more muted. They were aggregated within his self-assured and arrogant belief in the universal value and righteousness of European civilization. On this score, Lutyens let his architecture do the talking. For him, it was the eternal essence of European classicism—what Christopher Hussey described as 'divine order in infinite form'[109]—not politics, that best captured the sentiment and reality of British sovereignty. Where he agreed with Baker was in believing that the 'torch' of classicism had been passed from the Greeks to the Romans, through the Italian Renaissance, on to England, where architects such as Wren had 'made it sane'. It was now the responsibility of Britain to uphold this legacy. Lutyens thus saw his task as handing that torch on where it could now be made 'sane for India'.[110]

In order to achieve this, Lutyens at first ignored the context. His initial impressions of indigenous architecture were far from favourable, describing it, among other things, as 'childish', 'impractical', and 'tush'. With such ingrained prejudice, it was always going to be difficult to persuade Lutyens, as Hardinge had hoped, to relate his creations to India's monumental past. 'They want me to do Hindu.

[109] C. Hussey, *The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens* (London, 1950), p. 244.
[110] Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision*, p. 231.

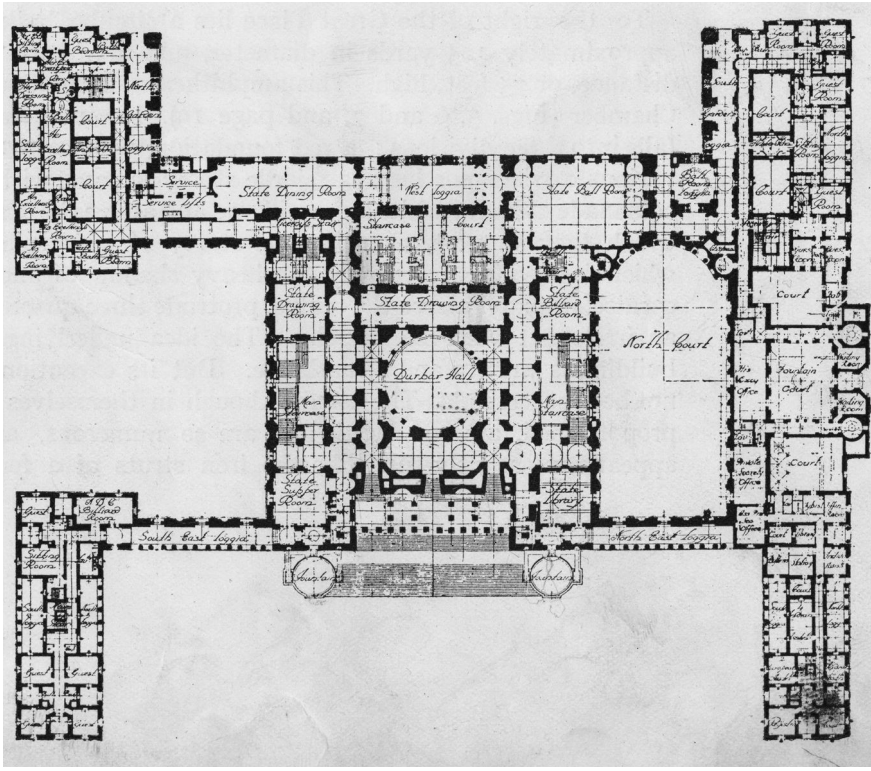

Figure 3.12. Plan of Viceroy's House, New Delhi. The circular plan of the Durbar Hall can be seen in the centre of the main block (RIBA Library Photographs Collection).

Hindon't I say', was his famous refrain.[111] For Lutyens, classicism of the sober British kind was the only type of architecture suited to 'the ideal of British Empire', adding that it was 'better, wiser, saner, & more gentlemanlike' than Indian architecture.[112] In such matters, he exclaimed, 'Palladio is the game!!' Remarkably, following his second tour of India in 1913, his attitude softened considerably. As Hardinge recalled, 'I found him much more adaptable . . . quite ready to adopt Indian architectural styles'.[113]

We see this new-found sympathy for indigenous forms coming through in the final design, where features such as the *chajja* and the *chattri* are clearly evident. However, unlike in the case of Baker's Secretariat Buildings, here their appearance is more subtle, subordinated to the monumental classicism that pervades the whole, as if their 'essence' has been extracted, absorbed, and represented in a wholly abstract fashion. Indeed, the great dome itself appears like one giant *chattri*, melding

[111] Lutyens quoted in J. Ridley, 'Lutyens, New Delhi and Indian Architecture', in Hopkins and Stamp, *Lutyens Abroad*, p. 186.
[112] Lutyens quoted in Irving, *Indian Summer*, p. 170.
[113] Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision*, p. 236.

Figure 3.13. Durbar Hall (throne room), Viceroy's House, New Delhi (RIBA Library Photographs Collection).

seamlessly Buddhist, Hindu, and Mughal vernacular traditions. Beneath this dome was to be found the Durbar Hall itself, the ceremonial heart of the palace and of the imperial capital (Figure 3.13). Here again Lutyens dexterously evoked East and West. Although clearly based on the greatest rotunda-type space in Western architecture, the Pantheon in Rome, which in itself was an apt imperial allusion, the

Durbar Hall is nonetheless in dialogue with the domed spaces of the Mughal mausolea in its vicinity, especially that of the emperor Humayun. Like it, the Durbar Hall relied for its drama on the play of strong contrasts of light and shade.[114] Despite what one may think of the building's purpose, there is little doubt that Viceroy's House is a masterly essay in monumental design, surely among the greatest ever produced.

Lutyens was also responsible in helping shape the wider landscape of New Delhi as a theatre of imperial association and power through the design of a number of set-piece monuments. The most prominent of these was the All-India War Memorial Arch, completed in 1931 (Figure 3.14). Located at the eastern end of King's Way, it was raised in honour of the over 60,000 Indian (and Anglo-Indian) soldiers and offices who fell during World War I and the Third Afghan War of 1919. Its mass and economy of form was reminiscent of the Cenotaph in Whitehall, while its subtle iconography, including the giant pinecone motifs positioned in its sides, alluded to ideas of purification and rebirth in both European and Asian religious traditions. Derived from the typology of the triumphal arch, it spanned the processional rout, as Irving has observed, much as the imperial Arch of Titus had bridged the Via Sacra leading to the Roman Forum.[115]

Lutyens also designed a memorial to the king-emperor George V, just beyond the All-India War Memorial, but the monument most symbolic of dominion and victory was the 145-ft-tall Jaipur Column, located in the forecourt to the vice-regal palace (see Plate 6). This column, given by the Maharajah of Jaipur, has been described by Irving as emblematic of 'the primordial staff or stake thrust in the soil, . . . the cavalry lance impaling a foe',[116] and, like the Dominion Columns, was intended to recall the pillars of Asoka, as well as Trajan's Column in Rome. The whole was crowned by a glass star, signifying the Star of India, the chivalric order created by Prince Albert following the Sepoy Revolt (Indian Mutiny) of 1857. Thus, replete with regal and imperial symbolism, the Jaipur Column stood somewhat ironically as a defiant marker of Britain's self-proclaimed right to rule, demonstrating Lutyens's acute awareness of the representational significance the city of New Delhi was required to play in the minds of India's British overlords.

But as Lutyens sensed all too well, New Delhi was essentially a great necropolis to the idea of British imperial rule on the Indian subcontinent, with Viceroy's House—soon to become Rashtrapati Bhavan—being its chief mausoleum. 'Is it our swan song?' he asked lamentably, 'I only hope it may be a good tune well sung to our and India's dignity'.[117] As Jane Ridley has observed, how ironic it was that Lutyens was reading Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* as he designed this memorial to British India.[118]

The architecture of New Delhi may have been a good tune sung well, but with the retreat of the British from the subcontinent in 1947, the city did not survive

[114] Ridley, 'Edwin Lutyens', p. 80. A skilful account of this space can be found in Irving, *Indian Summer*, pp. 191–8.
[115] *Ibid.*, p. 258. [116] *Ibid.*, p. 245. See also Baker, 'The New Delhi', p. 777.
[117] Lutyens quoted in Ridley, 'Edwin Lutyens', pp. 79–80. [118] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

Figure 3.14. All-India War Memorial Arch, New Delhi (1921–31), by Edwin Lutyens (RIBA Library Photographs Collection).

unscathed. With the tragic events surrounding Partition, it is little wonder that much of the statuary to the good and the great of Imperial India that dotted the New Delhi landscape, including that of George V, was pulled down and removed to a 'monumental graveyard' (Coronation Park) on the outskirts of the city. There they sat for decades, essentially rotting and returning to the soil from whence they

came, forgotten, practically if not purposefully. A new, forward-looking dawn had broken over the post-colonial world of subcontinental Asia, and such effigies were an unwelcome reminder of the past, indeed the people of India's near three hundred-year subjugation by the British. But the buildings remained, repurposed for a new age and invested with alternative meaning and intent—after all, the ultimate aim of New Delhi was to pave the way to 'self rule'. Today Coronation Park is undergoing a major restoration, with the Delhi Development Authority and the Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH) recognizing its significance as a site of historic and educational importance.

More generally, the fortunes and legacy of British imperial architecture has waxed and waned in the years since decolonization in the mid-twentieth century. The buildings stand as relics of a bygone era, in some cases absorbed into the post-colonial national story, in others conspicuous by their persistent reference to a former age of oppression. Ambiguity and uncertainly surround their contemporary meanings and use, testifying to their power as monuments capable of arousing disdain and affection in equal measure. However, the full restoration of the Custom House and the Four Courts in Dublin in the years following Irish independence, as with the memorials in Coronation Park in Delhi mentioned above, demonstrate that attitudes towards these structures can and do change.

What the buildings discussed here demonstrate is that the 'imperial idea' was indeed a notion, however unfixed or amorphous, even individually inflected, that British builders and architects attempted to capture and express in various ways over the centuries. Although never the same, nor particularly coherent, what connected these disparate formations was a desire to impose authority, exert control, and signify cultural superiority, as well as giving shape to ideas of progress, modernity, and 'civilization'. However, there were clearly moments in which the idea and its expression coalesced, invigorated by a decided ambition to realize an architectural and urban vision of empire. But as with many such projects, then as now, issues of artistic influence and identity were contested, and, as the cases discussed here reveal, rarely occurred without division or conflict. Ultimately, such buildings came to accrue as much meaning after their design and construction as during it, and to this day continue to provoke reaction (for good or ill) in relation to a past from which they can never entirely escape.

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4

The Metropolis

Imperial Buildings and Landscapes in Britain

G. A. Bremner

To study the architecture and urbanism of the British empire is to evoke the idea of the metropole.[1] Indeed, the term itself infers a point of origin and attachment—*metro*, from the ancient Greek *mḗtēr* (μήτηρ), meaning 'mother'. The metropolis was thus a centre in more ways than one, both *of* and *within* the wider imperial system. Yet, until relatively recently, British imperial architecture was understood as something that resided outside the bounds of the modern British state, as if Britain's position at the centre of the largest territorial empire the world had ever known (both self-confessed and real) had no corresponding impact on the buildings and urban landscapes of Britain itself.[2] Such an understanding is of course no longer tenable.[3] Just as British colonial expansion transformed the non-European world spatially, so too did the experience of empire alter the built environment in Britain. The logistical and bureaucratic infrastructures required to initiate and maintain overseas expansion, including extensive trade networks, necessitated huge investment in bricks and mortar, not only in the numerous colonial outposts dotted throughout the British colonial world but also in the towns and cities of Britain itself, including the military and naval installations needed to protect it. One need only think of port cities such as Bristol, Portsmouth, Liverpool, and Glasgow for the crucial role they played in facilitating imperial expansion, trade, and defence. In other words, empire shaped Britain as much as Britain shaped its empire; reciprocity was both necessary and natural.

As recent scholarship in the field of British imperial studies has argued, Britain (the *metropolis*) was as much part of the British empire as its distant colonies. Beginning with J. G. A. Pocock's famous plea in 1974 to rethink 'British' history in global terms,[4] the central thesis of much of this scholarship has been that Britain's

[1] Here 'metropolis' is taken to mean not merely London as the imperial capital, but the British nation state, i.e. 'home' or the 'mother country'.

[2] For instance, at the publication of the original five-volume *Oxford History of the British Empire* in the late 1990s, this imperial understanding of the metropolis was not yet fully appreciated. See T. R. Metcalf, 'Architecture in the British Empire', in R. W. Winks (ed.), *OHBE*, 5 vols (Oxford, 1999), V, pp. 584–95.

[3] This is a point that was made by Anthony King as early as 1990. See A. D. King, *Urbanism, Colonialism and the World-Economy* (London, 1990), p. 7.

[4] J. G. A. Pocock, 'British History: A Plea for a New Subject', *New Zealand Journal of History*, vol. 8:1 (1974), pp. 3–21.

empire was not some place 'out there', beyond the seas, from which Britain, its politics, and even its history were effectively divorced.[5] On the contrary; as John MacKenzie has insisted more recently, British imperialism as a cultural phenomenon needs to be studied in *centripetal* as well as *centrifugal* terms[6]—that the formation and development of the modern British state was firmly entwined with, indeed inseparable from, that of its imperial expansion (and retraction). In this sense the local and global aspects of Britain's empire were mutually constitutive.

However, as with scholarship on architecture, for much of the twentieth century, particularly in the wake of decolonization, British domestic and colonial/imperial histories were treated as distinct, even unrelated concerns. As discussed in the introduction to this volume, this artificial division has since been eroded through the advent of 'new' British and Imperial historiography, including the rise of regional (e.g. 'Atlantic') and Global/World perspectives.[7] Indeed, as Christopher Bayly has recently observed, 'all local, national, or regional histories must, in important ways . . . be global histories'.[8] Or, as the Cambridge historian J. R. Seeley put it rather self-assuredly over a century earlier, empire was 'the great fact of modern English history'.[9] Again, these developments have implications for the way we think about 'British architecture' in a globalized context.[10] The current chapter provides an overview of how and where we might begin to uncover and analyse this imperial connection in the architecture and urban spaces of the metropolis.

THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES: CITY AND COUNTRY

The economic stimulus provided by England's, and then Britain's, growing commercial and territorial empire impacted appreciably upon the metropolitan landscape, both urban and rural. In everything from coffee houses to country houses, the results of the new trading opportunities brought by overseas expansion

[5] e.g. John MacKenzie's 'Studies in Imperialism' series published through Manchester University Press, including J. M. MacKenzie (ed.), *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (Manchester, 1986), and J. M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire* (Manchester, 1985); A. Thompson, *The Empire Strikes Back? The Impact of Imperialism on Britain from the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (Harlow, 2005); K. Wilson, *The Sense of the People: Politics, Culture and Imperialism in England, 1715–1785* (Cambridge, 1995); C. Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830–1867* (Cambridge, 2002); P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism: Innovation and Expansion 1688–1914* (Harlow, 1993); F. Driver, *Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire* (Oxford, 2000); and J. G. A. Pocock, *The Discovery of Islands: Essays in British History* (Cambridge, 2005).

[6] J. M. MacKenzie, 'Empire and Metropolitan Culture', in A. Porter (ed.), *OHBE*, 5 vols (Oxford, 1999), III, pp. 270–93.

[7] See A. Burton, *Empire in Question: Reading, Writing, and Teaching British Imperialism* (Durham, 2012).

[8] C. A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780–1914* (Oxford, 2004), p. 2.

[9] J. R. Seeley, *The Expansion of England* (London, 1883), p. 12.

[10] See 'Rethinking British Architecture: Towards an Expanded Methodology', in G. A. Bremner, *Imperial Gothic: Religious Architecture and High Anglican Culture in the British Empire, c1840–70* (New Haven and London, 2013), pp. 431–40.

and its attendant practices of resource exploitation (both human and natural) could be felt to a greater or lesser extent in Britain's built environment. This relates not only to what might be termed the *implicit* transformations affected by the largely invisible reinvestment of colonial proceeds in the domestic economy, but also *explicitly* through the expanding ideological horizons of the British nation state, rendered legible via its rhetorical self-fashioning as a burgeoning imperial superpower.[11]

Beginning in London—the hub of English social, political, and economic life in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—we find numerous examples of the ways in which England's growing imperial stature left its mark on particular buildings and spaces. Buildings such as Somerset House, East India House, South Sea House, and the Mansion House, to name but a few, were among the most striking buildings erected in London during this period (Figure 4.1). Their size and splendour, as well as their decoration, communicated directly the idea of London as a commercially prosperous and politically powerful city.[12]

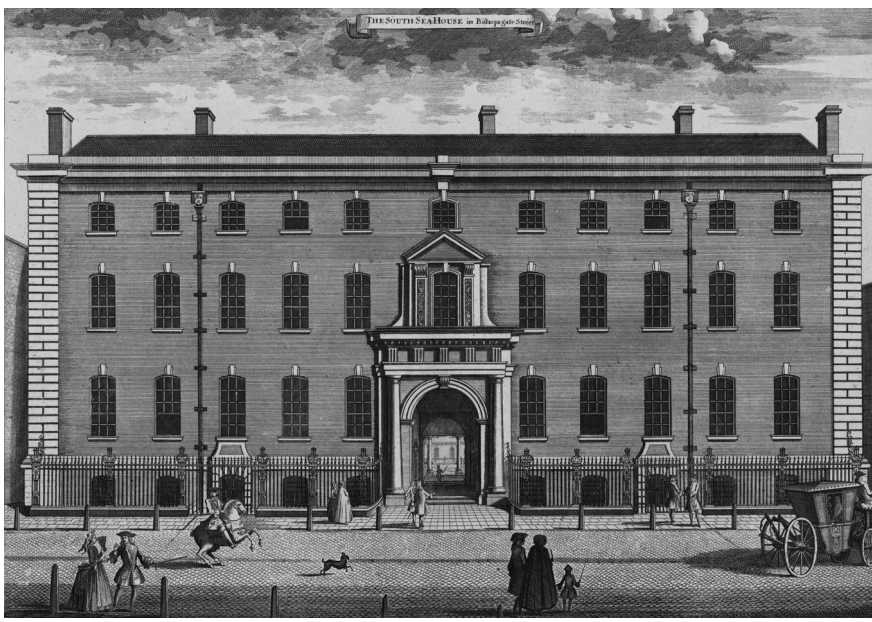

Figure 4.1. The South Sea House in Bishopsgate Street, London, from Stowe's *Survey* (*c.*1725) (British Museum).

[11] For this rhetorical self-fashioning in the early modern era, see D. Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge, 2000); for the late modern period, see D. Bell, *The Idea of Greater Britain: Empire and the Future of World Order, 1860–1900* (Princeton, 2007).

[12] H. V. Bowen, '"No longer mere traders": Continuities and Change in the Metropolitan Development of the East India Company, 1600–1834', in H. V. Bowen, M. Lincoln, and N. Rigby (eds), *The Worlds of the East India Company* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 19–32.

There are, of course, numerous other examples to which one might point in this regard. They are various and widespread, ranging from statues, such as that of Queen Anne (1712) outside St Paul's Cathedral, with its representation of America,[13] to bridges, including Blackfriars Bridge (1760, originally named 'William Pitt Bridge'), which was dedicated, among other things, to Pitt's influence in extending and consolidating Britain's empire during the Seven Years' War.[14] Numerous institutions were also connected to empire in this way. Here one could single out the Guildhall, for instance, which had many Lord Mayors, Aldermen, and Sheriffs who were shareholders in the Royal African Company (est. 1672),[15] or the Royal Exchange, with its decorative references to maritime trade and empire.[16]

Among the earliest and most conspicuous of these transformations, however, centred on the infrastructure associated with shipping. London's dominant position in the British Isles with respect to overseas trade strengthened during the course of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[17] Indeed, with the advent of the Navigation Acts in 1651 and 1660, which largely restricted colonial trade to English and colonial carriers, a marked increase in ship building and dock and warehouse construction occurred.[18] From the early seventeenth century through to the beginning of the nineteenth, a series of increasingly large wet docks were built between the Pool of London and the Legal Quays, through Rotherhithe, Limehouse, and Isle of Dogs, out to Blackwall in the east.[19] To give some indication of the enlarged volume of traffic: in 1705, ships arriving from foreign ports numbered some 1330 vessels (tonnage 157,000); by 1751 this had risen to 1682 ships (tonnage 235,000), and by 1794 the number had shot up to 3663, with a cargo of 620,000 tons.[20] A sizable percentage of this increase was owing to overseas trade with the American colonies and Asia. Thus, in quick succession came the West India (1799–1802), East India (1803–6), and London (Wapping, 1799–1815) docks, dramatically transforming the eastern perimeter of the city (Figure 4.2).

With this increased shipping traffic, and its importance to the English economy, arose the need for reliable naval protection. As the Royal Navy's importance grew

[13] For statues in London in this regard, see M. Dresser, 'Set in Stone? Statues and Slavery in London', *History Workshop Journal*, vol. 64 (2007), pp. 163–99.

[14] The inscription on the bridge's foundation stone is quite explicit in this regard. See J. Noorthouck, *A New History of London* (London, 1773), p. 404.

[15] K. G. Davies, *The Royal African Company* (London, 1957), pp. 67–8. It was also a location where many colonial trade-related trials were held, including those concerning slavery.

[16] C. Stevenson, 'Making Empire Visible at the Second Royal Exchange, London', in M. Hallett, N. Llewellyn, and M. Myrone (eds), *Court, Country, City: British Art and Architecture, 1660–1740* (New Haven and London, 2016), pp. 51–72.

[17] N. Zahedieh, *The Capital and the Colonies: London and the Atlantic Economy, 1660–1700* (Cambridge, 2010); C. J. French, '"Crowded with traders and a great commerce": London's Domination of English Overseas Trade, 1700–1775', *London Journal*, vol. 17:1 (1992), pp. 27–35.

[18] Zahedieh, *The Capital and the Colonies*, pp. 150–9.

[19] J. Pudney, *London's Docks* (London, 1975); L. P. Nelson, *Architecture and Empire in Jamaica* (New Haven, 2016), pp. 266–7.

[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 1–20; See also, *Survey of London: Poplar, Blackwall, and Isle of Dogs*, vols 43–4 (London, 1994), pp. 247–8.

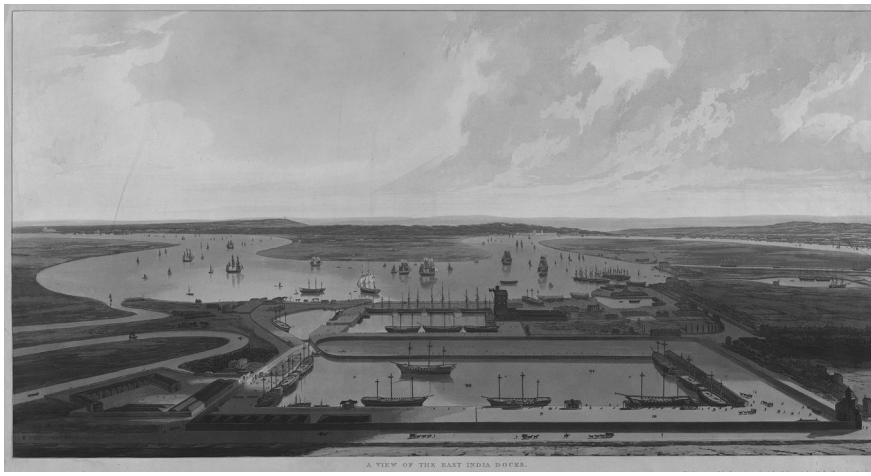

Figure 4.2. East India Docks, London (1803–6), *A View of the East India Docks* (1808) by William Daniell (courtesy Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection).

during the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,[21] so too did its physical presence in the city. Among the most conspicuous examples of this presence were the Royal Naval Hospital at Greenwich (begun 1696) by Christopher Wren (and others) and Somerset House (1775–1856) on the Strand by William Chambers—both of which dominated their urban surroundings when first completed (Figure. 4.3 and Plate 7).[22] Although not monuments to imperial grandeur per se, these two buildings reflected a growing sense of pride in Britain's rise to global pre-eminence through naval supremacy. Both were emblazoned with decoration signifying the nation's imperial status and command of the seas. Somerset House, for example, which was designed primarily to provide new accommodation for an expanding Admiralty, was carefully detailed with sculpture that was 'symbolic and meant to be understood', including patriotic themes celebrating British naval power and imperial ambition (Figure 4.4).[23]

Perhaps the most significant site marking Britain's steady rise to imperial pre-eminence during this period was East India House: the metropolitan headquarters of the English EIC (est. 1600). Starting life in modest domestic premises in Fenchurch and Bishopsgate streets, the Company soon acquired more substantial accommodation befitting its rapidly expanding operations, wealth, and power. By the 1650s it occupied a large and commodious timber structure, with an elaborate front onto Leadenhall Street containing parapet decorations signifying

[21] G. E. Aylmer, 'Navy, State, Trade, and Empire' in N. Canny (ed.), *OHBE*, 5 vols (Oxford, 1998), I, pp. 467–80.

[22] J. Bold et al, *Greenwich: An Architectural History of the Royal Naval Hospital for Seamen and the Queen's House* (New Haven and London, 2000); J. Newman, *Somerset House: Splendour and Order* (London, 1990).

[23] Newman, *Somerset House*, pp. 23–6. Similar themes were to be found on the 'Naval Arch' that formed part of Charles II's coronation entry to London in 1661. See illustration 43 in C. Stevenson, *The City and the King: Architecture and Politics in Restoration London* (New Haven and London, 2013), p. 96.

Figure 4.3. Detail of *Somerset House, Saint Paul's Cathedral and Blackfriar's Bridge* (undated) by Jean Louis Desprez, showing Somerset House, London (1775–1856, *left*), looming large over the River Thames (courtesy Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection).

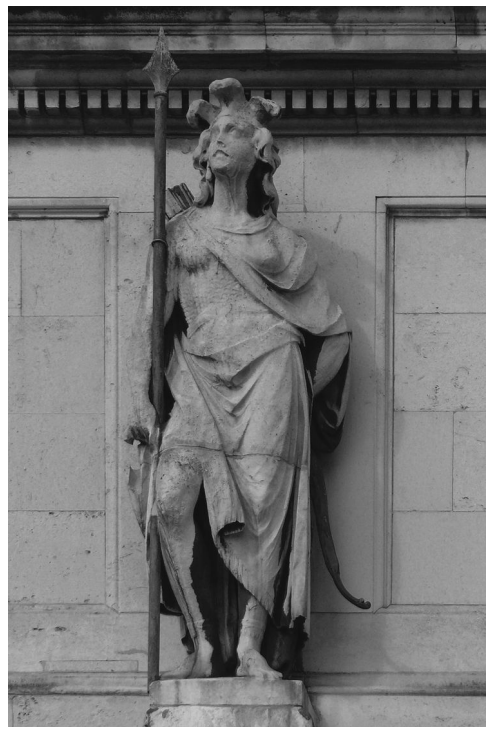

Figure 4.4. Sculpture of 'America', courtyard façade, entrance pavilion, Somerset House, London (1775–1856).

its commercial and maritime reach (Figure 4.5). By 1729 a new, more solid structure in the style of Inigo Jones was erected to the designs of Thomas Jacobsen—a building that announced the Company as a permanent fixture, so to speak, in the financial affairs of both the City and nation as a whole. It was for this building that the magnificent Rysbrack chimney-piece was commissioned (1730), the main relief panel of which depicted Britannia receiving the offerings of India.[24] But according to John Noorthouck and other observers at the time, this building was 'nowise suited to the opulence of the Company'.[25] So, in 1798, an even larger and more splendid building was commenced to the designs of Richard Jupp. When completed in 1828, the building was among the most impressive commercial structures in the City of London, having become one of the 'curiosities of the metropolis' (Figure 4.6).[26]

Its monumental neoclassical façade was broken by a shallow but elegant portico of fluted Ionic columns, the pediment of which contained a full array of allegorical

[24] W. Foster, *The East India House: Its History and Associations* (London, 1924), pp. 2–3, 125–35.
[25] Noorthouck, *A New History*, p. 663.
[26] J. Britton, 'A concise Historical and Descriptive Account of London and Westminster', in Dr Rees, *Cyclopædia* (London, 1805), n.p.

Figure 4.5. Old East India House, London (1648), *The Old East India House in Leadenhall Street 1648 to 1726*, copy from Dutch Old Master painting *c.*1830. The building parapet carries imagery and sculpture referring to maritime trade and was erected in 1661 (British Museum).

figures designed by the noted English sculptor John Bacon. Again, much like Somerset House, these decorations were designed to be noticed. The principal figure was that of an armoured George III protecting Britannia with his shield. On one side stood Mercury (God of Commerce), attended by Navigation, tritons, and seahorses, introducing Asia to Britannia before whom she spread her produce. On the other side were figures representing Order, Religion, and Justice. Atop the pediment resided a figure of Britannia seated on a globe with trident (emblem of maritime dominion), flanked by personifications of Europa and Asia.[27] Importantly, East India House was also the principal nodal point in a vast bureaucratic machinery spanning half the globe.[28]

[27] *London and its Environs in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1829), pp. 43–4; Richard Jupp quoted in 'The description and dimensions of the new front to the East India House…' (London, 1799), in B. and N. Kitz, 'Mr. Jupp builds the India house', India Office Records, British Library: MSS. Eur. D 1131/2, n.d., p. 12.

[28] H. V. Bowen, *The Business of Empire: The East India Company and Imperial Britain, 1756–1833* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 184.

Figure 4.6. East India House, Leadenhall Street, London (1798–1828), by Richard Jupp, *East India House* (*c.*1810) by Joseph Constantine Stadler (courtesy Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection).

These effects also shaped the western seaboard ports of Bristol and Liverpool, both of which were ideally positioned to take advantage of Atlantic trade. From the late seventeenth century both cities became progressively associated with slaving and colonial commerce, comprising, among other commodities, sugar and tobacco. Although not the only or even major financial concern for merchants operating out of these ports, slaving certainly played its role as the apex of a diversified portfolio of interests, including trade with the plantation colonies in the Chesapeake and West Indies. For instance, between the repeal of the Royal African Company monopoly in 1698 and the abolition of slavery in 1807, some 2,100 slaving ventures were sent from Bristol (over 19 per cent of all slaving voyages fitted out at British ports); while in Liverpool, between 1751 and 1756 alone, when that city rose to dominate the industry, 238 voyages were made to Africa, reaching a peak in the period 1798 to 1802 which saw an estimated 37,086 slaves landed in the Americas.[29]

The general profitability of these trades found architectural expression in the urban environments of these cities. As with London, massive port and warehouse facilities were necessary, including the construction of the first, purpose-built commercial wet dock in the world in Liverpool between 1709 and 1715, which deter-

[29] K. Morgan, *Bristol and the Atlantic Trade in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 132–3; S. Haggerty, 'Liverpool, the Slave Trade and Empire, c.1750–75', in S. Haggerty, A. Webster, and N. J. White (eds), *The Empire in One City? Liverpool's Inconvenient Imperial Past* (Manchester, 2008), p. 19.

mined the configuration of the streets in the city centre for over a century.[30] Modern and efficient warehousing was also essential. Again, in the rise of Liverpool as one of Britain's most competitive ports, warehouses represented the essential function of the city.[31] Between 1785 and 1796 the King's and Queen's docks were added, taking the city's overseas trade tonnage from 14,600 in 1709 to over 450,000 by 1800.[32] Indeed, so entwined was the city's mercantile success with these trades that the sculpted frieze on the Town Hall (1749–54) contains exotic imagery referring directly to Africa, including an elephant, a crocodile, and the bejewelled head of a prince(ss).[33] In Bristol the proceeds of colonial trade, including slaving, were apparent in the sugar refining industry and its infrastructure, as well as in the rise of a merchant elite that congregated in certain areas of the city, such as at the Exchange Building, or the architecturally salubrious environs of Prince's Street, Queen Square, and Clifton, accommodating well-known merchant families, including names such as Laroche, Rogers, Anderson, Hobhouse, and Codrington.[34]

Britain's continued interest in transatlantic trade during this period impacted upon Scotland too, in particular the city of Glasgow. With the political Union between England and Scotland in 1707 came new commercial opportunities via colonial trade previously debarred to Scots, especially in the transatlantic slave, sugar, and tobacco trades. Through this Glasgow quickly became a significant redistribution point for tobacco landed in Britain.[35] As in other British cities, these imports generated new sources of wealth which soon found their way into urban renewal and development. For example, the increased trade with the tobacco-producing colonies of Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina initiated infrastructural improvements along the Clyde in the 1720s, including Port Glasgow and the rebuilding of the harbour at Broomielaw.[36]

In domestic architecture, too, the links to colonial trade were apparent. From as early as 1711 increasingly rich and powerful merchants acquired property on the edge of the city's old town where they erected a new class of townhouse, of which Shawfield Mansion (designed by Colen Campbell) was among the first and finest. As this 'new town' developed, others among Glasgow's growing mercantile elite (known as tobacco lords) followed suit, with the laying out of Virginia Street in 1752 and the erection of Virginia Mansion shortly after by George Buchanan. In 1761 appeared Jamaica Street, which quickly rose to become one of the city's busiest thoroughfares, dedicated almost entirely to colonial commerce.[37] In time the streets of Glasgow would come to bear the names of this merchant elite, including Buchanan, Glassford, Dunlop, and Oswald (Figure 4.7).

[30] J. Longmore, 'Civic Liverpool: 1680–1800', in J. Belchem (ed.), *Liverpool 800: Culture, Character and History* (Liverpool, 2006), p. 121.

[31] C. Giles and B. Hawkins, *Storehouses of Empire: Liverpool's Historic Warehouses* (London, 2004), p. 5.

[32] Longmore, 'Civic Liverpool', p. 137.

[33] Nelson, *Architecture and Empire*, pp. 251–3.

[34] M. Dresser, *Slavery Obscured: The Social History of the Slave Trade in an English Provincial Port* (London, 2001), pp. 96–128; Nelson, *Architecture and Empire*, pp. 246–9; Giles and Hawkins, *Storehouses*, p. 9.

[35] T. M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire 1600–1815* (London, 2003), p. 74.

[36] S. Mullen, *It Wisnae Us: The Truth about Glasgow and Slavery* (Edinburgh, 2009), p. 26.

[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 15–32.

Figure 4.7. Trongate, Glasgow (*c.*1780), from a drawing by Richard Paul showing the classical frontage of the Tontine Rooms (*centre right*), erected in 1781 to a design by William Hamilton by the pro-colonial trade Tontine Society of Glasgow, made up of the mercantile elite of the city (British Museum).

It was not just in the towns and cities that these effects were felt. Mercantile wealth trickled out into the countryside as well. Staying in Scotland, we find that Oswald was indeed a name to be reckoned with in this regard. For instance, it was Richard Oswald 'the Younger' (1705/6–84) who acquired Auchincruive in Ayrshire in 1764, after having made his fortune as an Atlantic shipping agent, slave trader, and tobacco merchant in Glasgow and London. The house, which had been designed by James Adam in the fashionable Anglo-Palladian style of British classicism, would take seven years to build, and although not completed as originally designed, would be filled with the finest works of art befitting Oswald's new-found wealth and status.[38]

There were smaller, lesser-known examples of this phenomenon too, such as Blackburn House in West Lothian near Edinburgh. This house, situated on some 670 acres of agricultural land, was erected in 1772 by one George Moncrieff, also in the aspirational Anglo-Palladian style. Born into a middling Perthshire family

[38] D. Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735–1785* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 59–69, 321–47.

in 1711, Moncrieff spent at least twenty years as a 'sojourner' in Antigua where he made his fortune in the sugar and spice trades.[39] While there he purchased a 286-acre plantation, which came complete with '25 negro men, 30 negro women, 11 negro boys, and 7 negro girls'.[40] Returning to Scotland in the late 1760s, Moncrieff ploughed his profits into acquiring an estate. In the spirit of an 'improving' agriculturalist, he set about reshaping and developing the property in order to transform it into a going concern. The house, part of these improvements, was designed to display this new-found wealth and status, facing as it did the busy Toll Road between Glasgow and Edinburgh. As if to remind Moncrieff of where his profits had originated, the impressive plaster cornice of the main drawing room was emblazoned not only with sugarcane fronds but also exotic bird and plant species.

Another 'improver' of this ilk was George Graham (1730–1801). Much like Moncrieff, Graham started out in the Caribbean, but by 1770 found himself on the other side of the world in Calcutta supplying the EIC with provisions, including food and munitions.[41] On his return to Scotland in the late 1770s, Graham purchased Kinross House, a noted Palladian-style villa near Edinburgh designed by Sir William Bruce. Ownership of such a house, with its elegant architectural features and formal garden, was a rite of passage in signalling Graham's entry into elite society, including his successful election to Parliament in 1778, thus completing his rise within the new British state and the global opportunities it brought.[42] Others to follow this pattern included William Jardine and James Matheson, founders of the hugely successful China Trade business, Jardine, Matheson & Co. On his return to Scotland in 1843, Matheson ploughed part of his fortune into purchasing the Isle of Lewis, where he erected the baronial confection Lews Castle at a cost of over £100,000.[43]

Recognizing these kinds of imperial connection, whether residing (literally) on the surface of buildings, or concealed deep within their economic ontology, is important in complicating our understanding of how the physical and spatial character of *place* was both constructed and imagined in Britain vis-à-vis empire.[44] The cultural, political, and economic geographies that emerge from this problem help us to identify such buildings and spaces not as bounded or fixed in their physical locality but as points of intersection in a much greater constellation of material

[39] For Scottish involvement in the Caribbean, see A. L. Karras, *Sojourners in the Sun: Scottish Migrants in Jamaica and the Chesapeake, 1740–1800* (Ithaca, 1992); D. J. Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World, 1750–1820* (Manchester, 2005).

[40] V. L. Oliver, *The History of the Island of Antigua,* 3 vols (London, 1894–9), I, p. 23. See also H. Partridge, 'Blackburn House', unpublished placement report, University of Edinburgh (2006), p. 11.

[41] L. G. Graeme, *Or and Sable: A Book of the Graemes and Grahams* (Edinburgh, 1903), pp. 597–8. Graham was also involved in the export of opium from India to China.

[42] For the effects of the remittance economy in Scotland, see A. Mackillop, 'Locality, Nation, Empire', in J. M. MacKenzie and T. M. Devine (eds), *Scotland and the British Empire* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 78–81. From Caribbean wealth, see Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World*, pp. 196–204.

[43] R. J. Grace, *Opium and Empire: The Lives and Careers of William Jardine and James Matheson* (Montreal and Kingston, 2014), pp. 323–6. For more on Scotland, see S. Barczewski, *Country Houses and the British Empire, 1700–1930* (Manchester, 2014), pp. 28–30, 73–4, 92–4.

[44] D. Lambert and A. Lester (eds), *Colonial Lives Across the British Empire: Imperial Careering in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 13–16.

networks within which the metropolis itself was fully enmeshed. Again, the construction of space in this regard was a mutually constitutive process. This was the point behind Edward Said's noted reading of Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park* in *Culture and Imperialism* (1993) where he insisted that we cannot (at least ought not) read this classic English novel only with the grain of its principal narrative; that, in fact, the contextual setting of the novel is, if literally and metaphorically in the background, equally important. This context is Sir Thomas Bertram's business interests in Antigua—an interest upon which the very existence and stability of the house and Bertram's family rest. Here Said makes the simple but no less fundamental observation that the Bertrams' lifestyle would not have been possible without the slave trade, sugar, and the rise of the colonial planter class; that the purchasing power of this new-found wealth as represented by such a family situates the novel in a 'widening spiral' of dislocations and relocations spanning the Atlantic world.[45]

As Daniel Defoe observed in 1728, 'trade, in a word, raises ancient families when sunk and decayed: And plants new families where the old ones are lost and extinct'.[46] This was the rise of the gentlemanly capitalist elite, including those involved in imperial trade. Conspicuous consumption in the form of country house acquisition was part and parcel of this phenomenon.[47] In England, there are numerous examples to which one might point, including Daylesford House (1788–93), the purpose-built residence of the disgraced EIC 'nabob' Warren Hastings, and the now well-known case of Harewood House, Yorkshire (1759–71), built by the Caribbean trade and plantation-owning family, the Lascelles.[48] Indeed, buildings like Daylesford, and later Sezincote (1798–1812), would bear the traces of this imperial adventuring quite literally, with their architecture alluding to that of Mughal India.[49] Another grand pile that stands out for its imperial connections is Fonthill House, Wiltshire.

Fonthill was the country seat of the noted Alderman, politician, and Caribbean sugar potentate William Beckford (1709–70). Born in Jamaica into a well-established plantation family, Beckford was sent to England in the 1720s to be educated, where he remained on his return from the Caribbean in the mid-1740s as an absentee planter to manage his business, political, and family affairs from London. Crucial to Beckford's extraordinary rise through the social ranks of British society—a time dominated by the landed interests of the aristocratic elite—was the purchase of a substantial country estate. He acquired Fonthill in 1745 for £32,000, which

[45] E. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London, 1993), pp. 95–116.

[46] Defoe quoted in Zahedieh, *The Capital and the Colonies*, pp. 26–7.

[47] The most comprehensive study of this phenomenon is Barczewski, *Country Houses and the British Empire, 1700–1930*.

[48] For Daylesford, see P. F. Norton, 'Daylesford: S. P. Cockerell's Residence for Warren Hastings', *JSAH*, vol. 22:3 (1963), pp. 127–33; for Harewood and the Lascelles, see J. Walvin, 'The Colonial Origins of English Wealth: The Harewoods of Yorkshire', *The Journal of Caribbean History*, vol. 39:1 (2005), pp. 38–53.

[49] Norton, 'Daylesford', p. 130. For the decoration of such houses and their relationship to the wider British world, see S. Barczewski, 'An Elite Imperial Vision: Eighteenth-century British Country Houses and Four Continents Imagery', in J. McAleer and J. M. MacKenzie (eds), *Exhibiting the Empire: Cultures of Display and the British Empire* (Manchester, 2015), pp. 18–41; see also Hancock, *Citizens of the World*, pp. 347–75; Nelson, *Architecture and Empire*, pp. 257–63.

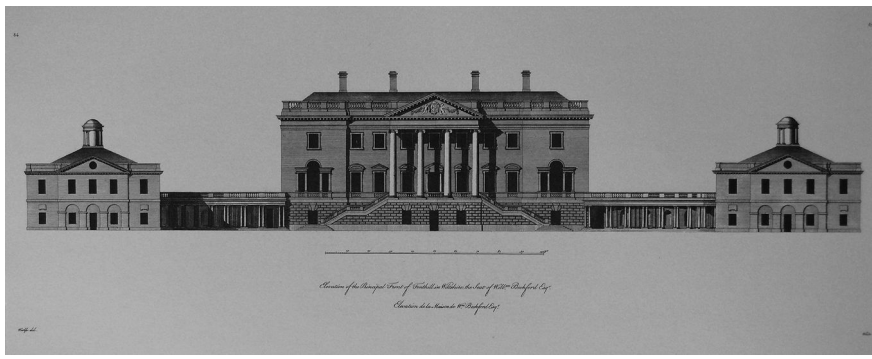

Figure 4.8. View of Fonthill House, Wiltshire (1755–*c.*1762), Alderman William Beckford's country seat, from *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1767).

he eventually extended to some 5,000 acres.[50] In 1755 the original house was destroyed by fire, initiating an ambitious rebuilding campaign that would result in a large and handsome Palladian-style palace, completed in the early 1760s. It was among the most magnificent such houses erected in Britain at the time—so splendid that it was featured in the fourth volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1767) (Figure 4.8).

The purchase of an estate such as Fonthill, and the subsequent erection of its grand Palladian mansion, signalled, as with Moncrieff and Graham in Scotland, Beckford's new-found social status, as well as the thorough infiltration of colonial interests into the political and economic life of Britain. The house's imposing architecture, modelled on that 'monument to political merit', Houghton Hall, represented the necessary refinement of taste coveted by the aristocratic classes with which Beckford wished to ingratiate himself.[51] Its location was also a shrewd business decision, situated as it was only an overnight journey from London, yet close to Bristol and other south coast ports which retained important commercial links to the West Indies.[52] This demonstrated Beckford's sophisticated understanding of the spatial connections that linked his Jamaican estates to his political interests in Britain. Again, the fact that the purchase of the estate was also tied financially to his business affairs in sugar and slavery illustrates the interconnectedness of the Atlantic world in which Beckford operated, including its physical impact on the English landscape.[53]

It was not just buildings but gardens, too, that were associated with imperial representation during this period. The most prominent example, perhaps, was the

[50] P. Gauci, *William Beckford: First Prime Minister of the London Empire* (New Haven, 2013), pp. 48–53.

[51] P. Hewat-Jaboor, 'Fonthill House: "One of the Most Princely Edifices in the Kingdom"', in P. Hewat-Jaboor and B. McLeod (eds), *William Beckford, 1760–1844: An Eye for the Magnificent* (New Haven and London, 2002), p. 53.

[52] Gauci, *Beckford*, p. 53.

[53] See essays in M. Dresser and A. Hann (eds), *Slavery and the British Country House* (Swindon, 2013), especially N. Zahedieh, 'An Open Elite? Colonial Commerce, the Country House and the Case of Sir Gilbert Heathcote and Normanton Hall', pp. 69–77 and J. Longmore, 'Rural Retreats: Liverpool Slave Traders and their Country Houses', pp. 30–45.

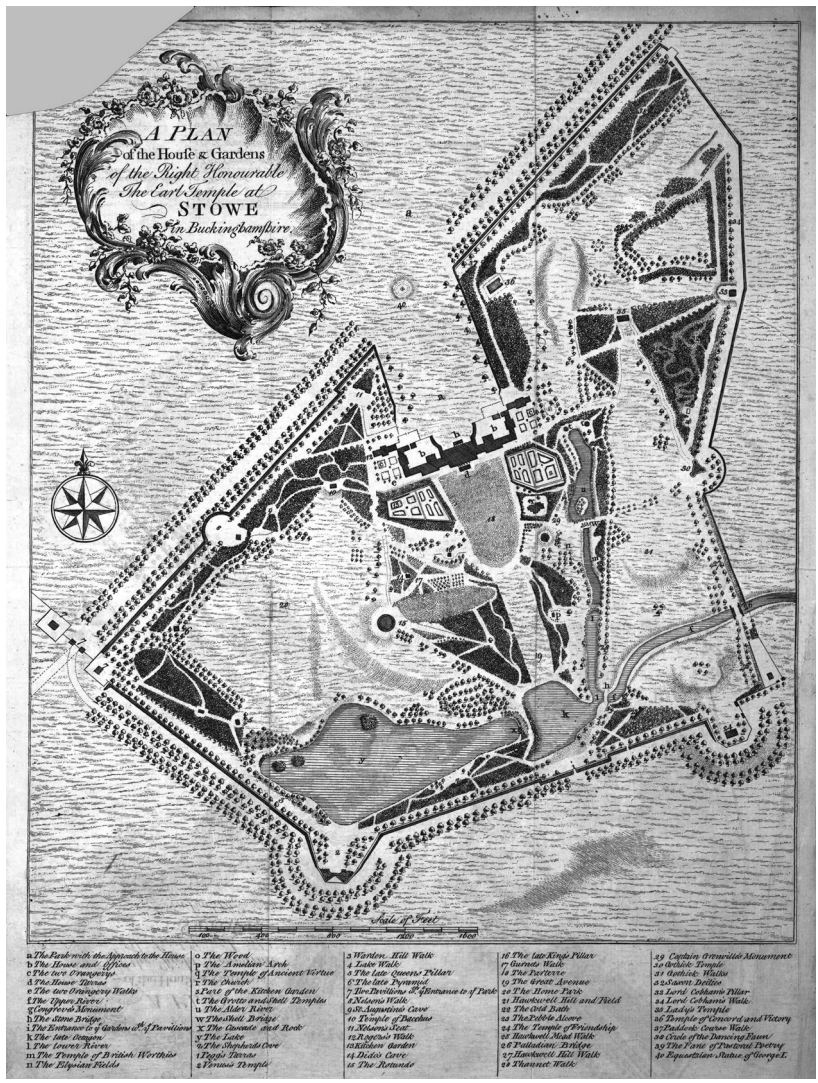

Figure 4.9. *A Plan of the House & Gardens of the Right Honourable the Earl Temple at Stowe in Buckinghamshire*, from Benton Seeley's, *Stowe: A Description of the Magnificent House and Gardens of The Right Honourable Richard Grenville Temple, Earl Temple* (1788).

vast and richly symbolic landscape at Stowe in Buckinghamshire. Under the stewardship of Lord Cobham, and then Sir Richard Granville, Earl Temple (1711–79), these gardens were transformed into an elaborate emblem of Whig political ascendency between 1710 and 1770 (Figure 4.9).

Following the Seven Years' War (1756–63), Granville, who was among the leading Whig politicians of his day, rededicated the so-called Grecian Temple at Stowe as

the 'Temple of Concord and Victory' in celebration of British victories.[54] As the Seven Years' War was the first truly global war between two opposing imperial superpowers, Britain and France, the Temple's decorative programme can be read as a complex allegorical statement concerning Whig patriotism and British imperial pre-eminence, comprising sixteen large terracotta medallions identifying key British military and naval victories across the globe, as well as elaborate pediment sculpture depicting the 'Four Quarters of the World bringing their various Products to Britannia'.[55] Moreover, the Temple's siting was calculated to amplify its patron's Whig imperialist narrative by taking advantage of the vistas across the parkland, in one direction to Lord Cobham's Pillar (1748), the Earl's uncle and trenchant exponent of commercial empire, and in the other direction across to Wolfe's Obelisk, which memorialized Major General James Wolfe's conquest of Quebec (1759)—a campaign in which he was immortalized through a 'glorious and patriotic' death.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: INDUSTRIALIZATION AND CULTURES OF DISPLAY

There are numerous ways in which we can think about Britain and its key urban centres, such as London, as imperial landscapes, not just as conglomerates of buildings and connected spaces but also as lived experiences and sites of memory, association, and imagination.[56] This includes pre-existing buildings and spaces that throughout their history either evolved or were transformed to acquire new meaning and significance. Two such—indeed, two of the most distinguished and famed in the kingdom—were Westminster Abbey and St Paul's Cathedral.

Westminster Abbey was the closest thing Britain had to a national Walhalla, having received monuments and memorials to the good and great of English (and later British) society since the middle ages. By the nineteenth century it had very much evolved into a site of national and imperial imagining. In his *Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey* (1868), A. P. Stanley, the Abbey's dean, described it as nothing less than an 'outward symbol' of the nation's constitution and historic associations. The connections to Britain's rise as a global power were evident for all to see. From the time of the Seven Years' War, direct and conspicuous reference to Britain's global exploits increased in the number and type of memorial erected. The 'narrow circle' of the Abbey's names suddenly took 'a wider sweep', Stanley remarked: 'Now for the first time India on the one side, and North America on the other, leap in to the Abbey.'[57] Among these are the memorials to Lieutenant Colonel Roger

[54] P. Eyres, 'Celebration and Dissent: Thomas Hollis, the Society of Arts, and Stowe Gardens', *The Medal*, vol. 38 (2001), pp. 31–50.

[55] P. Eyres, 'Neoclassicism on Active Service: Commemoration of the Seven Years' War in the English Landscape Garden', *New Arcadian Journal*, vols 35/36 (1993), pp. 73–7.

[56] For this argument, see F. Driver and D. Gilbert, 'Heart of Empire? Landscape, Space and Performance in Imperial London', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, vol. 16:1 (1998), pp. 11–28.

[57] A. P. Stanley, *Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey* (London, 1868), p. 279.

Figure 4.10. View of memorial to Major General James Wolfe at Westminster Abbey from Rudolph Ackermann's *A History of the Abbey Church of St Peter's Westminster* (1812).

Townsend (North America) and Lieutenant General Eyre Coote (India), with their exotic imagery of Native American warriors and palm trees, as well as one to that most famous of British soldiers, Major General James Wolfe (Figure 4.10).[58] Such was the Abbey's importance in this regard, believed Stanley, that he used it expressly

[58] For the Wolfe memorial, see D. Fordham, 'Scalping: social rites in Westminster Abbey', in T. Barringer, G. Quilley, and D. Fordham (eds), *Art and the British Empire* (Manchester, 2007), pp. 99–119.

as an educational aid by taking tours through the building to relay the national and imperial history of Britain through its memorials.

It was a similar state of affairs at St Paul's. In 1791, responding to developments across the Channel in Paris at Sainte-Geneviève, the cathedral officially became a state pantheon to Britain's fallen military heroes, styled variously as the 'Temple of British Fame' and 'National Temple of Fame'. The monuments erected to soldiers were explicit in signalling the global extent of Britain's military engagements. Here, lining the walls of the once bare cathedral, could be found numerous formal and literary references to exotic locations such as India, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Canada, Egypt, South Africa, the Mediterranean, the West Indies, and many more, with an illustrious roll-call of names including Cornwallis (India), Hardinge (Ceylon), Abercromby (Egypt), Heathfield (Gibraltar), Moore (America, Caribbean, Egypt), and of course Nelson and Wellington. This transformation in a way marked the beginning of the cathedral's steady rise as a site of national celebration, mourning, and commemoration, as well as the *de facto* icon of London as the centre and heart of empire.[59]

If the appropriation of eminent, pre-existing buildings of this kind was one way of responding to changing attitudes towards British identity and nationhood, another was the invention of particular forms of cultural activity that acted as conduits through which wider national and imperial sentiments could be channelled. Activity of this kind was often calculated to agitate such sentiment, bringing it to the fore and giving it expression in ways that might otherwise have lain dormant, ambiguous, or even unrecognized. Examples include the rise of jingoistic forms of popular entertainment, resulting in the erection of new types of theatre space and music halls; or, pageantry and ceremonial, such as the two jubilees of Queen Victoria in 1887 (Golden) and 1897 (Diamond), both of which were not only distinctly imperial in their constitution but also made extensive use of the buildings and spaces of London as a spectacular backdrop to the occasion, including Westminster Abbey and St Paul's Cathedral. One area in which this changing sensibility was particularly evident was in the rise of international exhibition culture.

The first and greatest event in Britain associated with this culture was of course the Great Exhibition of 1851—staged in Hyde Park, London, between May and October that year. Although the Crystal Palace, as a structure, was indicative of Britain's leading position as a technologically advanced nation (a showcase of its industrial might), it was not a monument to empire per se. Nevertheless, an event on the scale of the Great Exhibition naturally presented Britain with an unparalleled opportunity to reveal to the 'civilized' world its role in global affairs by amassing—in one convenient place—the products and manufactures associated with its industrial capacity and ever-expanding territorial empire.

Here Britain's colonies were cast as part of a wider British world; an immense treasure trove of untapped abundance, primarily in the form of raw materials and

[59] For St Paul's in this capacity, see H. Hoock, *Empires of the Imagination: Politics, War, and the Arts in the British World, 1750–1850* (London, 2010), pp. 132–61, 188–202.

cheap labour.[60] As Jeffery Auerbach has observed, this served to create a 'disjuncture' between the symbolic meaning of the exhibition (peace and progress) and the material conditions of commodity capitalism embedded within it, resulting in the image of colonialism as a pendant to commercial growth and prosperity—that the oppression, subjugation, and stripping of human and natural resources from such places was concealed beneath the spectacle of the building and the fanfare surrounding its exhibits.[61] Nowhere was this more evident than in the Indian Court, with its visually arresting display of exotic objects, including the Koh-i-noor Diamond and a stuffed elephant complete with howdah (see Plate 8). Situated strategically at the heart of the building, India was glorified and domesticated for a British audience: not on display in its own right, but as 'conquered', now the 'brightest jewel in Victoria's crown'.[62] This was obviously calculated to leave a particular impression upon the minds of the over six million visitors who attended the exhibition, particularly foreigners.

Importantly, despite the Great Exhibition's myriad aims, including its central ambition to promote peace and prosperity among the 'civilized' nations of the world, it was instrumental in enabling Britons to locate themselves in the context of their empire and the wider word.[63] One of the only physical reminders of this extraordinary event is the official memorial (little recognized or referred to today), unveiled over ten years later in 1863. Residing rather inconspicuously at the rear of the Royal Albert Hall, it is inscribed with the nations of 'arts and industry' present at the exhibition, grouped into two broad categories 'Foreign' and 'British'. As if to reinforce Britain's imperial standing and superiority in the world, betraying one of the exhibition's key agendas, India and Britain's colonial possessions appear not under the heading 'Foreign', with the other participating countries, but with the United Kingdom under the heading 'British'.

These imperialistic themes and allusions were carried over into the unofficial memorial to the Great Exhibition, the Albert Memorial (1863–74), commenced only months after the unveiling of the official one in June 1863. Although dedicated to the life and achievements of one individual—the Prince Consort (Queen Victoria's husband), who died unexpectedly of typhus in December 1861, the Albert Memorial quickly became a monument to wider British national and imperial ideals.[64] The competition surrounding its design, as well as the monument itself, pointed explicitly to Britain's economic and cultural standing in the world—

[60] J. A. Auerbach, *The Great Exhibition of 1851: A Nation on Display* (New Haven and London, 1999), pp. 98–104.

[61] *Ibid.*, pp. 101–2. See also 'Imperial display', in P. Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The* Expositions Universelles, *Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851–1939* (Manchester, 1988), pp. 52–81.

[62] For India at the Great Exhibition, see L. Kriegel, 'Narrating the Subcontinent in 1851: India at the Crystal Palace', in L. Purbrick (ed.), *The Great Exhibition of 1851: New Interdisciplinary Essays* (Manchester, 2001), pp. 147–78; 'Colonial Gothic', in T. Barringer, *Men at Work: Art and Labour in Victorian Britain* (New Haven and London, 2005), pp. 243–50, 258–65.

[63] J. A. Auerbach, 'Introduction', in J. A. Auerbach and P. H. Hoffenberg (eds), *Britain, the Empire, and the World at the Great Exhibition of 1851* (Aldershot, 2008), p. xi.

[64] G. A. Bremner, 'The "Great Obelisk" and Other Schemes: The Origins and Limits of Nationalist Sentiment in the Making of the Albert Memorial 1861–63', *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*, vol. 31:3 (2009), pp. 225–49.

what Colin Cunningham has described as its vocabulary of 'piety, progress, and power'.[65] The large sculptural groups representing the 'four quarters of the globe', in particular, make reference to the exploited (and exploitable) regions of the world—including South Asia, Africa, and North America—that had come by degrees under British commercial and political control. The continents of Africa and Asia especially are presented as both inert and docile, incapable of resisting the timely and transformative impulses of Britain's 'civilizing' mission.[66] Here, as Tim Barringer observes, 'India' is shown removing her veil, as if awakening from a long slumber, the implication being that 'only through the intervention of Britain, in the form of commercial activity and imperial control, was the revival of Asia, and especially India, possible' (Figure 4.11).[67]

It was not at all surprising that Albert himself was depicted at the centre of the memorial clutching a catalogue to the Great Exhibition of 1851. Not only was it considered his greatest achievement, but his holding the catalogue would also have reminded those who saw it that Britain and its commercial prospects were bound up in the fortunes of this exhibition culture. There were, of course, numerous other events of this kind held both in Britain and the wider British empire during the course of the nineteenth century. One such was the London International Exhibition of 1862. Here, too, Britain's colonial possessions were on display, this time with a view to illustrating not only their potential as domains for exploitation, as evidenced in the 44-ft-high 'Gold Pyramid' from the colony of Victoria, but also as places demonstrative of 'progress' and therefore appealing as lands of opportunity for would-be migrants.[68]

Indeed, as the nineteenth century wore on, the agenda behind such exhibitions became progressively imperialistic (opposed to innocuously 'international') as competition and rivalry between the industrialized nations of the world intensified. The backcloth to this was economic depression and command over limited global resources. This realization was given definite shape in the 'New Imperial' politics of Benjamin Disraeli during the 1870s, from which emerged a desire in some quarters for closer economic and political cooperation between Britain and its colonial empire—a show of solidarity and imperial strength in the face of waning British pre-eminence. Born out of this enthusiasm was perhaps the greatest 'imperial' exhibition of the period: the 1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition, South Kensington. As its name suggests, this exhibition's agenda was clear. Its leitmotif was to showcase the idea and image of a united empire, a kind of 'Greater Britain' spanning the world. To emphasize this notion the building's main façade

[65] C. Cunningham, 'Iconography and Victorian Values', in C. Brooks (ed.), *The Albert Memorial: its History, Contexts, and Conservation* (New Haven and London, 2000), p. 210; C. Cunningham, 'The Albert Memorial', in G. Perry and C. Cunningham (eds), *Academies, Museums and Canons of Art* (New Haven and London, 1999), p. 204.

[66] For the development of these sculptures, see G. A. Bremner, 'Between Civilisation and Barbarity: Conflicting Perceptions of the Non-European World in William Theed's *Africa*, 1864–69', *Sculpture Journal*, vol. 16:1 (2007), pp. 94–102.

[67] T. Barringer, 'Imperial Visions: Responses to India and Africa in Victorian Art and Design', in J. M. MacKenzie (ed.), *The Victorian Vision: Inventing New Britain* (London, 2001), p. 315.

[68] P. H. Hoffenberg, *An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War* (Berkley, 2001), pp. 129–65.

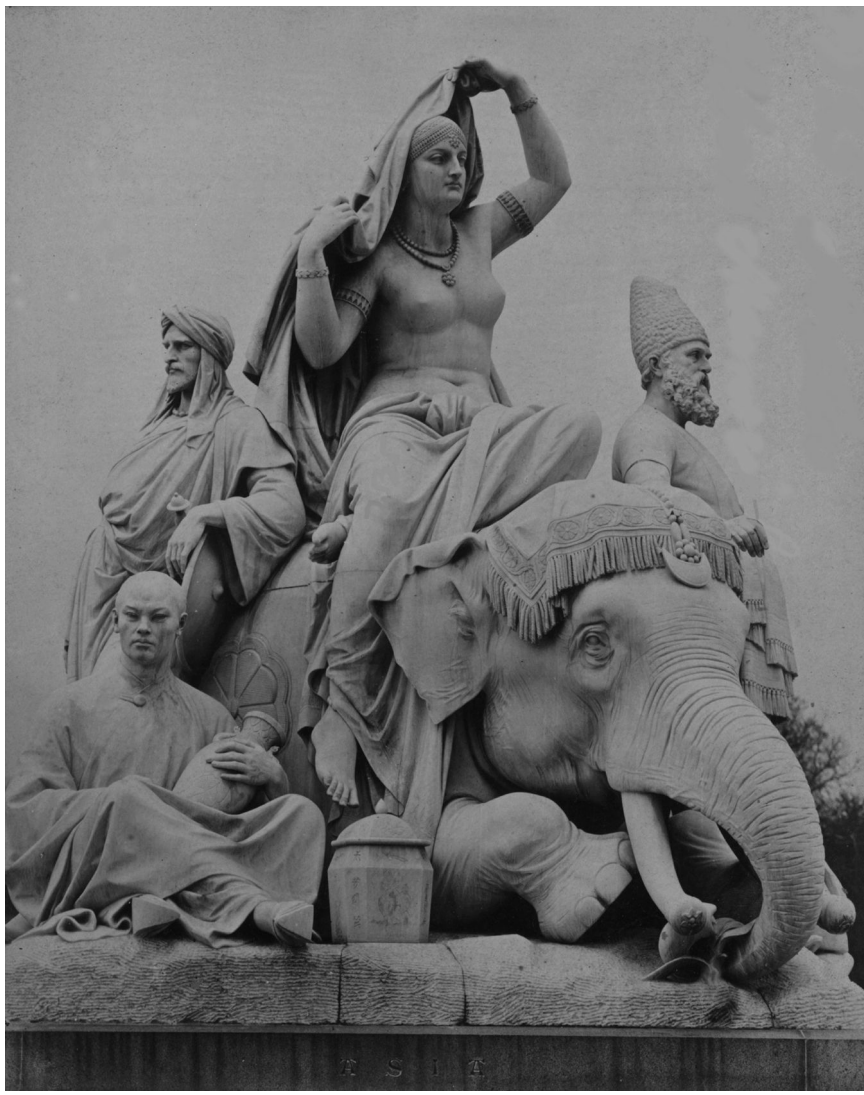

Figure 4.11. *Asia* (1865–71) by John Henry Foley from the Albert Memorial, South Kensington, London (1863–76) (Victoria & Albert Museum, London).

was clad with two huge hemispheric depictions of the British world, above which were located five clocks synchronizing various time zones within that world (Greenwich, Ottawa, Cape Town, Calcutta, and Sydney), all surmounted by a large and conspicuous figure of Britannia triumphant (Figure 4.12). The message could not have been less ambiguous—the measuring, marking, and celebrating of knowledge and progress across the empire.[69]

[69] J. Sweet, 'The World of Art and Design: White Colonials', in MacKenzie, *Victorian Vision*, p. 336.

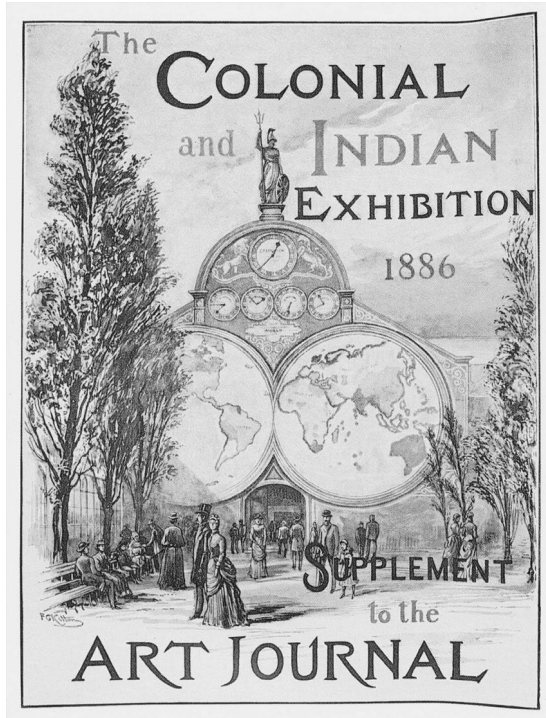

Figure 4.12. Front page of the supplement to the *Art Journal* (1886), showing the façade to the exhibition hall at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, London, 1886.

Inside, perhaps the most indicative if not spectacular exhibits were again those from India. Complete with reconstructed Durbar Hall and Palace, including the hand-carved Gwalior Gateway, these were symbolic of the imperial mission to rescue, preserve, and exhibit India's past through its rich handicraft traditions. The reconstructed and simulated architectural environments, with their aura of 'authenticity', including entire bazaars of imported Indian craftsmen, would certainly have transported British spectators to the Indian subcontinent, right in the convenience and comfort of the empire's capital.[70]

Coming in the wake of this event was one of the most ambitious architectural initiatives of the age, the aptly named Imperial Institute (1887–93; demolished 1957–62). Also located in South Kensington, the heart of London's museum and

[70] Hoffenberg, *Empire on Display*, pp. 155–65. See also, D. Swallow, 'Colonial Architecture, International Exhibitions, and Official Patronage of the Indian Artisan: The Case of a Gateway from Gwalior in the Victorian and Albert Museum', in T. Barringer and T. Flynn (eds), *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum* (London, 1998), pp. 52–67. Similarly, the Durbar Room (1892) at Osborne House, the royal family's retreat on the Isle of Wight (1845–51), with its spectacular Indic detailing, embodied this vision for a new feudal kingdom in South Asia with its mediated relationships between craftsmen, empire, and royal patronage. See T. Barringer, *Men at Work: Art and Labour in Victorian Britain* (New Haven, 2005), pp. 303–6.

exhibition district, the Institute was intended as a 'permanent' display of the items that had been assembled for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition. They were to be arranged under one roof in a purpose-built, museum-like facility, open to businessmen and the general public alike, in an effort to encourage greater knowledge and understanding of the commercial and migratory opportunities available across Britain's empire. Again, the backcloth to this initiative was a desire to strengthen and further stimulate colonial relations and development under the political banner of Imperial Federation (the idea of creating a worldwide Britannic super state), with the Institute itself standing as a monument to that idea. Although never particularly successful in that capacity, the Institute nevertheless brought the wider British world 'home', acting as a centre of debate and exchange on imperial matters (it was, for instance, home to the Royal Colonial Institute), with its architecture representing the scale, ambition, and diversity of the empire itself.[71] Inside, its geographically orientated layout allowed visitors to take a 'global circuit' around Britain's imperial possessions as they moved from gallery to gallery, with the British display located front and centre.[72]

By this time there already existed in London a number of museums in which one could glimpse the exotic and otherworldly presence of Britain's empire. Principal among these was the India Museum in East India House. Established in 1801, this 'oriental repository' became home to all manner of fantastical objects trafficked and channelled through the exploits of the EIC. Open to the public, the museum developed a reputation for curiosities, such as the novelty organ known colloquially as 'Tipu's tiger'. Its architecture, too, was designed to impress, with the 1858 extension by Matthew Digby Wyatt recalling the exuberant saracenic forms of ancient Mughal palaces.[73]

Christian missionary organizations also collected items of this nature. Pieces of anthropological interest, including all manner of weapons, textiles, and votive objects from places as far afield as India, China, Polynesia, and Africa, could be found in the head offices of both the Church Missionary and London Missionary societies, the latter having its own dedicated museum (est. 1814) that became a feature on the London tourist circuit.[74]

The architecture of state was also a domain that responded to Britain's growing sense of imperial consciousness and pride. As an urban environment, London naturally wished to reflect this sensibility, especially in the years following Britain's victories in the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. This was in part spurred by a general air of indignity and even embarrassment over the public image

[71] G. A. Bremner, '"Some Imperial Institute": Architecture, Symbolism, and the Ideal of Empire in Late Victorian Britain, 1887–93', *JSAH*, vol. 62:1 (2003), pp. 50–73.

[72] M. Crinson, 'Imperial Story-lands: Architecture and Display at the Imperial and Commonwealth Institutes', *Art History*, vol. 22:1 (1999), p. 109.

[73] R. Desmond, *The India Museum 1801–1879* (London, 1982).

[74] R. Seton, 'Reconstructing the Museum of the London Missionary Society', *Material Religion*, vol. 8:1 (2012), pp. 98–102. The birth of the Natural History Museum collections also carried these imperial connotations. See C. Yanni, *Nature's Museums: Victorian Science and the Architecture of Display* (London, 1999), pp. 111–15.

of nineteenth-century London.[75] As art patronage shifted from the aristocracy to the new bourgeois elite during this period, a corresponding desire arose for the erection of public memorials to great military victories, evidenced in the monuments to battles such as Trafalgar, the Nile, and Waterloo.[76] Moreover, with Britain's empire continuing to expand throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, new and more dignified government offices were necessarily required for its administration. These concerns coalesced around the design of the New Government Offices in Whitehall in 1857, including a new department of state for India. The need for this new infrastructure presented the perfect opportunity for Britain and British architects to create a series of buildings that would be seen as worthy of a modern, wealthy, and politically powerful nation. The design process was a highly contested and politicized affair, ending in a less than satisfactory outcome, but the resulting buildings did indeed herald a new dawn for state architecture in Britain.[77]

There were endless debates over the style of architecture in which the buildings ought to be designed (Classical or Gothic), but it was in the buildings' decorative embellishment that we see most clearly recognition of a connection between civic architecture, urbanism, and imperial identity at this time. The new India Office, for instance, created in the wake of the transfer of power from the EIC to the British Crown in 1858, became the administrative nerve centre for an entire subcontinent and its people (some 200 million). Both inside and out, this building was encrusted with decorative sculpture relaying the story of Britain's involvement in India, including statues of past Governors-General, leading EIC officials, and key events in the rise of British power, such as the Cornwallis 'treaty' with Tipu Sultan (1792). Much of the movable décor that adorned old East India House was transferred to the new building, including the Rysbrack chimney-piece, the Spiridione Roma roundel *The East Offering its Riches to Britannia* (1778), and the statues of former Company officials clad in ancient Roman military attire. In this respect there seemed to be an almost seamless transmission of power, along with the visual rhetoric that accompanied it, from Company to Crown.

A new Colonial Office was added a decade later (1868–78). Much like the India Office, the façade of this building, which faced directly onto Whitehall, was emblazoned with full-figure and relief sculpture depicting Britain's imperial heritage. Here could be found portrait reliefs of a number of key personalities, such as William Wilberforce, David Livingstone, and Sir John Franklin, as well as several former Secretaries of State for the Colonies. Below were positioned representations of Asia, Africa, North America, and Australasia. The leitmotif was 'progress'. In the case of Australasia, for instance, a figure representing Europe is shown pushing out

[75] e.g. M. H. Port, 'Government and the Metropolitan Image: Ministers, Parliament and the Concept of a Capital City, 1840–1915', in D. Arnold (ed.), *The Metropolis and its Image: Constructing Identities for London, c.1750–1950* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 101–26.

[76] R. Mace, *Trafalgar Square: Emblem of Empire* (London, 1976), pp. 48–68.

[77] G. A. Bremner, 'Nation and Empire in the Government Architecture of Mid-Victorian London: The Foreign and India Office Reconsidered', *Historical Journal*, vol. 48:3 (2005), pp. 703–42. See also M. H. Port, *Imperial London: Civil Government Building in London, 1851–1915* (New Haven and London, 1995).

native fauna with one hand (kangaroos) while making way for sheep with the other. Perched atop this ensemble is the prominent and commanding figure of Queen Victoria ('Britannia'), flanked by personifications of Wisdom, Legislation, Justice, and Navigation—the supposed safeguards of British rule everywhere. These themes were carried into the interior of the building as well, with the Grand Staircase to the Foreign Office lavishly decorated with murals depicting Britain's rise as an imperial power.[78]

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: UNEASE, UNCERTAINTY, AND THE FINAL UNDOING

Coming into the twentieth century we can see that other cities in the United Kingdom, despite London's continued dominance, had consolidated their imperial connections, especially through trade and manufacturing. During this period the cities of Liverpool and Glasgow vied for the unofficial title of 'second city' of empire. As John MacKenzie has shown, Glasgow maintained meaningful connections with the wider British world through its rise as a manufacturing base of international significance.[79] Iron production became increasingly important to the city's wealth and prosperity at this time, with Walter McFarland & Co.'s Saracen Works exporting cast-iron products, including many architectural items, to all parts of the British empire, and beyond, including items such as fountains, bandstands, gates, and street furniture. Heavy engineering in the form of ship building and locomotive manufacture were also key to the city's success.[80] As the Clyde became increasingly canalized, these connections became plain for all to see. For example, when completed, the engines produced at the North British Locomotive Company were ceremoniously hauled through the streets of the city to the docks, often in front of admiring crowds, where they would be lifted onto ships bound mostly for one or other British colonial territory. As with London, exhibition culture was also important to Glasgow in promoting its global links, with a series of highly successful exhibitions from 1847 through to the 1930s, including the major ones of 1888, 1901, 1911, ending with the 1938 'Empire Exhibition'.[81] Each of these emphasized the city's imperial connections, giving distinct prominence to Glasgow's industry and its place in the modern world.[82]

Liverpool, too, witnessed impressive urban expansion from the 1830s with sustained dock construction along the Mersey as city merchants, financiers, and manufactures came to dominate the raw materials market (especially cotton and its allied services) and steamship manufacture. With the disappearance of the US

[78] S. Goetz, *Mural Decorations at the Foreign Office* (London, 1921).

[79] J. M. MacKenzie, '"The Second City of the Empire": Glasgow—Imperial Municipality', in F. Driver and D. Gilbert (eds), *Imperial Cities: Landscape, Display and Identity* (Manchester, 1999), pp. 215–37.

[80] *Ibid.*, pp. 222–3.

[81] For the 1938 Glasgow exhibition, see M. Crinson, *Modern Architecture and the End of Empire* (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 92–7.

[82] MacKenzie, 'Second City', pp. 226–7.

merchant fleet from the Atlantic during the early 1860s owing to the Civil War, as well as the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, Liverpool shipping was able to take advantage of its location, advanced infrastructure, and accumulated maritime business acumen. Not only did it provide the vital link to the outside world for other industrial cities such as nearby Manchester, but also became the world's premier liner port, facilitating British emigration to other parts of the world.[83] The famous Albert Docks were of course symbolic of this transformation, but perhaps the most visible sign of the city's growing fortunes in this respect was the erection of extremely large corporate headquarters buildings along the waterfront in the early twentieth century, beginning with the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board building (one of the so-called Three Graces) in 1904 by Arnold Thornely.

Curiously, the style of architecture in which this building was designed arguably began its rise to popularity in Glasgow, with the magnificent City Chambers (1882–8) by William Young. Indeed, this style, known at the time as the 'Grand Manner' (later referred to as Edwardian Baroque), was pioneered by Scottish architects like Young and John Brydon, both of whom ended up in London designing large and important commissions for the government, including the new public offices, Great George Street (1900–15), and the new War Office, Whitehall (1900–6). The Edwardian Baroque was noted for its characteristically strong and ebullient articulation of the classical language of architecture. Importantly, it found its formal inspiration in the work of specifically 'English' architects such as Inigo Jones, Christopher Wren, Nicholas Hawksmoor, and John Vanbrugh. These were the great 'Renaissance' masters of English architectural history. Their most accomplished and noted buildings were to acquire new-found significance as symbolic of English (and British) national identity and creative genius, including St Paul's Cathedral, Greenwich Royal Naval Hospital, and Blenheim Palace.

As we have seen, St Paul's was considered by many to be the noblest and most original work of architecture in England. It was not only reckoned to be a sublime work in its own right, but was increasingly identified as the emblem of London. Architects such as Brydon and Herbert Baker were among the principal advocates of the new style, drawing parallels between the life and times of architects like Wren and their own age of imperial expansion. The work of these earlier Baroque masters was 'firmly established as the national style – the vernacular of the country', Brydon declared in 1889, 'the nearest to us in time and in similitude of requirements'. Moreover, it emerged at 'the beginning of that Greater Britain which has come to be such a factor in the civilization of the world'.[84] It was therefore hardly a coincidence that the style rose to prominence at this time.

In this respect the Edwardian Baroque was perhaps the closest that Britain ever came to formulating an expressly 'imperial' style of architecture. Ironically, it appeared at a moment of steady imperial decline for Britain, and therefore must

[83] See G. J. Milne, 'Maritime Liverpool', in Belchem, *Liverpool 800*, pp. 257–73.

[84] *The Builder* (2 March 1889), p. 169. See also A. Service, *Edwardian Architecture* (London, 1977), pp. 60–73, 140–57.

be seen as something of a rearguard action associated with the puffed-up imperialist rhetoric surrounding the New Imperialism of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It should also be remembered that it emerged at a time of high imperial fervour, generally speaking, with events such as the Golden and Diamond jubilees of Queen Victoria (1887, 1897), the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902), the Queen's death (1901), and the coronation of Edward VII (1902). Naturally the British public looked for an architecture that could respond to these sentiments and anxieties. For a period between about 1890 and 1920 the style left a definite mark on the architectural landscape of Britain. Some of the better known examples, apart from those by Thornely, Young, and Brydon already mentioned, include the Old Bailey (1900–6), the Coliseum Theatre (1902–4), Piccadilly Hotel (1905–8), and Chancery Court (1912–14), all in London; the Royal Naval College, Dartmouth (1899–1903); town halls in Stockport (1904–8), Colchester (1897–1902), and Cardiff (1897–1906); the new Cotton Exchange, Liverpool (1906) (Figure 4.13); and the Ashton Memorial (1907–9), by architects such as Edward Mountford, Aston Webb, John Belcher, A. Brumwell Thomas, and E. A. Rickards.

Given this major resurgence in classicism, one might have thought the Gothic Revival's star had faded. But it was not done yet. Among its last and most spectacular throes was the extraordinary proposal in 1904 by J. P. Seddon and E. B. Lamb to extend Westminster Abbey by creating a series of 'imperial monumental halls' directly south of Henry VII's Chapel.[85] The scheme was intended as a 'mausoleum' for those who, as one backer described it, had 'rendered distinguished service in Literature, Science, Art, Politics or Philosophy to the British Empire or the Anglo-Saxon race', and was to include a massive Gothic tower over 400-ft high designed to vie with the dome of St Paul's. To meet the expectations surrounding the proposal, the architects observed how 'grandeur of scale and costly execution' were essential. 'The idea, at any rate', they hoped, 'may lead to some adequate conception of a proper realisation of that "Imperial thought" which has become dear to the heart of the nation and the Colonies of the British Empire'.[86]

Although not executed, Seddon and Lamb's scheme certainly captured something of the magnitude and intensity of 'imperial thought' as it struggled to find appropriate monumental expression coming into the twentieth century, especially in the centre and capital of the empire. That 'thought' was never assured, and did not go uncontested, but, as was so often the case with these things, the desire to commemorate it outstripped the means available. Nevertheless, it reminds us of the contested terrain of British imperial identity at this time and the diverse ways in which architecture could represent it.

Seddon and Lamb's proposal was not alone in terms of ambition and scale. The death of Queen Victoria in 1901 occasioned one of the most trenchant and formally organized set pieces of grand 'imperial' urbanism ever executed in London.

[85] G. A. Bremner, '"Imperial Monumental Halls and Tower": Westminster Abbey and the Commemoration of Empire, 1854–1904', *Architectural History*, vol. 47 (2004), p. 251–82.

[86] Seddon and Lamb quoted in *ibid.*, p. 253.

Figure 4.13. Cotton Exchange, Liverpool (1906) by Matear & Simon (Historic England Archive).

Dedicated as a memorial to the dead Queen, and designed by Aston Webb, it came to comprise The Mall, Admiralty Arch, the refacing of Buckingham Palace, and the Victoria Memorial itself. The entire ensemble was intended as a rhetorical display of imperial unity through a coherent and imposing demonstration of urbanism calculated to rival other European capitals such as Paris, Vienna, and Berlin. The Memorial itself was designed explicitly to present the Queen as a kind of maternally inspired matriarch whose reign was concerned with 'peace, prosperity, and progress' (the 'Pax Britannica' idea). The wider scheme also included statuary

representing India, Africa, Canada, and Australia. As one advocate put it, the 'Empire must have a capital, and all citizens whether they belonged to the United Kingdom, to India, or to the colonies . . . ought to be proud of that capital, and try and ensure that it had monuments in it of that which was great and memorable in the history of the Empire'.[87]

The early twentieth century was also a period during which a number of the settler dominions gained effective independence from Britain, such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and South Africa. As the sculptural imagery on the Victoria Memorial intimated, these were colonies that had now passed through dependency and 'childhood' to reach a level of maturity that enabled them to become 'responsible' members of the imperial 'family'. Architecturally, this became evident in the appearance of new High Commission buildings in London, off the Strand and Trafalgar Square, such as Australia House (1913–18) and South Africa House (1931–3).[88] Despite their stately, almost proud, architectural massing, these buildings conveyed a certain ambiguity through the way in which their apparent confidence was bound up with a necessary obsequiousness to the old order. This made for an architecture of the political 'in between' with its mixed signals of recalcitrance and reverence in its groping towards the Commonwealth idea.

Australia House—a hulk of a building in the Grand Manner style—was the earliest of the purpose-built 'empire houses', but by the time we reach Herbert Baker's designs for India House (1928–30), and then South Africa House, we begin to see the influence of Modernism in their stripped-back, elemental formation. Baker, who was Britain's 'architect of empire' *par excellence*, continued to develop this style in his designs for the rebuilding of the Bank of England (1925–38). A delicate operation, Baker was required to balance concern over Soane's original building with the need for the Bank's expansion. The result, not often admired by architectural critics, was essentially a building within a building, with the new rising out of the old. Whatever one may think of it aesthetically, in true Baker style, it certainly impresses with its distinctly Wrenian overtones, achieving what the architect himself hoped would be a 'dignity commensurate with the Bank's position and destiny in the City and the Empire'.[89]

In emphasizing the City's imperial centrality vis-à-vis finance in this way, Baker would be assisted with the rebuilding of the head offices of the other major British clearing banks between 1919 and 1939, namely Lloyds, Midland, National Provincial, and Westminster. Indeed, it was Edwin Lutyens, that other great architect of empire, who would oversee the rebuilding of the Midland Bank headquarters, Poultry

[87] Duke of Devonshire quoted in T. Smith, '"A grand work of noble conception": The Victoria Memorial and imperial London', in Driver and Gilbert, *Imperial Cities*, p. 27. Apart from this essay on the Victoria Memorial, see also G. A. Bremner, '"Imperial Peace Memorial": The Second Anglo-Boer War and the Origins of Admiralty Arch, 1900–1905', *British Art Journal*, vol. 5:3 (2004), pp. 62–6.

[88] For South Africa House, see F. Freschi, 'The Fine Art of Fusion: Race, Gender and the Politics of South Africanism as Reflected in the Decorative Programme of South Africa House, London (1933)', *De Arte*, vol. 71 (2005), pp. 14–34.

[89] Baker quoted in I. S. Black, 'Imperial Visions: Rebuilding the Bank of England, 1919–39', in Driver and Gilbert, *Imperial Cities*, p. 100.

(1924–39). As Iain Black has observed, it was in buildings such as the new Midland Bank and Britannic House (1921–5), designed for the Anglo-Persian Oil Company (forerunner to British Petroleum), that Lutyens left outstanding examples of architecture that were imperial in scale, style, and intent, located firmly in the metropolitan heart of empire.[90]

If the writing was not already on the wall by the 1930s regarding Britain's status as an imperial power, then the post-World War II era would bring it to a tortuous finale. The ragged, limbo state in which Britain found itself during this period was captured architecturally perhaps nowhere more starkly than in the Barclays Bank DCO (Dominion, Colonial and Overseas) headquarters, Old Bond Street (1960), London. Reflecting this state of affairs, the building's architectural language was somewhat guarded. Wishing to distance itself from 'traditional styles', it struck what the Bank's then chairman Julian Crossley identified as a 'compromise' position, with the architects Ley, Colbeck & Partners proposing a broadly Modernist block in Portland stone with distinct classical undertones (Figure 4.14). Recognizably 'modern', the building was seen as a response to Britain's post-war geopolitical situation vis-à-vis empire, particularly with respect to the 'dependent' territories of Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean. But the signals were inevitably confused. On the one hand, the hefty formality of the building, along with its clear material solidity, signalled 'business as usual', while, on the other, its explicit Modernist overtones toadied the winds of political change.[91]

The most telling aspect of this forked rhetoric was the building's decorative programme devised by the sculptor Gilbert Ledward. The centrepiece was a large allegorical frieze depicting the continent of Africa located directly above the main entrance on Old Bond Street. Titled *Vision and Imagination*, it was intended to articulate the themes of 'progress' and 'awakening', including notions of 'thrift', 'charity', and 'protection' (Figure 4.15). The problem, however, was that much like previous sculptural representations of Britain's colonies dating back to the nineteenth century, this symbolism embodied paternalist assumptions characterizing the 'old' relationship between Britain and its empire. As Iain Black has noted, the idea of 'awakening' glossed over the 'historical facts of British imperialism, whereby many countries and territories . . . were actively underdeveloped as a consequence of their domination and subjugation'. Moreover, the central figure of the frieze—'Africa awakening'—further underlined the notion of Western progress in its depicting the wheels of commerce and industry 'emerging from a backcloth of vegetation, contrasting the backwardness of the predominantly rural and organic economy of many parts of Africa with the potential of industrial modernisation and development'. As if this were not enough, to the right of the frieze the bank's

[90] For Baker, Lutyens, and the financial district of early twentieth-century London, see I. S. Black, 'Rebuilding "The Heart of the Empire": Bank Headquarters in the City of London, 1919–1939', in Arnold, *Metropolis and its Image*, pp. 127–52. For Lutyens and Britannic House, see Crinson, *Modern Architecture*, pp. 59–62.

[91] This ambiguity is also reflected in the bank's buildings of this period overseas. See R. Windsor-Liscombe, 'Building Dominion and the Colonial Overseas: The Culture of British Fabrics of Financial Intervention in (South) Africa at the End of Empire', in F. Demissie (ed.), *Colonial Architecture and Urbanism in Africa: Intertwined and Contested Histories* (Aldershot, 2012), pp. 347–71.

Figure 4.14. Perspective design drawing of Barclays Bank DCO (Dominion, Colonial and Overseas) headquarters, Old Bond Street, London (1960) by Ley, Colbeck & Partners (courtesy Barclays Group Archives).

Figure 4.15. Half-size clay model of *Vision and Imagination* by Gilbert Ledward for panel above main entrance to Barclays Bank DCO (Dominion, Colonial and Overseas) headquarters, Old Bond Street, London (1960) (courtesy Barclays Group Archives).

role in this future mission was indicated by a figure representing 'Imagination', with the 'Barclay's eagle symbolically releasing the flows of credit and investment capital necessary to make the vision of an awakening Africa possible'.[92] However, as decolonization progressed apace in the 1960s, this allegorical programme suddenly appeared desperately wide of the mark—or was it?

As Mark Crinson observes in Chapter 6, Modernist architecture and its links to the late colonial and post-colonial worlds remained strong, even vibrant, as it found a creative and experimental outlet in the 1940s through the 1960s. Unable to watch its political and economic influence slowly ebb away, Britain and its major corporations (especially banking and resource extraction) were looking for ways to retain and recalibrate their relationship with these worlds, and the move towards Modernist architecture—with its apparently innocuous, ahistorical, 'developmental' image—was understood as one means by which to achieve (and disguise) this. Although this image was part of the myth of Modernism, it nevertheless enabled a 'managed' transition from colonial to post-colonial relations, establishing a new kind of compact between the architecture of the former metropolis and the newly formed Commonwealth of Nations. In this the forms of late imperialism (or neo-imperialism, as the case may be) were also projected back onto the metropole as capitalism looked to reorder society at a local and global level, including the welfare state (see Chapter 6, pp. 213–14).

This irony was perhaps best captured in the creation of the Commonwealth Institute in Holland Park, London (1958–62). Designed by Robert Matthew, Johnson-Marshall & Partners, the new Institute's intention, unlike the veiled neo-colonial ambitions of the City, was an attempt to reset the relationship in architectural terms under the rhetorical banner of the 'Commonwealth'. Its location in London is again significant for it was seen as a 'modern', updated version of the now defunct Imperial Institute, which was demolished, not without symbolic resonance, at precisely the moment the new Institute was conceived. Its agenda—formal, spatial, and political—was at least partly set by the Festival of Britain which had taken place along the South Bank, London, in 1951 (centenary of Great Exhibition). Here, unlike so many of the preceding exhibitions in London and elsewhere (including the 1924 Empire Exhibition at Wembley), Britain's imperial connections were deliberately supressed, fostering instead a new, forward-looking, rather idealistic link to notions of openness, freedom, and the reformed post-war welfare state. Architecturally it also distanced itself from the nexus between classicism, hierarchal planning, and imperialism, opting instead for a radically Modernist language and somewhat diffuse spatial arrangement, which in itself was concordant with this new national self-image.[93]

As Mark Crinson has observed, the Commonwealth Institute shadowed this new agenda in many ways. Its architecture was to be 'experimental', utilizing a

[92] I. S. Black, 'Africa Awakening: Gilbert Ledward, Barclays Bank DCO and the End of Empire', *Sculpture Journal*, vol. 16:1 (2007), p. 43.

[93] For the Festival of Britain in this light, see Crinson, *Modern Architecture*, pp. 109–16. For Modernism in general, see also R. Windsor-Liscombe, 'Refabricating the Imperial Image on the Isle of Dogs: Modernist Design, British State Exhibitions and Colonial Policy 1924–51', *Architectural History*, vol. 49 (2006), pp. 317–48.

Modernist rather than historicist vocabulary that would speak to an internationalist instead of imperialist ideal. This agenda also drove the planning of the site and the spatial arrangement of the building. 'Where the Imperial Institute had represented the imperial axis passing through the site', Crinson notes, 'the Commonwealth Institute was conceived as a freestanding, virtually abstract entity autonomously set off against parkland'.[94] Moreover, while the Imperial Institute had been an assemblage of historic styles erected employing largely conventional construction techniques, the Commonwealth Institute would be a harbinger of 'modernity' in its futuristic forms, materials, and construction processes. The tent-like structure of the main pavilion was intended to stand in for the unity of the Commonwealth itself, sheltered in a single space under one roof, as if the nations of the Commonwealth had come to camp-out together in Holland Park.[95] Materials were even donated by various Commonwealth countries, including Canada, Nigeria, and Ghana.

But despite this liberal, emancipatory agenda (a self-congratulatory forgetting of empire, as Crinson describes it), Matthew, it turns out, was equally at home peddling the paternalist 'developmental' line in his buildings in many of the post-colonial nation states that formed part of this new Commonwealth, again belying the myth that Modern architecture and its progressivist rhetoric was something not only detached but also contrary to the forces and ideology of colonialism—they were intimately entwined through various combinations of practice, procedure, and agency.

Ultimately, what the traces of empire in the architecture of the metropolis demonstrate are that at no time can the two worlds of 'home' and 'abroad', 'centre' and 'periphery', 'metropole' and 'colony' be seen or understood as entirely distinct. Indeed, an indissoluble connection is implied by their very association. It is quite natural that the reality of Britain's, and later the United Kingdom's, imperial status for much of the modern period should find expression in the buildings and spaces of the metropolis. Sometimes this was explicit, with references to Britain's global reach and power becoming emblematic, whether through a building's decoration or its spatial programming; at others it was less apparent, if no less significant, as in the reinvestment of colonial wealth in the acquisition of property or the way colonial trade dramatically transformed Britain's port cities. Even through the period of decolonization architecture was able to retain a meaningful, if inflected, relationship between Britain and its soon-to-be former colonies, especially through the continued export of architectural expertise under the auspices of the Commonwealth of Nations, with British architects operating successfully across the former British world.

What is clear is that the distinction staged between these two worlds by historians throughout much of the late twentieth century is not one that would have been recognized by, or even made sense to, those involved at the time. As soldiers, sailors, diplomats, merchants, missionaries, adventurers, even architects, all moved with increasing ease both between and around these worlds, they connected and integrated them in ways that perhaps not even they were entirely cognisant of, but that undoubtedly affected their own identities and thus the built environments

[94] Crinson, *Modern Architecture*, p. 121. [95] *Ibid.*

which they created and inhabited. Both spatially and ideologically these worlds were entwined, making the metropolis and its buildings as much a landscape of empire as Britain's colonies beyond the seas.

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5

Propagating Ideas and Institutions

Religious and Educational Architecture

G. A. Bremner and Louis P. Nelson

Religion and religious culture have become increasingly important subjects for scholars of British imperialism.[1] It is now generally acknowledged that the centrality of religion—namely Christianity—to the general outlook of British and British colonial society was fundamental not only to the initial conception of empire but also to the self-confessed sense of imperial 'mission' that followed in its wake. From the Pilgrim Fathers and Puritan colonists in early seventeenth-century New England, to the evangelical zeal of Victorian missionaries in nineteenth-century Africa and Asia, religion and its myriad emblems were never far from view. Indeed, it would be difficult to make sense of the motives and conduct of British imperial expansion, in all its dimensions, without taking account of the Christian worldview that essentially underpinned and animated Britain's sense of identity and purpose between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries. As K. Theodore Hoppen observed of the nineteenth century, 'never was Britain more religious than in the Victorian age'.[2] This is a fact that can hardly be ignored when one considers the stout sense of 'Christian duty' that often governed conduct in the private and public spheres of British life.

This leads us to consider the spatial consequences of this prevailing worldview. Although society in Britain and in many of its former colonies has since become ever more secular, we should not forget that church architecture was once a highly significant and symbolically powerful building typology in the British colonial world. Most towns and cities in Britain's former empire, particularly in early North America and the so-called white settler dominions, had one or more Christian churches (and still do) that, with their steeples and spires reaching for

[1] e.g. B. Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Apollos, 1990); A. Porter, *Religion versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700–1914* (Manchester, 2004); N. Etherington (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Missions and Empire* (Oxford, 2005); R. Strong, *Anglicanism and the British Empire c.1700–1850* (Oxford, 2007); C. Gardina Pestana, *Protestant Empire: Religion and the Making of the British Atlantic World* (Philadelphia, 2008); J. Cox, *The British Missionary Enterprise Since 1700* (London, 2008); H. M. Carey, *God's Empire: Religion and Colonialism in the British World, c.1801–1908* (Cambridge, 2010); M. Hutchinson and J. Wolffe, *A Short History of Global Evangelicalism* (Cambridge, 2012).

[2] K. T. Hoppen, *The Mid-Victorian Generation 1846–1886* (Oxford, 1998), p. 427.

the sky, dominated their urban surrounds, marking out the particular character of colonial society.

Education, too, was an important element in the broader 'civilizational' agenda brought by this type of religious extension. A great many educational establishments (and their buildings) throughout Britain and its empire were either founded by or linked to religious institutions and/or communities, thus perpetuating the inculcation not just of Western values and ideals but also their apparent moral basis in religious teaching. For this reason, churches, schools, and theological colleges were often located next to or in close proximity to one another, signalling their unified intentions. Recent scholarship has sought to demonstrate that these connections were not only regional but spanned the globe in their efforts to create extended polities of identity and purpose.[3] In some cases these were deliberately enmeshed within the broader scope of British imperial interest. The contest over what values and ideals ought to underpin education in this regard did not cease with the advent of secular standards in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, particularly at the level of tertiary education. Who taught what to whom, and for what purpose, became an increasingly fraught issue at the twilight of empire and the emergence of the Commonwealth idea in the immediate post-colonial era. This chapter will examine some of these issues with respect to their particular architectural manifestations, focusing on the types of buildings erected, their meaning and symbolism, and the various purposes which they were intended to serve.

RELIGION, ARCHITECTURE, AND EARLY COLONIZATION: THE FIRST TWO CENTURIES

The half century between the Restoration in 1660 and the rise of the Hanoverians in 1714 included an important sequence of events that turned attention to the challenge of church construction, especially Protestant church construction, both in England and across the English (later British) colonial world. The restoration of the episcopacy in 1660 opened the door to an intensive wave of church inspection and repair across England after twenty years of neglect. If the Diocese of York is any indication, more than half of England's churches required and received some repair in the latter decades of the seventeenth century.[4] Indeed, despite Victorian aspersions of neglect, the regular maintenance of churches was a continued practice through the eighteenth century.[5] The great London fire of 1666 launched a massive church building and rebuilding campaign in that city that would last into the early years of the eighteenth century. At around this time, on 16 June 1701 to be precise, King William III issued a Royal Charter to the Society for the

[3] T. Pietsch, *Empire of Scholars: Universities, Networks and the British Academic World, 1850–1939* (Manchester, 2013).

[4] J. S. Purvis, *The Condition of Yorkshire Church Fabrics* (York, 1958), pp. 15–20.

[5] W. M. Jacob, 'Clergy and Society in Norfolk, 1707–1806', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Exeter, 1982), esp. pp. 276–7.

Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) to commission and send ministers to England's colonial territories in America, including the West Indies.[6] The influx of ministers that resulted triggered a wave of church building across the colonies. In 1710 Queen Anne signed an act for the building of fifty new churches in the cities of London and Westminster, largely as a response to rapid population growth after the Great Fire. While few of these were built, they provided models for city churches across the empire. In addition, she established the Board of the First Fruits in 1711, funded by a tax on clerical incomes, as a means to assist the Church of Ireland to build new Protestant churches and glebe houses among Ireland's majority Catholic population (see Chapter 1, p. 41).[7] Throughout this period, Anglicans built new churches in places ranging from Ireland to New England and the Caribbean, although the greatest concentrations were in the colonies of Virginia, South Carolina, and Jamaica.[8] Thus, the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were a fruitful age for church construction in England and its empire.

Conditions in the colonies, of course, were different from those in England. During the seventeenth century, the Church of England had functioned as the state church in a number of England's colonial territories. These included Virginia on the North American mainland, and Barbados, St Christopher, and Jamaica in the West Indies. In Ireland Anglicanism was instituted as the state religion through the concomitant Church of Ireland (est. 1536). As local representatives of the state church, Anglican parishes became political districts, and Anglican vestries were given the responsibility of ensuring regular worship in the parish church and caring for the poor.[9] But the influx of new priests funded by the SPG bolstered Anglican worship and political authority. The Church of England became the state church in Maryland and South Carolina by legislation in 1702 and 1706 respectively. While Anglicans were present and active throughout the more northerly colonies on the North American mainland, the church was not established as a state church in the same way that it was further south. Given the absence of any bishops in colonial places, all American colonial parishes fell under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London. In many of these places, one of the stated responsibilities of the colonial church—at least in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries—was to concentrate on the conversion of 'natives': Native Americans on the American mainland, Africans in the American South and the West Indies, and

[6] On the SPG, see D. O'Connor (ed.), *Three Centuries of Mission: The United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1701–2000* (London, 2000).

[7] S. J. Brown, *The National Churches of England, Ireland, and Scotland, 1801–1846* (Oxford, 2001), p. 65; N. Yates, *The Religious Condition of Ireland, 1770–1850* (Oxford, 2006), p. 34.

[8] D. Upton, *Holy Things and Profane: Anglican Churches in Colonial Virginia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987); L. Nelson, *The Beauty of Holiness: Anglicanism and Architecture in Colonial South Carolina* (Chapel Hill, 2008); L. Nelson, 'Anglican Church Building and Local Context in Early Jamaica', in K. A. Breisch and A. K. Hoagland (eds), *Building Environments: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture X* (Knoxville, 2005), pp. 63–80.

[9] See S. C. Bolton, *Southern Anglicanism: The Church of England in Colonial South Carolina* (Westport, 1982), pp. 143–7.

native (Catholic) Irish in Ireland. The Anglican Church was inextricably linked with the project of empire.

Furthermore, the social, cultural, and political complexity of Britain's empire also meant that colonies claimed populations of other religious adherents. The colonies therefore abounded with congregations of non-Anglicans, the greatest concentration of which were to be found in New England. The New England meeting-house, for example, is a distinctive building type that emerged from the settlement of religious dissidents and refugees as they made their way to the 'new world' to establish colonies of their own. Moreover, in certain parts of the British empire, especially Ireland and Quebec, Roman Catholicism was the predominant denomination. As we shall see, this had architectural consequences of its own. Social and professional networks were also drawn upon in constructing these competing visions of the New Jerusalem, where congregations of believers (Quakers and Jews among then) found themselves in regular communication with one another, not just within individual colonies but right across the British world, fostering very particular concepts of identity and experience.

Beginning with Anglicanism, we find that ecclesiastical buildings erected by adherents of the Church of England across the English (and then British) empire varied quite widely in plan and appearance. Yet, as Nigel Yates has shown, the majority of Anglican churches defaulted to a conservative tradition that espoused the material distinction of the church interior into two chambers: a nave for ordinary service and a chancel for the celebration of the sacrament.[10] At least one-third (but more likely something closer to one-half) of all churches newly erected across England in this era took this form, achieved either through a narrow, deep chancel projecting from a wider nave, or the installation of a chancel screen creating two chambers out of one longitudinal footprint, or both. This segregation into distinct chambers gave primacy to two of the three liturgical centres of the church, with the preaching pulpit dominating the nave while the communion table sat either centrally within the chancel or against the east wall. The third liturgical centre, the baptismal font, generally retained its ancient position near the main or west door of the church. This arrangement resulted in a fairly common building form consisting of a large mass for the nave (with or without a smaller chancel projection from the east end) and, commonly, a western tower. There is abundant evidence of this building form across the colonies in the late seventeenth century. Surviving examples that represent this pattern include Ballinderry Middle Church in Lisburn, Co. Antrim (*c.*1668), St Patrick's Church, Waterford (*c.*1680), and St Mary's, Dublin (*c.*1700) in Ireland (see Plate 9); Newport Parish church (*c.*1685) and St Peter's Parish Church (1701–3, tower 1739–40) in Virginia; the Valley Church—St Mary's Parish (*c.*1689), Antigua; and possibly St Anne's, Sandy Point, St Kitts (late seventeenth century).

Even so, the Great Fire of London set the stage for the first broad experimentation with Anglican church planning. Christopher Wren has been widely recognized

[10] N. Yates, *Buildings, Faith and Worship: The Liturgical Arrangement of Anglican Churches, 1600–1900* (Oxford, 1991, revised edition 2000), chapter 4.

as the architect who popularized the Anglican model of an 'auditory church'. Writing near the end of his career, Wren drafted a letter that expounded at length on his experience in London parish church design. In addition to commentaries on materials, building in an urban setting, and the inappropriateness of urban cemeteries, he also argued that church plans should respond to the practical constraints of audibility, an extension of his scientific interest in sound.[11] To that end, Wren argued that churches should not be more than 60-ft wide and 90-ft long in order that everyone inside might be able to hear the preacher, since 'a moderate Voice may be heard 50 Feet distant before the Preacher, 30 feet on each side, and 20 behind the Pulpit . . . without losing the Voice at the last Word of the Sentence'. He further argued that given differences in emphasis, 'a *French* Man is heard further than an *English* Preacher', reinforcing the idea that his recommendations resulted from experimentation.[12] When providing an exemplar in his letter, Wren offered St James, Piccadilly (1676–84)—a compact, rectangular auditory church. However, to assign the introduction of the auditory Anglican church entirely to Wren is to misunderstand the historical development of architectural typologies. As Peter Guillery has demonstrated, London had a number of pre-fire examples of 'auditory' churches and meeting-houses, most especially the Broadway Chapel in Westminster.[13] Furthermore, the development of auditory planning for new Anglican churches occurred beyond London before and during Wren's city church building programme.[14] Similar meeting-houses could be found on the Continent as well, from France to the Netherlands.[15] Thus, while the very fact of the auditory church cannot be assigned to Wren, the significance of his church architecture lies most securely in his experimentation and articulation of auditory principles.[16]

A brief survey of those churches erected by Anglicans in the American colonies offers a telling perspective on various aspects of late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century church building practices. Carl Lounsbury has made the critical observation that the establishment date of a colony appears to have played a role in shaping local traditions of Anglican church design. In comparing the Anglican churches in the adjacent colonies of Virginia and Maryland, for instance, Lounsbury notes that, generally, longitudinal parish churches in Virginia parallel their counterparts

[11] See 'Letter on Building Churches', in L. M. Soo, *Wren's 'Tracts' on Architecture and Other Writings* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 107–11; see also P. Gouk, 'The Role of Acoustics and Music Theory in the Scientific Work of Robert Hooke', *Annals of Science*, vol. 37 (1980), pp. 573–605.

[12] The whole letter is reprinted in Soo, *Wren's 'Tracts'*, pp. 112–18.

[13] P. Guillery, 'Suburban Models, or Calvinism and Continuity in London's Seventeenth-Century Church Architecture', *Architectural History*, vol. 48 (2005), pp. 69–106. See also P. Guillery, 'The Broadway Chapel, Westminster: A Forgotten Exemplar', *London Topographical Record*, vol. 26 (1990), pp. 97–131.

[14] For examples, see chapter 5 in Yates, *Buildings, Faith and Worship*.

[15] For the meeting-houses built on the continent by exiled English Calvinists, see K. Sprunger, 'Puritan Church Architecture and Worship in a Dutch Context', *Church History*, vol. 66 (1997), pp. 37–63. See also K. Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism: A History of English and Scottish Churches of the Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden, 1982); B. Reymond, *L'Architecture religieuse des Protestants* (Geneva, 1996). For a broader picture, see 'Reformation Experiments', in J. White, *Protestant Worship and Church Architecture* (Oxford, 1964), pp. 78–117.

[16] Yates, *Buildings, Faith and Worship*, pp. 86–7; T. Friedman, *The Eighteenth-Century Church in Britain* (New Haven and London, 2011), pp. 97–9.

in England throughout the seventeenth and well into the eighteenth century. Yet, in Maryland (a much younger colony than Virginia), parish churches correlate strongly with the more compact auditory planning of the fashionable urban churches built in London in the very late seventeenth century and early eighteenth. Without the inscription of the older tradition in the landscape, Lounsbury argues, the younger colony of Maryland adopted the newer auditory formula more freely.[17]

A second significant pattern among eighteenth-century colonial Anglican churches is also observable. Dell Upton's careful analysis of parish churches in Virginia makes clear that during the seventeenth century churches were generally longitudinal, with a conceptual division between the nave and the chancel, similar to those in contemporary England. When these parishes required larger buildings, they often expanded by adding an extension perpendicular to the main building, resulting in a 'T' plan. But some early eighteenth-century parishes, faced with the prospect of building anew, opted instead for cruciform planned churches (Figure 5.1). Upton understands these buildings as accommodating the new demands on audibility in large church buildings.[18] But the cruciform church was not unique to colonial Virginia.[19] Even though newly built cruciform churches were rare in eighteenth-century England, and were a sizable minority in Virginia and in South Carolina, they were in the majority in Jamaica and Bermuda. They were also common in the rural parishes of eighteenth-century Ireland.[20] In addition to accommodating the increasing sensitivity for audibility, it seems likely that the cruciform shape was also intended to be symbolic. St Paul's parish church in South Carolina was described as bearing 'the form of a cross', while St Andrew's in the same colony was described as enlarged 'in the form of a cross'.[21] In their desire to distinguish or set apart their new churches in a newly colonized landscape, Anglicans revealed a theological parallel between the baptism of a child and the consecration of a church. Both were ritual acts of inscription that extended a claim about the spiritual dwelling of God—one in a person, the other in a building. Making the sign of the cross on the forehead of a child consecrated him or her for service in the church. Similarly, the use of a cross in the form of the church might have been seen as consecrating the land upon which it stands and protecting it 'against sin, the world, and the devil'. Even so, the shape was never entirely theological. The cruciform plan in Jamaica might simply have been a comforting and familiar cultural marker of Englishness in an environmentally dangerous and racially unfamiliar landscape.[22] Anglicans in colonial contexts built churches that

[17] C. Lounsbury, 'Anglican Church Design in the Chesapeake: English Inheritances and Regional Interpretations', in A. K. Hoagland and K. A. Breisch (eds), *Constructing Image, Identity, and Place: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture IX* (Knoxville, 2003), pp. 22–38.

[18] See Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, esp. chapter 5.

[19] On the general absence of newly built cruciform plans in England and Wales, see Yates, *Buildings, Faith and Worship*, pp. 100–1.

[20] Consider St Finnian's, Kinnitty, and St Catherine's church, Tullamore, both in County Offaly, and St Paul's, Newtown Forbes, Killoe Church, and Clonbroney Parish church, all in County Longford.

[21] Cited in Nelson, *Beauty of Holiness*, p. 152.

[22] Nelson, 'Anglican Church Building', pp. 63–80.

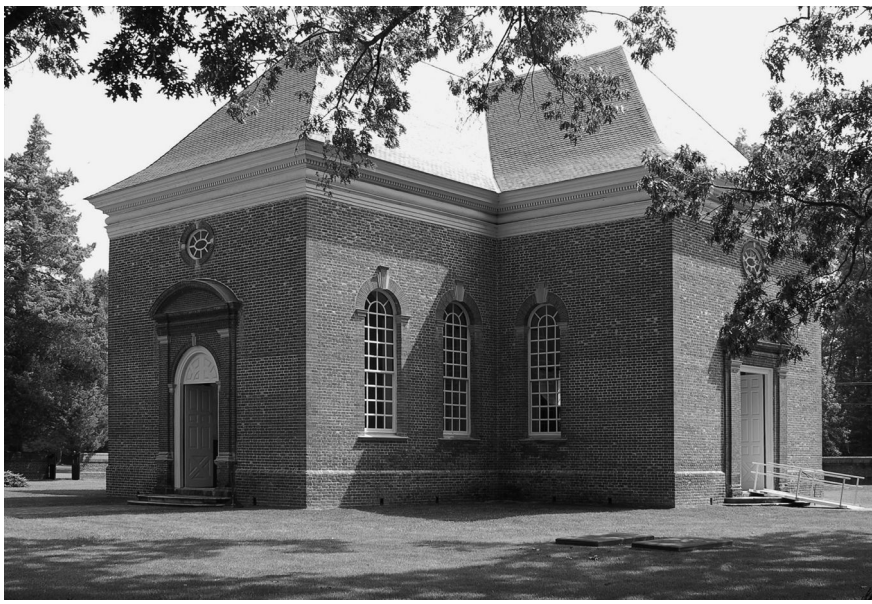

Figure 5.1. The Anglican church of Christ Church, Lancaster County, Virginia (1730–5): an example of an early cruciform-plan church in colonial America.

responded both to their memories of 'home' as well as the realities of their new circumstances.

One of the most prominent non-Anglican Protestant building traditions to emerge as a result of English colonial expansion was that of dissenting meeting-houses erected in New England in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries (see Figure 1.9). These colonies and their religious communities were established as safe havens of dissenting worship set apart from the clear authority and oversight of Anglican-dominated England. The single open space of the typical meeting-house interior was usually focused upon an elaborate, centrally located pulpit on the long wall opposite the main door. The other three sides were often surrounded by a broad gallery elevated over a warren of box pews on the floor below. The typical meeting-house was essentially an auditorium, and nothing more. In a recent study of more than two thousand such buildings in New England and on Long Island between 1622 and 1830, Peter Benes has demonstrated the gradual transformation of the meeting-house from a square type in the seventeenth century to a more 'churchly' building in the early nineteenth.[23] Over this period building use evolved from a public space for almost any use—including adjudicating civil cases—to sanctuaries reserved for the worship of God. So-called 'Four-square' meeting-houses were the earliest and most predominant form in New England through the seventeenth century. There is a debate, however, as to whether

[23] P. Benes, *Meetinghouses of Early New England* (Amherst, 2012).

this form was uniquely colonial or European derived, with scholars arguing that square meeting-houses are almost entirely absent from the English landscape during the same period, and, indeed, that the term 'meeting-house' first appears in New England. Based on this evidence, it is likely that three early examples from New England—those in Hartford, New Haven, and Boston—established a model across the region.[24]

Complicating the range of sources is the fact that William Andrews, the builder of the foursquare New Haven meeting-house (1639), had likely spent time in the Netherlands before immigrating to New England, where numerous examples of similar buildings erected by Reformed congregations were to be found. Such buildings also existed in France and Scotland. This suggests that the meeting-houses erected in early seventeenth-century New England were part of an emerging convergent Protestant tradition which reached its apogee just as the congregations in New England began to build, positioning New England's early Puritans—all too frequently thought of as fringe dissidents on the edge of empire—as participants in a self-aware Reformed community that stretched across the British Isles, Northern Europe, and the Americas—a migration made possible only through the politics and reach of England's then emergent empire.

If early New England was populated by the meeting-houses of Puritan congregations, further south in Pennsylvania, and along the Delaware River Valley, a second type of meeting-house predominated. Here we find the Quaker meeting-house which took a different form to that produced by their Calvinist neighbours.[25] Rather than the dominant pulpit of the Puritan meeting-house—materially embodying the authority of the theologian and preacher—the Quaker meeting-house was characterized by a series of raised benches for congregation elders. As a number of scholars have shown, early Quakers advocated a life of 'plainness' as evidence of the personal embrace of Christian truth or 'Inner Light'. By the early eighteenth century, plainness was regularly addressed in meeting minutes, usually as correction against lack of moderation in attire, resulting in American Quaker meeting-houses being notoriously plain in form and detail (Figure 5.2).[26] But as Catherine Lavoie has suggested, this simplicity was also grounded in Quaker notions of peace and justice.[27] Quaker theology was distinctive in that it strongly asserted non-violence and the spiritual equality of gender. Quakers were also early abolitionists. By the end of the eighteenth century, Quaker meeting-houses always included two equal halves for the business meetings of men and women. Moreover,

[24] *Ibid*. In this way Benes offers continued support for Fred Kniffen's theory of initial occupancy or first effective settlement, the notion that the first post-pioneer forms established in a landscape are a powerful shaping factor in later generations of builders. Carl Lounsbury's analysis of Anglican churches in Virginia and Maryland is another excellent example of this phenomenon.

[25] See E. J. Lapansky and A. A. Verplanck (eds), *Quaker Aesthetics: Reflections on a Quaker Ethic on American Design and Consumption* (Philadelphia, 2003); and C. C. Lavoie, 'Reunified, Rebuilt, Enlarged, or Rehabilitated: Deciphering Friends' Complex Attitudes toward Their Meeting Houses', *Buildings & Landscapes*, vol. 19:2 (2012), pp. 20–52.

[26] J. W. Frost, 'From Plainness to Simplicity: Changing Quaker Ideals for Material Culture', in Lapsansky and Verplanck (eds), *Quaker Aesthetics*, pp. 23–9.

[27] Lavoie, 'Reunified'.

Figure 5.2. Interior of Newport Meeting House, Newport (1699), Rhode Island. This building was typical of the simplicity and austerity that characterized early colonial meeting-houses (courtesy Newport Historical Society).

the careful maintenance, rebuilding, and reuse of materials was a Quaker conviction that confined oneself to real needs, thus creating greater abundance for all. As a result, a plain meeting-house was both evidence of and an encouragement toward moderation.

While Protestants were certainly in the majority among Christian communities across the British empire, there were other denominations scattered throughout, the greatest concentration being the Catholics of Ireland. A 1732 survey of church buildings in Ireland indicates that in that year Ireland maintained over 900 Catholic churches, 200 of which had been recently erected. Even so, the majority of datable surviving examples are from the later eighteenth century.[28] These buildings differed markedly from their Church of Ireland (Anglican) counterparts, which usually enjoyed the bounty of state coffers for their construction. As a result, Catholic churches were generally simpler, box-like buildings, not dissimilar in external appearance to Presbyterian meeting-houses. Most of the surviving urban

[28] M. Craig, *The Architecture of Ireland: From the Earliest times to 1880* (Dublin, 1982), pp. 212, 216.

examples from the eighteenth century follow a compact, longitudinally organized, rectangular plan with galleries on three sides. One of the primary distinguishing features of the interior was the absence of pews, since Catholics still followed the mass while standing. The best surviving example is perhaps St Patrick's Church in Waterford (1764). Much simpler rural examples abound, too, although these differ from their urban counterparts in being both longer and narrower, and with more dispersed congregations, and are usually devoid of a gallery.

Roman Catholics maintained a substantial presence in North America as well, particularly in the predominantly French north (Acadia) and Spanish south (New Spain). At the end of the Seven Years' War the colony of New France (what is now essentially Quebec) was formally ceded to the British at the Treaty of Paris (1763). Quebec, or Lower Canada as it became known, was thus subsumed within the British empire. Crucially, however, the residents of Quebec were allowed to keep their language, religion, French civil law, and seigneurial system. What this meant was that the substantial amount of religious architecture produced in Quebec not only belonged to a different European tradition (French) but continued to respond to this tradition well after the province had become British territory. Indeed, in the decades following the conquest of New France, the Catholic Church used its position deliberately to revive and promote traditional Acadian ecclesiastical forms as a gesture towards nationalism and an expression of its renewed authority.[29] A good example of this is the Église Sainte-Marguerite at L'Acadie (1800–1), erected under the direction of Abbé Pierre Conefroy (1752–1816), the vicar-general of the diocese of Quebec for the Montreal region. In many respects this is a classic French colonial church that embodies planning principles dating back to the time of François-Xavier de Montmorency-Lavalde Montigny, first Bishop of Quebec (1674), as well as several Jesuit missionary features. It was also constructed using rubble stone, with the west gable surmounted by a *clocher* with open belfry—both characteristics of the French colonial manner.[30] Not surprisingly, the French manner of ecclesiastical architecture in Quebec continued well into the nineteenth century, and may be seen in its own way as a form of religious and cultural resistance to wider British, and therefore Protestant, values and ideals.

A second, less well-recognized religious group were the Jews. As recent historical work on early modern Jews has demonstrated, Jewish synagogues were closely interconnected in the Atlantic world.[31] Congregations that spread across the New World understood themselves to be part of a tight network of Jews located largely in port cities, ranging in location from Suriname to London. Indeed, as Daniel Ackerman has shown, synagogues in London and Amsterdam were actively involved in supporting the construction of buildings in the Americas, and by the later eighteenth century the same support was offered between synagogues on the

[29] H. Kalman, *A History of Canadian Architecture*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1994), I, p. 193.

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] J. R. Marcus (ed.), *The Jew in the American World: A Source Book* (Detroit, 1996); J. S. Gurock (ed.), *American Jewish History: The Colonial and Early National Period, 1654–1840* (New York, 1998); J. Sarna, *American Judaism: A History* (New Haven and London, 2005).

Figure 5.3. Touro Synagogue, Newport (1759–63), Rhode Island.

American mainland and the Caribbean.[32] Even so, the architecture and identities of these congregations followed the boundaries of empire. The Mikve Israel synagogue in Dutch Curacao (1732), for example, depended on Amsterdam's 1675 Talmud Torah; while the Touro (Jeshuat Israel) synagogue (1763) in Newport, Rhode Island, responded more closely to London's Bevis Marks, built in 1701 (Figure 5.3).

In addition to broad denominational patterns that shaped religious architecture across the empire, the rapid urbanization of eighteenth-century England and its colonies was a major catalyst for new church construction. In 1710 Parliament appointed a building commission to undertake the construction of fifty new churches in the expanding suburbs of London and Westminster. While this programme resulted only in eleven finished churches, it triggered a lively conversation among architects and churchmen on the proper form of an Anglican church—one that would generate scores of architectural drawings, sixteen wooden models, and have an impact across England and its burgeoning empire.[33] The rapid expansion of many cities and towns beyond London, including those such as Birmingham and Bristol, required the subdivision of urban parishes and the construction of a

[32] D. Ackerman, 'Early American Synagogues: Architecture and Identity in the Judeo-Atlantic World', Unpublished MA thesis (University of Virginia, Charlottesville, 2006).

[33] See H. Colvin, 'Fifty New Churches', *Architectural Review* (March 1950), pp. 189–96; M. H. Port (ed.), *The Commissions for Building Fifty New Churches: Minute Books, 1711–27* (London, 1986).

substantial number of new urban churches.[34] Over the course of the eighteenth century, Parliament passed 114 separate acts concerned with the construction or reconstruction of parish churches, the majority of which were in locations outside of London.[35] Not limited to the motherland, this urban church building phenomenon marked the urbanity and identity of Anglicans during the eighteenth century through the erection of monumental city churches.

A major concern for urban church builders during this period was historical precedent. Among the most profound contributions in this regard were offered by Nicholas Hawksmoor (1661–1736), the leading architect in the effort to build fifty new churches in London and Westminster.[36] Based on a deep study of ancient forms, Hawksmoor invested his London churches with clear references to the ancient past in emulation of an imagined early Christian archetype. Batty Langley, too, whose pattern books included numerous designs for Anglican liturgical fittings, often wrote under the pseudonym Hiram, the presumed architect of Solomon's Temple.[37] St Philip's Church in Charleston, South Carolina (1715–23), might reflect an interest in early reconstructions of the Temple of Solomon (see Figure 1.11),[38] while the architect John Wood Sr restored the cathedral in Llandaff, Wales, in order to return it to what he believed to be its early Christian origins.[39] The 1739 design for a Protestant Cathedral in Waterford, Ireland, also included a centralized bapisterium of early Christian inspiration.[40]

But if the study and emulation of specific ancient or biblical buildings was not widespread, the general emulation of antique temples was commonplace in city churches across the empire. In his monumental study of the eighteenth-century church in Britain, Terry Friedman has argued convincingly that by the early eighteenth century architects designed churches intentionally in the form of antique temples. These designs ranged from the peripheral temple with free-standing columns entirely surrounding the body of the church, to the more common practice of designing the primary façade of a church with a portico or temple-front.[41] An excellent example is St Catherine's Church in Dublin (1760) by John Smyth (Figure 5.4). Here a monumental temple-front commands the central three bays of

[34] See W. M. Jacob, *Lay People and Religion* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 201–3; P. Borsay, *English Urban Renaissance* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 110–11.

[35] See Appendix II, in B. F. L. Clarke, *The Building of the Eighteenth-Century Church* (London, 1963).

[36] For an introduction to this project, see Port, *The Commissions*. The standard work on Hawksmoor is K. Downes, *Hawksmoor* (London, 1970). For more recent work, see V. Hart, *Nicholas Hawksmoor: Rebuilding Ancient Wonders* (New Haven and London, 2002); P. de la Ruffiniere Du Prey, 'Hawksmoor's "Basilica after the primitive Christians": Architecture and Theology', *JSAH*, vol. 48:1 (March 1989), pp. 38–52; P. de la Ruffiniere Du Prey, *Hawksmoor's London Churches: Architecture and Theology* (Chicago, 2000).

[37] Friedman, *Eighteenth-Century Church*, p. 519.

[38] See chapter 1, 'The City Churches', in Nelson, *Beauty of Holiness*.

[39] Friedman, *Eighteenth-Century Church*, p. 384.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 387. In the early nineteenth century, Lewis Way, a leading proponent for the conversion of Jews, also built a church at Stanstead, West Sussex, replete with Old Testament symbolism. See Yates, *Buildings, Faith and Worship*, p. 113.

[41] Freidman, *Eighteenth-Century Church*, chapter 21.

Figure 5.4. The classical elegance of Protestant Ascendency culture in Ireland: St Catherine's Church, Dublin (1760), by John Smyth.

a five bay Doric façade. Compared to the much simpler Catholic buildings then under construction in the city, St Catherine's was easily legible as the work of the empowered Protestant minority. The perception of this church as imperial was made clear decades later when it was the location of the Irish rebellion of 1803 and subsequent executions.

As mentioned by Daniel Maudlin in Chapter 1 (p. 40), the most famous Anglican church design of this era, and one that was very much part of this tradition, was St Martin-in-the-Fields, London (1726), by James Gibbs (1682–1754). Encased in classical pilasters and fronted by a protruding Corinthian portico with elegant steeple, St Martin's was widely recognized at the time as a monumental achievement. Furthermore, the church appeared prominently in Gibbs's widely circulated *A Book of Architecture*, published soon after the completion of the building in 1728. Through this book, Gibbs's design became the inspiration for urban churches right across the British world—from Dublin in Ireland and Charleston in South Carolina, to Calcutta in India—creating a shared visual and spatial experience spanning the globe.

There are many examples one could point to in the American colonies, such as St Paul's Chapel, New York City (1764), or St Michael in Charleston (1752–61) (Figure 5.5). But it was in British India that the model perhaps gained its most conspicuous and authoritative articulation, with monumental churches including the two St Andrew's Presbyterian kirks in Madras (1818–20) and Calcutta (1815), as well as St George's Anglican cathedral in Madras (1816) and

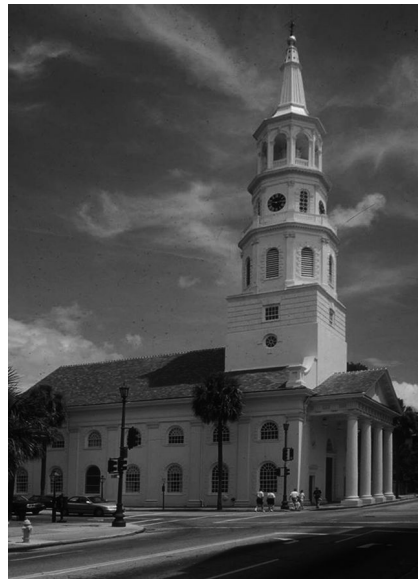

Figure 5.5. St Michael's Church (Anglican), Charleston, South Carolina (1752–61).

St John's church (Anglican) in Calcutta (1784–7).[42] Interestingly, as Gibbs's *Book* was so clear and precise in its illustrated models for church buildings, many such structures did not require the services of a professional architect; instead, as in the case of British India, they often only required the intervention of a military engineer. Based on an extensive examination of this kind of architecture in the English context, Friedman has suggested that the pursuit of antique models for contemporary Protestant church design was distinctively Anglican; no similar scholarly endeavour animated Continental architecture, Protestant or Catholic. In this way, the antique temple-cum-church typology represented by St Martin's was decisive in shaping urban landscapes throughout the British world.[43]

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: DAWN OF A NEW ERA

By the time we reach the nineteenth century revived Gothic becomes the most common architectural language for ecclesiastical buildings in Britain and its empire. The advance of this style throughout the colonies was pegged firmly to increased church extension and missionary activity. Indeed, as outlined above, the Christian missionary enterprise in its broadest, non-denominational sense had

[42] *Ibid.*, pp. 609–10; R. Tavernor, *Palladio and Palladianism* (London, 1991), pp. 181–7; S. Nilsson, *European Architecture in India 1750–1850* (London, 1968), pp. 126–30; A. Volwahsen, *Splendours of Imperial India: British Architecture in the 18th and 19th Centuries* (Munich, 2004), pp. 115–20.

[43] Friedman, *The Eighteenth-Century Church*, pp. 383–92, 402.

long been a concern to Britain as a colonizing power. But it was only in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that a serious organizational imperative arose, both among Nonconformists and the established Church of England. But the Church of England, despite having three affiliate missionary organizations by 1800—the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (1699), the SPG (1701), and the Church Missionary Society (CMS, 1799)—had accomplished little in terms of evangelizing the non-European world.

It was not until around the beginning of the 1840s that the perceived need to promote Christianity as part of British imperial policy took root in the 'official mind' of the ruling elite. The powerful religious sensibilities of Victorian society necessarily affected the way Britain perceived itself and its moral obligation to the wider world, particularly its own colonial empire.[44] Thus, the Colonial Bishoprics' Fund (CBF) was founded in 1841 for the purpose of establishing officially sanctioned Church of England dioceses abroad. A number of such dioceses already existed by this time, including Nova Scotia (1787), Calcutta (1814), and Jamaica (1824), but the advent of the CBF, along with the reinvigoration of the somewhat moribund SPG, provided considerable impetus in terms of motivation, money, and manpower. In the thirty years between its inauguration and *c.*1870, the CBF was responsible for erecting around forty new dioceses, where only ten had been founded in the previous 250 years of British colonial expansion.

With this came a wave of church building activity. As the ideas of A. W. N. Pugin (1812–52) regarding the Christian basis of Gothic architecture began to penetrate Anglican circles, societies dedicated specifically to the promotion of medieval architecture were formed, including the Ecclesiological (formerly Cambridge Camden) Society and the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture, both founded in 1839. The Ecclesiological Society's ideas were particularly widespread and influential, and under its auspices the Gothic Revival acquired the lustre of a serious, 'scientific', and even crusade-like endeavour.

Importantly, the ideologies entrenched concerning medieval architecture's claims to origins, authenticity, and 'truthfulness'—all notions that appealed to the morally encumbered Victorian frame of mind—were carried to Britain's colonies via a new and younger breed of Oxbridge-educated clergyman. These clergy saw it as partly their responsibility to promulgate Gothic architecture within a wider regime of orderliness and propriety concerning the religious character, moral veracity, and loyalist sympathies of colonial society, including a greater sense of urgency towards evangelizing indigenous peoples.

In this sense, the rather sudden deployment of this style of architecture had a four-fold purpose: to inspire and thereby transform the state of Christianity among the expatriate settler communities of the British empire through its perceived beauty, integrity, and solemnity; to introduce higher levels of reverence, spirituality, and propriety through reformed liturgical practices; to mark out and identify the urban and rural landscapes of Britain's empire as being associated with a particular

[44] G. A. Bremner, *Imperial Gothic: Religious Architecture and High Anglican Culture in the British Empire, c.1840–70* (New Haven and London, 2013).

culture; and, finally, to form, as one colonial bishop put it, a strong and convincing outward 'face' to 'heathen' indigenes within a broader programme of evangelization, using architecture not only as a means to entice converts but also to correct their habits through its spatial and symbolic machinery. It is important to remember that in a context where, in most cases, neither the Church of England nor the Church of Scotland was established (unlike in Britain), denominational competition and conflict was fierce, with architecture being used deliberately as a marker of identity and purpose.[45]

The early leaders in this endeavour were clergymen, not architects, as very little if any architectural expertise existed on the colonial frontier. There are numerous examples of clergymen acting as both designers and builders of churches, such as the Rev. F. H. Cox (1821–1906) of Tasmania. Cox, like his bishop, the Rev. Francis Nixon (1803–79) of Hobart, were typical of this new breed of Anglican cleric who took the idea of 'correct' church architecture seriously. The Tractarian spirit with which they were imbued necessitated that they hold the proper ordinance of the sacraments in high regard, along with their formal configuration. It was here that organizations such as the Ecclesiological Society proved particularly useful. Seeing the British colonial world as very much within its authoritative ambit, the Society sent three church designs by R. C. Carpenter to Tasmania. The designs were for three buildings of varying sizes, to be used depending upon circumstance, with Cox using the smallest as the basis for the parish church of St John the Baptist (1847), Prosser Plains (Buckland), near Hobart—among the very first Anglican churches of its kind in the British empire (Figure 5.6).

This approach, which exploited the extensive network of Anglican clerical ties throughout the ever-expanding British world would become something of a pattern as more and more Anglican dioceses were erected across Britain's empire during the nineteenth century. There are numerous other examples one could point to, including the assistance given to bishops G. A. Selwyn of New Zealand, John Medley of New Brunswick (see Figure 7.12), and James Chapman of Colombo (Sri Lanka). Indeed, when asked how many churches around the world had been affected by the ideas of the Ecclesiological Society, John Mason Neale (one of the Society's co-founders) is reputed to have replied: 'It would be as difficult almost as to count the stars on a clear frosty night.'[46] The increasing ease with which architectural literature in the form of journals, magazines, and pattern books could be accessed by this time also played a role in the transmission of this new architectural economy (for Selwyn and New Zealand in this regard, see Chapter 10, pp. 363–4).[47]

[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 227–56. See also G. A. Bremner, '*Pro Fide et Patria*: Anglicanism and Ecclesiastical Architecture in Central and Southern Africa, 1848–1903', in F. Demissie (ed.), *Colonial Architecture and Urbanism in Africa: Intertwined and Contested Histories* (Aldershot, 2012), pp. 239–76.

[46] M. S. Lawson (ed.), *Letters of J. M. Neale* (London, 1910), p. 17.

[47] B. Magrill, *A Commerce of Taste: Church Architecture in Canada 1867–1914* (Montreal and Kingston, 2012). See also I. Lochhead, 'British Architectural Books in Colonial New Zealand', *Turnbull Library Record*, vol. 34 (2001), pp. 29–44.

Figure 5.6. St John the Baptist, Prosser Plains (Buckland), Tasmania (1847), to design by R. C. Carpenter.

If Anglicans, initially at least, were less well prepared, the same cannot be said of the Roman Catholic Church and its missionaries. Church ritual and ceremony, including its proper architectural setting, were of course central to Catholic worship. This concern followed Catholics more or less wherever they went, including into British colonial territory. Through emancipation (1829), enhanced seminary education, and the efforts of internationally orientated organizations such as the Association for the Propagation of the Faith, plans to extend the presence of the Catholic faith in Britain's colonies were well underway by the early part of the nineteenth century.[48] Again, Australia was targeted early on by Catholics owing partly to its large Irish immigrant population (both convicts and those escaping poverty and starvation), and partly because of the potential it offered to extend Roman Catholic influence in a society that was often characterized as irreligious.

Dioceses were soon erected in Sydney and Hobart (both 1842). Architecturally, the endeavour could not have been better equipped, for it had at its disposal none other than Pugin himself, the 'father' of the modern Gothic Revival. The Roman

[48] For a concise account of the extension of Catholicism in the British empire, see H. M. Carey, *God's Empire: Religion and Colonialism in the British World, c.1801–1908* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 114–47.

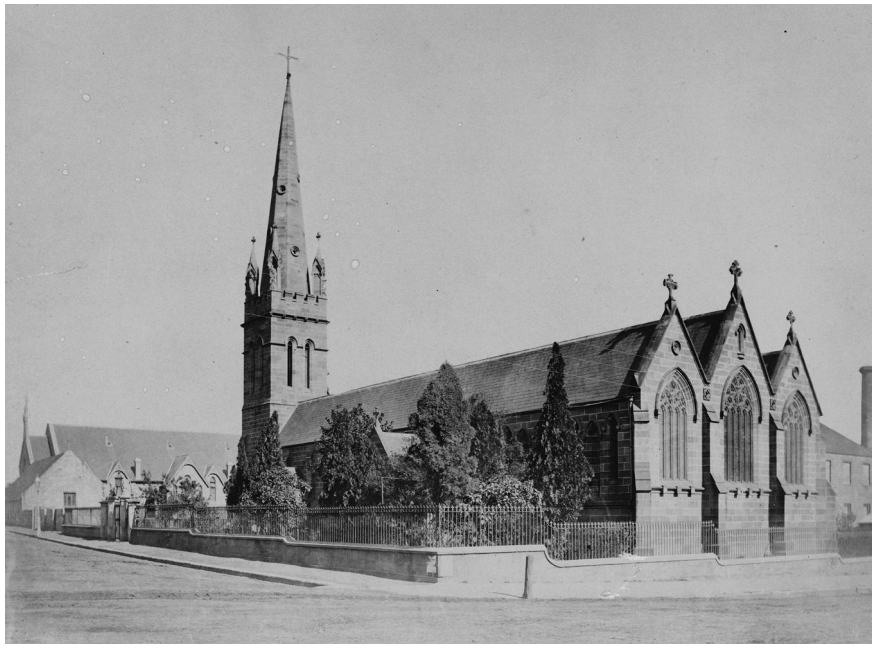

Figure 5.7. St Benedict's Roman Catholic church, Broadway, Sydney (1845–56), to design by A. W. N. Pugin.

Catholic Bishop of Hobart Town, Robert William Willson (1794–1866), who was a close friend of Pugin, had a clear vision for his new diocese that included the rolling out of the full ordinances of the Church in all their splendour and glory—the creation of nothing less than a 'Gothic paradise' in the Antipodes.[49] Pugin was engaged to design everything from church plate, vestments, and stained glass, through to headstones, fonts, and church buildings (Figure 5.7).[50] Indeed, the two complete designs for parish churches he presented to Willson—what would become St Paul's, Oatlands (1850–1), and St Patrick's, Colebrook (1855–7)—were masterful specimens in the Gothic Revival idiom, and would have counted among the neatest and most correct examples of church architecture based on medieval precedent to be found anywhere in Britain's colonies at the time. When one considers the distances involved, and the remoteness of the location, Willson and Pugin's vision for a revived Gothic world in the wilds of Tasmania was truly remarkable.[51]

[49] B. Andrews, *Creating a Gothic Paradise: Pugin at the Antipodes* (Hobart, 2002).

[50] B. Andrews, '"Solemn Chancels and Cross Crowned Spires": Pugin's Antipodean Vision and its Implementation', in G. A. Bremner (ed.), *Ecclesiology Abroad: The British Empire and Beyond*, special issue of *Studies in Victorian Architecture and Design*, vol. 4 (2012), pp. 15–31.

[51] Architecturally speaking, the Roman Catholic Church was of course active throughout the British empire. For Canada, see M. Thurlby, 'Joseph Connolly in the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Kingston, Ontario', *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* (*JSSAC*), vol. 30:2 (2005), pp. 25–38.

In time these modest beginnings, both Anglican and Catholic, would lead to some of the most ambitious projects for Gothic Revival churches anywhere in the world, involving some of the biggest names in Victorian architecture. For instance, if G. G. Scott's hybrid timber and stone design for Christchurch cathedral, New Zealand (1862),[52] as well as William Butterfield's proposals for cathedrals in Melbourne (St Paul's [1878]) and Adelaide (St Peter's [1868]), were built as planned, they would have been among the most spectacular of the Victorian period (for Scott's final design, see Figure 10.3).[53] Later came J. L. Pearson's no-nonsense masculine design for St John's cathedral, Brisbane (1889–2008), following a somewhat similar unbuilt proposal by William Burges (1861). Vying with these for beauty and scale, if not surpassing them, are William Wardell's truly impressive Roman Catholic cathedrals of St Patrick's, Melbourne (1858–1939) (Figure 5.8), and St Mary's, Sydney (1868–2000)—buildings on a scale comparable with cathedrals in Europe.[54] In Ireland, too, there was the 'restoration' of the two principal Anglican cathedrals in Dublin—Christ Church and St Patrick's—in an identifiably 'English' manner (by an English architect), as well as the erection of several new ones, including those in Kilmore (1858–69) and Cork (1865–78) by William Slater and William Burges respectively.[55]

By the 1850s Presbyterian and Nonconformist congregations had begun moving in the direction of Gothic as well. Although there were a number of experiments in so-called 'Dissenting Gothic' among Unitarian and Congregationalist communities in Britain dating from the 1840s, this approach was not common. Until this point Nonconformist architecture had largely been a utilitarian affair. The otherworldly theology of orthodox Protestantism had not necessarily encouraged the pursuit of such lowly matters as architecture—almost any building could serve as a Methodist chapel, for instance. If any 'style' was adopted at all, it tended to be a plain form of classicism—what the Rev. Frederick Jobson referred to as the 'usual style'. To be sure, John Ruskin's elegant musings on the nature and meaning of medieval architecture had begun to liberate Gothic architecture from 'popish' associations, but it was not until the publication of Jobson's *Chapel and School Architecture* (1850), followed by James Cubitt's *Church Design for Congregations* (1870), that Gothic forms among Nonconformist communities began to acquire broader and more consistent appeal.[56]

In the colonies, Nonconformists wasted little time in adopting new styles. By the 1860s nearly all the major Nonconformist denominations were beginning to build, or had already built, churches in one or other medieval style, whether Romanesque, Byzantine, or Gothic. We find evidence of this as early as 1845 in South Africa in Thornley Smith's design for the Commemoration Methodist

[52] For Scott's hybrid design, see Chapter 10, p. 365.

[53] P. Thompson, *William Butterfield: Victorian Architect* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), pp. 249–50, 382–7; Bremner, *Imperial Gothic*, pp. 69–123.

[54] Wardell was a friend and admirer of Pugin. U. de Jong, (ed.), *W.W. Wardell: The Architect and His Era—Centenary Papers* (Geelong, 2000).

[55] Bremner, *Imperial Gothic*, pp. 350–63.

[56] C. Wakeling, 'Nonconformity and Victorian Architecture', in B. Cherry (ed.), *Dissent and the Gothic Revival* (London, 2007), p. 49.

Figure 5.8. St Patrick's Roman Catholic Cathedral, Melbourne (1858–1939), by William Wardell (State Library of Victoria).

Chapel (1845–50), Grahamstown, with its elaborate Gothic façade.[57] Although not a sophisticated use of the style, it nevertheless demonstrates that Methodists were open to Gothic forms. Why this occurred so early in some cases is difficult to ascertain, but it probably had something to do with the perceived liberty to use medieval styles in a context where the Church of England was not established, and where the taint of Roman Catholicism and its associations was largely absent.

Other prominent examples can be found in the city of Melbourne. The substantial Gothic massing and detail of the Wesleyan Church, Lonsdale Street (1857), is a particularly fine example, but perhaps the most conspicuous is the pairing of St Michael's (Unitarian) and the Scots' Church (Presbyterian), which faced each other across Russell Street in the city centre. These buildings were completed in 1875, one in a rich polychromatic, neo-Lombardic style (St Michael's), the other in a rather heavy, nondescript, decorated Gothic (the Scots' Church). At the time, these buildings were comparable, if not superior, to the then Anglican cathedral of St Paul's on Flinders Street.[58] Similarly, in the city of Toronto, Canada, there was Henry Langley's Metropolitan Methodist Church (1868–72). Envisaged on a huge scale, it was quite literally a 'cathedral of Methodism', almost dwarfing the Anglican cathedral of St James (1850–3) (Figure 5.9). Langley also helped to realize the aspirations of Baptist congregations through his designs for the New Baptist Church, Port Hope (1867), and the Jarvis Street Church, Toronto (1874). Presbyterians, too, were forging ahead with distinctive and impressive designs of their own. There had been a long tradition of classicism associated with Presbyterian churches in Britain's colonies, as in Scotland itself (*vide* Alexander 'Greek' Thomson), but Gothic had gained ground by the mid-nineteenth century, often with distinctive results. Again, the Scots' Church, Melbourne, is one example, as is the intriguing design for St Andrew's, King Street, Toronto (1876), with its Romanesque-cum-Scottish Baronial features. This pattern of denominational representation through church architecture was repeated in towns and cities across Australia, Canada, and other parts of Britain's empire during the late nineteenth century, many in the Gothic Revival style.

ADAPTING FORMS AND ASSIMILATING CULTURES

One of the key differences between Gothic Revival church architecture in Britain and the wider British world during the Victorian period was the necessity for adaptation. Theories concerning how best to adapt Gothic forms—forms that originally evolved in the temperate climes of Northern Europe—to the extreme conditions experienced in much of Britain's empire (both hot and cold) were at the heart of progressive ecclesiology. Informed by advances in geology, natural science, and theology, including nascent theories of evolution, architectural adaptation of

[57] L. A. Hewson, *They Seek a City: Methodism in Grahamstown* (Grahamstown, 1981), pp. 63–77.
[58] See Miles Lewis (ed.), *Victorian Churches: Their Origins, Their Story & Their Architecture* (Melbourne, 1991).

Figure 5.9. Metropolitan Methodist Church, Toronto (1868–72), by Henry Langley.

this kind yielded some unique results.[59] This was encouraged by the Ecclesiological Society which discussed and debated the options at length in the pages of their periodical, *The Ecclesiologist* (1841–68). Connected to wider debates then current in British architecture, theories of adaptation looked to a new and ultimately flexible future for 'modern' church design—what Benjamin Webb referred to in one

[59] C. Yanni, 'Development and Display: Progressive in British Victorian Architecture and Architectural Theory', in B. Lightman and B. Zon (eds), *Evolution and Victorian Culture* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 227–58.

context as 'Tropical Pointed'.[60] Indeed, as Webb's friend and colleague A. J. B. Beresford Hope reminded the Society's members:

> Our present studies proceed upon the ever-present assumption that the Christian Church is a living and an energizing body. . . . We must not . . . confine ourselves to England or to the Western Church, we must penetrate to the East and her venerable hereditary uses. . . . We should remember that Great Britain reigns over the torrid and the hyperborean zone, that she will soon have to rear temples of the True Faith in Benares and Labrador, Newfoundland and Cathay.[61]

In practice the issues focused on pragmatic concerns, such as how climatic limitations might affect the size, shape, and materiality of buildings, as well as certain cultural considerations, including the best ways to present Christian architecture to a non-Christian ('heathen') audience. Two main approaches for adapting Gothic forms to extreme conditions were developed: the *speluncar* ('cave-like') approach that relied on what today would be referred to as thermal mass (heavy, thick walls with few openings), and the so-called 'draft-admitting', which was essentially a passive cooling approach reliant on cross-ventilation (open, lightweight structure with large windows and shading devices). Often a combination of these two was used.

Again, there are many examples to which one could point.[62] For instance, the cathedral at Christchurch previously mentioned was one, as was All Saints' cathedral, Allahabad (India) by William Emerson—each adapted in its own way to prevailing conditions, the former for seismic reasons, the latter for climatic. Emerson's design for All Saints' is marked by its heavy French character, with plate rather than English mullioned tracery, including Mughal-inspired *jali* screens. Consequently, the windows are small and accompanied by deep arcaded eves at clerestory level, making for a dark and cool interior. The same basic approach was followed at All Saints', Point-de-Galle (1861–2) in Sri Lanka by Joseph Clarke, with its thick walls, open aisles-cum-cloister, and unglazed clerestory windows, all compressed within a neat French gothic frame. Likewise, we see something analogous at St George's, Basseterre, St Kitts (1856–9), by William Slater, with its broad, low-lying forms and heavily buttressed tower acting as defences against hurricane-force winds and earthquakes. Such an approach could even be found as far afield as Norfolk Island in the South Pacific, as witnessed in T. G. Jackson's overly sturdy design of the Bishop Patteson Memorial Chapel (1875) (Figure 5.10).

As mentioned, timber was an easily accessible and flexible material in many colonial contexts. Its use led to new traditions in the revival of Gothic architecture. Again, there are numerous instances of this, but perhaps the most advanced

[60] *Ecclesiologist*, vol. 3 (Nov. 1846), pp. 166–8. See also B. Webb, 'On the Adaptation of Pointed Architecture to Tropical Climates', *Transactions of the Cambridge Camden Society, 1843–45* (1845), pp. 199–218.

[61] *Ecclesiologist*, vol. 4 (March 1847), pp. 89–90.

[62] e.g. M. Lewis, 'The Ecclesiology of Expediency in Colonial Australia', in Bremner, *Ecclesiology Abroad*, pp. 33–55.

Figure 5.10. St Barnabas's church (Patteson Memorial chapel), Norfolk Island, New Zealand (1875–80), by T. G. Jackson (courtesy of United Society, USPG Archive, Bodleian Library, Oxford).

and spectacular is that to be found in New Zealand. Initially developed under the close supervision of Bishop Selwyn, timber churches in the so-called 'Selwyn Gothic' style were developed as a response to the windswept and earthquake-prone environments experienced in that part of the world (see Figure 10.2). Despite the trying conditions, this tradition of timber Gothic, correct in nearly every detail, flourished, culminating in the truly magnificent exemplars of St Paul's, Wellington (1865–6), by Frederick Thatcher, and St Mary's Pro Cathedral, Auckland (1886–98), by Benjamin Mountfort—both built entirely of native woods.[63]

In Canada, too, timber was seen as a viable alternative to stone. The Rev. William Grey (1819–72), who was a missionary in Newfoundland and Labrador, was designing and erecting perfectly correct Gothic revival churches in timber from an early date. This was a strategy intended to cope with the extreme cold, where ordinary masonry construction literally 'shivered to pieces'. Meanwhile, back in Britain, theories were being developed to justify the use of timber as a structural material for ecclesiastical architecture.[64] Off the back of this would come a spectacular tradition of timber church construction in Atlantic Canada, spearheaded

[63] M. Alington, *An Excellent Recruit: Frederick Thatcher—Architect, Priest and Private Secretary in Early New Zealand* (Auckland, 2007); I. Lochhead, *A Dream of Spires: Benjamin Mountfort and the Gothic Revival* (Christchurch, 1999), pp. 55–90.

[64] *Ecclesiologist*, vol. 6 (Aug. 1848), pp. 14–18.

by the architect-cum-priest Edward Medley, son of the Bishop of Fredericton (see Plate 10).[65]

Culturally speaking, adaptation was also important. In foreign contexts, and on the mission field, especially where clergymen encountered large numbers of non-Christian indigenes, means of controlling access to church buildings became a problem. In such contexts the resurrection of medieval spatial devices such as porches and narthexes became necessary. Such devices were adopted, for example, in the context of East Africa under the auspices of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa (UMCA), where careful liturgical arrangements were made in the design of churches to separate 'inquirers' and catechumens from Christians.[66]

This attitude towards missiology would also lead to a species of ecclesiastical architecture that encouraged the cross-fertilization and even deliberate 'hybridization' of European and indigenous forms. The UMCA cathedral in Stone Town is one example of this, with its fusion of Christian and Islamic motifs.[67] This was an approach that had been familiar to Roman Catholic missionaries for centuries, known as 'inculturation', particularly in colonial America. Among the earliest examples in Britain's empire were the CMS missionary churches in New Zealand, in particular Te Rangiātea at Otaki (1848–54) (see Figure 10.5).[68] Externally this building was a rather conventional looking parish church (excluding chancel) in timber, complete with mock wooden buttresses. Internally, however, it was anything but conventional. The roof covering the main space rested upon a huge ridge beam of totara (signifying the one true Christian God) which was in turn supported by three massive tree trunks of the same timber (signifying the Holy Trinity). The rafters were decorated with a sacred motif known as the *mangōpare* (hammerhead shark pattern), while the walls were hung with woven *tukutuku* panels signifying the Milky Way (the heavens) (see also Chapter 10, pp. 367–9).[69]

[65] P. Coffman, *Newfoundland Gothic* (Quebec, 2008), pp. 113–56. See also D. S. Richardson, 'Hyperborean Gothic, or Wilderness Ecclesiology and the Wood Churches of Edward Medley', *Architectura*, vol. 1 (1972), pp. 48–74.

[66] G. A. Bremner, 'Narthex Reclaimed: Reinventing Disciplinary Space in the Anglican Mission Field, 1847–1903', *Journal of Historical Geography*, vol. 51:1 (2016), pp. 1–17.

[67] G. A. Bremner, 'The Architecture of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa: Developing a Vernacular Tradition in the Anglican Mission Field, 1861–1909', *JSAH*, vol. 68:4 (2009), pp. 514–39.

[68] A. K. Davidson, 'Culture and Ecclesiology: The Church Missionary Society in New Zealand', in K. Ward and B. Stanley (eds), *The Church Mission Society and World Christianity, 1799–1999* (Richmond, 2000), p. 199.

[69] *Rangiātea: Ko Ahau te Huarahi te Pono me te Ora* (Wellington, 2003), pp. 14–21, 32–3. See also D. Brown, *Māori Architecture: From Fale to Wharenui and Beyond* (Rosedale, 2009), p. 47; R. A. Sundt, *Whare Karakia: Māori Church Building, Decoration & Ritual in Aotearoa New Zealand, 1834–1863* (Auckland, 2010). A similar approach to incorporating indigenous symbols and motifs into ecclesiastical architecture was adopted by evangelical missionaries in the Pacific Islands. See S. Sivasundaram, *Nature and the Godly Empire: Science and Evangelical Mission in the Pacific, 1795–1850* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 170.

CONSTRUCTING INSTITUTIONS: EDUCATION, ARCHITECTURE, AND EMPIRE

Closely allied to religion and the missionary endeavour was the extension of European educational practices to the non-European world. These were not only forms of cultural imperialism, but they also went hand in hand with colonial expansion to the extent that it was often left to religious institutions to establish schools, particularly during the initial phases of settlement. If we are to view Ireland as an English colony, then Trinity College, Dublin, is the earliest such institution, founded by Royal Charter in 1592. A staunchly Protestant enterprise, the college was intended as a bastion for the political elite in tightening their grip on power in Ireland. It was perceived by its supporters as surpassing even the zeal of Emmanuel College, Cambridge (1584), upon which it was modelled, in 'sustaining a godly curriculum and environment'.[70] Beyond the British Isles, the earliest such establishment, and another descendant of Emmanuel College, was Harvard College (originally 'New College') in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Founded in 1636, the college would eventually take the name of its initial benefactor (1638), the London-born, Cambridge-educated Puritan minister, John Harvard (1607–38). The first buildings at Harvard were existing houses purchased from town residents. But by the early 1640s it had been decided that the students were to be 'brought up in a more *Collegiate* Way of Living', and so a new, purpose-built facility was erected. 'Old' or 'Harvard' College, as this 'very faire and comely' structure became known, was monumental in scale and based on aspects of Eton College in England. It was also the largest building in New England at the time. Eventually an informal open quadrangle would take shape around 'the Yard', including a President's Lodge, Goffe College, and an Indian College (1650s). Like the structures that would replace these in the 1670s, the initial foundation buildings at Harvard were generally large, singular blocks with floors housing all the various functions necessary of an educational institution (Figure 5.11).[71] Both Trinity College, Dublin, and Harvard College demonstrate the close ties education was seen to have, ideologically speaking, with religion in the expansion of the British state during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Similar architectural patterns determined the first monumental structures that founded Yale College, the College of Rhode Island (later Brown University), King's College (later Columbia University), the College of New Jersey (later Princeton University), and the College of Philadelphia (later the University of Pennsylvania).[72] However, as the need for more space grew, the majority of these schools added additional buildings behind, adjacent, or perpendicular to the first, usually creating a college row or yard, as at Harvard. The majority of these establishments were located of course in New England, and were associated either with Puritan or other

[70] N. Canny, 'The Origins of Empire: An Introduction', in N. Canny (ed.), *OHBE*, 5 vols (Oxford, 1999), I, p. 6.

[71] S. E. Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), pp. 2–25.

[72] The best source on the architecture of college in early America is the first chapter of P. V. Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987).

Figure 5.11. 'A Prospect of the Colleges in Cambridge in New England' (1743), showing some of the early buildings that comprised Harvard College (later University), Cambridge, Massachusetts (Library of Congress, Washington DC: LC-DIG-pga-00404).

dissenting Protestant communities. As a result, these colleges were founded and then expanded without a chapel, which was a marked departure from the English Oxbridge precedent.

In distinction to this northerly pattern, the College of William and Mary in Virginia, and Codrington College in Barbados, followed English precedent more closely. Begun in 1695, the original plan for William and Mary was in the form of a basic quadrangle. In 1705 the quadrangle, only partially completed, burned down and was subsequently abandoned, although the rebuilding programme still gestured at the quadrangle formation through a large hall extending from the rear of the building on one side and, slightly later, the inclusion of a chapel on the other (see Figure 1.7). The abandonment of the quadrangular plan was likely a response to the rise of the town of Williamsburg and its designation in that year as the capital of the colony of Virginia. Whereas the seventeenth-century building stood in the remote context of a sparsely populated plantation county, the early eighteenth-century college stood at one end of the major street that defined the colony's new capital. As a result, the college was reoriented to address this new urban setting. In much the same way as the more northerly colleges, William and Mary expanded

its campus through the construction of two additional buildings—a President's House and an Indian College—creating an open yard. In the construction of its Indian College, William and Mary echoed a broad missionary choice made at Harvard many decades earlier—the dedication of an independent structure for the education of the sons of local Indian chiefs.[73]

The original plan of the full quadrangle intended for Codrington College, Barbados, has survived in the collections of the John Carter Brown Library.[74] Property for the College, plus an endowment, were provided in 1710 by the Barbados-born planter Christopher Codrington (1668–1710), whose father had been Governor General of the Leeward Islands, and who had become immensely wealthy through the Sugar Revolution of the mid-seventeenth century. Impressive in scale, the plan for Codrington College clearly emulates the substantial quadrangles that characterized the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. Designed for the SPG, the plan replicates the common Oxbridge quadrangle model of blocks of multi-storey residential units organized around shared staircases and large lecture halls, a library, a refectory, and chapel. But, as at William and Mary, the quadrangle of Codrington College was never completed. What stands today is only the front flank (begun 1714 and completed in 1745), which included the chapel and the great hall, and two short rear segments that only gestured toward the intended quadrangle. But Codrington's bequest, which had been built off the back of slave labour, also provided for the construction of what would become the largest room in Oxford, the Codrington Library at All Souls College. Begun in 1716 to a plan by Hawksmoor, the Library is a monumental contribution both to All Souls itself and to the University of Oxford, reminding us of the intricate connections between educational practice, colonial wealth, and the project of empire.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century the first educational establishments of this kind began to appear in British India. The missionary connection was strong, with the CMS, the SPCK, and the SPG all leading the charge for the foundation of what would become Bishop's College, Calcutta (est. 1820). By this time the Anglican diocese of Calcutta had already been established (1814), with archdeaconries in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. The Rev. Thomas F. Middleton (1769–1822) presided as first bishop over what was a huge see, including all of India and Australia. Initially wary of Christian missionary intervention, the EIC donated the land upon which the new College would rise. Rendered in a simple but clear Gothic Revival idiom, its cultural and religious intentions were clear. Its purpose was fourfold: to train Indians for the service of the Church; to offer secular teaching to other Indians; to translate Christian literature; and to prepare new missionaries.[75] Over £50,000 was raised for the cause, with Middleton observing

[73] *Ibid.*, pp. 33–7.

[74] These plans are by the military engineer Christian Lilly. Although supplied to the college, these were quite elaborate and later abandoned. There is now evidence from the SPG archive in Oxford that an architect, by the name of John James, was engaged to pare back the design and produce new drawings, which were used to erect the building. See K. Jones, '"A college for the mission?" Codrington College, Barbados (1710–1743)', unpublished MA thesis (Courtauld Institute of Art, London, 2009).

[75] H. P. Thompson, *Into All Lands: A History of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts 1701–1950* (London, 1951), pp. 177–8.

that such an institution had now become necessary for the preparation of 'the Native mind to comprehend the importance and the truth of the doctrines proposed to them'.[76] The College's functions, along with the significant sum raised for their realization, clearly illustrate the newfound importance that both the Imperial Government and the Church of England had come to place on the education, 'civilization', and ultimate Christianization of British India. The tide was turning; a new century had brought a new mentality for Britain and its 'second empire' in the east.

This close connection between education and religion continued into the latter part of the nineteenth century. As Iain Jackson and Ola Uduku observe in Chapter 11, the missionary connection was strong in tropical West Africa especially, with evangelical Anglican, Methodist, and Presbyterian societies all vying with one another in erecting schools in places such as Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, and Nigeria. Notions of 'godliness and good learning', wedded to concepts of 'muscular Christianity', were in the ascendency throughout the British world, owing in part at least to the Arnoldian reform of the English public school system.[77] Evidence of this can be found in the numerous faith-based schools established in the settler dominions, including Church of England, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, and Methodist institutions.[78] Even with the establishment of universities at around the same time, which were non-religious foundations (like London and Edinburgh, but unlike Oxford, Cambridge, and Trinity College, Dublin), we find affiliated colleges of residence along denominational lines. This is clear at the universities of Toronto, Sydney, Melbourne, and Hong Kong, for instance, established between the mid-nineteenth century and the early twentieth.[79]

The extension of these practices, especially in the case of universities, also represented a form of imperial networking, with those who established and populated the new institutions operating at the intersection between the local and global. In this sense, colonial universities were understood as centres of cultural affirmation that not only disseminated British and wider European culture and civilization but also symbolized it.[80] Some university networks were more influential than others in constructing this wider world of 'British' education, both at secondary and tertiary level, such as Oxford and Cambridge with their empire-wide scholarship and fellowship programmes.[81] With a pressing need for training in 'practical' professions, specific disciplines, too, were demonstrative of these networks in action. In the case of medicine, for instance, the ancient universities of Scotland, especially Edinburgh, with its renowned tradition of medical training and research, played an especially influential role in the establishment of medical schools across the

[76] Middleton quoted in O'Connor, *Three Centuries*, p. 58.

[77] e.g. I. V. Hanson, *Nor Free, Nor Secular: Six Independent Schools in Victoria* (Melbourne, 1971).

[78] For the scene in early modern Australia, for instance, see C. Campbell and H. Proctor, *A History of Australian Schooling* (Crows Nest, 2014).

[79] For Hong Kong, see P. Cunich, 'Godliness and Good Learning: The British Missionary Societies and HKU', in Chan Lau Kit-ching and P. Cunich (eds), *An Impossible Dream: Hong Kong University from Foundation to Re-establishment, 1910–1950* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 39–64.

[80] Pietsch, *Empire of Scholars*.

[81] *Ibid.*, pp. 48–55; R. Symonds, *Oxford and Empire: The Last Lost Cause?* (Oxford, 1992).

empire.[82] Such connections, invested as they were with ties of professional interest, feeling, and memory, have implications for how we interpret educational architecture in the context of British imperial expansion.

Firstly, this architecture exhibited distinct formal and spatial characteristics that associated it directly with the predominant architectural discourse(s) of the metropolis. There is no absolute pattern, but, by the 1840s, this generally meant the revival of medieval styles of architecture, from Romanesque through to Tudor Gothic. Naturally, this was in large part owing to the sector's emulation, if not imitation, of English public school and Oxbridge collegiate models, especially as the founders of many of the new institutions were connected with these precedents in some way, either as former students, fellows, or masters.

Indeed, it is hardly surprising that forms carrying religious and moral connotations—as medieval styles did in the Victorian age—were used extensively in relation to educational architecture.[83] As G. G. Scott would observe in his influential *Remarks of Secular and Domestic Architecture* (1857), schools and colleges were 'made over to our style [Gothic] almost as much as churches'. For universities, this was further related to ideas concerning the display of social and cultural progress.[84] We see this phenomenon in the Australian colonies, for instance, not only in the buildings of private denominational schools, such as Melbourne (1856) and Geelong (1857) Church of England Grammar schools, or Loreto College (Roman Catholic) in Ballarat (1875), but also in state school buildings, which, owing to the introduction of secular educational programmes, were ever more frequent. Two prominent examples of the latter being the Model School in Burra, South Australia (1878), and School No. 307 in North Melbourne (1882). In Ireland, too, existing educational foundations were extended and new ones established that adopted this style and its inherent symbolism. These included St Patrick's College, Maynooth, a new quadrangle for which was added by Pugin between 1846 and 1852, and Queen's College, Cork (1846), by Thomas Deane and Benjamin Woodward, newly established under the 'Queen's Colleges' act Ireland of 1845, which included institutions at Galway (now University College) and Belfast (now Queen's University)—the latter three drawing influence in particular from Oxbridge collegiate models.[85]

There are, of course, numerous other examples one could refer to, but a specific case in point is that of St John's College, Auckland, established in 1847 by Bishop Selwyn of New Zealand. Having been a former pupil and then tutor at Eton, Selwyn and his colleagues were keen to found St John's along the lines of their *alma mater*, with Selwyn himself playing a significant hand in designing the school

[82] C. Craig, 'Empire of Intellect', in J. M. MacKenzie and T. M. Devine (eds), *Scotland and the British Empire* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 84–117.

[83] B. Andrews, *Australian Gothic: The Gothic Revival in Australian Architecture from the 1840s to the 1950s* (Melbourne, 2001), p. 15.

[84] P. Cunich, 'Making Space for Higher Education in Colonial Hong Kong, 1887–1913', in L. Victoir and V. Zatsepine (eds), *Harbin to Hanoi: The Colonial Built Environment in Asia, 1840 to 1940* (Hong Kong, 2012), pp. 182–3.

[85] F. O'Dwyer, *The Architecture of Deane & Woodward* (Cork, 1997), pp. 58–86.

buildings.[86] Writing to his friend and agent in England, the Rev. Edward Coleridge, Selwyn noted how the school would be 'conducted upon the plan (mutatis mutandis) of Eton. . . . The mode of life will be collegiate, one dining Hall for all the Members of the College and school, arranged in separate tables as at the University [i.e. Cambridge: he was a student at St John's College]'.[87] From the very beginning Selwyn's vision was for a medieval-style complex, set around a quadrangle of sorts, as was the custom in England. It was a similar scenario at Bishop's College, Rondebosch (near Cape Town) in South Africa (est. 1849), except there the model of living and instruction was the 'new system' of Radley rather than Eton[88] (for more on educational architecture in New Zealand, see Chapter 10, pp. 375–6).

The plan, spatial organization, and accompanying associations of these two examples had as much to do with memory and identity as they did with any desire to implement a Western-style education system in colonial New Zealand and South Africa.

In the university sector we have the prominent example of the University of Sydney (est. 1850), the main buildings for which were erected between 1855 and 1862 to the designs of the English émigré architect Edmund Blacket (1817–83). The style was a Tudor Gothic typical of much Oxbridge collegiate architecture, in particular that of Magdalen College, Oxford, with the Great Hall at Sydney recalling the medieval grandeur of Westminster Hall in London (Figure 5.12).[89] At Melbourne (est. 1853), the first buildings for which were erected at nearly the same time, a similar approach was adopted. The Old Quadrangle (1854–7) by F. M. White was straightforward Tudor Gothic, although the south front of the original scheme was never realized.[90] The standout building at Melbourne, however, was the magnificent Wilson Hall, erected between 1875 and 1882 to the designs of Joseph Reed (1823–90).[91] Rendered in an elaborate late English gothic idiom, with a superb hammer-beam roof, it was intended to rival if not surpass the Great Hall at Sydney.[92] As both these institutions were founded in a climate of burgeoning colonial confidence, they also represent a degree of colonial self-consciousness and rivalry, with their architecture operating as the medium through which these pretentions were expressed.

Alternatives to the well-known English models can be found in Scottish and therefore Presbyterian influences that were carried abroad by the large numbers of

[86] For this history of St John's, see A. K. Davidson, *Selwyn's Legacy: The College of St. John the Evangelist Te Waimate and Auckland, 1843–1992* (Auckland, 1993).

[87] Unpublished letter, G. A. Selwyn to E. Coleridge (*c.*1842–3), Selwyn College Archive, University of Cambridge: 8. 31. H.

[88] Bremner, '*Pro Fide et Patria*', p. 250.

[89] M. Herman, *The Blackets: An Era of Australian Architecture* (Sydney, 1977), p. 41.

[90] P. Goad and G. Tibbits, *Architecture on Campus: A Guide to the University of Melbourne and its Colleges* (Melbourne, 2003). For the university's history, see G. Blainey, *The University of Melbourne: A Centenary Portrait* (Melbourne, 1956); S. Macintyre and R. J. Selleck, *A Short History of the University of Melbourne* (Melbourne, 2003).

[91] The original hall designed by Reed was destroyed by fire in 1952 and rebuilt (1955–6) in a Modernist style by Bates, Smart & McCutcheon.

[92] J. Benjamin and E. Wubben, *Architectural Ornament: The History and Art of Wilson Hall at the University of Melbourne* (Melbourne, 2012).

Figure 5.12. Tudor Gothic in the colonies: the first buildings at the University of Sydney (1855–62), New South Wales, by Edmund Blacket (University of Sydney).

Scotsmen who populated the empire. For example, the main buildings at the University of Otago in Dunedin, New Zealand (1878–83), recalled G. G. Scott's rebuilding of the University of Glasgow in the early 1870s, especially the distinguished clock tower, as was the case with the peculiar forms of the Presbyterian Ormond College (1879–93), University of Melbourne. Here one might also mention Theological Hall (1879) at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario, which, owing to its Presbyterian foundation, opted for an earlier Romanesque-style architecture, perhaps believing the Roman Catholic connotations associated with Gothic forms to be inappropriate. Indeed, by the time we reach the 1870s and 1880s, a greater diversity in university architecture is generally evident. At the University of Adelaide, for instance, the Mitchell Building (1879–82) by William McMinn displays distinct High Victorian overtones in its polychrome eclecticism.[93]

In Asia we see evolution towards something different. Well-known British architects were involved here, too, including Scott and Emerson. Two outstanding examples are the universities of Bombay and Hong Kong. Interestingly, these institutions were largely funded by wealthy Parsi businessmen and philanthropists from Bombay, both of whom had connections with the opium trade into China. Their foundation buildings are at the more conservative end of the stylistic spectrum, but not without particular adaptations to climate and culture. Scott's designs

[93] Andrews, *Australian Gothic*, p. 53.

for the University of Bombay (1869–78), for instance (library, convocation hall, and clock tower), were rendered in a Venetian-style Gothic intended to suit the 'Oriental' context, with sculptural elements that included local personalities, caste 'types', and indigenous flora and fauna (Figure 5.13).[94]

In Hong Kong the desire for a Western-style university had its antecedent in the London Missionary Society medical college (est. 1887). The idea for a university only received further and concerted impetus under the governorship of Sir Frederick Lugard (1907–12). Being much later than Bombay, and somewhat in contrast to it, the main building at Hong Kong University was rendered in what was perhaps the most self-conscious and ebullient of late British imperial styles—'Edwardian Baroque' classicism (Figure 5.14). This style, with is myriad cultural connotations, identified the new building with a distinct sense of 'Britishness' via the inspiration of past English architects such as Wren, Vanbrugh, and Hawksmoor (see Chapter 4, pp. 150–1). This was appropriate to the extent that, like many such institutions around the British empire, the intention of the university was to act as a 'beacon' of modernity through its promotion of Western knowledge, values, and interests.[95]

Elsewhere in British India a more distinct hybrid approach commonly referred to as the Indo-Saracenic was encouraged (see Chapter 8, pp. 300–3). As far as educational buildings are concerned, notable examples include the Madras University Senate House (1874); Muir College, Allahabad (1873); and St John's College, Agra (1914), all of which were characterized by their appeal to local architectural traditions, particularly the Muslim 'Saracenic'. The idea behind this type of architecture was that although 'exotic' to Western eyes, it was perceived as familiar to locals. It therefore represented an attempt on the part of imperial officialdom, as Thomas Metcalf has argued, to appropriate native forms in order to locate and thus legitimate British rule in India.[96] As William Emerson, architect of Muir College, insisted in 1873, the British, like their Mughal predecessors, should seize 'upon the art indigenous to the countries they conquered, adapting it to suit their own needs and ideas', rather than importing styles from abroad.[97] Moreover, Muslim (rather than Hindu) architecture appealed to the British frame of mind because it was seen as not only structurally efficient (utilizing pointed-arch and dome construction) but also related to Western styles such as Gothic and Byzantine, with Byzantine understood as a style bridging 'East' and 'West'. The more distinguished among this class of building included Kolhapur High School (1873) (Figure 5.15) and Mayo College, Ajmer (1875, the so-called 'Eton of the East'), both by Major Charles Mant. Spatially, however, these buildings were very much imports, with Mayo College adopting what appears to have been the classic Scottish 'burgh

[94] P. Chopra, *A Joint Enterprise: Indian Elites and the Making of British Bombay* (Minneapolis, 2011), pp. 63–5. See also G. A. Bremner, 'Scott and the Wider World: The Colonial Cathedrals, 1846–74', in P. S. Barnwell, G. Tyack, and W, Whyte (eds), *Sir George Gilbert Scott 1811–1878* (Donington, 2014), p. 72.

[95] A. Pennycook, *English and the Discourses of Colonialism* (London, 1998), pp. 117–22; Cunich, 'Godliness and Good Learning', pp. 39–41.

[96] T. R. Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj* (London, 1989), pp. 55–104.

[97] Emerson quoted in *ibid.*, p . 56.

Figure 5.13. Image of 1880 showing the library building and Rajabai Clock Tower (*left*) and Convocation Hall (*centre*) of the University of Bombay, India (1869–78), by George Gilbert Scott, with George Twigge-Molecey and Walter Paris. On the far right can be seen the Secretariat Building (1867–74), by Col. Henry St Clair Wilkins (RIBA Library Photographs Collection).

Figure 5.14. The University Building (*c.*1912), University of Hong Kong, in the 'Edwardian Baroque' style (Peter Cunich).

school' model. Such architecture, despite its appearance, was active in facilitating new disciplinary regimes through its enforcing a type of spatial arrangement that was both peculiar and alien.

Institutions of this kind sought to establish in their own way pedagogical imperatives the ultimate purpose of which was to inculcate Western values and ideals into a native Asian elite, thus fitting this class for a life of leadership and service within the empire. Indeed, as Peter Cunich has argued, Hong Kong University was set up with the specific aim of helping create just such a class of graduates—drawn from Hong Kong, the mainland, and nearby British territories—who could act, among other things, as agents of British scientific, industrial, and economic expansion within the foreign spheres of influence of Imperial China.[98]

There is, however, a danger in interpreting such institutions simply as imperial impositions. The idea of cultural 'trusteeship' was unquestionably at work, but it would be naïve not to recognize that such institutions were also used to the advantage of their indigenous patrons and clientele. As Preeti Chopra has observed, in Bombay the university and its architecture came to signify a consensus between native philanthropy and colonial officialdom in creating a new kind of urban landscape

[98] P. Cunich, 'Making Space', pp. 192, 198–202.

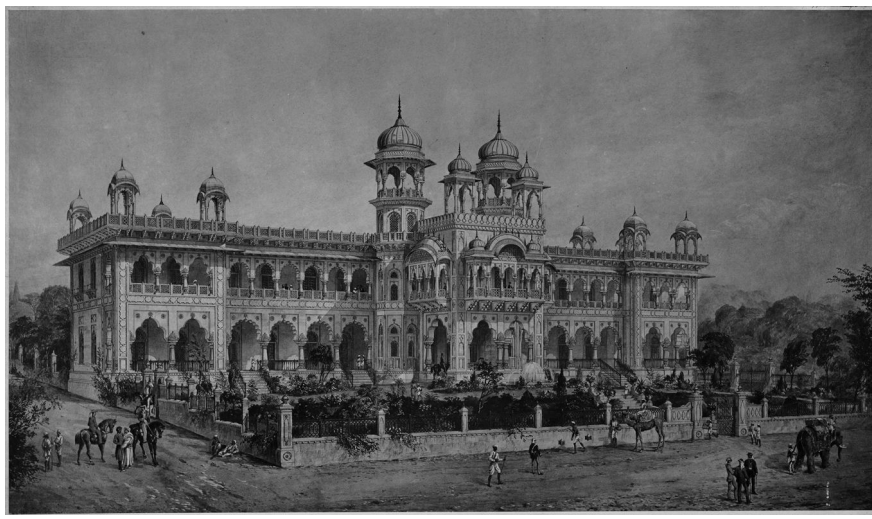

Figure 5.15. Design for Rajaram High School, Kolhapur (1870), by Major Charles Mant (RIBA Library Drawings Collection).

and civic identity. Powerful elites on both sides of the socio-racial divide wished to identify with the new Gothic style in Bombay as a harbinger of modernity that worked to their mutual benefit (economically and politically).[99]

By the time we reach the mid-twentieth century, ideas of colonial 'development' and the prospect of decolonization begin to impinge on university education and its infrastructure. Tied to this was the advent of Modernist architecture and urban planning. Indeed, central to the idea of colonial development was the need for advanced forms of education, particularly in science and engineering. Thus, by 1945 the British government had planned for several new university colleges in colonial territories such as the West Indies, Malaya, Uganda, the Gold Coast (Ghana), and Nigeria. The establishment of University College Ibadan (UCI), Nigeria, in 1948 is representative of this phenomenon.

The buildings at UCI, along with those at other educational establishments in West Africa, are discussed further in Chapter 11 (pp. 395, 402–3, 410–15). It is suffice to say here, however, that these buildings were not only intended to facilitate up-to-date teaching but also express the image of modernity through built form (see Figure 11.10). The architects for the scheme, appointed through the Colonial Office in London, were Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew, who were at the vanguard of Modernist architectural practice in Britain, and had served as town planning advisors to the Resident Minister in British West Africa (Accra) since 1944.[100] The

[99] Chopra, *Joint Enterprise*, pp. 58–70.

[100] R. Windsor-Liscombe, 'Modernism in Late Imperial British West Africa: The Work of Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew, 1946–56', *JSAH*, vol. 65:2 (2006), pp. 188–215; I. Jackson and J. Holland, *The Architecture of Edwin Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew: Twentieth Century Architecture, Pioneer Modernism and the Tropics* (Aldershot, 2014); M. Crinson, *Modern Architecture and the End of Empire* (Aldershot, 2003).

buildings they produced for UCI were indicative of what has since been termed 'tropical Modern'—extensive use of concrete, framed within a distinct Modernist vocabulary, and combined with formal devises designed to mitigate the worst excesses of climate (see pp. 214–21 and 408–13 in this volume). The complex consisted of a library, places of worship, a theatre, faculty buildings, and halls of residence. This kind of architecture is often linked to the imposition of revised narratives of rationalist, progressive, and 'modern' imperial planning, even though, in this case, many educated Nigerians already considered themselves modern by the nineteenth century, as well as the fact that the buildings did not turn out to be as advanced as the rhetoric surrounding them supposed.

In this respect, as Tim Livsey has observed, the planning, construction, and subsequent use of UCI tells a more complex and conflicting story of late colonialism and decolonization. Not only was there infighting between colonial administrators (metropolitan and local), academics, and the architects as to what the university and its buildings were supposed to achieve, but the indigenous elite, including the Ibadan 'Native Authority', on whose land the university was to be built, had their own ideas of what it represented and the purpose it ought to serve.[101] This concerned everything from the range of subjects to be taught to the type and quality of student accommodation required, which was negotiated and renegotiated by the various stakeholders as the project developed and as the university continued to expand into the post-colonial era.[102]

The history of educational institutions and their infrastructure in the context of late imperialism therefore cautions for a more complex and nuanced understanding of what was clearly a politically dynamic and culturally evolving set of circumstances, with the role of 'modern' education and the English language at the heart of an enterprise that sought to negotiate novel, overlapping, and mutually beneficial relationships—a form of education that would ultimately be used against the British in throwing off colonial rule.[103]

If recent scholarship has implored us to consider that British imperialism was as much a cultural phenomenon as it was a political and economic one, then both religion and education were at the forefront of the endeavour to transplant European values and ideas, as well as transform indigenous societies. More often than not, religion and education went hand-in-hand in this process, especially up until the end of the nineteenth century. Religious buildings, as the physical expression of faith, were very important to early settlers in what would eventually become Britain's worldwide empire, and were often among the first buildings erected. They were important primarily because they were fundamental to the identities of these settlers, many of whom required emotional and spiritual strength and guidance

[101] T. Livsey, '"Suitable lodgings for students": Modern Space, Colonial Development and Decolonization in Nigeria', *Urban History*, vol. 41:4 (2014), pp. 664–85.

[102] *Ibid.*

[103] A good example of this phenomenon would be the Gothic Revival foundation buildings at Gordon College (later university), Khartoum. See A. Jackson, *Buildings of Empire* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 194–219.

in leaving their homes and families to forge new lives abroad. Even for later waves of colonists and missionaries, church architecture remained symbolic of this undertaking.

The institutions of religion were not always transferred in the way intended, and oftentimes colonial churches were at best imperfect replicas of structures established at home, but the sheer volume of the physical remnants associated with this phenomenon, much of which is still in use, points to the monumental and sustained effort. It is also worth remembering that although not an official arm of state (often at loggerheads with it), the goals of religious institutions were broadly in sympathy with those of the imperial government. This had to do with inculcating a certain cultural mentality that would help nurture the next generation of colonial society, particularly when it came to the 'rational' and 'scientific' precepts of Western education. In this respect, religion and education would end up becoming two of the most significant cornerstones of Britain's imperial enterprise, and the buildings that were created in aid of these dual factors not only stand as testimony to their efficacy, but also remain as a powerful legacy in the post-colonial world.

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6

Imperial Modernism

Mark Crinson

Modernism's arrival in the colonies was, as elsewhere, often understood as the coming into being of something distinct within a sea of otherness. Like the ship sailing the oceans in Joseph Conrad's novels, the Modernist object was sealed off from any other reality except the most primordial.[1] This way of framing heightened the absolute newness, the alienness of Modernism, as against the indeterminacy of its surroundings. Modernism thus became another arrival, another filling of *terra nullius* (or *vacuo mari*) in the history of empire. It created situations of '[being] exposed to the two separate and hostile realities of human life: what nature is and what men want and do'.[2] A new order was brought to this eventless emptiness, but so too a sameness and increasing familiarity as the globe was encircled. This might reflect back, and endorse, the West's old mission—civilizing, rationalizing, developmental—'the good opinion it has of itself', to use Fredric Jameson's words.[3] But, if so, this was now done in different ways from previous colonial architecture. This is part of what makes Modernism more than a style or movement.

One difference is seen in attitudes to history and representation. There is a rousing yet wonderfully allusive statement of Victorian attitudes to architecture in the empire in John Ruskin's inaugural lecture, delivered at Oxford University in 1870:

> [England] must found colonies as fast and far as she is able . . . seizing every piece of fruitful waste ground she can set her foot on, and there teaching these her colonists that their chief virtue is to be fidelity to their country, and that their first aim is to be to advance the power of England by land and sea . . . these colonies must be fastened fleets; and every man of them must be under authority of captains and officers, whose better command is to be over fields and streets instead of ships of the line; and England,

[1] F. Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as Socially Symbolic Act* (London, 1981), pp. 269–70. For typical examples of this approach, see U. Kultermann, *New Directions in African Architecture* (London, 1969); or the essays in J. M. Richards (ed.), *New Buildings in the Commonwealth* (London, 1961). In the latter book Robin Boyd even used the metaphor of the sea to characterize modern Australian culture: 'Australian culture is something like a sturdy little boat battling across lonely waters surging with cross-currents from Europe and America' (p. 17).

[2] V. Scully, *Modern Architecture: The Architecture of Democracy* (New York, 1961), p. 11. Scully is describing Le Corbusier's High Court at Chandigarh.

[3] Jameson, *Political Unconscious*, p. 270.

> in these her motionless navies (or, in the true and mightiest sense, motionless *churches*, ruled by pilots on the Galilean lake of all the world), is to 'expect every man to do his duty'.[4]

The sea plays a dual role here, both as analogy and actual force of nature. It is oddly stilled, with colonies as 'fastened fleets' ruled by the pacifying force of churches that are at the same time navies. Architecture's role, it follows, is to do away with alienness, to teach values, especially those associated with national identity, and to enable brute power to be carried forward through the shaping of environment (from 'fruitful waste ground' to 'fields and streets').

An inevitable step, if not a familiar Ruskinian one, is to move from these words to the architecture of Herbert Baker (1862–1946) and the colonial ideology of his patron Cecil Rhodes, one of Ruskin's most enthusiastic undergraduate listeners.[5] In 1892 Baker sought his architectural fortune in South Africa, staying for two decades. Throughout his work there—whether in the house he designed for himself with its 'deep Roman Stoep' and plain Dutch gables,[6] the piled-up Union Buildings in Pretoria 'opening its mouth' from its rocky hillside, or the prospect-pointing classical memorials to the dead of colonial wars—the ideas of memory, dream, and immortality are incarnated (see Figures 3.7, 3.8, and 11.4). The architecture was assertively symbolic.[7] In Rhodes's terms, it incubated 'the best of the country and its people'.[8] The mining industries of South Africa and other workings of colonial exploitation were transmuted into a more reassuring tale of old world histories, '[embodying] dreams in enduring monuments' (Figure 6.1).[9]

As discussed by G. A. Bremner in this volume, Edwin Lutyens (1869–1944), Baker's collaborator on many projects, was a different kind of imperial architect, working empire's possibilities mostly from the metropolis, but he shared the same agenda described by Ruskin. His work also played powerfully, if more nimbly, across many of the languages and potentials of architecture. The layout of New Delhi (1911–31) gathered in the past, pivoting on the Hindu and Muslim monuments around it in order to subsume them under the priorities of the colonial state. Cultural expressions of the colonized were incorporated into the classical scheme of the colonizer, the 'historicising masks . . . of its stone stage sets'.[10] Baker's and Lutyens's architecture, therefore, may be modern, but it was never Modernist. It profited from the radical remaking of economies in southern Africa and India. It remade cities, providing the built apparatus of modern governmental bureaucracies. It reiterated these supercharged powers in hierarchies of rank, caste, and race, in monumental pomp and spatial circumstance.

[4] J. Ruskin, *Lectures on Art* (London, 1894), pp. 37–8.

[5] D. E. Greig, *Herbert Baker in South Africa* (Cape Town, 1970), p. 33. Baker also knew this lecture well: see Herbert Baker, *Architecture and Personalities* (London, 1944), p. 5.

[6] Greig, *Herbert Baker*, p. 61.

[7] As Rudyard Kipling wrote to Baker of the Kimberley Monument, 'Do you see the amount of symbolism you've let yourself in for?' Baker, *Architecture and Personalities*, p. 38.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 52. For more on Baker and imperial ideology, see Chapter 3 in this volume, pp. 103–11, 113–16.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

[10] S. Giedion, *Building in France: Building in Iron, Building in Ferroconcrete* (1928), as quoted in Neil Levine, *Modern Architecture: Representation and Reality* (New Haven and London, 2009), p. 14.

Figure 6.1. Groote Schuur (begun 1657), near Cape Town, South Africa. Converted and refurbished for Cecil Rhodes by Herbert Baker (1893–7) (RIBA Library Photographs Collection).

History, near and far, was owned by this architecture, and the writing of history paralleled this, as Banister Fletcher's magisterial *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method* (1896) showed. Initially this omitted any non-Western architecture, but by 1921 (in its sixth edition) the non-Western had been introduced to the lower branches of the 'Tree of Architecture', where it was subordinated within the 'Non-Historical' styles. History, then, was taken forward by the nations of the West. Onto the Ruskinian idea of architecture as an expression of national life was mapped the orientalist and ultimately Hegelian idea of static and dynamic cultures. The same schema underpinned New Delhi's relation to its Indian context.

A sense of mission, or a seeking of fortune, also drove many of the Modernist architects who worked in the empire, but now the Victorians and Edwardians with their historicist architecture were part, as it were, of the surrounding sea. Modernism announced a departure from any prevailing regime: 'To make oneself modern was', in Neil Levine's words, 'almost by definition, a process of reduction and negation.'[11] It was as if an architecture of abstraction could reduce and negate the history (of architecture) and representation (of nature) to be found in previous architecture and, accordingly, as if the change between these regimes accompanied

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 286.

changes in other regimes. It was as if abstraction, furthermore, could better express changes in daily life, constituting some kind of 'utopian compensation for everything lost in the process of the development of capitalism'.[12] This is a new experience, the architecture said, unlike any in previous forms of social life.

Architectural historians have recently reacted against at least two assumptions behind what might seem a familiar narrative of alienness, consummated by triumph or failure, shipwreck or conquest. The first is that modernity is a peculiarly Western experience or condition depending upon highly developed industrial economies. The second is the assumption that Modernism, the artistic reaction to this modernity, was a developmental and disseminative movement, one that worked forward and outwards from a Western locus.[13] Terms like 'other Modernisms', 'peripheral Modernism', 'alternative Modernisms', and 'indigenous modernities' have signalled ways out of this Western–Modernism linkage while tending to absorb Modernism into wider terms like modernity or modernization.[14] The Modernism that remains is still seen, as in a rear-view mirror, as a monolithic Western construct. Yet experiences of dislocation as a result of modernization created multiple and different modernities according to one's location in the world. These were inherently experiences of otherness and alienation, of fragmentation and new possibility; they were judderingly transformative whether they were found in the rookeries and the *banlieues* of the metropole or the *chawls* and *maidans* of the colony. Modernism was the culture that attempted to respond to these experiences.

Another recent term formulated as an alternative to the Western–Modernism linkage is that of 'Third World Modernism'. Again this is premised upon Modernism having a different if equally interesting character in developing countries, one seen as linked with other, non-Western entities, and not subsumed within hegemonic Euro-American discourses.[15] But Western Modernism was not a distinct historical phenomenon from 'Third World Modernism'; the idea depends upon the myth of Modernism as a phenomenon forged in the West and then imposed on the rest of the world. To criticize this is not to claim that Modernism was free of colonialism, a road to independence and modernity, as another myth maintained. While 'Western' and 'Third World' forms cannot be separated off from each other, neither do they need to be resolved into a hegemonic relation.

These formulations are also some distance from how Modernism was understood by contemporaries practising and promoting it. The Sri Lankan architect Minnette de Silva (1918–98) is a case in point (Figure 6.2). Trained in Bombay and then at the Architectural Association (AA) (London) in the immediate postwar years, and coming from an actively anti-colonial if not anti-Western family, de

[12] Jameson, *Political Unconscious*, p. 236.

[13] 'Modern architecture is a product of western civilisation', is the opening sentence of one such history: Scully, *Modern Architecture*, p. 10.

[14] See G. Wright, 'Building Global Modernism', *Grey Room*, vol. 7 (2002), pp. 130 and 134, n. 24; S. Chattopadhyay, *Representing Calcutta: Modernity, Nationalism, and the Colonial Uncanny* (London, 2006), pp. 4–5; J. Hosagrahar, *Indigenous Modernities: Negotiating Architecture and Urbanism* (London, 2005), pp. 4–5.

[15] D. Lu, 'Introduction', in D. Lu (ed.), *Third World Modernism: Architecture, Development and Identity* (Abingdon, 2011), p. 3.

Figure 6.2. Minnette de Silva (1918–98) climbing up to inspect concrete pillars and slab work of the De Saram house, Colombo, Sri Lanka (1957) (RIBA Library Photographs Collection).

Silva rejected both previous colonial architecture and what she called the 'veneer of modernism' that had already entered colonial Ceylon (as today's Sri Lanka was known until 1972).[16] She was a co-founder of the Modern Architectural Research Group (MARG) and India's representative at the Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM). A friend of Le Corbusier, and in regular contact with Siegfried Giedion, she enjoyed a Modernist network of social and artistic affiliations. Her response to colonial Ceylon's climate was developed before Modernist responses to tropical climates had become formulaic, and she understood this and her use of local crafts as complementary with the internationalist Modernist language she deployed.[17] If her Modernism was posited against anything it was a

[16] Much of my information on de Silva is from Minnette de Silva, *The Life and Work of an Asian Woman Architect* (Kandy, 1998).

[17] Recent attention has attempted to align de Silva's work either with later theories of critical regionalism or as part of the essentialized view of climate as embodied in the practice of 'Tropical Architecture'. See A. Tzonis and L. Lefaivre, 'The Suppression and Rethinking of Regionalism and Tropicalism After 1945', in A. Tzonis and B. Stagno (eds), *Tropical Architecture: Critical Regionalism in the Age of Globalization* (London, 2001), p. 32; A. Pieris, '"Tropical" Cosmopolitanism? The

historicist colonial culture promoting imitations of European and indigenous styles while neglecting the local crafts that had created them.[18]

For de Silva and others like her, Modernism provided a way out of the hold of identity- and memory-based notions of architecture and towards ideals of universalism, social improvement, and benevolent technological development; a taming of the wild sea or a course set to calmer waters. The prospect Modernism offered could be enticing or threatening wherever one was geographically located. For many it suggested the smoothing over of borders, whether those between nations or those between empire and world, but without losing cultural distinctiveness. It is this historical understanding of Modernism that prevails in this chapter, though it will scrutinize Modernism's own exclusionary logic and entanglements with empire. Modernism had its own circuits or networks, often interpolated within existing institutions of architectural professionalism crisscrossing different parts of the world. Operating within and beyond political spheres of influence like empire, Modernists might use the imperial apparatus while also deploying other vehicles of information and influence. From another perspective, the fact that its tools were used by various imperial ideologies does not mean that there was a necessary identification between Modernism and those ideologies (why otherwise would Modernism also be understood as liberatory?). In sum, while there was a hegemonic relation between Euro-America and the rest of the world, and a more specific relation between metropolis and colony within the British empire, Modernism cannot simply be mapped onto differences of power.

The architectural forms, theories, pedagogies, and rhetoric that were called *Neues Bauen*, 'the Modern movement', and eventually 'Modernism',[19] all crystallized in 1920s Europe, and many of them then passed to other parts of the world. While the trope of exportation or dissemination has been rightly challenged by architectural historians,[20] there is little denying the historical existence of a rhetoric of dissemination, nor the existence of its means, whether in the form of magazines, exhibitions, ex-Bauhauslers, young architects straight out of architectural schools and sent to the colonies, or colonial students returning to their home countries.

Dissemination is, after all, a near-ontological condition of an architectural culture that exists to propagate images, practices, and ideas. As such, dissemination happened without necessarily being part of some larger 'domination of the West', if anything rather the reverse. There are several immediate ways of demonstrating this. One is that the colonies might be treated, most famously by the French, as a 'laboratory of modernity' in which new kinds of cultural expression, new government

Untoward Legacy of the American Style in Post-independence Ceylon/Sri Lanka', *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, vol. 32 (2011), pp. 332–49.

[18] Minnette De Silva to Siegfried Giedion, 3 January 1950, GTA Archives (Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule, Zurich), 42-SG-34-13/15.

[19] See M. McLeod, 'Modernism', in I. Borden, M. Fraser, and B. Penner (eds), *Forty Ways to Think About Architecture: Architectural History and Theory Today* (Chichester, 2014), pp. 185–92.

[20] 'Dissemination' is still used, both critically and uncritically, in much the same way as its use in Hitchcock's classic account of 1958. H.-R. Hitchcock, *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Harmondsworth, 1977) (first published 1958), p. 556.

policies, new forms of architecture and planning were tried out *before* they were used in Europe.[21] Colonialism, in other words, played a key role in creating Modernism. Similarly, in its very origins Modernism was already involved in the colonial relationship, in the constituting of what has usefully been called the 'colonial modern'.[22]

A second demonstration is that British Modernism, at least in its overt architectural manifestations, was a belated matter, and itself strongly affected by dissemination in the form of European Modernist émigrés and refugees arriving in the 1930s. They lent their authority and urgency to what before then was a scattered, sometimes dilettantish affair, even if the conditions of modernity conducive to Modernism had already coalesced.[23] The same effect, with the same provisos, was felt in other parts of the world, including the British Empire, when elements of this Modernist diaspora were scattered further afield. As an embattled minority taste hounded out of central Europe and often identified with political and social marginality, architectural Modernism arrived less in triumph than in retreat: this was the case with Erich Mendelsohn in Palestine, Bruno Taut in Turkey, Otto Koenigsberger in India, Ernst May in East Africa, and Julius Posener in Palestine and Malaysia. Thus, its early associations were often not with colonial policy; in fact, the universalist solutions of Modernism were initially advocated in preference to colonial culture. In Palestine the new architecture became linked with the insurgent power of the Zionist movement, in British Malaya it was seen as nationalist, in India as a mark of international modernity, while in East and West Africa it could be a sign of benevolent technical expertise.

A third and final form of demonstration is that, instead of a supine or passive reception of Modernism, many clients and architects were in fact active agents, appropriating Modernism to their purposes rather than being appropriated by it. Modernism could be commissioned by private clients or indigenous rulers, categorized as a technical solution to housing problems or the latest form of chic styling. In all cases it might have little or no connection with existing colonial ideology—so there is, it follows, no need to understand this Modernism as merely the distorted, misunderstood, or, in other ways, sullied offshoot of a pure root.[24]

In what follows there is no attempt to survey the subject of Modernism in the empire, to supply a canon of significant buildings, or to separate the empire from Britain. Instead the chapter's themes explore the relationship between Modernism and empire. Rather than treat Modernism and empire as pre-existing entities that are layered or interleaved, their relationship is understood in ways that open up or recast each other. It is in this spirit that the workings of the avant-garde, of official Modernism, of a climatically functional architecture for the tropics, of the vernacular, and of Modernism's continuation after empire, are all treated.

[21] See P. Rabinow, *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989).

[22] T. Avermaete, S. Karakayali, and M. von Osten (eds), *Colonial Modern: Aesthetics of the Past—Rebellions of the Future* (London, 2010).

[23] For more on an expanded history of early Modernism in Britain, versus the dissemination model, see E. Darling, *Re-Forming Britain: Narratives of Modernity Before Reconstruction* (London, 2007), pp. 1–6; and A. Powers, *Britain: Modern Architectures in History* (London, 2007), pp. 13–51.

[24] This view is exemplified in M. Berman, *All That is Solid Melts into Air* (New York, 1988), p. 232.

AVANT-GARDE

The Modernist self-image, whatever its establishment ambitions, was bound up with those attempts at alterity associated with the idea of the avant-garde. Small groups, vivid if low-circulation magazines, calculated acts of experiment or rebellion, all characterized the avant-garde, and all were imitated and reiterated in new bursts of Modernist propagation or dissidence. The question is how such avant-gardism worked across a different politico-cultural terrain, that of empire, and whether the concept has any analytical value in this context.

Two related instances were the MARS (Modern Architectural Research) Group and MARG (also Modern Architectural Research Group).[25] The first was founded in London in 1933 to give focus to the tiny numbers of Modernist architects and critics in England, while the second was announced in Bombay in 1945, as one product of a circle of Bombay-based architects, artists, and writers. Each group controlled membership by strict criteria of conformity with Modernist criteria (one could not design in a form of Art Deco, for instance), and each functioned in part as chapters of CIAM. Both saw themselves as bringing advanced architectural and urban thinking into their respective host countries and establishing a CIAM version of Modernism (that is, one following the approach advanced by the alliance of Walter Gropius, Le Corbusier, and Siegfried Giedion) in their respective countries through various kinds of campaigning, including journalism and exhibitions. Both were thus marginal to the geographic centre of Modernism. What Modernist architecture could already be found in India, as in England in 1933, might be characterized as unsystematic, lacking a supportive culture, and without significant international dimensions.[26] So the founding of MARG was understood as the first substantial establishment of a culture of Modernist architecture in India. Far from a proxy of MARS, MARG related directly to European Modernism and in some respects was in advance of the British group.[27]

If, from MARG's perspective, India had barely any Modernism to speak of in 1945, that was not because Modernism was not required there. Although MARG and its magazine *Marg* (founded in 1946) aimed to relate Indian arts to more global currents, they were primarily concerned with the specific conditions of India, most of all with how to elevate architectural production into a significant relation with the political forces—whether industrialist, anti-colonial, or

[25] On the MARS Group, see J. Gold, '"A Very Serious Responsibility"? The MARS Group, Internationality and Relations with CIAM, 1933–39', *Architectural History*, vol. 56 (2013), pp. 249–75; and L. Campbell, 'The MARS Group, 1933–1939', *RIBA Transactions*, vol. 4:2 (1985), pp. 68–79.

[26] For the Indian situation see, for example, J. Lang, *A Concise History of Modern Architecture in India* (Delhi, 2002); P. vir Gupta, C. Mueller, and C. Samii, *Golconde: The Introduction of Modernism in India* (Delhi, 2010); J. Lang, M. Desai, and M. Desai, *Architecture and Independence: The Search for Identity—India 1880 to 1980* (Delhi, 1997); P. Scriver and V. Prakash (eds), *Colonial Modernities: Building, Dwelling and Architecture in British India and Ceylon* (London, 2007); and P. Scriver and A. Srivastava, *India: Modern Architectures in History* (London, 2015).

[27] For example, *Marg* published the first English translation of the Charter of Athens: R. Lee and K. James-Chakraborty, '*Marg* Magazine: A Tryst with Architectural Modernity: Modern Architecture as Seen from an Independent India', *ABE Journal (Architecture Beyond Europe)*, vol. 1 (2012) para. 9. MARG had one member—Percy Johnson-Marshall—who was also a member of the MARS Group, but all other members had come to Modernism from a variety of routes.

Communist—that were attempting to transform the Indian economy in the last years of empire. Unlike the MARS Group, here MARG had significant political affiliations from the beginning, including the sympathetic ear of the nationalist leader Jawaharlal Nehru, and the wealth of the industrialist J. R. D. Tata, who funded the magazine. While MARS had no such outlet, *Marg* was treated in its early years by its editor, the novelist Mulk Raj Anand, like a mixture of avant-garde broadsheet and *de luxe* art magazine. It reached out to a range of international contributors, published manifestoes, discussed problems of planning and housing, presented exemplary contemporary architecture, published articles on modern and ancient Indian art, and was led from the front by Anand's peppy editorials.[28] Also, unlike MARS, MARG's declared antinomies included colonialism and its 'slavish mentality', from which the internationalist aspirations of Modernism would allow a release.[29] Neither group had the dismissive attitude to the past typical of the previous generation of avant-gardes: while MARS co-opted Vitruvius to its agenda, MARG used its magazine *Marg* to find affiliations with a variety of Indian arts of the pre-colonial past. And both groups promoted Modernism on the largest scale: while MARS designed its own plan for London, MARG helped prepare the way for Chandigarh, which *Marg* then publicized through enthusiastic special issues.[30] But it was only MARG that had to deal with the conundrum of the dismissal of national styles—of 'history and representation'—at the same time as the nation was emerging from colonialism.

Introducing the idea of the avant-garde into a discussion of architectural Modernism and empire is surprisingly rare, in fact as rare as introducing the idea of colonialism into the discussion of the relation between the avant-garde and mainstream Modernism. So it makes sense to turn to that second conjunction. What happens to our understanding of the relation between the avant-garde and the welfare state when empire is taken into account?

The early career of James Stirling (1924–92) reveals the everyday co-existence of empire and architectural culture in the postwar metropolis. If this period in Stirling's career is usually discussed in terms of his connections with the avant-garde—the Independent Group, Team X—then another part of this picture was the intermingling of empire in daily life as well as the links between architecture and empire. This circuitry of connections was fundamental to the cultures Stirling passed through: from his father, ship's engineer for the world-transiting Blue Funnel Line, to his childhood spent in the port city of Liverpool, to his training at that most important centre for producing imperial architects, the Liverpool School of Architecture, where many aspiring architects who came from the empire or later went to work in it studied (see Chapter 11, pp. 400, 407). After Liverpool, Stirling enrolled in the School for Planning and Research for Regional Development in London. The School's staff included Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, Colin Buchanan, and

[28] We need to know more about other journals of this kind across the colonial world. The British Malayan magazine *PETA*, for instance, is well worth similar analysis.

[29] 'Planning and Dreaming', *Marg*, vol. 1:1 (1946), p. 5.

[30] 'Chandigarh: A New Planned City', *Marg*, vol. 15:1 (1961).

Percy Johnson-Marshall—all with strong colonial connections—and it was famed for its specialist expertise in training architect-planners for the colonies.[31]

Stirling's next move was to join James Cubitt and Partners, then developing a local reputation through its West End shops and a wider one through school and government buildings in the British colonies. When Stirling started there in late 1952 (he stayed for six months) the firm had major commissions for a huge pharmaceutical plant in Rangoon (Burma) and the Technical College at Kumasi (present-day Ghana), and was about to become one of the capital city's best-connected middling-Modern practices, well-positioned to take advantage of the transition from empire to independence.[32] Rumours have associated Stirling with the firm's South Africa Travel Centre, probably because of its glamorous and elegant design, with Constructionist wall decoration and Aalto-esque undulating ceiling (see Plate 11). South Africa's state inauguration of apartheid policies dates from 1948, and in 1950 the Group Area Acts, designed to separate racial groups geographically, had been passed. This is the context in which the apparently apolitical public relations of a design like that for the South Africa Travel Centre, much praised by the Modernist establishment, was staged.[33] But the design was finished by early 1951, before Stirling started with Cubitt. What is known for sure is that Stirling helped develop the firm's designs for West African schools. Such projects were part of a 'new spirit . . . in colonial building' that Britain launched after the war, providing bread-and-butter work for several such London-based practices (for more on school architecture in Africa, see Chapter 11, pp. 395–6, 402–3, 408, 410, 420).[34]

Stirling's failure to become a state architect, along with his flirtation with Cubitt's late imperial practice, were important formative experiences, but there are more direct relations between the London-based avant-garde and empire. Alison (1928–93) and Peter (1923–2003) Smithson were perhaps the most determined

[31] The School's aim was to train its students 'to appreciate the wider issues of the economic and political situation'. Jacqueline Tyrwhitt, 'School of Planning. An Account of its History, Aims and Objectives and Proposals for Future Development', RIBA Archives, TyJ/6/2.

[32] For its mid-1950s production, see 'Recent Buildings in the Gold Coast', *Architectural Review*, vol. 119 (May 1956), pp. 230–41.

[33] It was listed among favoured buildings by the Sub-Committee on the Index of Modern Architecture of the AA in 1957: Percy Johnson-Marshall Collection, Edinburgh University Library, Crate 127 SR11.

[34] The throwaway comments of the editor of *Architectural Design* are revealing: 'I can understand the fascination of Chandigarh at this stage, as it all begins to mean something and all that lovely work right on the boards. Not very much of that commodity here just lately. Tripe and Wakeham who had so much Kuwait stuff have now started folding, though Farmer & Darke, who collared a lot of engineering and civic stuff still seem to be alright. Otherwise apart from Freddie G., whose airport is enough to keep him for years, only Edward Mills seems to prosper. Oh yes Cubitt and Manasseh seem to have broken into Burma or Malaya or somewhere.' Theo Crosby to Jane Drew, 20 January 1954, RIBA Drawings Collection, F&D/6/4. From one point of view Crosby's statement is merely an expression of local anxiety, a parochial concern with a charmed circle of middling metropolitan firms that, as the statement gathers momentum, contradicts its own starting premise. But it also shows how it was quite possible to design colonial architecture while still located in London, often with offices overseas but sometimes still in a way not fundamentally dissimilar to those Victorian architects who sent out designs and never set foot in the colonies. The opportunities to design in the colonies at this time are evidenced also by the number of British students who signed up for the Department of Tropical Architecture's course when it started in 1955.

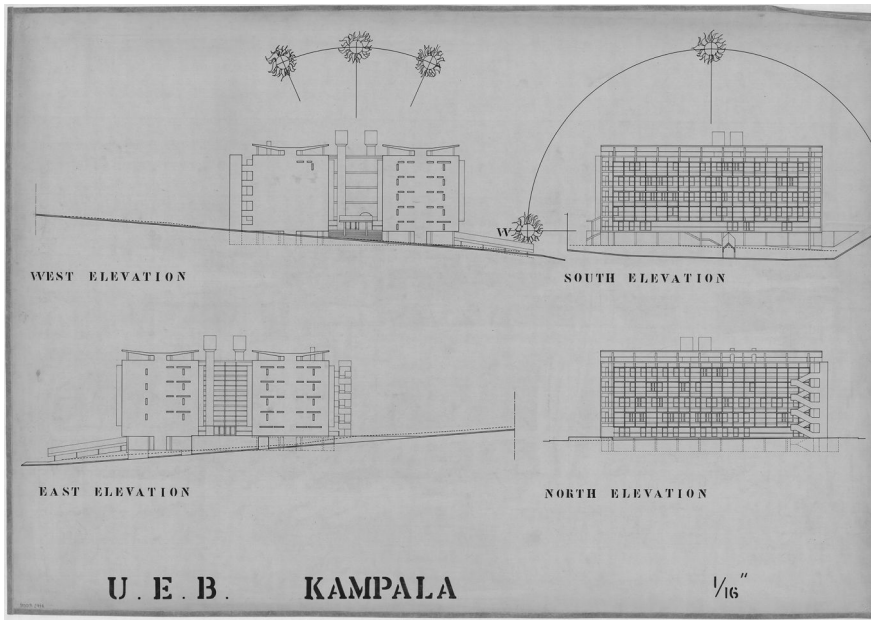

Figure 6.3. Competition design for Uganda Electricity Board, Kampala, Uganda (1952–3), by Alison and Peter Smithson (Smithsons Archive, Loeb Library, Harvard University).

avant-gardists of this generation and their involvement with colonial architecture was a little more direct than Stirling's. Peter Smithson taught at the Department of Tropical Architecture at the AA in the late 1950s, and through much of their career the husband-and-wife team entered competitions and submitted proposals for projects in the Middle East and elsewhere. There is, for example, a competition design made in 1952–3 for a head office building for the Uganda Electricity Board in Kampala (Figure 6.3). The design is ordered around two devices: a 16-ft square grid of supports separate from screen walls, and the idea of 'casing' the building within air cushions or 'breezeways', one above within the umbrella roof and the other on two sides of the building within the shadowed depth created between the true façade and the exterior by 4-ft deep *brises soleils*.[35] The principle behind this casing is piquantly captured by an anthropomorphic analogy written on one drawing: 'building appears like a nun's face in a coif . . . face within a face'.[36] The Smithsons also designed Iraqi House in Piccadilly (1960–1), an airline office created within an Edwardian building (Figure 6.4). With its curvaceous sand-finished walls, panels of mosaic, and casts of Assyrian

[35] O. Koenigsberger, 'Tropical Architecture 2', *Architectural Design*, vol. 24 (January 1954), p. 19. It is notable how in the Smithsons' own account no mention is made of those theories of Tropical Architecture that undoubtedly influenced the design. Instead, it is presented as part of their own internally developing 'language' of architecture. See A. Smithson and P. Smithson, *The Charged Void: Architecture* (New York, 2001), p. 98.

[36] Reproduced in *Ibid.*, p. 98.

Figure 6.4. Iraqi House, Piccadilly, London (1960–1), by Alison and Peter Smithson. Detail of Contact sheet of photographs by Kerry Dundas (Smithsons Archive, Loeb Library, Harvard University).

bas-reliefs, it seems, as one might expect of an airline office, to do little but reinforce clichés about the Middle East. But there are more unexpected elements. The frontage onto Piccadilly was kept very simple, with small unshowy lettering, so as not to try and rival the nearby flashy Pan American shop.[37] This very simplicity set up Iraqi House's main *coup de théâtre*. Instead of the expected shopfront, a hole in the ground roofed with glass gave inquisitive pedestrians the chance to see a sunken display. As they paused to look down, however, they themselves became the objects on display both to those inside the office and from the street.

The Smithsons' various attempts to ride on the coat-tails of late imperialism also had deeper connections with colonial culture. If colonialism was bound up with the development of ideas about primitivism and orientalism, of race's delimiting effects, then Modernism had also invested in these ideas. The most salient post-war versions of this were the discussions and projects of young apostate Modernists in CIAM in the early and mid-1950s. The Smithsons played a key role here, not just with their own work but also through publishing that of colonial architects in North Africa.[38] Through their understanding of slum housing in Morocco and Algeria, seen as conditioned by local cultures shaped by colonial modernity, these North African architects (in reality largely young French architects working in the colonies) were projecting a defiantly avant-garde position which, while part of a history of European experimentation in North Africa, was also specifically directed at CIAM debates (especially the CIAM 9 meeting in

[37] This is made explicit in notes written contemporaneously. Smithsons Archive, Loeb Library, Harvard University: BA 136.

[38] A. Smithson and P. Smithson, 'Collective Housing in Morocco. The Work of Atbat-Afrique: Bodiansky, Candilis, Woods', *Architectural Design* (January 1955), pp. 2–8.

Aix-en-Provence). Anthropological concepts of lived space, for example, were being posited against functionalist notions of zoned space.[39] What was particularly challenging about these projects was that they were not based on assumptions made from pre-modern tribal life or the so-called 'lost cities of Africa', but instead on an eclectic range of social scientific and observational studies of contemporary *bidonvilles*—those slums made from flattened oil cans and discarded items of the building industry. It was from these unpromising sources, steeped in the realities of colonial underdevelopment, that architects in North Africa proposed to leaven their own Modernist housing complexes. This contrasted with the lack of interest by more mainstream colonial Modernists in the lessons of anthropology, their concern with an ever-progressing modernity for which universal solutions might be found, and their belief that climate and other geographical factors were all prevailing.[40] But if the North African architects provided a resonant model of how to be avant-garde, even within the institutions of colonial control, it was not one emulated in the British empire.

For the Smithsons this concern with ad hoc solutions to the complex and changing realities of late colonial urbanism matched their own developing ideas about the challenges presented to long-established communities by rampant modernization.[41] In this context, the projects the Smithsons developed for the Middle East and Africa, and their frequent references to India in their writings, seem oddly uncritical of colonial mores even if Iraqi House demonstrates a rare self-reflexivity. While colonialism was hardly mentioned, any critique was instead to do with what might be learnt from pre-modern architecture. Although there was also a critique of climate determinism, this was not augmented with analysis of the cultures of late colonialism.[42]

Faced with such evidence, it is difficult to maintain a view of avant-garde architecture as an exemplary ethical position regarding design, semi-autonomous from the world beyond it, resistant especially to the state's idea of architecture. If the very clarity of the Uganda Electricity Board design can be understood as offering some exemplary lucidity of thinking on other matters, this is undercut by the nun's coif reference and all it casually implies about the history of missionary involvement in Africa. There is little sign in the Smithsons' or Stirling's work of any critical attitude towards empire, though of course there is with MARG.[43]

[39] Among a growing literature on this subject, see particularly T. Avermaete, 'CIAM, Team X, and the Rediscovery of African Settlements: Between Dogon and Bidonville', in J.-F. Lejeune and M. Sabatino (eds), *Modern Architecture and the Mediterranean: Vernacular Dialogues and Contested Identities* (London, 2010), pp. 250–64; as well as the essays in Avermaete et al., *Colonial Modern*.

[40] A salient example is Fry and Drew's disdain for the contemporary work of Meyer Fortes in Ghana. See V. d'Auria, 'In the laboratory and in the field: hybrid housing design for the African city in late-colonial and decolonizing Ghana (1945–57)', *Journal of Architecture*, vol. 19:3 (2014), pp. 337–8. In this view, anthropology was seen to stand for preservation and to oppose change.

[41] A. Smithson, *Team 10 Meetings* (New York, 1991), p. 19.

[42] V. Baweja, 'Otto Koenigsberger and the Tropicalization of British Architectural Culture', in Lu, *Third World Modernism*, p. 244.

[43] With Stirling such evidence appears minimal. There is a tampered photograph of the Queen's opening of the residential building Stirling designed for Queen's College, Oxford, in which Stirling inserted palm trees into the background of the photograph, making what Reyner Banham recognized

With MARG there is also a desire to give the avant-garde a formative role in the post-colonial state.

OFFICIAL

Beyond these surprisingly tentative connections in Britain between the avant-garde and empire, there was a more formative relation between empire and the version of Modernism that became mainstream in post-war Britain.

An anecdote provides an entry point. The architect James Gowan (b. 1923), best known for his partnership with James Stirling between 1956 and 1963, has recounted his experiences working for Stevenage New Town in the early 1950s. Stevenage was built in Hertfordshire, north of London, to rehouse people displaced by bombing and slum clearance. On Gowan's first day there he was picked up at the office by the Chief Architect, Clifford Holliday (1897–1960), driven around the town, and at the end asked for his opinion. Gowan was frank: the roads rambled ineffectually, there was no town centre to speak of, it was all too dull. The Chief Architect brooded but said little or nothing in reply.[44]

The story as Gowan has retold it over the years makes much of the contrast between a hopelessly arid architect-official, the unimaginative tool of state policy, and a young and idealistic neophyte who knew better what a post-war new town should be like. What was forgotten, by Gowan but also by the culture at large, were the previous achievements of Stevenage's Chief Architect. Holliday was a significant and very talented architect who had worked in Britain's Mediterranean empire between the wars. In 1922 he succeeded C. R. Ashbee as city architect and town planning adviser to the British Mandate Government in Palestine, staying there until 1935. His private practice in Jerusalem produced a number of solemnly romantic buildings, wishful testimony to Britain's historical sympathies with the area. Before Stevenage he also worked in Colombo and Gibraltar. Not knowing of Holliday's extraordinary career is symptomatic of a kind of willed forgetting at the time, and either a lack of interest or a separation into discrete expertises in architectural and cultural history since. The British empire is simply not seen as a useful reference point in accounts of post-war Modernism and the avant-garde, or even of the British welfare state.[45] Architectural development is described as if it occurred separately from the imperial world. Historians choose between the two rather than understanding how they were sometimes casually, sometimes tensely interrelated.

as a 'palm-collaged anti-Imperialist satire'. See R. Banham, review essay, *JSAH*, vol. 36 (1977), p. 262. There is also a humorous drawing of the Victoria Monument in Liverpool, showing how it was placed atop a public convenience. In the Smithsons' work there is one example of a suggestive use of the anthropology of colonialism to support a critique of state housing in Britain. See M. Crinson, 'From the Rain Forest to the Streets', in Avermaete et al., *Colonial Modern*, pp. 98–111.

[44] James Gowan, interview with the author, 9 February 2010.

[45] See, for instance, N. Timmins, *The Five Giants: A Biography of the Welfare State* (London, 1995); and more specifically, P. Dunleavy, *The Politics of Mass Housing in Britain, 1945–1975* (Oxford, 1981).

Holliday had not been appointed to Stevenage without good reason. The garden city vision had achieved a kind of alliance with Zionism's anti-urbanism in Mandate Palestine.[46] Set the task of bringing about this synthesis of preserved old town, planned community, and agricultural hinterland was a succession of British planners, which Holliday joined when he worked on plans for Haifa, Lod, and Jerusalem.[47] With Holliday, then, the garden city returned, perhaps with a Levantine tinge but more certainly with the experience of rolling it out to demand, the type tested for both its regional adaptability and its universalism.[48]

A large part of the unglamorous but important work of campaigning for, then designing and planning, Britain's post-war rebuilding was done by a generation of men and women who had either grown up in the colonies or who had worked substantially within them (see also Chapters 9 and 10, pp. 352–3, 380, 385–7). They were suited by disposition as much to the command necessary to determine large expanses of the built environment, as to stalking the state's corridors of power or running large architectural offices. Take the Johnson-Marshall brothers. Percy (1915–93) worked as Senior Planner with the London County Council for ten vital years from 1949 to 1959, while his brother Stirrat (1912–81) was the leading architectural light in the innovative and widely influential Hertfordshire Schools programme, and then chief architect to the Ministry of Education. Both were born in Ajmer, where their father worked for the Government of India's Salt Department and later was posted to Derasner (soon to achieve fame as the place where Gandhi led his protest against the salt tax).

Attending the same school as the Johnson-Marshalls at Ootacamund was Basil Spence (1907–76), who was born in Bombay and whose father worked for the Royal Mint.[49] In a career notable for many prestigious projects, Spence was to design the high-rise Hutchesontown estate in the Gorbals area of Glasgow. William Holford (1907–75), who was largely responsible for drafting the Town and Country Planning Act of 1947, and was the architect responsible for Paternoster Square beside St Paul's Cathedral, was born and brought up in South Africa. South African-born also was Jaqueline Tyrwhitt (1905–83), who became Director of Studies at the influential School of Planning and Research for Regional Development. Patrick Abercrombie (1879–1957), the author of the County of London Plan (1943) and the Greater London Plan (1944), as well as several other

[46] E. Tal, 'The Garden City Idea as Adopted by the Zionist Establishment', in J. Fiedler (ed.), *Social Utopias of the Twenties* (Wuppertal, 1995), pp. 64–71.

[47] See R. Home, *Of Planting and Planning: The Making of British Colonial Cities* (London, 1997), pp. 151–7; G. Herbert and S. Sosnovsky, *Bauhaus on the Carmel and the Crossroads of Empire: Architecture and Planning in Haifa during the British Mandate* (Jerusalem, 1993); H. Yacobi, 'Urban Iconoclasm: The Case of the "Mixed City" of Lod', in H. Yacobi (ed.), *Constructing a Sense of Place: Architecture and the Zionist Discourse* (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 165–91.

[48] By 1937, thirty-five such town-planning schemes were in existence, with another fifteen town-planning areas declared: Government of Palestine, *Town Planning Adviser. Annual Report for 1937* (Jerusalem, 1937). For Holliday on Stevenage, see C. Holliday, 'The New Towns No. 6 – Stevenage', *Journal of the Town Planning Institute*, vol. 36 (1950), pp. 180–2.

[49] Interestingly, Ootacamund was noted in the 1920s as a hill town that appealed to 'those who fly from the taxes, rents, servants and labour troubles of England'. J. Chartres Moloney, *A Book of South India* (1926), as cited in E. Buettner, *Empire Families: Britons and Late Imperial India* (Oxford, 2004), p. 245.

important post-war plans for rebuilding British cities, was equally at home redesigning Dublin, Hong Kong, Addis Ababa, or—in partnership with Holliday—Haifa. Colin Buchanan (1907–2001), the Ministry of Town and Country Planning's chief overseer of planning enquiries into slum clearance, and then the author of the famous 1963 report *Traffic in Towns*, was born in Simla, India, and had worked before the war for the PWD in Sudan.

These examples point to a phenomenon at least the equal of the much-discussed influx of continental Modernists to Britain in the 1930s, yet one almost completely ignored both then and since (it is also mirrored by the colonial backgrounds of many pioneer figures in the welfare state like R. H. Tawney and William Beveridge). There was no simple transmission of imperial values here: Holliday's watered-down garden city aesthetics could have been produced by architect-planners without any colonial experience; likewise, there is no sign of Palestine in Stevenage. Instead, the examples point to a framework of action formed by 'the indelibility of empire as a structure of consciousness'.[50] Such a consciousness is manifested in the assumption of a big stage of operations, a colonial frame of reference, a global sphere of activities, however much all this was modified by the experience of war, say, or of a Liverpool-style training in the architect as public servant. Garden cities might appear nearly anywhere—in Cairo or Bombay, as much as Hertfordshire; and British architect-planners might likewise—in the Sudan or Ceylon, as much as Southampton.

Many of these post-war architect-planners had thus grown up in colonial settings, in the confident if rootless environments of the Raj, and attended private schools that imbued them with a sense of 'chivalric idealism . . . a confidence to command, coupled with the obligation to serve'.[51] Some had worked in the colonies in situations that gave them great scope and where the ethic of public service meant that assuming the authority to direct large numbers of people, resources, or tracts of land was taken for granted. One should not over-generalize here: some with similar backgrounds became ardent anti-imperialists (George Orwell being a paramount example), and there are interesting examples of some architect-planners attempting to foil extortionate acts of imperialism.[52] Broadly, furthermore, the combination of the imperial myth of natural authority and the fashionable 1930s leftism of many within this caste meant they believed not that they worked in the service of colonial oppression and exploitation but for the collective good within what they hoped was a benevolent, modernized state; the social democratic language, one might argue, enhanced the justification for intervention on a large scale, while the administrative techniques shared with and often developed and tested in the colonies were put to use in the mother country. 'To resolve the problems of architecture for millions',[53]

[50] D. Sherman, *French Primitivism and the Ends of Empire, 1945–75* (Chicago, 2011), p. 151.

[51] A. Saint, *Towards a Social Architecture: The Role of School Building in Post-War England* (New Haven and London, 1987), p. 241.

[52] Holliday and Abercrombie unsuccessfully opposed attempts by the Iraqi Petroleum Company to take over large tracts of land in Palestine. See Home, *Of Planting*, p. 157.

[53] 'Notes for Autobiography', Percy Johnson-Marshall Collection, Edinburgh University Library, Crate 244 FR47.

was how Percy Johnson-Marshall described his task, fusing colonialist paternalism and a Gropius-like view of social housing. This might be seen as redemptive, but it was also assumed as an almost natural right that would be carried forward by control of technical expertise both in the welfare state and beyond it in the post-imperial world. Thus Johnson-Marshall, a self-avowed Communist, drew his lineage: 'Our father, as an Imperial government official, embodied something of [the Empire's] essence, and he endeavoured to pass on the good and bad traditions of what was to him a total dedication to the British Empire. By one or two lucky accidents the more positive aspects of this dedication were . . . metamorphosed into a lifelong task of creating a better human environment.'[54]

The everyday lifeworld of imperial centres can thus be understood as invested or 'colonized by capitalism'.[55] The term 'colonized' is not used loosely here. It is taken to mean an extension of the forms of imperialism itself into the metropole as the state reordered its own compact with its electorate and remade its responsibilities for urban planning and housing in the post-war world: the 'practices of colonialism outlived their history' in the colonies themselves and took on adapted forms in the metropole.[56] So, rather than the surface effects of self-congratulation and forgetting as empire was discarded in these years, what can be perceived instead is 'a continuation of colonialism in a reordering of the world whereby the processes of imperialism have taken on new configurations at a local and global level',[57] or even that 'the colonies are in some sense "replaced", and the effort that once went into maintaining and disciplining a colonial people and situation becomes instead concentrated on a particular "level" of metropolitan existence'.[58] In France this took the familiar form of an urban geography reiterating relations in the colonial periphery, the 'ethnicization of inner cities into impoverished and "racialized" zones'.[59] In Britain immigrant workers tended to work in other sectors of the welfare state than the construction industry and the zoning took on forms that were, at least initially, based on class, but with new powers and scope distributed among local and state authorities that echo the colonial experience of many of its architectural and planning bureaucrats.

TROPICAL

The development of a climate-responsive approach to the tropics became associated with the welfare and development policies of the colonial state, though it was certainly not limited to this political context or even to the colonial world.[60] What became known as 'tropical architecture' was produced by allying research into building

[54] *Ibid.*, Crate 278 FR59.

[55] H. Lefebvre, 'Towards a Leftist Cultural Politics: Remarks Occasioned by the Centenary of Marx's Death', in C. Nelson and L. Grossberg (eds), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (Urbana and Chicago, 1988), p. 80.

[56] K. Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies: Decolonisation and the Reordering of French Culture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995), p. 7.

[57] B. Highmore, *Everyday Life and Cultural Theory* (London, 2002), p. 117.

[58] Ross, *Fast Cars*, p. 77. [59] Lefebvre, 'Towards a Leftist Cultural Politics', p. 118.

[60] The Hungarian-born Olgyay brothers, for instance, were working on tropical architecture in the United States. See V. Olgyay and A. Olgyay, *Design With Climate: Bioclimatic Approach to Architectural*

science with the abstract language of Modernism. The subject of this alliance constituted a third factor—the topographic and climatic conditions of the region, long the focus of colonial administrators, engineers, and medical experts in their concern with health and hygiene in the tropics. Yet essential to the mythology of tropical architecture was that it was both unprecedented in its ability to harness modern technologies to climatic needs *and* that it was integral to a newly enlightened policy of development—marked by the Colonial Welfare and Development Act (1940)—by which the colonies would be reformed and rebuilt, given a place within modernity as a prelude to independence.[61] 'Welfare' and 'development' were promoted as ways of dealing with the threat of world war, trade deficit, and internal revolt, and among the primary means of doing this were town planning, new educational and public buildings, and techno-scientific research.[62] A golden thread of expertise would be spun between the colonial metropole and its satellites, and spread via the Building Research Station at Watford, the Colonial Housing Bureau, and a web of new institutions such as the journal *Colonial Building Notes* (1950–8, renamed *Overseas Building Notes*, 1958–84), the Department of Tropical Architecture at the AA (which launched its first course in 1955), as well as British, French, Israeli, and American building research stations around the world (Figure 6.5).[63] The raw material of colonial students would help disseminate this expertise following the example of certain, mainly British, architectural firms.

Modernist architecture was the vehicle of this discourse about tropicality as well as its most salient manifestation; indeed, it became inconceivable that tropical architecture could be anything other than Modernist. It fitted with Modernism's recent adoption of regionalism as a way of adapting its universalist credo to the specific character of certain areas. Climate and geography became both the master tropes and the quantifiable datum. All other phenomena such as culture and history were at best secondary. But while Britain, Brazil, Finland, even California, all had their recognizably regionalist variants of Modernism, vast swathes of the mostly colonial world only had one regionalism, and that was tropical architecture.

Tropical architecture attempted the reconciliation of modernity to a depoliticized version of the conditions of underdevelopment. It was not just that new schools, hospitals, universities, housing, government buildings, and commercial structures became marked by this architectural language, it was also that the style

Regionalism (Princeton, 1963). The first conferences on tropical architecture were organized in Paris (1932) and Mexico (1938), both significantly earlier than the first such conference in Britain (1953).

[61] On the roots of tropical architecture in pre-modernist architectures, see I. Jackson, 'Tropical Architecture and the West Indies: From Military Advances and Tropical Medicine, to Robert Gardner-Medwin and the Networks of Tropical Modernism', *Journal of Architecture*, vol. 18:2 (2013), pp. 167–95; J.-H. Chang and A. D. King, 'Towards a Genealogy of Tropical Architecture: Historical Fragments of Power-knowledge, Built Environment and Climate in the British Colonial Territories', *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, vol. 32 (2011), pp. 283–300.

[62] Jiat-Hwee Chang points out that this would become part of the broader international phenomenon of development policies. J.-H. Chang, 'Building a Colonial Technoscientific Network: Tropical Architecture, Building Science and the Politics of Decolonization', in Lu, *Third World Modernism*, p. 216.

[63] *Ibid.*, pp. 211–35. See also H. Le Roux, 'The Networks of Tropical Architecture', *Journal of Architecture*, vol. 8:3 (2003), pp. 337–54.

Figure 6.5. 'Course for colonial architects and civil engineers, Building Research Station, England' (1955), from *Colonial Building Notes* (July 1955) (RIBA Library Drawings Collection).

became the image of this transitional phase as the late colonial empire was reset into the forms of national independence. *Brises soleils*, smooth white concrete surfaces, adjustable louvres, wide eaves, uncluttered interiors, flat roofs, balconies, interior courtyards, cast concrete and metal screens (mostly with abstract ornament but sometimes generically evocative of honeycombs, local flora and fauna, even tribal stools) all became signature elements, recognizable whether located in the West Indies or Singapore, Nigeria or Aden.[64] Architectural drawings were inscribed with solar path movements, airflow arrows, thermal comfort charts, and meteorological data concerning rainfall. The point about tropical architecture was that its rationality was based, explicitly, on the superordinate significance of climate and, implicitly, on the superordinate rightness of Modernism in dealing with climate. Local cultural factors, traditional methods, and alternative aesthetics, were all at best secondary considerations. Yet, a way of living was being defined by tropical architecture: it created a relation between inside and outside that encouraged the view outwards while concealing the viewer within; it normalized a set of ways of

[64] A different way of adapting Modernism to the tropics might also be aligned with a different political relationship to these parts of the world, as in for instance Arieh Sharon's articulation of the whole mass of the building rather than the epidermal aspects of it favoured by Fry and Drew. See I. Ben-Asher Gitler, 'Campus Architecture as Nation Building: Israeli architect Arieh Sharon's Obafemi Awolowo University Campus, Ife-Ife, Nigeria', in Lu, *Third World Modernism*, pp. 123–4.

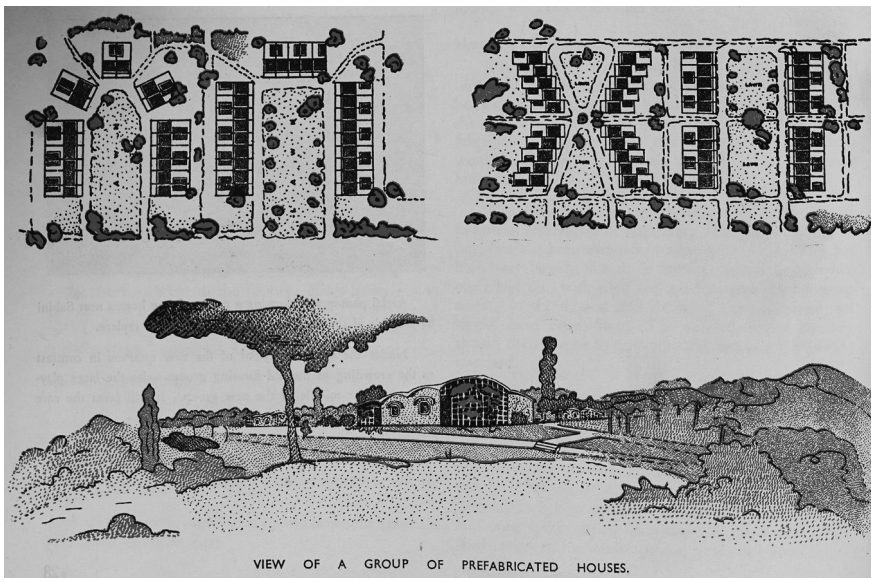

Figure 6.6. Prefabricated housing for Jamshedpur, India (1946), by Otto Koenigsberger, from *Marg* (October 1946) (RIBA Library Drawings Collection).

training the body related to culturally specific ideas of health, hygiene, and leisure; and it emphasized both isolation and spatial expansiveness as desirable conditions, translating the European Modernist values of *Licht, Luft, und Öffnung* (light, air, and openness) to the tropics.

Particularly important to the establishment of tropical architecture in the late British empire was an architect who was neither British nor had much direct experience under colonial authorities. Otto Koenigsberger (1908–99) had worked in Modernist circles in Germany before escaping fascism in 1933 to become an archaeologist in Egypt.[65] He moved to India where he worked for the princely Mysore State (1939–48),[66] and then as Federal Director of Housing for the Ministry of Health in the post-colonial Indian government. Much of his practice in India was concerned with new town planning and the provision of mass housing for resettled populations (Figure 6.6), although he left the country under a cloud when he resigned in 1951 following the failure of his design for prefabricated housing. On moving to Britain he worked at the London School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, and in 1954 helped found the Department of Tropical

[65] The most thorough study of Koenigsberger's early and mid-career can be found in R. Lee, 'Negotiating Modernities: Otto Koenigsberger's Works and Networks in Exile (1933–1951)', PhD dissertation (Technische Universität Berlin, 2014). I am grateful to Rachel Lee for letting me see her thesis before it was formally examined. See also R. Windsor Liscombe, 'In-dependence: Otto Koenigsberger and Modernist Urban Settlement in India', *Planning Perspectives*, vol. 21 (2006), pp. 157–78.

[66] There is some evidence that the Princely states were a more likely patron of Modernism in India than the organs of direct colonial administration. The work of Cecil James Parker, State Architect in Jaipur from 1936 to 1940, might also be mentioned in this regard.

Architecture at the AA, becoming its director from 1957 until it closed in 1971. Koenigsberger's version of tropical architecture was premised on passive design techniques to manage environmental adaptation even where energy sources were abundant.

While Koenigsberger was the pedagogic force, the architectural practice most closely identified with tropical architecture was that of Maxwell Fry (1899–1987) and Jane Drew (1911–96).[67] As discussed further by Iain Jackson and Ola Uduku in Chapter 11 (pp. 408–12), this was in part because of their book *Tropical Architecture in the Humid Zone* (1956), one of the earliest and most accessible texts on the subject.[68] But it was also because of the sheer ubiquity of their architecture as it was built (and publicized), first as a product of new colonial policies of welfare and development, and then as post-colonial internationalism across the world from West Africa, to the Persian Gulf, to India. Fry and Drew stated their purpose early in the book:

> Modern architecture is distinguished by nothing so much as its determination not to turn aside from science and the effects of science, but to enter into them and wring from them a solution to humanity. Modern architecture, and its extension into town planning, has above all this task of interpreting applied science in humanistic terms. Of making industrialism fit for human use; building cities that ennoble life instead of degrading and destroying it; and of creating everywhere, out of the disparate and anti-social manifestations of machine production and centralized power, unities of resolved thought and feeling, in the form of buildings, groups of buildings and larger aggregations, in which life may know its bounds and flourish.[69]

The central theme is how the relation between applied science and industrialism would be mediated by Modern architecture. The ghosts of both the Victorian city (the negative effects of industry) and Communism ('centralized power') hover behind these words. 'Humanistic' stands not just for what Modernist architecture would be but also for the kind of welfare and development politics necessary for the work of 'resolved thought and feeling'. The statement is not intended to be culturally specific but to render a universalist aspiration and, implicitly, to bypass the problems of colonialism. Yet the experiences and ideological conflicts of recent British history cannot help but emerge from within it.

The peculiar results of this approach are exemplified by the National Museum in Accra, Ghana (Fry, Drew, Drake & Lasdun, 1955–7). The design of this building claimed to raise climatic considerations to a new pitch of precision (Figure 6.7). Measures to allow tropical breezes to penetrate at all levels included raising the building and directing openings particularly towards the main southwesterly breezes; corrosion from humidity was counteracted by sealing the dome with aluminium; tropical storm gulleys were provided while openings to the north-east were given protection from the storms likely to come from that direction; and, finally, the overhanging eaves protected the building below from the intense midday

[67] I. Jackson and J. Holland, *The Architecture of Edwin Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew: Twentieth century Architecture, Pioneer Modernism and the Tropics* (Aldershot, 2014).

[68] The importance of their previous book *Village Housing in the Tropics* (1947) has recently been emphasized. *Ibid.*, pp. 159–60.

[69] M. Fry and J. Drew, *Tropical Architecture in the Humid Zone* (London, 1956), p. 20.

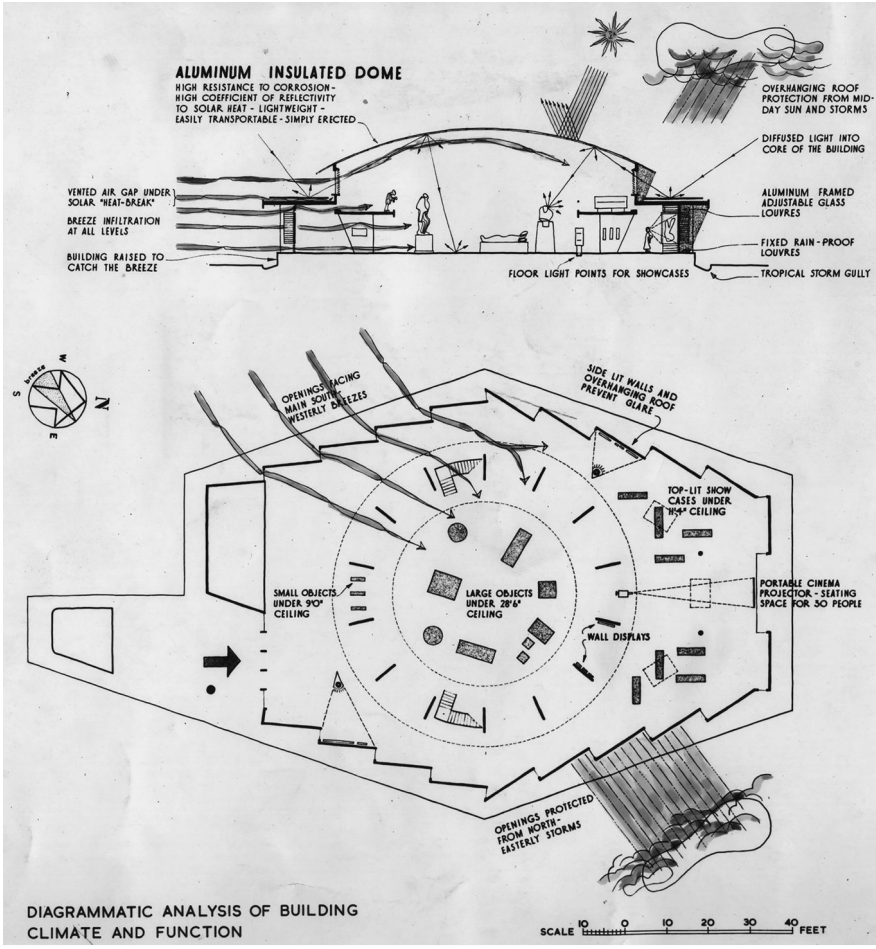

Figure 6.7. National Museum in Accra, Ghana (1955–7), by Fry, Drew, Drake & Lasdun (RIBA Library Photographs Collection).

sun while diffusing light inside. Yet, despite these measures, in terms of contemporary culture the museum was utterly alien to Ghana. Rarely visited by Ghanaians and its collections inadequately looked after by its curators, the building imported a European idea of what a museum was for, marked the making of a nation along the lines of the colonial entity, and announced all this with a building form previously unknown in Accra, the dome.[70] Much the same could be said of many of the products of tropical architecture in Africa, not so much conceived for African use as for a Western accommodation to the climate and an ethnocentric conception of the cultural life that would follow.

[70] M. Crinson, 'Nation-Building, Collecting, and the Politics of Display: The National Museum, Ghana', *Journal of the History of Collecting* (November 2001), pp. 231–50.

Figure 6.8. British Petroleum HQ, Lagos, Nigeria (1961), by Fry, Drew & Partners (RIBA Library Photographs Collection).

This architecture made a virtue of its apparent simplicity and the assertive qualities of its abstract volumes and penetrable interiors. These would tame the ambient conditions of the hot climate, remaking them as part of a new image of tropical modernity.[71] The architecture also worked by contrast: this was rationality, welfare, and (the promise of) democracy incarnate, by comparison with both pre-colonial buildings and the tropes of colonial architecture. It maintained this illusion even when those other architectures were equally as good or perhaps even better at responding to climate. In all this it also provided a notably attractive image for its clients when photographed, broken up by deep shadows and bright sun, its power bound up with the promise of a new dispensation made by the institutions it housed. The seemingly irrefutable benevolence of this architecture was equally bestowed on the offices, philanthropic gestures, and headquarters buildings of various corporations: British

[71] In the absence of extensive contemporary research into the actual climate effectiveness of these buildings we only have Fry and Drew's claims and a body of fragmentary and anecdotal evidence. Of the former see, for instance, the following on Fry and Drew's Chandigarh housing: 'We were told [by the occupants] that the houses had not been designed for local conditions, and this was confirmed to us in many other ways. It was indeed a sad commentary on architecture that the beautiful variety of concrete grilles designed by the architects, had been covered up by the occupants with paper, cardboard and reeded matting to cut out the bright sunlight and also as a crude solution to the frequent dust storms in the area during the summer months!' Quoted in Z. Deen Khwajam *Memoirs of an Architect* (Lahore, 1999), p. 46.

Petroleum (Figure 6.8), the African Manganese Corporation, or the United Africa Company (owned by Unilever). Fry and Drew were the masters of these new opportunities, equally at home with colonial officials and nationalist leaders, with government departments and large corporations, and with the Modernist establishment as much as with the young Turks of the avant-garde.[72]

VERNACULAR

The idea of the vernacular had a privileged place in Modernist discourse, often called into being as modernity's accompaniment in a dynamic if largely one-sided relationship. Sometimes this veered close to the idea of the 'primitive' in Modernist art.[73] But the vernacular was also fundamentally different, perhaps because of its etymological roots in the Latin for household slaves (hence home-bound or domestic), and its role in a linguistic distinction. With the latter, Modernism shared something with classicism: for both, the vernacular complemented architects' work because it stood for those low, local or popular languages (or styles) distinct from the high or universal languages of Latin (or even Esperanto). Like the famous contrast between a bicycle shed and Lincoln Cathedral, both were necessary, but only one was deemed to possess an intellectual and spiritual side to it. With Modernism, the vernacular also stood for stability, the ad hoc, and locality, as against Modernism's own association with change, universalism, and internationalism.[74]

All this was inflected in importantly different directions in the immediate contexts of the empire. In the escape of the colonial Modern from history, the vernacular had many attractions but also great problems. If in Europe the vernacular was always something nearby, belonging to some part of one's own culture, however ordinary, then in the colonial world the vernacular indubitably belonged to the peoples who had been colonized. If the vernacular usually indicated pre-industrial building traditions in Europe, or buildings that existed regardless of the work of architects, then in the colonies the vernacular could only be associated with forms of life that colonialism had exploited, placed at risk, bypassed, or only encouraged as alternatives to indigenous forms of anti-colonial modernity. The colonial vernacular, in short, indicated the dispossessed or made marginal, and it indicated these in more immediately political ways than the use of the term in the West. This is why discourses about the vernacular in colonial settings are as much about power as they are about forms of resistance or critiques of power.

[72] For the ease with which they straddled colonial and post-colonial regimes in their work for Chandigarh and for oil towns in Iran, see Jackson and Holland, *The Architecture*, pp. 215–67.

[73] On the 'primitive' and architectural discourse, see A. Forty, 'Primitive', in J. Odgers, F. Samuel, and A. Sharr (eds), *Primitive: Original Matters in Architecture* (London, 2006), pp. 3–14.

[74] For examples of Modernism's close embrace of the vernacular, see the essays in M. Umbach and B. Hüppauf (eds), *Vernacular Modernism: Heimat, Globalization, and the Built Environment* (Stanford, 2005); and the special issue 'The Primitive in Modern Architecture and Urbanism', *Journal of Architecture*, vol. 13:4 (2008).

Not least among the vernacular's attractions was that it offered pre- or non-colonial models that might support architectural versions of a post-colonial future. A typical example of this genre is an article by Andrew Boyd, sometime tea expert and architect, writing in *Marg* in 1947 on 'peasant tradition in Ceylon'. For Boyd 'common people's building . . . suggests a solution to one side of the problem of refounding Ceylon architecture'.[75] This vernacular, suggested Boyd, was alive as opposed to other traditions (presumably historicist colonial architecture) which had stopped. Although its continued existence was indifferent to colonialism, the vernacular pointed to 'the spirit in which the new materials and potentialities which modern civilization has necessarily introduced *could* (given the social opportunity) be used to develop an architecture that would be both genuinely modern and genuinely of the country'.[76] This was a common Modernist argument: it made affiliations with a low form of building, claimed it as unchanging and as 'genuinely' of the country (as opposed to a vaguely indicated colonial architecture), and urged the need to develop and find something 'genuinely' modern which would have affinities with this vernacular (but which turned out to be the forms of Modernism developed in 1920s Europe). Boyd's photographs showed roofs of two pitches, verandahs, carved rafters, lacquered balusters, plans of simple one- or two-storey cottages, and walls of mud or painted plaster. The simplicity of these buildings was praised, while neglect and dilapidation were regretted. Boyd positioned himself as the defender of the proper use of the land (for which read ancient and agricultural) as against the colonial government and the tea and rubber industry. Migrant labourers from South India were housed in 'rows of company-owned, iron-roofed "cooly lines" ', grimly indicative of the 'lowered status of the wage labourer under full colonial conditions'.[77] Contemporary architecture was equally as negligent of local tradition as it was of 'serious and consistent ideas, whether structural or aesthetic or social'. The result: 'straight "classic" through a variety of "harmonious blends of east and west" to the peculiar jazzy zigzags of the go-ahead jerry-builder'.[78]

Typical also was Boyd's judgment that the vernacular could neither be carried on nor revived. Instead, principles must be extracted and used imaginatively, resulting in a natural affinity between modern and vernacular.[79] These principles included a close relation between form and function, a utilitarian basis, and a differentiating of the component parts of the structure. These provide the foundation for the claim that 'in the renewal of architecture nothing less than a renewal of the entire national and cultural life is involved'.[80] As if to clinch the argument, Boyd

[75] A. Boyd, 'A People's Tradition', *Marg*, vol. 1:2 (1947), p. 31. A sign of the generically significant status of Boyd's article is that it had originally appeared in *Architectural Review.*

[76] *Ibid.*, p. 26. [77] *Ibid.*, pp. 31–2. [78] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

[79] A good example of this affinity-finding is Percy Johnson-Marshall's statement at the first conference on tropical architecture in Britain: 'It is interesting, incidentally, to see that several of the characteristic forms of Modern European architecture, ie the piloti, the cantilevered balcony, the brise-soleil etc have been used for centuries in the Tropics'. See A. M. Foyle (ed.), *Conference on Tropical Architecture, 1953* (London, 1954), p. 23, as quoted in H. Le Roux, 'Building on the Boundary: Modern Architecture in the Tropics', *Social Identities*, vol. 10:4 (2004), p. 445.

[80] Boyd, 'A People's Tradition', p. 32.

Figure 6.9. Houses in Colombo, Sri Lanka (1940), by Andrew Boyd (source: *Marg*, vol. 1:2, 1947).

appended to his article two of his own semi-detached houses (Figure 6.9). With two-slope roofs, balconies and terraces, rendered in white with grey woodwork, and red front doors, the houses are oriented to avoid the sun and benefit from the wind. Built in 1940 in Colombo's suburbs, they each have three bedrooms, large gardens, and servants' quarters, serving social needs far from those of their supposed vernacular sources. If there is any affinity here it seems at best a vaguely formal one, a pseudo-isomorphism.

As this indicates, Modernists tried to separate the vernacular from what they deemed its inappropriate use by existing colonial culture, particularly the copying of surface appearances or the appropriation of part of a building for symbolic reasons.[81] A graphic example of the latter is provided by Minnette de Silva's experience when working on a building for the Red Cross Society in Kandy. A committee made up of colonial dignitaries asked the architect to provide a roof of a 'Kandyan type' to a design they had already accepted. As she argued in response:

> It is not feasible to change the roof of a building of this type, without altering the design of the building. In any event, if, with the instructions given to me last year, for the designing of the HQ building, I had been asked to imitate Kandyan architecture, I would have protested and advised very strongly against the idea, from the point of view of economy, utility (the maintenance costs would be ever recurring) and the

[81] For a discussion of the relation of vernacular discourse to modernist mores, see S. Richards, '"Vernacular" Accommodations: Wordplay in Contemporary-traditional Architecture Theory', *Architectural Research Quarterly*, vol. 16:1 (2012), pp. 37–48.

> standpoint of architectural aesthetics. As an architect, I do not believe in, and so cannot subscribe to copying the architecture of an era which is long past. As an architect, I believe in building to suit our living needs in a living way, utilising the most suitable modern and progressive means at our disposal, and only adopting those sound fundamental principles of building of the past, which are as authentic today as before. It is from this starting point that a beautiful and satisfying modern architecture can result. The era of the Kandyan style of roof is dead. It was achieved in a feudal era with feudal means.[82]

Although still young, de Silva was standing on her professional pride and writing as an ambitious, internationally well-connected Modernist.[83] She separated out three attitudes: the colonial view that historical forms can be recreated regardless of any continuing tradition; the Modernist view that a progressive culture must be in contact with changing technology; and, only indicated here, the Modernist view of the vernacular as something worth paying attention to when it is 'authentic', that is, a continuing tradition that practices 'sound fundamental principles of building'—the vernacular as neither history nor representation. Interestingly, de Silva believed Modernism was more likely to thrive in non-Western areas where craft traditions still thrived, as opposed to the West, where industrialization had destroyed them.[84]

As these and countless similar examples indicate, an interest in local vernacular architecture is a feature of late colonial cultures, both from a Modernist view and from a colonial interest in encouraging certain versions of national identity (and sometimes both combined). But a distorted, even more instrumentalized version of the vernacular also played a part in the management of crisis caused by anti-colonial insurgency. Such was the case with the so-called 'emergencies' in Kenya (from 1952 to 1958) and British Malaya (from 1948 to 1960), in which policies of villagization were employed by the colonial powers (Figure 6.10). In Malaya the new settlements were part of the Briggs Plan (1950) and involved relocation of rural populations. The policy was continued by the new High Commissioner General Templer in 1951 even as he turned from the military and coercive policy of his predecessor and towards a new 'hearts and minds' approach to the emergency.[85] In 'high' architecture the results of this approach were buildings that evoked a vernacular model—the so-called 'Malay house'—as a means of showing understanding or identifying the new force of political succession in Malaya. Architectural journals, scholarly publications, and local history societies, all showed great interest

[82] Minnette de Silva to Siegfried Giedion 3 January 1950, GTA Archives (Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule, Zurich), 42-SG-34-13/15.

[83] She included the letter in her correspondence with Siegfried Giedion as an example of the parochial attitudes of local colonial authorities.

[84] 'I am trying to get the craftsmen into building work again as they used to be in a former day. But not only to continue the traditional stuff but to get them to use their skill to enrich a Modern Ceylon Architecture'. Minnette de Silva to Siegfried Giedion (3 January 1950).

[85] Policy in Kenya was directly influenced by Malaya in terms of villagization, but not evidently so in terms of other architectures. C. Elkins, *Britain's Gulag: The Brutal End of Empire in Kenya* (London, 2005), p. 235.

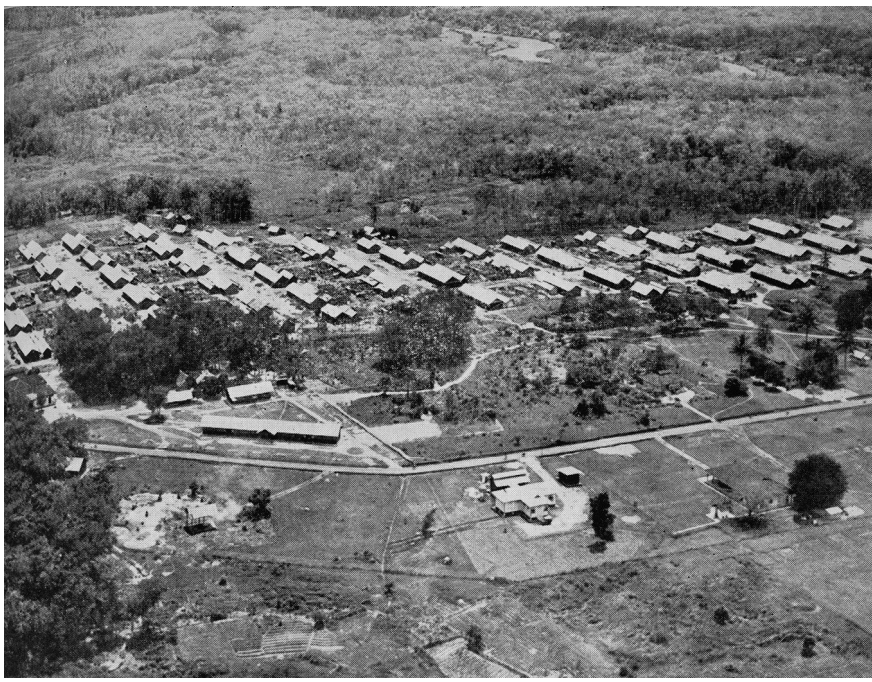

Figure 6.10. New village, British Malaya. Newspaper cutting from Lim Chong Keat, 'Architecture in Malaya', University of Manchester BArch thesis, 1954.

in the Malay house at this same moment.[86] In 'low' architecture, Templer renamed the forced rural rehousing as 'new villages', although they remained resettlement camps aimed at isolating the mostly Chinese rural population from the virus of Communism, or in the case of Kenya of isolating the Kikuyu from Mau Mau influence.[87]

The policy of 'villagization' in response to revolt in Kenya and Malaya was infused with the sense that it was in ordinary rural buildings that crises could be dealt with, that only something equivalent to the enclosure movement in eighteenth-century Britain could reform the land and do away with violent opposition.[88] The new villages, as their name conceals, were actually a brutal intervention into the domestic and the locally particular, and an enforcement of new patterns of settlement.[89] The terms used for what was replaced are particularly

[86] M. Crinson, *Modern Architecture and the End of Empire* (Aldershot, 2003), p. 163.

[87] There were over 500 new villages in Malaya, and over 800 in Kenya, with many hundreds of thousands of people forcibly removed from their homes and resettled in what in most cases were 'detention camps in all but name'. Elkins, *Britain's Gulag*, p. 237.

[88] M. P. K. Sorrenson, *Land Reform in the Kikuyu Country: A Study in Government Policy* (Nairobi, 1967), p. 222.

[89] In Kenya villagization removed populations from small scattered villages, concentrating them in large settlements behind barbed wire. H. Bennett, *Fighting the Mau Mau: The British Army and Counter-Insurgency in the Kenya Emergency* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 25, 222–5. On comparisons

significant: in Malaya the Chinese were 'squatters', while in Kenya the Kikuyu merely lived in 'scattered huts'.[90] A collective organic order would replace these, and thus the colonial state avoided accepting either squatting or isolated huts as forms of vernacular, in marked difference with the exactly contemporary work of the North African Modernist avant-garde and the French colonial state. Villagization combined extreme modernity—barbed wire, lookout towers, rigid grid layouts—and a pared down and hollowed out version of the vernacular. In Kenya some officials imagined villagization, inspired by images of organic communities, as the creation of 'a harmonious society of prosperous villages and sturdy yeoman farmers immune to the appeals of political radicalism'.[91]

The architectural culture's response to all this was tentative. Villagization was only referred to obliquely or in isolated articles: in *Colonial Building Notes* for instance, the problem of housing during the Mau Mau uprising is only understood as part of the problem of urban growth in Kenya 'irrespective of emergencies or thuggery'; while the same journal discussed 'squatter' housing and new town development in Malaya but kept its distance from the new villages.[92] The mainstream architectural periodicals ignored them entirely, though there was some interest in the architectural schools.[93] But in those rare instances when these events seeped into architectural discourse they were understood in the familiar form of the vernacular. Here is Terry Ward writing on 'Kenya Landscape' in 1960: 'It has become common knowledge that whilst we in Europe over the past few centuries have become preoccupied to a large extent with the technical aspects of architecture, the natives of tropical Africa have been content with either their wattle and mud huts or their caves or tents'.[94] The Mau Mau anti-colonial revolt had put land and community (and thus architecture) in crisis, and so the Kikuyu had been resettled in new villages for 'protection against terrorism', better communications, and the control of populations. 'A complete change of environment was strictly avoided by the planners,' Ward reported, 'instead, the simplicity of the early homesteads was retained . . . The solution answered some of the more immediate problems relative to the emergency

between the policies in Malaya and Kenya, see Elkins, *Britain's Gulag*, pp. 103–6. On Malaya, see also G. Clancy, 'Toward a Spatial History of Emergency: Notes from Singapore', in R. Bishop, J. Phillips, and W.-W. Yeo (eds), *Beyond Description: Singapore, Space, Historicity* (London, 2004), pp. 30–59.

[90] In his commissioned report, J. C. Carothers declared that Kikuyu suffered from a mass psychosis due to their liminal condition between traditional and modern worlds. Disloyal Kikuyu, Carothers claimed, 'have no chance to alter their allegiance in isolated country houses'. Villagization was the answer to this 'and to many other psychological problems in Kikuyu-land'. See J. C. Carothers, *The Psychology of Mau Mau* (Nairobi, 1951), p. 22. Villagization was not just a measure for Emergency conditions, but a policy 'for the whole future of Kikuyu rural life'. Carothers also advised that a home hygiene programme be implemented to teach domesticity to Kikuyu women.

[91] B. Berman, 'Bureaucracy and Incumbent Violence: Colonial Administration and the Origins of the "Mau Mau" Emergency', in B. Berman and J. Lonsdale (eds), *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya and Africa* (London, 1992), p. 254.

[92] 'African Housing in Kenya', *Colonial Building Notes*, vol. 25 (1954), p. 3; 'Town Planning in Malaya', *Colonial Building Notes*, vol. 30 (1955), pp. 8–10; 'Housing in Malaya', *Colonial Building Notes*, vol. 35 (1956), p. 4.

[93] Hamzah-Sendut, 'Planning Resettlement Villages in Malaya', *Planning Outlook*, vol. 1 (December 1966), pp. 58–70.

[94] T. Ward, 'Kenya Landscape', *244 The Journal of the University of Manchester Architectural and Planning Society* (Spring 1960), p. 16.

and contributed to the overall progress of the native. The African shanty town complex, which one generally associated with large-scale native migrations, has been avoided.'[95] The self-perceived benevolence of late colonialism takes mythical form here, and that includes the separation of 'high' architecture from the activities of policing and coercion. If this sounds like a situation far removed from the concerns of Modernism, then that would be to accept its own mythmaking.

Contemporary with the new villages was the Modernist architecture of Richard Hughes (b. 1926), one of the most interesting if neglected architects of this colonial moment and a relative radical in Kenya for his advocacy of racially mixed new towns.[96] Hughes often built in Kikuyu areas, sometimes inspired by Le Corbusier's post-war Brutalism, sometimes attempting other forms of a vernacular-inspired Modernism. His churches, for instance, have been described as 'fortress-like constructions with walls of natural stone which show a heavy, mechanically massive character',[97] and their qualities have even been claimed to 'express the aspirations of the Kikuyu'.[98] One might perhaps think of them as forms of atonement or gestures of reconcilition; certainly the appropriation of Le Corbusier's Ronchamp chapel points in this direction (Figure 6.11). Furthermore, the renewed activity of church-building in Kikuyu areas was a measure of support for Christian Kikuyu who had been most likely to oppose the Mau Mau.[99] The churches' massive character was taken through to the u-shaped stone piers that articulate the façades Hughes designed for the Kenya Federation of Labour Headquarters (1963) in Nairobi, though here again rugged endurance seemed appropriate to the political base of the nationalist leader, Tom Mboya, Hughes's client.[100] If these buildings summon up the vernacular more as a material quality than a building tradition, in the African Girls' High School Chapel (1957) in Kikuyu, Hughes chose a different approach with thin stone walls set at a zigzag and a large pitched roof supported by struts on stone piers (Figure 6.12). The struts and the roof rafters were made from telegraph poles, a pragmatic but evocative response to the small budget. It was, as Hughes argued, a way of exemplifying how the ordinary products of modernity might be adapted to different cultural uses.[101]

Also contemporary to the new villages were buildings in Nairobi by Amyas Connell (1901–80), one of the pioneers of Modernism in Britain, who came to

[95] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[96] As a student at the AA, Hughes produced a thesis setting out 'an environment for multi-racial living' in the form of a development plan for the ideal town of Maragua: Richard Hughes, Fifth Year Thesis (1953), AA Archives. When he returned to Kenya Hughes became active in the Capricorn African Society, an attempt to stave off both white suprematism and black nationalism and to affect the transition from white rule in East Africa to power sharing via a multi-racial electorate of the educated. Although Hughes found it hard to yoke architecture to this agenda in his professional work—apart from getting commissions because of his reputation as a liberal-minded architect—he did make several interventions in Kenya's architectural culture along these lines, most notably in a 1958 address to the East Africa Institute of Architects: Richard Hughes, interview with the author, 20 August 2014.

[97] U. Kultermann, *New Architecture in Africa* (London, 1963), p. 24.

[98] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

[99] On Christain Kikuyu as anti-Mau Mau, see McCulloch, *Colonial Psychiatry*, p. 71.

[100] R. Hughes, 'East Africa', *Architectural Review* (July 1960), p. 29.

[101] 'Church Buildings in Kenya', *Church Buildings Today*, vol. 5 (January 1962), pp. 4–13.

Figure 6.11. Krapf–Rebmann Memorial Church, Kilifi, Kenya (*c.*1956), by Richard Hughes (Collection of Richard Hughes).

Kenya in 1941. These included new Legislative Buildings (1952, renamed Parliament Buildings in 1963), the Crown Law Offices (1960) (Figure 6.13), and the Aga Khan Hospital (1956), all indicative of the state's need to identify with high Modernism. The last of these was distinguished by its dynamically cantilevered lecture theatres and raking ramps,[102] while the first two were refined versions of tropical architecture with decorative screens using motifs from Indian and Timurid sources.[103] Notably turning away from any local vernacular, Connell preferred associations with more historically and geographically distant sources. Whether this was by association with previous empires (Moorish Spain, Mughal India), or to conjure a generic exoticness, is unclear. At the very same moment of villagization, nearby architecture was seeking either regionally symbolic or climatically regional responses to Kenya. These responses do not relate in a one-to-one way. They are part of a strategically bifurcated set of attitudes and strategies towards architecture and the production of space, one that can still function even at moments of crisis in cultural legitimacy. Huge numbers of Kikuyu were effectively

[102] *Architect & Building News*, vol. 215 (18 February 1959), pp. 219–26. On Connell's African career, see D. Sharp, 'The Modern Movement in East Africa', *Habitat International*, vol. 7:5/6 (1983), pp. 311–26.

[103] Hughes, by contrast, developed varied and often ad hoc means of dealing with the climate. He had consulted with Koenigsberger during work on his AA thesis but this was still before the formulation of tropical architecture, and Hughes never accepted it *in toto*. Richard Hughes, interview with the author, 20 August 2014.

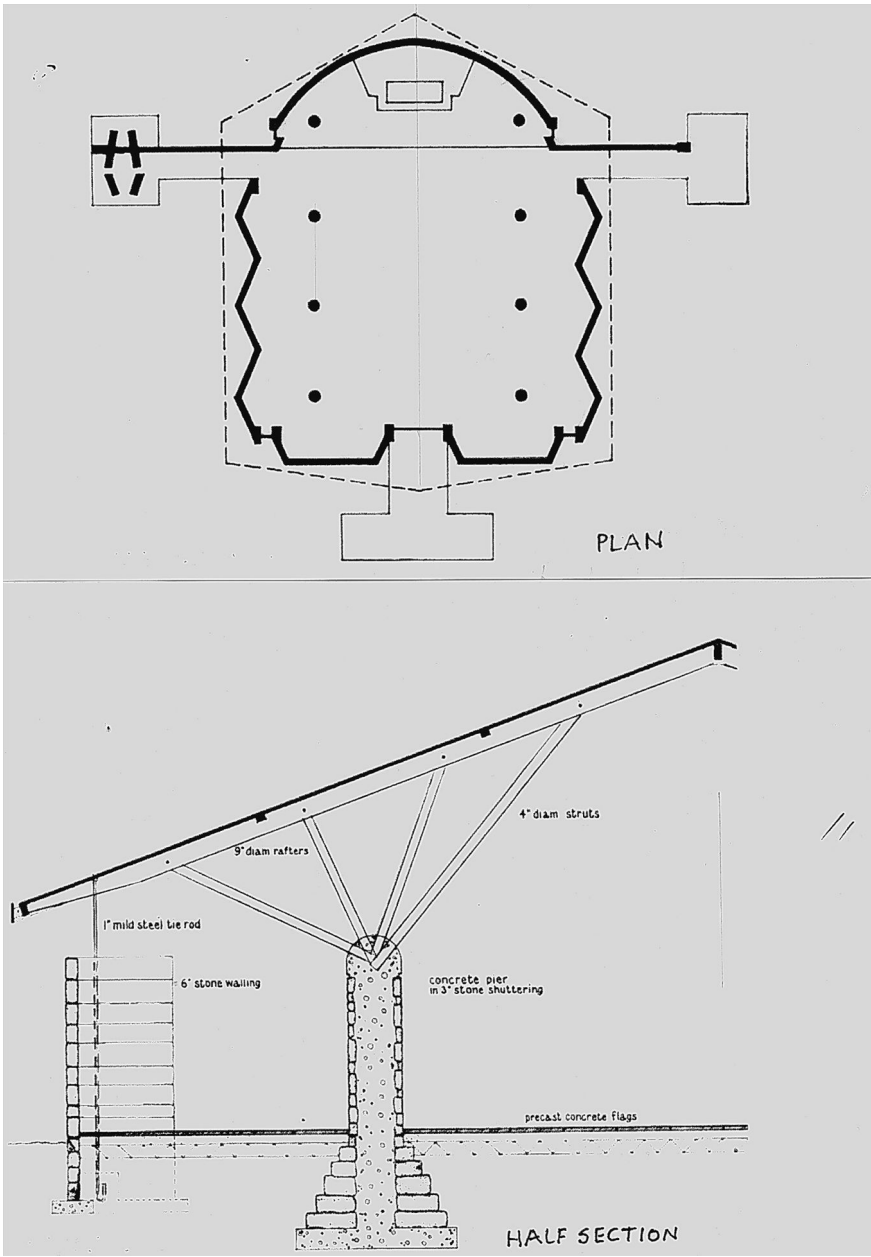

Figure 6.12. African Girls' High School Chapel, Kikuyu, Kenya (1957), by Richard Hughes (Collection of Richard Hughes).

Figure 6.13. Crown Law Offices, Nairobi, Kenya (1955), by Amyas Connell (The Dennis Sharp Archive, Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, London).

having their society redefined by the coercive architectural intervention of villagization, while in the city flamboyant, structurally and ornamentally expressive forms of Modernism were declaring the benefits of welfare and development.[104]

Another Modernist reaction to place, inherent to the abstraction of its most purified versions, was to set the building in nature as if it was utterly at one with it in a way that transcended any literal vernacular. While Frank Lloyd Wright's or Mies van der Rohe's work embodied the most distilled versions of this, the stratagem was never without ideological undertow. This form of 'representation without history' acquires particular resonance in colonial modernity.[105] Nature imitated without reference to history—nature as picturesque adjunct of the floating volume—does not escape the problem of ownership without acknowledgement of the claims of others. In 1956 Richard Hughes bought a secluded plot to build his own house just outside Nairobi. The land ran steeply down to a stream and faced the

[104] In architectural culture the nearest we come to some overt linking together of high and low architectures is to be found in a 'Letter from Nairobi' by Ian Marshall, published in *Architect & Building News* in 1959. Here the 'revolution' in Kikuyu lands is presented as an opportunity for architects and planners. As well as the breaking up of traditional patterns of land holding, villagization offers the prospect of expansion into 'embryo' towns and full scale new towns. I. Marshall, 'Letter from Nairobi', *Architect & Building News*, vol. 215 (18 February 1959), pp. 210–11. Marshall worked as an assistant in Hughes's office at this time and perhaps his comments point towards the potential of the ideas in Hughes's student thesis.

[105] On 'representation without history', see Levine, *Modern Architecture*, pp. 204–10.

Karura forest on the opposite slope. A solid concrete wall incorporating large boulders anchored the house to the hillside, enabling a set of living spaces at treetop level with balconies and large windows looking over the secluded scene, giving a sensation of floating above the valley. From inside, the forest seems to fill the house's openings, its timeless otherness complementing the ideal life (family, art, work) within (see Plate 12). The vernacular is internalized and bypassed as the house appropriates or naturalizes nature for itself, carrying with it the illusion of non-ownership.[106] Unimpaired by extrinsic matters, alienation and displacement are made to serve as aesthetic experience.

AFTER EMPIRE

The formal end of colonial power did not mean an immediate end to work for British architects in what had been the empire; indeed, their extraordinary assurance continued to propel them well after the end of empire. Modernism itself, in its many guises, bridged the transition with ease, carried forward also by an emerging generation of post-colonial Modernists trained with Western architects or in Western architectural schools: Oluwole Olumuyiwa in Nigeria, Lim Chong Keat in Malaysia, William Lim in Singapore, Balkrishna Doshi in India, and so on. New reputations might be made depending on the ability to accommodate the complexities of this transitional moment.

The later career of Robert Matthew, described as '*the* representative architectural career in post-war Britain',[107] is exemplary of several aspects of this moment, and connects back to those paternalist architect-planners created by empire. Matthew was the quintessential 'tarmac professor', constantly flying out to consultancies and conferences in far-flung locations. In the 1960s all this amounted, according to his biographer Miles Glendinning, to a 'commonwealth of design', even a 'global vision' in which Matthew '[embraced] the dynamic of decolonisation with increasing enthusiasm'.[108] For an architect whose professional career was formed in the crucible of the post-war welfare state, and amid architectural institutions geared to a vision of reconstruction along ameliorative social-democratic lines, shifting from these to international development seemed an inevitable move. Matthew's consultative and leadership roles (he was President of the International Union of Architects [IUA] from 1961 to 1965, and was the major player in forming the Commonwealth Association of Architects [CAA] in 1963) were used by him to try to harmonize what it meant to be an architect in modern societies, including standards of professionalism, forms of architectural training, and the regularization

[106] 'Kenya has no building tradition', Hughes wrote. See 'Church Buildings in Kenya', pp. 4–13. The irony of considering Hughes's house not as Edenic re-creation but as an 'isolated hutment' is obvious. The larger point is that it was not so much that there was no vernacular (how could that ever be the case?) as that there was an improper vernacular, one as unacceptable to the colonial authorities as it was to the Modernist architect.

[107] A. Saint, 'Foreword', in M. Glendinning, *Modern Architect: The Life and Times of Robert Matthew* (London, 2008), p. vii.

[108] *Ibid.*, pp. 356, 498.

of competitions and housing standards. Matthew was also able to update attitudes to post-colonial architecture with utopianist ideas from Buckminster Fuller and Constantinos Doxiadis, making them seem part of a vision of architecture that was above politics or passing regimes. His networking led to important projects for his firm RMJM (Robert Matthew, Johnson Marshall & Partners, formed in 1956) across the world.

The firm's involvement in planning Pakistan's new capital city, Islamabad, or its work as executive architects for the large programme of new secondary schools in Nigeria, or on neo-vernacular housing schemes in post-revolutionary Libya, are all examples of the opportunities that came Matthew's way.[109] One view of this is that Matthew was screened from any suggestion of neo-colonialism by the internationalist gloss he had acquired through the IUA's contacts with the United Nations (UN) and UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).[110] Furthermore, Matthew himself had taken on an active role as a supporter of decolonization in architectural culture through the CAA, for whom decolonization largely meant the devolution of institutional responsibility and the use of technical aid and indigenization schemes to bridge the gap left by the withering away of colonial authority. The CAA, like other Commonwealth organizations at this time, was seen by many as sufficiently benevolent in its attempts to improve the built environment across the old empire as not to be tainted by colonialism, though this did not mean British architects relinquished their 'special responsibility'.[111]

Matthew is only one of many examples of this garnering of major projects by architects from the now-old imperial centre. The substantial legacy of the policy of welfare and development into the post-colonial era might be found in the continuing overseas work of architects like Fry and Drew, Cubitt, or Kenneth Scott, or new work for architects like Max Lock in Nigeria, as well as in public projects that spanned the two eras.[112] The University of Dar Es Salaam in Tanzania was one of these. Based on a master plan by Norman & Dawbarn, the university was sited on a hill overlooking the city, where the buildings were laid out according to the movements of the sun and prevailing winds. Like the Kumasi University of Science and Technology, whose layout it was inspired by, the University of Dar Es Salaam presented the very image of benevolent modernity by contrast with the realities of urban and rural life (for more on education and empire, see also Chapter 5, pp. 184–95).

A career formed by its ability to bridge decolonization was that of John R. Harris. After war service (including imprisonment in Hong Kong) and training at the AA, Harris and his wife Jill Rowe won the competition for the Doha State Hospital in 1953, only two years out from completing their training. Winning the competition despite the practice's inexperience was remarkable: Harris had

[109] *Ibid.*, pp. 479, 483.

[110] This form of screening as well as other kinds of neocolonialism were quite explicitly discussed in Matthews's circles. *Ibid.*, pp. 364, 381.

[111] *Ibid.*, pp. 377–83.

[112] It has been estimated that 'By the 1960s, there were 30 practices in Nigeria and Ghana largely staffed from Britain'. See Le Roux, 'Building on the Boundary', p. 441.

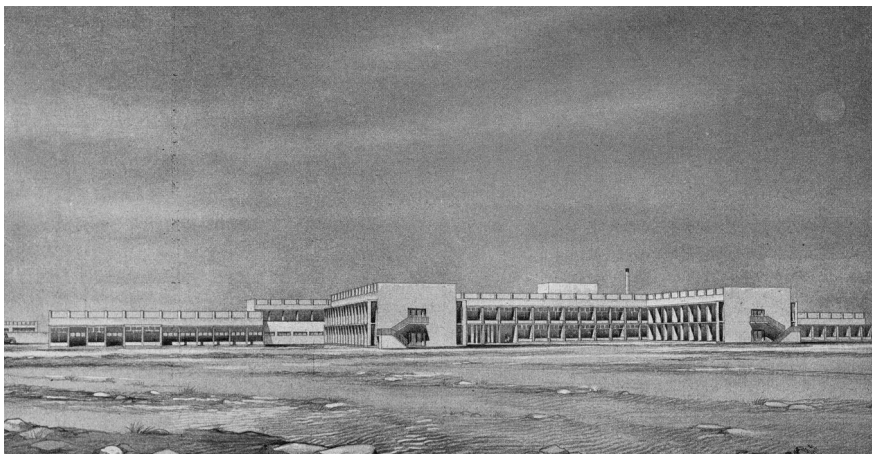

Figure 6.14. Competition drawing for Doha State Hospital, Qatar (1953), by John R. Harris (RIBA Library Drawings Collection).

specialized in the design of farm buildings and had cast around in a variety of projects before landing Doha.[113] To give some context, the hospital competition was far less prestigious but far larger than the better-known contemporary competition for Coventry Cathedral, and funded by the first flush of oil revenues coming to the State of Qatar. The Doha commission was thus Harris's way out of the problems of private practice in austerity Britain. The hospital hugs the desert landscape in a double cruciform plan, its cross-ventilated wards lit by reflected sunlight and its windows set deeply behind concrete canopies (Figure 6.14).[114] Although less well known than, say, work by Fry and Drew, and for a part of the world with a less publicized relation to British colonial history (treaties in 1916 and 1934 had established Qatar as a British protectorate), the Doha commission established Harris as an international expert on hospital and health care design, as well as an architect of reputation in the Arabian Gulf.[115] It was this positioning, one initiated quite by chance, that gave Harris his architectural authority to practice, from this point on, across far-flung colonial and non-colonial sites: in Oman, Libya, Brunei, Kuwait, Dubai, Iran, Malaysia, Pakistan, Hong Kong, and Nigeria, and not just in health care

[113] This included an entry for the Nairobi Town Hall competition in 1950. The competition might reward further research for the way its entrants so well represented the status quo of white architects in private practice across the empire at this moment: among the prizewinners were architects based in Durban, London, Nairobi, Khartoum, Cape Town, and Sydney. See *Architects' Journal*, vol. 113 (18 January 1951), p. 70. The winning design, by Levick, Connell and Croft of Durban, added extensions to the existing Greek temple-fronted building, including a clock tower, a banqueting hall and an assembly room. The latter two were separated by a system of terraces and linked to the main building with a colonnade of slim columns. *Architects' Journal*, vol. 113 (1 March 1951), pp. 270–1. There was much talk of adaptation to the tropical conditions, but this finished building was never to be described as tropical architecture, probably because it was too classical in its composition.

[114] *Architects' Journal*, vol. 118 (17 September 1953), pp. 341–51.

[115] See A. E. J. Morris, *John R. Harris Architects* (Westerham, 1984).

design but for banks, exhibition centres, hotels, and sports facilities too. With offices established by the end of the 1950s in Tehran, Dubai, and Kuwait, his firm was the trusted instrument of local regimes producing oil-funded architecture writ large, including the newly nationalized National Iranian Oil Company.[116] Harris's career, even more than Matthew's, is a prototype for today's global practices of Norman Foster, Richard Rogers, and Nicholas Grimshaw.

While the continuity of work for British architects is remarkable, so too were the profound cultural changes that independence brought, marked in the architectural field by the turning of new post-colonial states towards architects untainted by British colonial associations. The most obvious examples of this are Le Corbusier's work for the new capital of the Punjab at Chandigarh (1952–9) and Louis Kahn's National Assembly at Dhaka, Bangladesh (1962–74). In both, however, there is something ambivalent, perhaps even apologetic about modernity, whether it is the evocation of ruins in the punctured screen walls of Kahn's work or the summoning up of pre-industrial images in Le Corbusier's. But this shifting away from colonial architects happened at various levels, not all of which were marked by high state symbolism and globally renowned architects. Seeking economic links with Africa, West Germany developed expertise in the version of tropical architecture developed by Koenigsberger at the AA.[117] Architects from Israel and Eastern Europe were particularly favoured: the first because its government sought diplomatic and economic influence in Africa and in exchange offered Western expertise without Western alignment or neo-colonialism; the second because Soviet Bloc countries offered a 'Second World' perspective, and one experienced in reconstruction. The Greek architect Doxiadis forged one of the most successful of these post-colonial practices, particularly skilled in its generalized references to the vernacular.[118] Unencumbered with any connection to the colonial past, and espousing a universalist philosophy of architecture more flexible than CIAM's, Doxiadis presided over a global consultancy spanning West Africa, South America, the Middle East, South East Asia, and the Indian subcontinent.

The relationship between empire and Modernism did not produce a unified body of practices. In a sense, how could it across such a diversity of geographies, cultures, and historical experience? Turned against history and representation, Modernism could be directed to the purposes of anti-colonial internationalism as much as to those of technocratic developmentalism. The semiotic looseness resulting

[116] Harris was proud to have been one of the first Britons allowed back into Abadan after the nationalization of its oil refinery. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

[117] A. Folkers, *Modern Architecture in Africa* (Amsterdam, 2010), pp. 174–6.

[118] See the special issue 'Cold War Transfer: Architecture and Planning from Socialist Countries in the "Third World"', *Journal of Architecture*, vol. 17:3 (2012). For Israeli architects, see N. Feniger and R. Kallus, 'Building a "New Middle East": Israeli Architects in Iran in the 1970s', *Journal of Architecture*, vol. 18:3 (2013), pp. 381–401; A. Levin, 'Exporting Architectural National Expertise: Arieh Sharon's Ife University Campus in West-Nigeria (1962–76)', in R. Quek, D. Deane, and S. Butler (eds), *Nationalism and Architecture* (Aldershot, 2012), pp. 53–66; Gitler, 'Campus Architecture', pp. 112–40. On Doxiadis, see V. d'Auria and B. De Meulder, 'Unsettling Landscapes: The Volta River Project, New Settlements between Tradition and Translation', *OASE*, vol. 82 (October 2010), pp. 115–38.

from its practices of 'reduction and negation' entailed many oscillations of meaning: from returns to the pre-colonial past to utopias of the post-colonial future; from a pacifying image of Commonwealth to a tool for the continuation of paternalism; from an epistemic shift to a return of order.

Modernism was both a product of the fragmentation of social life and an expression of it. As Jameson explains, 'it programs us to it and helps to make us increasingly at home in what would otherwise…be a distressingly alienating reality'.[119] Thus, it is part of 'a final and extremely specialized phase of that immense process of superstructural transformation whereby the inhabitants of older social formations are culturally and psychologically retrained for life in the market system'.[120] In the density of the medium of architecture, it is the ambiguity of this retraining that is at stake with Modernism in the empire. Among the consequences of Modernism's diversity under imperialism is the recasting or even estranging of assumptions or associations made with Modernism elsewhere. The case of the avant-garde in Britain reveals its inability to comprehend empire as a fit subject for architectural critique. The everyday experience of empire in British architectural culture, as well as the imperial perspective of architect-planners in Britain, demonstrates the irrelevance of national boundaries in writing an architectural history of these phenomena.

Similarly with tropical architecture. The claimed ubiquity of this approach was part of the supposed even-handed, ideology-free technocratic approach upon which many careers relied in the transition from empire to independence. The relation of Modernism to vernacular traditions in the empire also points inevitably to Modernism's conflicted role in relation to modernity. To hail the vernacular was sometimes to help fix and normalize a relation to precisely those things that empire had helped marginalize.

But sometimes Modernism, too, could seize on that marginality as a sign of difference with colonial culture. Such was the semantic slipperiness of the vernacular, it could be conjured up when colonial power needed to reassure itself that its power was benign, but equally it could merge with Modernism when the latter claimed its own powers of direct communion with nature and its materials.

Finally, if, according to many accounts, Modernism received its obsequies in the West sometime around 1968, then in the old lands of empire it never met such a fated endgame. History and representation were, in a sense, always there, whether in the last days of empire or in emergent national and ethnic cultures, and always to be negated. Modernism remained the instrument of new claims of influence, of internationalism, of globalization.

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[119] Jameson, *Political Unconscious*, p. 236. [120] *Ibid.*, p. 235.

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PART II

REGIONAL CONTINUITY, DIVERGENCE, AND VARIATION IN THE BRITISH WORLD

7

British North America and the West Indies

Harold Kalman and Louis P. Nelson

The boundary between what today is Canada and the United States of America is a political creation, and one that meant nothing before the late eighteenth century. Early settlers and landowners in British North America moved freely among the colonies, including those in the Caribbean, and many ideas about architecture and urbanism ignore national borders to this day.

From the Arctic to the Gulf of Mexico to the Caribbean Sea, the region encompassing the continent of North America and its neighbouring islands has been home to Aboriginal peoples for thousands of years. For centuries they were displaced (or even exterminated) by Europeans, who visited and settled for a variety of reasons. The first Europeans from the modern era to successfully colonize continental North America were the French, beginning with the trader Pierre du Gua de Monts (*c.*1558–1628) and the geographer Samuel de Champlain (*c.*1570–1635) in 1604, establishing a *habitation* on Île Sainte-Croix, between what is now the province of New Brunswick and the state of Maine (Dochet Island).[1]

It was not long before England also showed an interest in the new land across the sea. The earliest known remains of an English structure in the New World are those of a house in the Canadian Arctic built by the Elizabethan privateer Martin Frobisher (*c.*1535–94), who joined the search for a Northwest Passage in the summers of 1576–8. However, the ore he and his party believed to be there turned out to be fool's gold, and they never returned.[2] It would not be until some thirty years later, in 1607, under the aegis of the Virginia Company, that the colony of Jamestown was established west of Chesapeake Bay, becoming England's first, permanent settlement in the region. English colonization of North America had begun.

FROM EARLIEST TIMES TO AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

Newfoundland: Cupids and Ferryland

Approximately 1,200 miles to the north of Jamestown (and approximately 3,000 miles from the southern Gulf of Mexico) lies the island of Newfoundland, the

[1] H. Kalman, *A History of Canadian Architecture*, 2 vols (Toronto and New York, 1994), I, pp. 15–26 and Chapter 2.

[2] R. McGhee, 'The First English House in the New World', *Avalon Chronicles*, vol. 8 (2003), pp. 27–38. The area is now part of the Canadian territory of Nunavit.

most easterly land mass in North America and therefore the closest landfall to Europe. Adjacent are the Grand Banks, a shallow continental shelf that is one of the richest fishing grounds in the world, and which in turn attracted whales and other large mammals. These resources had been enticing European fishermen, adventurers, and colonists for quite some time before the 'discovery' of Newfoundland for the English Crown by John Cabot (*c.*1451–98) in 1497, or indeed Frobisher's venture in the 1570s.

Europeans probably began to fish the Grand Banks and the Strait of Belle Isle in the fifteenth century. The first recorded cargo of salt cod arrived at Bristol in 1502.[3] By the middle of the sixteenth century, seasonal fishermen from England, France, the Basque country, and Portugal came to Newfoundland in considerable numbers. They constructed temporary shelters ('tilts') and stages for curing their catch ('flakes'). Basque whalers also frequented the Strait of Belle Isle and built whaling stations in Red Bay, Labrador (across the Strait of Belle Isle from l'Anse aux Meadows), and elsewhere.[4]

Sir Humphrey Gilbert (1537–83) claimed Newfoundland for Queen Elizabeth I in 1583, effectively initiating what would become the British empire in North America. By this time some casual fishing communities on the Avalon Peninsula, in eastern Newfoundland, had become inhabited year-round with impermanent structures. Formal colonies followed in the early seventeenth century, mostly sponsored by merchants from the West Country of England and London. While much has been known for some time from correspondence, intensive archaeological investigation in the past generation has provided considerable information on the built form.

In August 1610, merchant John Guy (*c.*1575–1628) of Bristol led a group of thirty-nine English colonists to Cupers Cove (today's Cupids) on Conception Bay in the Avalon Peninsula. Their 'habitation' (he used the same word as Champlain) was the first English settlement in what is now Canada. By the spring of 1613, the colonists—now numbering around sixty, including women—had built more than a dozen structures, including three houses, a storehouse, pits, outbuildings, several industrial buildings (a sawmill, a gristmill [both likely wind-powered], a forge, and a brew house), and a wharf along the harbour. These reflected the activities in which the residents engaged. Their enterprises included boat-building, essential to support the fishery.[5]

Many of the structures were enclosed by a palisaded defensive wall of wood 120 ft by 90 ft, fortified with gun platforms. The wall was soon rebuilt in stone (1612), perhaps 7 ft high, and expanded with a second defensive wall, also of stone and close

[3] P. E. Pope, 'The English at Newfoundland in the Century after Cabot', *Avalon Chronicles*, vol. 8 (2003), p. 13.

[4] Kalman, *A History of Canadian Architecture*, I, pp. 13–15.

[5] W. Gilbert, 'Finding Cupers Cove: Archaeology at Cupids, Newfoundland 1995–2002', *Avalon Chronicles*, vol. 8 (2003), pp. 117–54; W. Gilbert, 'Excavations at Cupids (CjAh-13), 2012', *Provincial Archaeology Office: 2012 Archaeology Review*, vol. 11 (2013), pp. 80–4; G. T. Cell, *Newfoundland Discovered: English Attempts at Colonization 1610–1630* (London, 1982); A. J. H. Richardson, 'The Earliest Wood-processing Industry in North America, 1607–23', *Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology*, vol. 5:4 (1973), pp. 81–4.

to the harbour. The defences—the first English fortifications in Canada—were necessary for protection from English and French privateers, hostile migrant fishermen, and the threat of raids by the neighbouring Beothuk people.

The principal structures at Cupids were built to last, with stone foundations and chimneys, timber frames, wood floors (some, perhaps later, covered with cobbles or flagstones), glazed windows, exterior walls finished with boards, and gabled roofs. They were set on a grid at about a 45 degree angle from the defensive walls. The first house was 36 ft 5 in. long by about 12 ft 9 in. wide, one or two storeys high, and was divided into two main rooms, with a lean-to added at one end. The plan is similar to those of merchants' houses that could be found in Bristol or Exeter at the time.[6] A timber-frame storehouse above a cellar, about the same size as the house, was oriented perpendicularly to the house and joined to it by a stone fireplace. This and the wooden defensive wall were complete by December 1610. The other buildings in the colony appear to have been similarly substantial, some with stonework laid by professional masons. These stood in marked contrast to the impermanent structures built by migratory fishermen.

Crops, livestock, and the fishery sustained Cupids' inhabitants. Cured cod and milled deal (boards) were shipped to England. Nevertheless, the colony could not satisfy the financial objectives of its shareholders and was declared a business failure. Guy withdrew in 1615, his successor six years later, and the colony soon dispersed. While the settlement was formally abandoned, people continued to live at Cupids. The buildings were destroyed by fire around 1670 (either by hostilities or an accident) and the place was soon reoccupied, only to be destroyed again a generation later. It remains a town today.

Cupids was the first of the several early seventeenth-century sponsored settlements. Another was the Colony of Avalon (now Ferryland), located on the Atlantic coast. Formerly owned by the London and Bristol Company, the land had been purchased by Yorkshireman Sir George Calvert (1579/80–1632, later 1st Baron Baltimore), a favourite at the court of James VI and I. Calvert dispatched a dozen men, led by Captain Edward Wynne, who arrived in Ferryland in late August 1621. They immediately built a palisaded defensive wall facing the harbour ('the Pool'), with 7-ft-high vertical posts sharpened at the top, planted their crops, and began to construct buildings. Before long they had erected residences, a brewhouse, and a forge on one side of a cobbled 'pretty street', which ran parallel to the landward side of the palisade, as well as a stone quay and storehouse by the water.[7]

The substantial principal residence, in which Calvert and his family lived between 1628 and 1629, was described a generation later as Lord Baltimore's 'mansion house'. Captain Wynne described the initial building campaigns in 1621–2. The colonists first erected a large, one-and-a-half-storey frame house, 44 ft by 15 ft,

[6] Letter from William Gilbert to Harold Kalman, 12 August 2014.

[7] J. A. Tuck and B. C. Gaulton, 'Lord Baltimore's Mansion: The Evolution of a 17th-century Manor', in E. Klingelhofer (ed.), *A Glorious Empire: Archaeology and the Tudor-Stuart Atlantic World* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 41–52; B. Gaulton and J. A. Tuck, 'The Archaeology of Ferryland, Newfoundland until 1696', *Avalon Chronicles*, vol. 8 (2003), pp. 187–224. Personal communication with Barry Gaulton, August 2014 and April 2015.

whose rooms included a hall and entry on the ground floor, four bedrooms upstairs, and a cellar. They added a kitchen walled with stone (or possibly stone infill) and then a frame parlour, with stairs leading to more bedrooms upstairs. Wynne describes the roofs as partly boards and partly thatch (Figure 7.1).

Ongoing archaeological investigations have revealed foundations and other material that do not correspond with Wynne's description, leading to the conclusion that some original work may have been dismantled and rebuilt between 1623 and 1628 in anticipation of Lord Baltimore's arrival. Uncovered to date are a portion of a frame-building, likely the first house, whose sills rest on thin slabs of slate; a stone 'hall', 36 ft by 23 ft; a service wing, containing a kitchen, buttery, and passage, about 50 ft by 23 ft; a cobbled courtyard; and several other frame rooms or structures. The hall and service wing had walls of local slate, the roofs were partly slated, and windows were glazed. The quality of the construction, undertaken by skilled tradesmen sent from England, was remarkable for so young and precarious a colony. The hall and first house are perpendicular, forming an 'L'-shaped plan with a fireplace between them, as at Cupids. The hall and service wing are also perpendicular, although they touch only at one corner. The L-shaped plan is not found in the common vocabulary of English vernacular architecture, but it anticipates the 'linhay' (kitchen wing) that became standard in Newfoundland houses.[8]

Within a few years several timber-framed structures, including a stable, a parlour, a second house, and a separate kitchen wing, were added to this nucleus, transforming

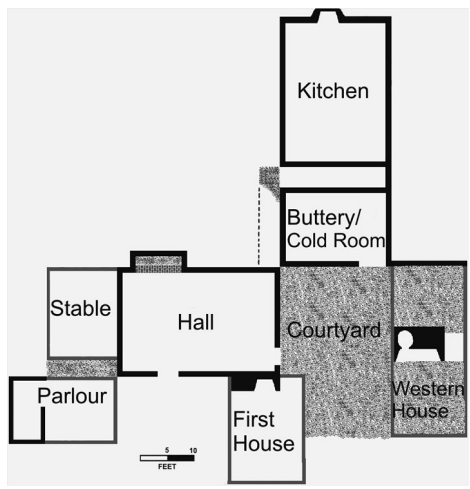

Figure 7.1. Conjectural plan of Lord Baltimore's Mansion House, Ferryland, Newfoundland, probably begun 1621 (Barry Gaulton, Memorial University of Newfoundland).

[8] R. W. Brunskill, *Illustrated Handbook of Vernacular Architecture* (New York, 1971); Gerald L. Pocius, 'Architecture on Newfoundland's Southern Shore: Diversity and the Emergence of New World Forms', in C. Wells (ed.), *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* (Williamsburg, 1982), pp. 217–32.

the 'mansion house' into a large, rambling building complex. Archaeologists James Tuck and Barry Gaulton have called it 'a late medieval English manor on the wrong side of the Atlantic', but it was much smaller in scale than Old World precedents.

The Colony of Avalon grew to about one hundred men and women by 1627, when Calvert first visited it. He returned with his family and servants in 1628, but was discouraged by the harsh winter that followed. As Lord Baltimore, he and his son later went to Chesapeake Bay and established the Colony of Maryland, whose capital city bears their title. The Ferryland property was acquired in 1637 by Sir David Kirke (*c.*1597–1654) and his family, who renamed it the Pool Plantation. The flourishing community was abandoned only in 1696, when it was destroyed in the campaign of Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville, which laid waste to almost every English settlement in Newfoundland.

The sponsored, communal settlements at Cupids and Ferryland were among the earliest in British North America. Guy and Calvert built substantial structures intended for the long term. With no New World precedents to guide them, the colonists modified the familiar built environment of England by accepting the reality of the modest resources available to them in North America.

The Chesapeake

In May of 1607, three years before the settlement at Cupids, the *Susan Constant*, the *Godspeed*, and the *Discovery* disembarked over 100 men and boys on an island they named Jamestown Island, beginning the construction of what would become the earliest enduring English settlement in the Americas. Having travelled overseas for months, the three ships, sponsored by the Virginia Company of London (est. 1606), sailed forty miles up the James River before selecting a suitable site for occupation. As observed by Daniel Maudlin (see Chapter 1, p. 26), by June of that year they had completed a triangular palisaded fortification with a bulwark at each corner to protect the fledgling settlement from attacks by the Powhatan people, a confederation of Native American tribes that occupied much of the region that would become early colonial Virginia.

The first buildings erected in James Fort (later Jamestown) bore some similarities to the houses built a few years later at Cupids.[9] As with these more northerly examples, the earliest buildings at Jamestown were all one room wide and multiple rooms deep, with at least one cellar chamber. However, unlike the buildings at Cupids, those at Jamestown were aligned parallel with the nearest palisade walls. Moreover, in terms of materials and construction, they were also quite distinct, all being of earthfast construction with wattle-and-daub walls. Still a common building method for agricultural structures in England into the seventeenth century, earthfast construction situated the structural integrity of a building entirely on vertical posts that were set directly into the earth, thus avoiding the need for substantial and continuous

[9] A thorough excavation of the James Fort site began in 1994 and has continued to the present, uncovering extraordinary finds which have led to a much deeper understandings of this earliest of English colonial sites. See W. Kelso and B. Straube, *Jamestown Rediscovery, 1994–2004* (Richmond, 2004).

foundations (Figure 7.2).[10] The walls were then filled with wattle that was packed with clay. When a fire destroyed these first generation houses in 1608, the settlers rebuilt again in earthfast construction. This time, however, they replaced the clay walls—which would have absorbed the hot summer sun and radiated that heat throughout the day and night—with wooden shingles, 'as the Indians', for a greater cooling effect.[11] The persistent preference for earthfast framing across the Chesapeake region (defined largely by the perimeter lands of Chesapeake Bay, inclusive of eastern Virginia and Maryland) throughout the seventeenth century and into the early eighteenth has led scholars to interpret this architecture as 'impermanent'.[12]

The first generation or two of free English settlers to Virginia faced numerous constraints.[13] Timber may have been abundant but labour was in short supply. Furthermore, the pressing need to turn a profit from tobacco, which was the Virginia Company's original objective, meant that colonists invested labour and capital in agriculture rather than well-built or salubrious accommodation. The

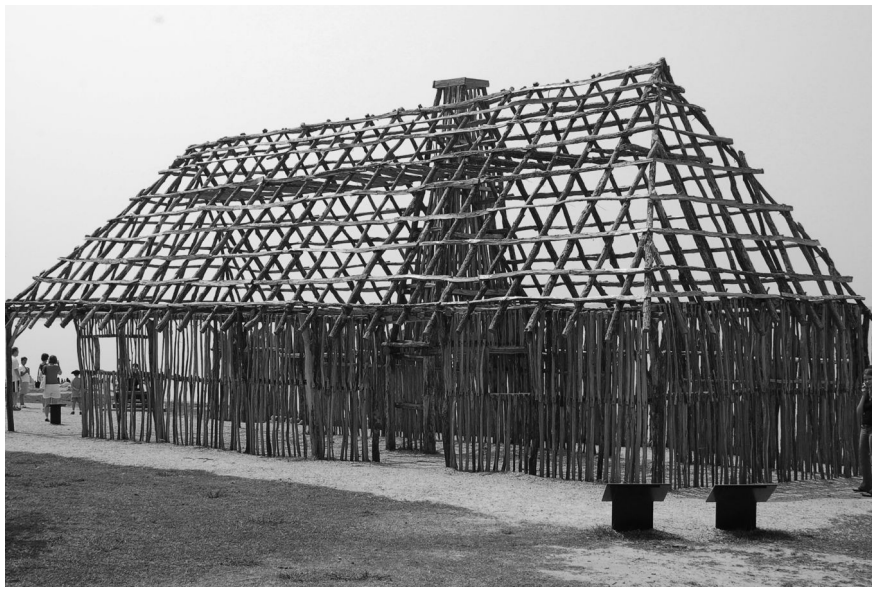

Figure 7.2. 'Earthfast' building technique: reconstruction of 'Structure 160', originally built *c.*1608, at Jamestown, Virginia.

[10] Sometimes the posts were set upon wooden blocks, acting as a simple, subterranean base-plate foundations to assist in preventing subsidence. More complex buildings also had 'sills' running between posts at ground level to enable the installation of a timber floor.

[11] Kelso and Straube, *Jamestown Rediscovery, 1994–2004*, p. 51.

[12] C. Carson et al., 'Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies', *Winterthur Portfolio*, vol. 16:2/3 (1981), pp. 135–96.

[13] C. Carson, 'Plantation Housing: The Seventeenth Century', in C. Carson and C. R. Lounsbury (eds), *The Chesapeake House: Architectural Investigation by Colonial Williamsburg* (Williamsburg and Chapel Hill, 2013), pp. 86–114.

result was the development of the practical, no-nonsense 'Virginia House'—a phrase used by colonists to characterize the poor quality of their generally earthfast, earthen floored, single- or double-room houses. Complicating the situation was the fact that immigrants arrived from widely disparate regions of England, each with their own regionally determined expectations for housing. This further characterized seventeenth-century Chesapeake as a landscape of experimentation. While most early house plans were centred on a large public space or chamber called a hall, some also included a private parlour, others a cross-passage, and still others an external lobby. Most incorporated a chamber for housing a labor force too, which, in these years, was predominantly made up of indentured servants. Throughout the seventeenth century these houses remained earthfast and longitudinal, only a single room wide.

By the 1680s, however, Chesapeake houses began to shrink in size. This occurred through the removal of all agricultural processing from the hall of the house to purpose-built facilities, including all cooking to a kitchen outbuilding, as well as relocating the labour force to separate quarters.[14] In this way the Virginia house was transformed into the Chesapeake plantation—not a single building but a complex centred around a house that was the exclusive residence of the planter. One of the critical catalysts for these changes was the rise in African slavery and the profound cultural distance between English planters and their enslaved labour. Thus, as wealth began to rise over the half century straddling 1700, houses began to grow once again. This time, however, the number of rooms reflected increasing specificity of function. As Dell Upton has shown, the seventeenth-century parlour gave rise to eighteenth-century bed chambers and dining rooms.[15] By the early eighteenth century, these rooms were no longer organized longitudinally, but were clustered in a 'double-pile' plan at least two rooms deep.

The early eighteenth century also witnessed the widespread use of brick, a material that had been reserved for public buildings and the houses of the elite during the seventeenth century. The result was the building type most commonly associated with early British domestic architecture in the Chesapeake: the brick, double-pile plantation house originally surrounded by a complex of agricultural and other service buildings, few of which have survived into the twenty-first century. Among the only remaining examples of a seventeenth-century Virginia house is a building now known as Bacon's Castle, fifty miles south-east of Richmond. Begun in the 1660s by the English tobacco agent Arthur Allen (1609–69), and known in the period as his 'great house', the building is a monumental two-storey brick house (Figure 7.3). Importantly, its plan clearly indicates the removal of cooking into a basement kitchen, shifting that labour from the hall but not yet into a separate building. The bulk of the house's plan is consumed by a large hall and an adjacent, more private chamber. Within its two storeys is also contained a garret for housing slaves and/or servants. All of these

[14] F. Neiman, 'Temporal Patterning in House Plans from the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake', in T. R. Reinhart and D. J. Pogue (eds), *Archaeology of Seventeenth-Century Virginia* (Richmond, 1993), pp. 251–84.

[15] D. Upton, 'Vernacular Domestic Architecture in Eighteenth-Century Virginia', *Winterthur Portfolio*, vol. 17:2/3 (1982), pp. 95–119.

Figure 7.3. Arthur Allen Mansion House, commonly called 'Bacon's Castle' (begun 1665), Surry County, Virginia.

innovations and transformations foreshadow the emergence of the Chesapeake plantation house of the eighteenth century. Bacon's Castle, however, was not typical. The majority of its counterparts in the 1660s were still single-storey, longitudinally arranged, earthfast houses.

By the mid-eighteenth century, developments in Chesapeake plantation architecture had progressed considerably. With huge wealth being generated through cash-crop agriculture, particularly following the tobacco-industry recession that lasted until 1720, Virginia began to see a corresponding rise in the size, quality, and refinement of plantation house architecture, especially in the Tidewater region. The gradual appearance of country house-style mansions, such as Stratford Hall, Westmorland County (*c.*1738), and Mount Airy, Richmond County (*c.*1754–64), represents the significant leap forward that this kind of architecture symbolized, not only in terms of economic success but also social standing and cultural aspiration within colonial society. The planter elite had by this time become a cosmopolitan set who were keen to emulate the trappings of European wealth and taste, basing the designs of their houses on the height of architectural fashion emanating from the homeland. Stratford Hall, for instance, the creation of noted planter and politician, Thomas Lee (1690–1750), adapted the Anglo-Palladian monumentality of English architects such as John Vanbrugh, Nicholas Hawksmoor, and Colen Campbell to the climate and building traditions of the region. Here the consumption of architectural pattern books was key, contributing to the rise of that broadly neoclassical tradition in American colonial architecture discussed by Daniel Maudlin in Chapter 1. Such books had wide circulation in early colonial

Figure 7.4. The simple but refined classical splendour of Shirley Plantation House (1738), Charles City County, Virginia.

America, and included, among others, James Gibbs's *A Book of Architecture* (1728), Robert Morris's *Select Architecture* (1755), and even Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1715–25).[16] The effect of the transmission of this kind of architectural knowledge is clearly evident at Mount Airy, where the building's external design, as well as its spatial layout, are largely determined by deference to a model published in Gibbs's *Book*. This emulation went beyond mere imitation, however; it became a means by which the colonial elite chose and refashioned cultivated taste for a local audience, thus helping to establish and mediate their relations within colonial society as it matured.[17] Other examples in this tradition include Shirley, in Charles City County (1738; Figure 7.4), and Brandon, Prince George County (*c.*1750–95).[18]

In addition to the development of settler housing by English immigrants, slave accommodation and its associated spaces also characterized the early colonial landscapes of the Chesapeake and the plantation South. As the economy continued to grow through the early eighteenth century, especially off the back of cash crops like

[16] For instance, see R. Tavernor, *Palladio and Palladianism* (London, 1991), pp. 181–7.
[17] D. Upton, *Architecture in the United States* (Oxford, 1998), p. 34.
[18] For an account of this development, see M. R. Wenger, 'Town House and Country House', in Carson and Lounsbury, *The Chesapeake House*, pp. 120–55.

tobacco, the importation of black African slaves became increasingly important. Once transported and landed on the North American continent, enslaved Africans, as Barbara Heath has observed, suddenly found themselves in a racialized system of inequality and injustice that was woven through the legal, economic, political, and social fabric of plantation culture and the institutions of slavery.[19] This extended to the way the spaces in which these slaves existed were arranged and controlled. But it did not mean that there was no 'life' for the enslaved as such, where interaction and cooperation could take place, where some pushback or resistance, however small, might occur in the form of familial bonds or kinship alliances, or where traditional religious practices might be observed. Indeed, for Dell Upton, a full understanding of the great Virginian plantation house is not possible without consideration of the economy of related and subsidiary spaces that constituted it as a functional unit, including those of its enslaved inhabitants—the whole comprising a 'landscape' (economic, social, cultural) more than just a set of discrete buildings. Thus, he argues, slave spaces 'were parts of two intersecting landscapes. They fit into a white landscape centered on the main house in one way and into a black landscape centered on the quarters in another.'[20]

The actual buildings used to accommodate slaves in this landscape varied widely in terms of size and quality, ranging from housing (barracks, cabins, and quarters) to different types of processing facility, including tobacco barns and outbuildings for domestic duties. The earliest type of slave accommodation in the Chesapeake took the form of 'gang houses' or barracks in which unrelated individuals were housed, sometimes segregated by sex. Unlike their counterparts in the Caribbean, which will be addressed in a later section, the early housing for enslaved Africans and African Americans in the Chesapeake had little architectural correspondence to contemporary architectural practice in West Africa. As the early eighteenth century wore on, the typical slave house began to morph into a small, single-storey, timber-framed and clad, earthfast structure comprising one or two rooms with a chimney (Figure 7.5). By the latter part of the century either small buildings entirely of brick or larger log cabins were the norm, as the rare surviving examples at Howard's Neck, Goochland County, demonstrate.[21] These were often built by the slaves themselves according to directions given by the plantation owner (or proxy). Essentially, this architecture was akin either to the basic accommodation of less successful 'common planters', or poor, perishable versions of more substantial plantation houses.[22]

[19] B. Heath, 'Space and Place within Plantation Quarters in Virginia, 1700–1825', in C. Ellis and R. Ginsburg (eds), *Cabin, Quarter, Plantation: Architecture and Landscapes of North American Slavery* (New Haven, 2010), p. 157.

[20] D. Upton, 'White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia', *Places*, vol. 2:2 (1984), p. 63.

[21] For an account of the development of this type of architecture, see E. A. Chappell, 'Housing Slavery', in Carson and Lounsburg, *The Chesapeake House*, pp. 156–78; G. Felser, 'Living Arrangements among Enslaved Women and Men at an Early Eighteenth-Century Virginia Quartering Site', in J. E. Galle and A. L. Young (eds), *Engendering African-American Archaeology: A Southern Perspective* (Knoxville, 2004), pp. 177–236.

[22] Upton, 'White and Black', p. 63; Heath, 'Space and Place', p. 164.

Figure 7.5. Slave Quarter, Prestwould Plantation (*c.*1800), Clarksville, Virginia.

A feature of particular note in much slave housing up to 1800 was the presence of subfloor pits, especially in houses with earthen floors. These pits, which could be individual or communal, were both an unplanned intervention (in an official sense) and a form of resistance, allowing for the storage of food stuffs or burial of personal items, as well as possibly acting as shrines to traditional West African cosmologies.[23] Moreover, as slave numbers grew across the region and per plantation, multiple slave cabins would often be arranged in lines or around a loose quadrangle—often referred to as 'quarters'—giving what some contemporary observers described as a 'village-like' appearance. An example of this is Utopia Quarter, at the Bray family plantation, James City County, Virginia, from 1730. Arrangements such as those at Utopia also gave rise to 'yards' around and between dwellings, providing limited scope for personal or communal socializing and/or the production of supplementary sustenance in the form of chickens and vegetables. Interestingly, slave accommodation in the plantation South, along with its quasi-urban arrangement, has also been linked to corresponding planning practices observable among indigenous peoples in West Africa, from where the majority of slaves were taken.[24]

Enslaved workers spent a majority of their waking hours in and around various places of labour, including purpose-built structures for the cash-crop economy, but

[23] W. Kelso, *Kingsmill Plantations, 1619–1800: Archaeology of Country Life in Colonial Virginia* (Orlando, 1984), pp. 104–5, 201–2.

[24] e.g. C. Anthony, 'The Big House and Slave Quarter', Parts 1 and 2, *Landscape*, vol. 20 (Spring 1976), pp. 8–19 and 21, and (Autumn 1976), pp. 9–15.

also a handful of service buildings that became essential to plantation settlement by the middle of the eighteenth century. As Fraser Neiman has shown, tobacco processing generally took place in the Hall of the house throughout the seventeenth century, when the majority of labour was provided by white indentured servants. By the early eighteenth century, however, when Virginia plantation regimes transitioned to African slavery, most plantations saw the raising of a barn—an all-purpose building dedicated to agricultural processing and storage, such as that still standing from the eighteenth century at Burrages End, Anne Arundel County, Maryland.[25] Tobacco cultivation was labour intensive, especially through the summer when slaves spent the majority of their time clearing the succulent plants of worms and slugs. Rice, too, which emerged as South Carolina's prize cash crop through the opening decades of the eighteenth century, was a labour-intensive enterprise, initially requiring the extraordinary transformation of swamps along the colony's coastal lands into fields, including the construction of hundreds of miles of canals (with dykes, levees, and sluice gates) that allowed the management of water flow into and out of the fields—a system that Edda Fields-Black has tied to the rice cultivation practices of West Africa, from modern Sierra Leone to the Gambia.[26]

The massive scale of this transformation cannot be overstated. A distinctively American building type to emerge from this process during the eighteenth century was the winnowing barn (or house), which created an elevated space from which rice could be hung, allowing the breeze to separate the chaff from the grain. While winnowing barns could be found across early South Carolina, a sole surviving example is that at Mansfield Plantation in Georgetown County. In addition to these crop-based industrial structures, almost all large eighteenth-century plantations boasted not only a separated kitchen building but also a laundry, a smokehouse, and sometimes a dairy. Numerous examples of these subsidiary work buildings survive across the coastal South.

The transformations in the early settlement architecture of the Chesapeake charted here not only indicate a willingness (indeed necessity) on the part of English immigrants to adapt to prevailing circumstances but also reflect the connection between architectural requirements and the steady, if at times precarious, growth in the colonial plantation economy and the introduction of slave labour, leading to an interdependent if mixed architectural landscape.

The West Indies: Barbados, Jamaica, and the Leeward Islands

While early colonial architecture in the West Indies paralleled much of the same spatial patterning embraced in the Chesapeake, the Caribbean provided additional

[25] F. Neiman, 'Domestic Architecture at the Clifts Plantation: The Social Context of Early Virginia Building', in D. Upton and J. M. Vlach (eds) *Common Places: Readings in Vernacular Architecture* (Athens, Ga., 1986), pp. 292–314. For an illustration of the Burrages End tobacco barn, see C. Carson, 'English', in D. Upton (ed.), *America's Architectural Roots: Ethnic Groups that Built America* (New York, 1986), p. 56.

[26] E. L. Fields-Black, *Deep Roots: Rice Farmers in West Africa and the African Diaspora* (Indiana, 2008).

complexities. Building a house in the Caribbean during the seventeenth century necessitated some response to at least three environmental factors: the constant heat, occasional hurricanes, and earthquakes. Over the course of the seventeenth century most builders learned that reducing the temperature in one's house could be achieved in two ways: increasing airflow and creating shade. One way to increase airflow was to make the walls as permeable as possible. There were a number of ways of doing this. In 1652 the 'best houses' on Barbados, for instance, were two-room and wood-framed with a thatch roof, while 'the upper part of the house is open at the side so that air can flow through'.[27] Two years later, a visitor to St Kitts reported that the boards on the walls of houses there were 'not closer together than one can pass a hand out and in between each board in order that the air may be able to blow in to cool the people staying within'.[28] By the end of the seventeenth century some house-builders on St Kitts were sheathing their houses with woven mats or cane, creating walls that could be opened or closed depending on conditions. One Edward Warner Sevion, for instance, lived in a 24 ft by 12 ft thatch-roofed house that was 'matted round'. Likewise, John Abbot had a house of the same size with one stone wall 'ye other End & Sides matted'. In adopting this technology European builders emulated the region's native Taino—cheap and permeable walls of matting or cane seemed a logical choice. Lastly, most windows contained louvres or jalousies instead of glazing, since installing glass was impractical 'because of the hot climate of the country, for one is obligated to keep the doors and windows open to allow for breezes, with the intention of cooling the house; one only closes them at night'.[29]

In addition to increasing airflow, early builders also erected auxiliary structures known as 'shades' to provide relief from the burning sun. From the early seventeenth century, English usage of the word often referred to mats or blinds over windows or pent roofs over doors.[30] But among settlers in the Caribbean, this term was expanded to refer to a more substantial shelter. Easily erected, 'shades' were lightly framed structures designed to accommodate intensive labour and provide some shelter from the sun, and were in use by Taino people, Europeans, and enslaved Africans alike throughout the late seventeenth century.[31]

The ever-present and oppressive heat of the Caribbean sun was one thing, but early colonial lives were also disturbed on occasion by the arrival of cyclonic storms, the like of which they had never experienced in the British Isles. The response to this threat by the majority of colonials was almost immediate: building houses with low profiles. Writing in 1676, Colonel William Stapleton (d. 1686), governor of the Leeward Islands, observed that in Charlestown (the capital of Nevis) 'there were good dwellings and storehouses built with country timber, not exceeding

[27] J. Robertson, 'Jamaican Architectures before Georgian', *Winterthur Portfolio*, vol. 36:2/3 (2001), p. 75.

[28] Quoted in D. L. Hobson, 'The Domestic Architecture of the Earliest British Colonies in the American Tropics', PhD dissertation (Georgia Institute of Technology, 2007), p. 140.

[29] Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 53.

[30] J. Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia* (London, 1624), vii, p. 73. See also, C. Lounsbury (ed.), *An Illustrated Glossary of Early Southern Architecture and Landscape* (Charlottesville, 1999), p. 326.

[31] R. P. du Tertre, *Histoire Generale des Antilles* (1667), II, p. 419, reprinted as image 9 in G. B. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624–1713* (Chapel Hill, 2000).

60 feet long and 20 broad, story and a half, the Hurri-Canes having taught the people to build low'.[32] Numerous failures had taught settlers that tall buildings fared far worse in hurricanes than did low, sprawling ones. This seemed especially true in the cluster of small islands in the north-eastern Caribbean, including St Christopher's (also called St Kitts), Nevis, Montserrat, and Antigua. First settled in the 1620s, this group of (generally) English islands experienced a number of such storms through the seventeenth century, and appears to have adapted to the realities of hurricanes fairly quickly. As suggested by the surviving roof-framing system on an early house in Nevis, builders might have begun to include wind braces by the later seventeenth century to better secure against damage and potential destruction.[33] Furthermore, the clear preference among English settlers for hurricane houses of earthfast posts and cane walls suggests that they believed such technology was better suited to weathering a storm.[34]

English builders on the island of Jamaica also incorporated lessons learned from that island's previous European occupants: the Spanish. One observer wrote how Spanish houses were 'but one storie height Becas the Harrie Cane, for doth many times com and give them a visit'.[35] Such observations were common in the eighteenth century. For instance, the *Weekly Jamaica Courant* exclaimed after a hurricane in 1722: '[i]t is remarkable that those Houses built by the Spaniards received very little damage, tho' tis now 67 years since the conquest of the Island; Consequently those buildings are of much Older date. From whence we may conclude that they had met with accidents of like Nature, that put them on that manner of Building.'[36] Similarly, one James Knight noted that, while the Spanish houses survived two 'dreadful hurricanes', those built by the English 'were either blown down or very much shattered'.[37]

But not all colonials opted to build in wood. In the closing decades of the seventeenth century many settlers began to transition from timber houses to masonry. Although affordable to only the wealthiest in colonial society, masonry was celebrated for its capacity to resist hurricane-force winds. One of the first substantial masonry houses in the Leeward Islands was the French governor's mansion on St Christopher's. In describing the building, the seventeenth-century historian Charles de Rochefort noted that:

> The Indians, who never had seen a Structure of any such material, look'd on it at first with a great astonishment, and having attempted to shake it, by the strength of their

[32] 'Answers to the Inquiries sent to Colonel Stapleton, Governor of the Leeward Islands', 22 November 1676, Colonial State Papers Collection, 499, quoted in M. Mulcahy, *Hurricanes and Society in the British Greater Caribbean, 1624–1783* (Baltimore, 2006), p. 123.

[33] R. Leech, 'Impermanent Architecture in the English Colonies of the Eastern Caribbean: New Contexts for Architectural Innovation in the Early Modern Atlantic World', in K. A. Breisch and A. K. Hoagland (eds), *Building Environments: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* (Knoxville, 2005), pp. 153–67.

[34] For examples, see the St Kitts claims, Public Record Office, Kew, London.

[35] 'Henry Whistler's Journal, March 1655', in C. H. Firth (ed.), *The Narrative of General Venables* (London, 1900), pp. 168–9.

[36] *Weekly Jamaica Courant* (British Library), 12 September 1722: CO137/14/175.

[37] J. Knight, 'Portions of the Original Sketch of the History of Jamaica' (manuscript), p. 86.

> shoulders, but not stirring it, they were forc'd [to] acknowledge, that if all Houses were so built, the Tempest which they call the Hurricane would not prejudice them.[38]

On Nevis, one George Welch reported in 1671 that houses were 'commonly of late…built of Stone, and but one Story high'.[39] Just one year later, however, most builders in the Leeward Islands would reconsider the safety of masonry houses, with 1672 witnessing the first of a series of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century earthquakes to hit the region.[40] Soon after the first major earthquake, the governor informed London readers that colonists had previously preferred 'stone buildings, but the earthquakes having thrown them all down, they build with timber only except the boiling houses for sugar, which in part must be built of stone'.[41] The high mass and low tensile strength of masonry led to widespread and severe damage to the region's masonry buildings during the earthquakes, as witnessed by one resident of Nevis after an earthquake of 1690:

> all the Houses in Charles Town that were made of Brick or Stone, dropt a sudden from the Top to the Bottom in perfect Ruins. Those that were made of Wood were no less violently shaken, but stood, however; which shew'd that the Rivetings of wooden Structures are far stronger, and are not so easily disjoynted as the Co-augmentations of Cement and Mortar.[42]

If stonework was a life saver in hurricane conditions, it could kill in an earthquake. Colonists in the Leeward Islands faced some difficult building choices.

Great House architecture on plantation colonies in the British West Indies paralleled similar formal and aesthetic trends to those in the mainland South during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Here, too, one can find attempts at genteel refinement beyond necessity from as early as the 1650s, including references to classical décor and Palladian splendour. Being the residences of the wealthy and powerful planter elite, such houses, which were usually built in a solid and imposing manner, came to symbolize not only material and cultural attainment but also the idea of absolute authority within the slave-based, plantation economy.[43] They were often located prominently, commanding the surrounding countryside and announcing the arrival of a new colonial aristocracy.

[38] English translation in J. Davies, *History of the Caribby-Islands* (London, 1666), p. 11.

[39] G. Welch, 'A Journal of my Voyage with ye Sundry passages thereof as I travel'd into divers parts of the West Indies, 1671', pp. 80–1, microfilm copy of manuscript, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, quoted in Mulcahy, *Hurricanes and Society*, p. 125.

[40] M. Hall, *Earthquakes in Jamaica from 1688 to 1919* (Kingston, 1922); L. R. Sykes and M. Ewing, 'The Seismicity of the Caribbean Region', *Journal of Geophysical Research*, vol. 70 (1965), pp. 5065–74.

[41] 'Answers to the Inquiries sent to Colonel Stapleton, Governor of the Leeward Islands', 22 November 1676, quoted in Mulcahy, *Hurricanes and Society*, p. 126.

[42] *An Account of the Late Dreadful Earthquake in the Island of Nevis, 1690*, quoted in Leech 'Impermanent Architecture', p. 6. Special thanks to Kirk Martini for his help in understanding the engineering of buildings in seismic circumstances.

[43] A typical example of this idea of centralized authority would be great house and settlement patterns at Drax Hall, Saint Ann's, Jamaica. See D. V. Armstrong, *The Old Village and the Great House: An Archaeological and Historical Examination of Drax Hall Plantation, St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica* (Champaign, 1990), pp. 68–91.

Figure 7.6. Aerial photograph of St Nicholas Abbey plantation estate, showing main house (1658, *top left*) and agricultural and refining facilities (*centre right*) (courtesy St Nicholas Abbey).

Such houses were not always well adapted to the environment, however. St Nicholas Abbey, for instance, a handsome Jacobean-style mansion erected by Colonel Benjamin Berringer in 1658 at Saint Peter, Barbados, was an English design that came complete with fireplaces and chimneys (Figure 7.6). Drax Hall, too, built at Saint George, Barbados, by James Drax in the early 1650s, and which approximated an English gentry manor-house of the seventeenth century, had low ceilings and small windows that made for a hot and stuffy interior, despite the Demerara half-shutters. Elsewhere, in Jamaica, there was the striking Rose Hall, Saint James (1770), with its distinct Anglo-Palladian proportions and ample double stairway in stone leading up to a balustraded terrace. There could be no greater statement of new-found wealth and authority than this building, which was among the very largest plantation houses in both the colony of Jamaica and the wider West Indies.

Another, non-environmental factor that dictated the planning and construction of plantation houses was the ever-present threat of invasion and slave revolt. It must be remembered that, until the nineteenth century, much of the Caribbean was a politically unstable and volatile place. The financial rewards on offer may have been high, but so were the risks (both to person and property). Moreover,

throughout much of the eighteenth century, the enslaved African population in Britain's Caribbean plantation colonies outnumbered their European counterparts in the order of multiples of ten to one. As a consequence, many early plantation houses were built of locally sourced stone in either a fortified or quasi-fortified manner. In Jamaica, for instance, one can find numerous examples of substantial planter houses built in a defensive manner with loopholes in their walls for concealed musket fire. Of particular interest here is how a number of these houses, such as Stewart Castle in Trelawney (begun *c.*1750s), were planned along the lines of sixteenth-century Scottish 'Z'-plan castles, compact blockhouses with towers rising at two opposing corners, reflecting the peculiar martial building traditions of the increasing number of 'sojourner' Scots who were now investing in the Caribbean cash-crop economy.[44]

Other examples of Great House architecture in Jamaica include Marlborough great house, Manchester (1795), Good Hope, Trelawney (begun 1774), and the since demolished great house at Drax Hall plantation, Saint Ann's (originally owned by the same Drax family from Barbados), which was acquired in a fit of avarice by the noted Alderman and planter William Beckford (1709–70) in 1762 (see Chapter 4, pp. 137–8).[45] Later examples from the early nineteenth century begin to show what is referred to as 'creolization' in their adaptation to the climate, including the extensive use of verandahs and other cooling devices, as seen, for instance, at Mount Plenty, St Ann's Parish, Jamaica (Figure 7.7), or Villa Nova, Saint John, Barbados (1834).[46]

The landscapes of quartering and labour in the British Caribbean again bear some similarity to the patterns described above in the mainland South. The earliest slave quarters were of earthfast, mud-wall, and thatch-roof construction, erected by the enslaved Africans themselves and, as in Virginia, approximating some building strategies familiar to the African context.[47] Such buildings were sometimes organized in rows, but far more frequently they were organized as villages, with each house allotted a small parcel of land to accommodate a kitchen garden and small pens for fowl or pigs. The tendency among Jamaican planters was to pay little attention to these villages, generally allowing enslaved Africans to organize their domestic spaces to their liking.

In terms of industrial architecture, Caribbean planters (or overseers) turned the majority of their attention to the Sugar Works—an enormous complex of masonry buildings dedicated to crushing cane for the extraction of juice, which included a boiling house for separating the juice into molasses and cane syrup, and a curing house for drying syrup in the form of sugar loafs for export. As historian Barry Higman has observed, this extraordinary investment in the industrial processing of

[44] L. P. Nelson, *Architecture and Empire in Jamaica* (New Haven and London, 2016), chapter 2.

[45] P. Gauci, *William Beckford: First Prime Minister of the London Empire* (New Haven, 2013), p. 149.

[46] For great house architecture in the Caribbean, see A. W. Acworth, *Treasure in the Caribbean* (London, 1949); D. Buisseret, *Historic Architecture of the Caribbean* (London, 1980); and E. E. Crain, *Historic Architecture in the Caribbean Islands* (Gainesville, 1994). See also, M. Parker, *The Sugar Barons: Family, Corruption, Empire and War* (London, 2011), pp. 76–80, 171.

[47] Armstrong, *The Old Village and the Great House*.

Figure 7.7. Climatically adapted: Mount Plenty Great House (late eighteenth century), St Ann's Parish, Jamaica.

sugar clearly differentiated the Caribbean sugar plantation from its tobacco or rice equivalent on the mainland.[48] As a result, the Caribbean sugar plantation has been identified by some historians as a major locus for the genesis of Britain's own Industrial Revolution.

Significant developments also took place in the architecture of state during the eighteenth century. St Jago de la Vega, for instance, had been the inland capital of Jamaica under Spanish rule since 1534, and remained so after the English conquest of the island between 1655 and 1670, slowly changing its name to Spanish Town. As elegantly portrayed by historian James Robertson, the town continued to be viewed as the seat of power for Jamaica's planters into the early eighteenth century, even as the island's merchants began to look elsewhere, first to Port Royal, and then (after the 1692 earthquake) to the new port city of Kingston.[49] Tensions between the two cities came to a head in the late 1750s. With the Treaty of Madrid (1670) having mitigated the need to channel resources into building defences against Spanish attack, and with the Seven Years' War having recently turned in Britain's favour, an extraordinary outlay of money was granted in 1760 to initiate a monumental building campaign for publically funded buildings in Spanish Town. This was primarily in an effort to prevent the capital from being moved to Kingston.

[48] B. W. Higman, *Plantation Jamaica, 1750–1850: Capital and Control in a Colonial Economy* (Kingston, 2005).

[49] J. Robertson, *Gone is the Ancient Glory: Spanish Town, Jamaica, 1534–2000* (Kingston, 2005). Most of this material derives from Chapter 4.

The result was that Spanish Town would come to boast the most impressive and coherent collection of public buildings anywhere in the British Americas at the time—an ensemble befitting Jamaica's status at this time as the jewel in the imperial crown, providing, as it did, up to a third of British customs revenues during the second half of the eighteenth century.[50]

For the first century of British occupation in Jamaica, the principal governmental functions were administered out of rehabilitated Spanish-era buildings that—in accordance with the Laws of the Indies—lined the massive central square in what was St Jago de la Vega. This square, called 'the Parade', became the political centre of the city, and of Jamaica. The first move, taken in 1760, was to demolish all privately owned buildings, as well as the Spanish-era public architecture on the Parade, to clear space for a new building programme. The first two buildings to be erected were a monumental Assembly Building, which filled the full east range of the Parade, and a new King's House, or governor's mansion, spanning the entire length of the west side, both of which rose in the 1760s (see Plate 13).

Today only the façade of the massive fifteen-bay elevation of the King's House survives. The building originally boasted two two-bay projecting pavilions at both ends, and a massive giant-order portico with ionic capitals surmounting the six monolithic Portland stone columns. The portico sheltered two doors: one into the public assembly halls of the King's House that occupied the southern half of the building, and the other into the governor's residence, which filled the northern half. Writing soon after the building was completed, one observer described the 'great saloon, or hall of audience', of the King's House as 'well proportioned', measuring 73-ft long, 30-ft wide, and 32-ft high.[51]

A source of great pride among British Jamaicans, the saloon was captured in a painting by itinerant English artist Philip Wickstead soon after its completion in 1762. As viewed from the north, or entrance end of the room, a full range of seven giant-order Doric columns are depicted marching down the west side supporting a balcony, with a full Doric cornice surrounding the room. The east side of the room was ornamented with Doric pilasters, between which, resting on gilt brackets, were bronze 'busts of several antient [*sic*] and modern philosophers and poets, large as life'. At the southern end massive portraits of 'their present majesties' hung over folding doors that opened into spacious apartments often used by the Governor's Council. Above these apartments was a large banqueting room 'hung with paper and neatly furnished'.

Records of the Assembly indicate that it was fitted out with thirteen mahogany settees, twenty-four mahogany Windsor chairs, twenty-four large gilt girandoles, fourteen bronze busts, and ten tables.[52] In Long's estimation, the room was evidence

[50] A. Jackson, *Buildings of Empire* (Oxford, 2013), p. 46.

[51] Edward Long reports that the King's House was designed during the tenure of Henry Moore and constructed 'under the inspection of' Thomas Craskell, an English engineer. The elevation and plans were agreed upon by November of 1759 and completed by 1762 at an expense of £30,000. The Ionic portico, comprising solid stone columns, was not realized until 1770. See E. Long, *The History of Jamaica*..., 3 vols (London, 1774), II, p. 6.

[52] Journals of the Assembly of Jamaica, vol. 5 (1757–66): Alexander Aikman, Jamaica, 1798, p. 353.

that King's House was 'the noblest and best edifice of its kind, either in North America or any of the British colonies in the West Indies'.

The design of the Assembly Building answered that of the King's House in its massing, although it offered far more accommodation to the Caribbean climate. Its entire ground and upper floors were fronted with sheltering arcades that provided Assemblymen shaded outdoor spaces for walking and negotiation. As in the King's House, the building was accessed through the central bay, although in this case the doors opened onto a massive staircase that led to both sides of the upper floor—the still intact Assembly chamber to the north, and the law courts to the south. As Robertson observes, the Speaker of the Assembly sat at one end of the building with the Chief Justice at the other. If both chamber doors were open they could see one another directly.

The north range of the Parade was radically transformed in the early 1780s with what would become known as the 'Rodney Temple' (see Plate 13). In early April 1782, Admiral Rodney led a British fleet to defeat a French battle line in the Saints Channel between Dominica and Guadeloupe, protecting the valuable island of Jamaica from falling into enemy hands—a rare victory for the British after their humiliating losses to the Americans and the French on the mainland. In celebration, the Assembly quickly commissioned a life-size sculpture of Rodney to be raised upon a monumental pedestal and sheltered within a round temple-cum-pavilion type structure. A curved colonnade extending from each side of this 'temple' led to the white marble façades of two new buildings at the corners of the northern edge of the Parade. The statue, completed by noted London sculptor John Bacon in 1790, is among the best surviving examples of British public sculpture in the Americas.

Thus, by 1800 the centre of the old Spanish capital of Jamaica had been transformed into a new, monumentally conceived and classically inspired setting of British colonial administration. Despite the rampant corruption, avarice, and infighting that actually characterized colonial government in Jamaica, spaces like the grand saloon were clear evidence of Jamaica's mid-century self-fashioning as a 'civilized' society that aspired to extend British cultural and political mores into the New World. In so doing the Jamaican political elite sought to win the praise of British visitors, including the colony's sequence of governors with whom the Assembly was often notoriously at odds.

New England

At least through the first half of the seventeenth century, New England—which comprised colonies in what is present-day Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut—attracted English immigrants who removed to the New World for more broadly ideological, political, and/or religious reasons than did their more southerly counterparts. Together with differences in climate, this demographic produced a very different characteristic house type than in the Chesapeake or the Caribbean.[53] One major difference is the sheer

[53] A. I. Cummings, *The Framed Houses of Massachusetts Bay, 1625–1725* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979).

number of seventeenth-century houses that have survived in New England, revealing far greater durability compared to their earthfast counterparts to the south. In addition to resting on masonry foundations, these early houses also had much more substantial, fully joined timber framing systems. They were larger too, usually a full two storeys in height; and, unlike in the mainland south or Caribbean, where cooking was eventually removed to an outbuilding, a purpose-built kitchen was detached from the hall but remained part of the spatial arrangement of the house.

The Fairbanks House in Dedham, Massachusetts, was built in the late 1630s and stands today as one of the very oldest timber-framed houses in the English colonial world (Figure 7.8). The building is a two-storey house with two primary chambers per floor—a hall and a parlour, and two bedrooms above—each flanking a substantial central chimney stack. As is typical for the majority of surviving houses from this region, the stack sits to the rear of the rectilinear house plan leaving space for an entry stair lobby at the front. While such lobbies do occasionally appear in the archaeological record for early Chesapeake houses, they had more to do with a receding memory of the old world. Such lobbies, of course, were less useful in the warmer climes of the south. In New England, however, lobbies served a critical role in creating an insulator and transitional space between the outside and the house's inner rooms. Typically, such lobbies contained a winder stair to the two upper-storey rooms of hall chamber and parlour chamber (Figure 7.9).

The early adoption of this as a standard house type is quite revealing. First, it points to a greater commitment to place among settlers to New England. Unlike

Figure 7.8. The Fairbanks House, Dedham, Massachusetts (*c.*1640).

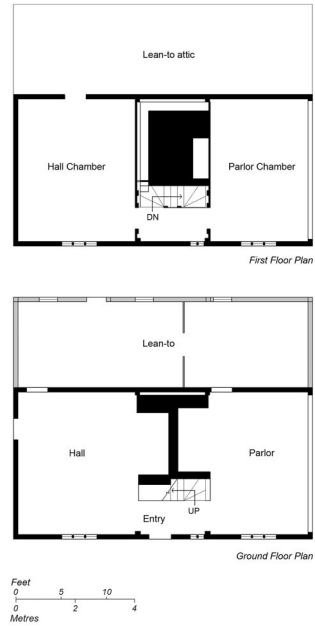

Figure 7.9. Plan of the Fairbanks House, Dedham, Massachusetts (*c.*1640), showing the 'double-pile' spatial configuration (over two storeys) common to many early colonial domestic dwellings (drawing by Farhana Jiwa, after A. L. Cummings, *The Framed Houses of Massachusetts Bay, 1625–1725* (1979), fig. 24).

planters in the Chesapeake and Caribbean, where the intention of returning to England a wealthy man was a common motivation, most early settlers to New England hoped to build an entirely new society. As a result, they built with far greater permanence. But the narrower range of variation in New England houses of this period also speaks to the narrower segment of English society from whence they came. Most of these immigrants were from the English yeoman class, and the majority from East Anglia, a hotbed of Puritanism.

The exception to this comes from the housing stock in early Rhode Island. In the late 1630s, Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson, both Puritans ousted from Massachusetts for their unorthodox Christian doctrine and polity, founded Providence, Rhode Island, with more liberality than characterized early Puritan Massachusetts. Rhode Island quickly became a magnet for other immigrants with equally dissident theologies, especially Baptists and Quakers, but eventually Anglicans and Jews as well. Interestingly, the typological house in seventeenth-century Rhode Island differs in two ways from those just to the north: there is usually only a single chamber per floor, and the end wall containing the chimney stack was usually built entirely of masonry. This latter characteristic gives these houses the moniker 'stone enders', an example of which is Eleazer Arnold House in Lincoln (1687–1800). This too is partly explained by demography. Given its

greater religious toleration, Rhode Island attracted more immigrants from northern and western regions of England, districts that were generally characterized by smaller houses in stone than the timber and brick dominated south-east of England.

Halifax, Nova Scotia

The context of the early to mid-eighteenth century in Nova Scotia was one of continued hostility between the British and the French. France gained the upper hand in the 1720s with the construction of the Fortress of Louisbourg on Île-Royale (today's Cape Breton Island), located between Newfoundland and mainland Nova Scotia. After being captured by the British, Louisbourg was returned to France in 1748. As a result, Governor William Shirley (1694–1771) of Massachusetts petitioned the British government to establish a buffer between his colony and Louisbourg. In March 1749 the Board of Trade and Plantations responded by offering free land and passage to anyone willing to migrate from Britain to Nova Scotia. Three months later Colonel Edward Cornwallis (1713–76) led a convoy of thirteen transports carrying 2,576 hopeful settlers. They arrived at Chebucto harbour and named it Halifax, after the president of the Board (George Montagu Dunk (1716–71), second Earl of Halifax).

Cornwallis oversaw the construction of an instant colonial town planned and built with military expediency—a statement of British imperial authority and values in a land dominated by French and Aboriginal inhabitants. Halifax was the first permanent British community in what is now the Canadian mainland. Military engineer John Brewse (or Bruce) and Boston-born surveyor Captain Charles Morris (1711–81) laid out a 10-acre town site. The plan was a regular gridiron imposed on the constraints of the landscape (see Figure 1.6). It extended five blocks along the harbour and seven up the hillside. The two blocks in the centre were reserved for the church, the court house, and a parade ground (the hub of temporal and military authority), while the remaining blocks were each divided into sixteen 40-ft-by-60-ft house lots. As described by Daniel Maudlin (see Chapter 1, p. 32), the grid was enclosed by a fortified palisade with a citadel at the top of the hill to defend the harbour. Established sixteen years after Savannah, Halifax revealed many of the same planning features, albeit on a more modest scale (for town planning in general, see Chapter 2).[54]

Cornwallis's workforce comprised English carpenters from Annapolis (the British garrison at the former French settlement of Port-Royal) and Acadian labourers (French settlers of the Atlantic Maritime provinces; many of them moved to Louisiana after expulsion by the British, where they became known as 'Cajuns'). Timber-frame construction prevailed in the main settlement, while log construction (used by Acadians) was adopted for houses outside the palisade. Sawn

[54] Kalman, *A History of Canadian Architecture*, I, pp. 104–8. The literature treating the broad development of Canadian architectural history has progressed little since the 1990s and the publication of Kalman's *A History of Canadian Architecture*, hence the dearth of recent references. Many older monographs, biographies, and studies of styles remain standard. More recent publications have tended to introduce previously unfamiliar architecture that is relatively tangential to the big themes. In contrast, important new information has been generated by archaeology, as seen in the Newfoundland settlements discussed above.

wood for many houses—and maybe also fabricated house frames—was purchased in Boston or New York, and the frames and lumber for the barracks and officers' quarters purchased in Boston. Speed was essential; somehow all the settlers were accommodated by the onset of winter.

The typical houses were one-and-a-half storeys high, sheathed in clapboard, with roofs that were variously gabled, gambrel, and hipped, some with dormer windows and most having the ridge parallel to the street. Some multiple row houses were also built. The dominant building was the Governor's house (1757).[55] Two-and-one-half storeys high, and six bays wide, with a hipped roof pierced by dormers, it loomed over its neighbours. There were also two churches, a Protestant Dissenters' Meeting House (1754), and the Anglican Church of St Paul (1750) (Figure 7.10).

St Paul's (a cathedral since 1787) was the first house of worship built by the Church of England in Canada, and the only building to remain from the days of Cornwallis's Halifax. The Rev. William Tutty (*c.*1715–54) chose as his model St Peter's, Vere Street, in Marylebone, London (1721–4)—the church at which Lord Halifax worshipped. The architect of St Peter's was James Gibbs (1682–1754), whose *A Book of Architecture* was, as mentioned, among the most popular architectural pattern books of its time (see Chapter 5, pp. 171–2). The components of St Paul's were cut and fitted in Boston to follow the Gibbs plan, disassembled, and then shipped to Halifax, demonstrating colonial networks and cooperation across the British North American colonies. The two buildings share the same plan, number of bays, side elevations, Palladian chancel window, and three-stage tower over the entrance. However, St Paul's has a timber frame with 'noggings', or infill, of locally made bricks—a New England technique adapted from the homeland.

The integration of English and American sources achieved at St Paul's established a prototype for British public buildings in the new Canadian colony. As mentioned by Daniel Maudlin in Chapter 1, the simplified treatment of European models, in conjunction with a reliance on locally sourced materials (especially wood), were characteristics transferred from Britain via New England and Nova Scotia. These were the foundations and constraints of colonial building.

AFTER THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR AND AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

The integration of British and colonial American sources and technology witnessed in the case of St Paul's foreshadowed a fundamental aspect of Canadian architecture that would continue for nearly two centuries. While Canada remained a key overseas constituent of the British empire, after 1783 Canadians also felt the social and financial power of their neighbour to the south, the newly independent United

[55] See Figure 7.10. The previous Governor's house, built in 1749, is the one-storey dwelling in the right foreground of the fenced compound.

Figure 7.10. View of Hollis and George Streets, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1759. Drawn by Richard Short, engraved by François-Antoine Aveline (1777) (Toronto Public Library).

States of America. These ongoing tensions revealed themselves clearly in architecture, which attempted to achieve a balance between the two spheres of influence.

The United Empire Loyalists and Georgian Classicism

Canada became fully British with the defeat of France and the capture of Quebec at the Battle of the Plains of Abraham in 1759—a decisive victory in the Seven Years' War (1756–63). Two new British colonies (called 'provinces') were created shortly afterwards: Lower Canada (now Quebec) and Upper Canada (now Ontario) to add to the existing maritime (Atlantic) colonies of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island (PEI). Canada benefited from the American Revolution (1776–83) with the arrival of the United Empire Loyalists, who were made up of some 40,000 refugees (perhaps double the existing English-speaking population) from the American states. Three-quarters settled on the Atlantic coast, the remainder in Lower and Upper Canada.

The Loyalists brought with them a British-American form of Georgian classicism, as discussed by Daniel Maudlin in Chapter 1, developing a distinctive and relatively plain version of the style. Homewood in Maitland, Ontario (1800–1), is a classic example of the new manner (Figure 7.11). The house was the residence of Connecticut-born Dr Solomon Jones (1756–1822), who fought Washington in the Loyalist forces and received a large property along the St Lawrence River as a

Figure 7.11. Homewood, Maitland, Ontario (1800–1). The wing at the left is a 1940s addition (Ontario Heritage Trust 2013).

reward for his service. Thoroughly symmetrical, it is two storeys high and five bays wide, with a central hall accommodating a staircase leading to two rows of rooms at either side (the familiar double-pile plan).[56]

The random fieldstone walls and steep gabled roof reflect the methods familiar to French-Canadian builder Louis Brière (or Brillière); otherwise, Homewood is entirely Anglo-American in its proportions and details. Solomon's wartime commander and patron, Sir John Johnson, had built just such a house, Fort Johnson, near Amsterdam, New York in 1763. Homewood is thus a simplified version of British-American Palladian models, lacking the elaborate window surrounds, doorframes, quoins, and classical detailing seen in many, more elaborate sources. Polite and practical, it exudes what would come to be seen as good, Canadian manners. The principles behind this type became the preferred model for United Empire Loyalists, whether rendered in wood, stone, or brick.

This Anglo-Palladian (or Georgian) idiom is seen particularly well in public architecture. Three exemplary colonial government buildings in this mode are Province House in Halifax, Nova Scotia (1811–19), by John Merrick (*c.*1756–1829); Province House in Charlottetown, PEI (1843–8), by Isaac Smith (*c.*1795–1871); and the Colonial Building in St John's, Newfoundland (1846–50), by James Purcell (b. *c.*1804). All feature symmetrical façades, central porticos, and two-storey high classical columns supporting broad pediments. The designs could well have come out of a late eighteenth-century British pattern book, such as Isaac Ware's *A Complete Body of Architecture* (1756).

In Lower Canada, the Quebec Act of 1774 guaranteed French residents the right to retain their language, religion, and civil law. They also retained their customs and culture, including their traditional building-forms. Architecture erected by the English-speaking minority, on the other hand, adopted distinct Anglo-Palladian features. One of the most uncompromisingly British residences in this regard was the house in Quebec City built by the lawyer Jonathan Sewell (1766–1839). The son of the attorney general of Massachusetts, he went to England during the American Revolution, later settling in Quebec (1789) where he served as Chief Justice of Lower Canada for thirty years. Sewell declared his British loyalties in the architecture of his house. Built in 1803–4, it has the familiar two-storey, five-bay Georgian elevation and central-hall plan characteristic of the type.[57]

Other buildings adopted similar solutions. The Anglican cathedral of Holy Trinity in Quebec City (1800–4), the project of Bishop Jacob Mountain (1749–1825), and the first purpose-built Anglican cathedral outside Britain, was based on a Gibbsian model much like St Paul's, Halifax. It was designed by Captain William Hall and Major William Robe, two members of the Royal Artillery garrisoned at Quebec. Robe explained that 'the general dimensions of this Church were in great measure taken from those of St Martin-in-the-Fields [1726], but the state of materials and workmanship in Canada made a plain design necessary'. An example of this plainness is the substitution of shallow pilasters for a freestanding portico.[58]

[56] Kalman, *A History of Canadian Architecture*, I, pp. 146–8. [57] *Ibid.*, pp. 186–7.

[58] Robe's report is cited in F. C. Würtele, 'The English Cathedral of Quebec', *Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec*, 20 (1889–91), pp. 63–132. See also Kalman, *A History of Canadian Architecture*, pp. 188–91.

The Gothic Revival

The romantic revivals reached Canada in the years around 1800, not long after they emerged in Britain. Foremost was the Gothic Revival, which arrived modestly, perhaps first appearing at Christ Church (originally St Paul's) in Karsdale, Nova Scotia (1791–3)—a Loyalist community just down the road from Champlain's *habitation* at Port-Royal. The small, clapboarded building would be unremarkable were it not for the tall, lancet windows with pointed arches and hood mouldings along its sides. The windows evoke an association with the Gothic past, but in every other respect the building looks like a Georgian-style wooden church of the late eighteenth century. Christ Church was built under the direction of Charles Inglis (1734–1816), the first Bishop of Nova Scotia—a Loyalist who returned to Britain from New York in 1783 only to be reposted to Nova Scotia in 1787.[59]

As detailed elsewhere in this volume (pp. 173–9), 'ecclesiology' and the Victorian Gothic Revival had spread throughout the wider British world by the mid-nineteenth century. It arrived in Canada with three subsequent bishops: John Inglis (1777–1850), the son of Charles Inglis and third Bishop of Nova Scotia, who became a patron of the Cambridge Camden Society (CCS) in 1839, the first North American cleric to be so honoured; Edward Feild (1801–76), Bishop of Newfoundland (also a patron of the CCS); and John Medley (1804–92), Bishop of Fredericton, New Brunswick, who was a product of the Oxford Movement. Medley, a devotee of architecture and a contributor to *The Ecclesiologist*, translated the CCS's theories into stone.[60] Medley was determined to build an exemplary new cathedral, to be modelled on the remains of a particular medieval English church (St Mary's at Snettisham, Norfolk). The outcome was Christ Church Cathedral in Fredericton (1845–53) (Figure 7.12). The building's architect, the English émigré Frank Wills (1822–57), had been associated with Medley when the latter was rector of St Thomas in Exeter. *The Ecclesiologist* disapproved of using a mere parish church as a model, however. Celebrated English architect William Butterfield (1814–1900) offered to remedy this failing and contributed to the design. The outcome is a masterpiece of the early Gothic Revival, with the medieval features perfectly integrated into the form and massing of the building in a way that resembles an authentic English church of the Middle Ages.[61]

As early Victorian Gothic evolved into High Victorian Gothic, Canada revealed its new role as extending, rather than copying, the architecture of empire. This was marked by a particularly high-profile project: the Parliament Buildings in the newly selected capital city of Ottawa in Ontario. An architectural competition

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 261; A. Duffus et al., *Thy Dwellings Fair: Churches of Nova Scotia 1750–1830* (Hantsport, 1982), pp. 88–90.

[60] See P. B. Stanton, *The Gothic Revival & American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste 1840–1856* (Baltimore, 1968), pp. 127–58; P. Coffman, *Newfoundland Gothic* (Quebec, 2008), pp. 52–63; and G. A. Bremner, *Imperial Gothic: Religious Architecture and High Anglican Culture in the British Empire c.1840–1870* (New Haven and London, 2013), pp. 80–9. Medley's son, Edward, would translate these ideas into wood. See D. S. Richardson, 'Hyperborean Gothic; or, Wilderness Ecclesiology and the Wood Churches of Edward Medley', *Architectura*, vol. 1 (1972), pp. 48–74.

[61] Kalman, *A History of Canadian Architecture*, I, pp. 282–6.

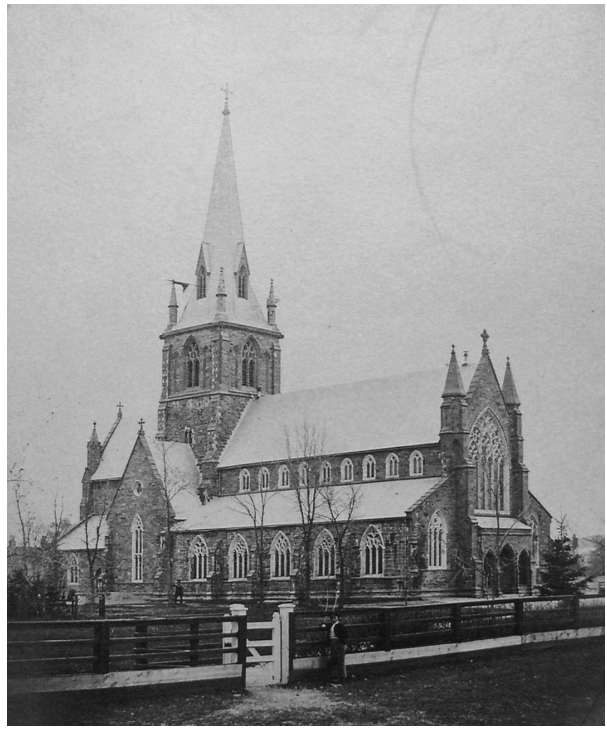

Figure 7.12. Christ Church Cathedral, Fredericton, New Brunswick (1845–53), by Frank Wills and William Butterfield.

called for buildings in local stone and 'a plain substantial style'. It resulted in the majestic complex that comprises the Centre Block (1859–66, burned and replaced between 1916 and 1927) and attached Library of Parliament (1859–77) by Thomas Fuller (1823–98) and Chilion Jones (1835–1912), and the flanking East and West Blocks (1859–65) by Thomas Stent (1822–1912) and Augustus Laver (1834–98) (Figure 7.13). Jones was Canadian born, the others were recent arrivals from England. The landscaped grounds (Calvert Vaux (1824–95) and others, begun 1873) rise in subtle terraces to join the street with the three blocks. These masterpieces of High Victorian Gothic—called 'Modern Gothic' or 'Civil Gothic' in their day—were inspired by the most up-to-date British and European models, particularly those back in England by the likes of George Gilbert Scott (1811–78) and Alfred Waterhouse (1830–1905), and may be seen as a major transatlantic contribution to the debate that raged in Britain during the 1850s and 1860s ('Battle of the Styles') over the most appropriate style of architecture for civic buildings: classical or Gothic.[62] Importantly, the Gothic Revival style may also be seen as providing a contrast with the classical sources preferred in the republican

[62] C. A. Young, *Glory of Ottawa: Canada's First Parliament Buildings* (Montreal, 1995), pp. 30–43; D. Mindenhall, *Thomas Fuller: Architect for a Nation* (Victoria, 2015). For the Battle of the Styles, see D. Brownlee, 'That "Regular Mongrel Affair": G. G. Scott's Design for the Government Offices', *Architectural History*, vol. 28 (1985), pp. 159–97.

Figure 7.13. Centre Block of the Parliament Buildings, Ottawa, Ontario (1859–66), by Thomas Fuller and Chilion Jones (Library and Archives of Canada, Ottawa).

USA. The noted architectural historian Henry-Russell Hitchcock (1903–87) praised the Ottawa complex, stating that 'the variety of form, the gusto of the detail, and the urbanistic scale of this project made [it] a major monumental group unrivalled for extent and complexity of organization in England'.[63] Constructed for the Province of Canada (made up only of Quebec and Ontario), the Parliament Buildings soon became the seat of government of a new and larger nation, and indeed their scale may have been encouraged by anticipation of that occasion.[64]

Canadian Architecture after Confederation

The Dominion of Canada was created by Confederation in 1867. It united Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick into a single country, soon to be joined

[63] H.-R. Hitchcock, *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, 2nd edn (Baltimore, 1977), p. 195; Kalman, *A History of Canadian Architecture*, II, pp. 534–41.

[64] There is an idea that the grand bicameral layout, with symmetrical blocks for the House of Commons and Senate at either side of a central tower, perhaps finds its source not in Europe but rather in the USA, in the expansion of the Capitol in Washington by Thomas U. Walter, which was nearing completion in 1859. See C. Thomas, 'Shifting Soil: Agency and Building Type in Narratives of Canada's "First" Parliament', in R. Windsor Liscombe (ed.), *Architecture and the Canadian Fabric* (Vancouver, 2011), pp. 171–95.

by three additional former colonies and territories. Nationhood inspired a surge in government building, with a consequent search for Canadian identity and appropriate architectural vocabularies with which to express that identity. As in earlier eras, Britain and the USA provided the primary sources. Once in Canada, the prototypes were simplified, showing a Canadian penchant for sobriety, or perhaps for economy and practicality.

Canada found that it had a deep affinity for the picturesque eclecticism of High Victorian architecture and the subsequent late revivals of the Edwardian age. If some federal government buildings were inspired by medievalism, such as the Post Office at Baddeck, Nova Scotia (by Thomas Fuller, 1855–7), others looked to the French Second Empire style. The Custom House in St John, New Brunswick (1877–81), by J. T. C. McKean (1840–1911) and G. E. Fairweather (1850–1920), for instance, reveals its plainness when contrasted to the more florid models in America. The Post Office in Vancouver (1905–10), representative of several in large cities designed under the direction of the Scottish-born and trained 'chief architect' David Ewart (1841–1921), leaned distinctly towards the so-called Edwardian Baroque, known in its time as 'English Renaissance' or the 'Grand Manner'—a conscious revival of forms from the age of Wren, Hawksmoor, Vanbrugh, and Gibbs. The building's features include monumental columns on a two-storey *piano nobile* and a dominant corner tower (Figure 7.14). This style was favoured for monumental government buildings in Britain as well as its empire during the early twentieth century (see Chapter 4, pp. 150–1).

Several provincial governments followed this lead. Architects and brothers Edward Maxwell (1867–1923) and William S. Maxwell (1874–1952) adopted the Edwardian Baroque for the Saskatchewan Legislative Building in Regina (1908–12). They described their design as 'a free adaptation of English Renaissance work . . . that marks it unmistakably as representative of the British sovereignty under which the Province is governed'. The square dome over the entry, and the two-storey pilasters along the wings, follow British models. The building is set in lovely Wascana Park (begun 1912), designed by English landscape architect Thomas Mawson.[65] More American is the Alberta Legislative Building in Edmonton (1908–13) by A. M. Jeffers (1875–1926), which combines features from the state capitols of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Rhode Island (designed by Cass Gilbert, George Post, and McKim Mead and White respectively)—all of which were ultimately inspired by the Capitol in Washington—in a capable rendition of Beaux-Arts Classicism.[66]

Municipal governments, which had no imperial designs, often adopted US precedents outright. The Richardsonian Romanesque style provided a popular source. City Hall in Toronto, Ontario (1887–99, now known as Old City Hall), for instance, is a distinguished example. The architect was Toronto-born and trained Edward J. Lennox (1854–1933), who won the commission in a competition. Lennox studied potential models in seven American cities. He returned impressed

[65] H. Kalman and S. Wagg (eds), *The Architecture of Edward & W.S. Maxwell* (Montreal, 1991), pp. 170–4.

[66] Kalman, *A History of Canadian Architecture*, II, pp. 555–7. For more on Canadian government architecture, see J. Wright, *Crown Assets: The Architecture of the Department of Public Works, 1867–1967* (Toronto, 1997).

Figure 7.14. Post Office, Vancouver, British Columbia (1905–10), by David Ewart (John Roaf).

by H. H. Richardson's Allegheny County Courthouse (1883–8) and Jail in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (1884–6). The Toronto City Hall is arranged around a central courtyard, with a tall tower marking the entrance, as at Pittsburgh. Faced in warm russet and beige sandstones, the elevations feature the arch-and-spandrel motif, towers, dormers, Romanesque-inspired details, and intricate carvings

seen in the work of Richardson. The interiors are richly finished with columns, wrought iron, fine woodwork, and stained glass.[67] A simpler version was adopted for the City Hall in Calgary, Alberta (1907–11), by W. M. Dodd (1870–1946) and E. C. Hopkins (1857–1941), also finished in sandstone.

Medieval sources of a different kind formed the basis of another manner that became important to Canada: the so-called Château Style. The Canadian Pacific Railway, Canada's first transcontinental line, was financed with British capital and constructed under the oversight of its American general manager, William Van Horne. The company erected a number of large hotels to attract tourist traffic. The first two, both in scenic locations, were designed by New York architect Bruce Price (1845–1903). The original and rather picturesque Banff Springs Hotel in the Rocky Mountains, Alberta (1886–8), was alternatively described as being in the 'baronial style' of Scotland, a 'Tudor Chalet in wood', and 'in the Schloss style of the Rhenish provinces'. Its step-sister was the brick-and-stone Château Frontenac in Quebec City (begun 1892), perched high above the St Lawrence River (see Plate 14). Price described his design, since augmented by many additions, as 'the early French chateau adapted to modern requirements'.

The rival Grand Trunk Railway Company adopted the Château Style in a less scenic setting for the Château Laurier in Ottawa, Ontario (1908–12), by George A. Ross (1879–1946) and David MacFarlane (1875–1950). The style was subsequently continued by the railways for urban and rural hotels across the country. However, the style's more significant legacy was seen in the architecture of the federal government. On several occasions between 1915 and 1927, reports recommended that proposed government buildings should be 'Gothic in character…to harmonize with the Parliament Buildings', and suggested 'the adoption of the French Château style of architecture, of which the Château Laurier is a modernized type'. The immediate outcome was the Confederation Building, Ottawa (1928–31), by the Chief Architect's Branch, which featured two wings anchored at their junction by a tall tower, with the skyline punctuated by the now *de rigueur* steep copper roofs, myriad dormer windows, and castellated details. The essence of this style (particularly the roofs) persisted in subsequent federal buildings for two decades. A style developed by the nation's railways for its hotels, independently of metropolitan imperial sources, had become the government's choice for expressing Canadian national identity.[68]

Public Architecture in the Caribbean After Abolition

Coming back to the British West Indies, which remained part of Britain's empire until decolonization in the mid-twentieth century, we see a series of architectural

[67] M. M. Litvak, *Edward James Lennox: 'Builder of Toronto'* (Toronto, 1995), pp. 19–32.

[68] H. D. Kalman, 'The Railway Hotels and the Development of the Château Style in Canada', *Studies in Architectural History* (Victoria, 1968); J. Wright, *Crown Assets: The Architecture of the Department of Public Works, 1867–1967* (Toronto, 1997), pp. 124–36. Different conclusions are reached in R. Windsor Liscombe, 'Nationalism or Cultural Imperialism?: The Château Style in Canada', *Architectural History*, vol. 36 (1993), pp. 127–44, and C. Thomas, '"Canadian Castles"? The Question of National Styles in Architecture Revisited', *Journal of Canadian Studies*, vol. 32:1 (1997), pp. 5–27.

transformations that loosely mirrored trends emanating from the metropolis. The steep decline in sugar production after the abolition of slavery in the 1830s (as distinct from the abolition of slavery in Britain in 1807) meant that local planters turned to alternatives, eventually settling on cocoa production with labour provided by indentured servants brought from other parts of Britain's empire, such as India. The island of Trinidad is representative. Originally occupied by the native Taino and Carib peoples, the first Europeans to settle on the island were the Spanish in the sixteenth century, largely in the form of Christianizing missions. It remained under Spanish rule throughout most of the eighteenth century, although the Cedula of Population (1783) extended the promise of land to all Roman Catholics, attracting a substantial French population from nearby islands. In 1797 the island was invaded by the British and formally ceded in 1802.

The period of prosperity following abolition witnessed the construction of an extraordinary collection of governmental buildings and private residences in the capital city, Port of Spain. Many of these new buildings rose between the late 1870s and the opening years of the nineteenth century.[69] Among the most spectacular if not bizarre was the Ruskinian-style Police Headquarters building (begun 1876) on the site of the former military barracks. This monumental masonry building is characterized by its strong central tower and a range of doubled arcades of polychrome pointed arches constructed of alternating white and red stone. A massively heavy building, with thick plate tracery windows, it appears to be an attempt to combine ideas of authority and architectural fashion with climatic adaptation.

Not long after the completion of this building came the Royal Victoria Institute (begun 1892, now the National Museum), the monumental Red House (begun 1907), and finally the Queen's Royal College (begun 1904), all three designed by Daniel Meinerts Hahn, a German architect working in the Public Works Department (PWD) who had been a member of the British Institute of Civil Engineers since 1892. The first, serving initially as a science and art museum, is a grand white masonry building with large bay windows in a loose neo-Elizabethan or Jacobean style. The second, built to house the growing island's Parliament, is an extraordinary remaking of the Caribbean form exemplified in the Assembly Building at Spanish Town, except, on this occasion, in a distinctly late Victorian free classicism, similar to the kind of civic building one might find in colonies in Australia or South Africa of around the same period. The richly polychrome Queen's Royal College also evokes a loosely Italian flavour through its Renaissance Revival styling.

This extraordinary collection of late nineteenth-century public buildings mirrored an equally eclectic residential architecture that began to rise during this period when 'cocoa was king', especially around the city's main public square, Queen's Park Savannah. The highly ornate, French-style Ambard's House (Roomor), for instance, is characterized by its overwrought details and impressive cast-iron verandahs and projecting eaves. Equally bizarre, for the location, is Killarney, otherwise

[69] The best source for these buildings is Crain, *Historic Architecture in the Caribbean Islands*.

known as Stollmeyer's Castle, begun in 1902. Designed by Scotsman Robert Gillies (of Taylor and Gillies), this towered medieval revival building clearly evokes Balmoral Castle, looking as though it would be more at home in Scotland than the Caribbean. Its setting is betrayed, however, by the inclusion of a lower-level verandah. Other houses in the vicinity include the Italianate Archbishop's Residence, begun in 1904, designed by an Irish architect, and the quasi-Oriental Whitehall, a three-storey masonry block with heavy rustication, lobed arches, engaged pilasters, and varying window forms. The latter of these was built for cocoa baron Joseph Leon Agostini, but later served as the residence of the Prime Minister of the island.

Through this extraordinary array of architectural types and styles, in which more than a little conspicuous consumption is evident, Port of Spain was clearly attempting to recast its identity within the wider empire as a vibrant and viable enterprise following the economic upheavals that racked the British West Indies during the immediate post-abolition era. Other examples of this kind of architectural transformation in the region include the impressive three-storey, free-classic Barbados Mutual Life Assurance Society building (1894–5), with its distinctive cast-iron verandahs over two levels, and the climatically adapted, if rather uncanny, medieval forms of the Public Buildings (1872–86), both in Bridgetown, Barbados; while striking something of a contrast in Port Antonio, Jamaica, is the four-square, somewhat sober looking, Portland Courthouse (1895), which also has an ornate Victorian cast-iron verandah.

Architecture between the Wars and the End of Empire

The Canadian Expeditionary Force fought for the British Army in World War I and distinguished itself in combat. The national pride that this generated has been interpreted as Canada's 'achieving nationhood'. While not constitutionally so, as Canada remained a Dominion within the British empire, the nation began to look at the world through a Canadian lens. An instance of this was the opening in Washington of Canada's first foreign legation in 1927. It was at this time that Modernist tendencies entered Canadian architecture. The earliest efforts sought to achieve modernity within a traditional framework, reflecting architects' and clients' conservatism. Modern Classicism (or Moderne) is used with distinction, for example, at the Bank of Montreal in Ottawa (1929–32)—now the Sir John A. Macdonald Building—which the architect, E. I. Barott (1884–1966), described as 'a modern interpretation of Greek design'. The traditional temple–bank has had its external ornament reduced to a severe cube, with pilasters that appear to be engraved on the limestone walls, and allegorical bas-reliefs depicting Canadian industry and commerce. The ground floor comprises a grand, column-free, banking hall, covered by a gently coved coffered ceiling.[70]

Art Deco, more a style of ornament than of building, flourished at the same time. Common for office buildings across the country, it also appeared in some

[70] S. Wagg, *Ernest Isbell Barott Architecte/Architect: Une introduction/An Introduction* (Montreal, 1985), pp. 16–19.

residences. The most celebrated is the house built for himself in 1930–1 by Montreal architect-engineer Ernest Cormier (1885–1980), and the home of Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau (1919–2000). Perched on a narrow, steeply sloping site, the massing comprises two delicately articulated rectangular blocks faced in grey composition granite. The stunning interiors, fully designed by Cormier and finished in light, pastel colours, repeat the motifs of horizontal bands and interlocking circles (Figure 7.15).[71]

The less compromising 'International Style' of Modernism also reached Canada in the 1930s. An early instance of its use is the Toronto, Hamilton and Buffalo Railway Station in Hamilton, Ontario (1930–3)—a combination station and seven-storey office building, designed by the New York firm of Alfred T. Fellheimer (1875–1959) and Steward Wagner (1886–1958). The features are those introduced to North America by Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson (1906–2005) in the influential exhibition, *The International Style: Architecture Since 1922*, at the Museum of Modern Art, New York City, in 1932: an emphasis on volume and not mass, a sense of regularity, and a reliance on the intrinsic elegance of materials, rather than on applied decoration. On seeing the show, the architects abandoned the Art Deco tower they had proposed in 1930 in favour of Modernist treatment.

Figure 7.15. Interior of Ernest Cormier House, Montreal, Quebec (1930–1), by Ernest Cormier (Colin Rose, Wikimedia Commons).

[71] R. Little, '1418, Avenue des Pins, la Maison Ernest Cormier and the European Context', *Journal of Canadian Art History*, vols 13–14:2–1 (1990–1), pp. 109–36.

In the British West Indies, as in a number of Britain's 'dependent' colonies in Africa and Asia, issues of modernity and 'development' came to the fore during this period. Following civil unrest in the region in 1938, and a subsequent Royal Commission, the Development and Welfare department of the Colonial Office was formed in order to assist various colonies to improve in key areas of agriculture, health, education, and housing, and to prepare for self-government. The procedure was strategic in the sense that it was designed to manage this transition in Britain's favour, with 'experts' seconded to Britain's colonies in the Caribbean to advise and oversee the process. Particular architects such as Joan Burnett (*née* Griffiths), Leo De Syllas, Leslie Creed, and Ralph Crowe, which formed a team led by the Liverpool School of Architecture professor Robert Joseph Gardner-Medwin (1907–95), were stationed in the region, establishing a 'central research bureau' through which they could 'scientifically' examine the context and conditions.[72] Operating as part of an extended network concerned with tropical architecture across the British world, their aim, according to Gardner-Medwin, was to 'design buildings to suit the climatic conditions, the social customs and the building materials of the West Indies'.[73]

Although Gardner-Medwin took the opportunity to devise comprehensive replanning schemes for certain colonial capitals, such as his vision for Georgetown, British Guiana (1945), the team's focus was on housing. In a sense they were attempting to reinvent the wheel with respect to climatically responsive architecture from first principles, which led them to research materials closely and contrive readily buildable solutions based on their findings. Their experiments, however, soon ranged beyond the domestic. One outcome of this was the Bishop's High School in Georgetown (1946), a syncretic attempt, as Iain Jackson notes, at making West Indian materials comply with the formal ambitions of European Modernism.[74] Experiments of this kind would eventually lead to the introduction of more mainstream (if tropically inflected) 'international' Modernist design, evidenced in such projects as the University College of the West Indies at Mona, Jamaica (begun 1951), by Norman & Dawbarn (Figure 7.16).

International-style Modernism was a manner developed on the European continent, not in Britain, and its introduction to places such as the British West Indies and Canada may be seen to symbolize the final break with derivative British architectural sources. In the case of Canada, its acceptance coincided with Britain's passing the Statute of Westminster (1931), which granted all Commonwealth dominions full legal freedom, except in those areas in which they chose to remain subordinate to Britain. This event can be taken to mark Canada's formal exit from the empire.

Indeed, Canada's withdrawal from the British empire has been gradual and continues to this day, with Canada remaining an active member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The British Privy Council ceased to be the final court

[72] This story, and the networks involved, are retold in I. Jackson, 'Tropical Architecture and the West Indies: From Military Advances and Tropical Medicine, to Robert Gardner-Medwin and the Networks of Tropical Modernism', *The Journal of Architecture*, vol. 18:2 (2013), pp. 167–95.

[73] *Ibid.*, p. 178. [74] *Ibid.*, p. 182.

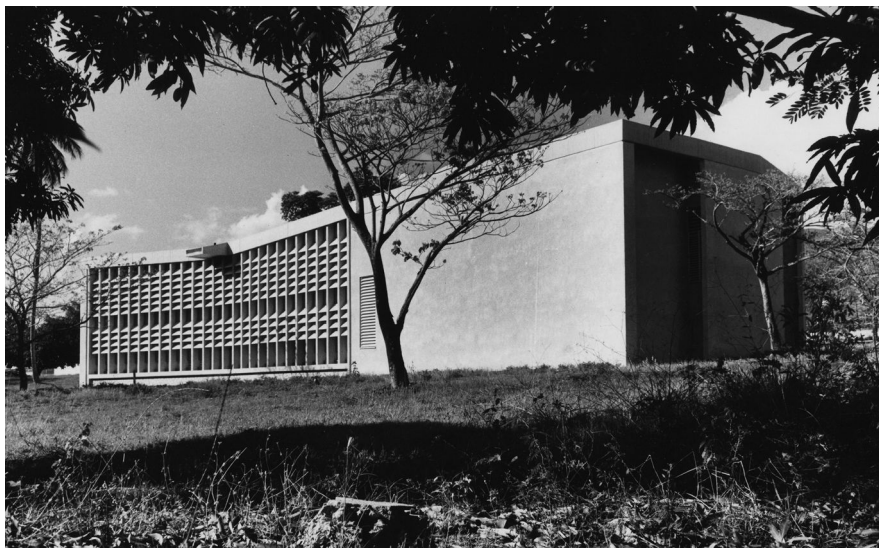

Figure 7.16. Lecture theatres block, University of the West Indies at Mona, Jamaica (1953), by Norman & Dawbarn (RIBA Library Photographs Collection).

of appeal for Canadians only in 1949, the same year in which Newfoundland entered Confederation. Expo 67 (the 1967 world's fair held in Montreal) has been credited with stimulating Canada's cultural and architectural self-awareness. The Canadian constitution, passed in 1867 as part of a British statute, was 'patriated' into Canadian legislation in 1982. The Governor General remains the Queen's representative in Canada, and the Queen appears on coinage and some paper currency. New Canadians today take an oath of citizenship that swears 'allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Second, Queen of Canada', which a recent court ruling upheld as an affirmation of loyalty not to a specific ruler, but rather to the primary symbol of Canada's constitutional monarchy.

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8

South and South East Asia

Preeti Chopra

The period between the late eighteenth and the early twentieth centuries witnessed an age of British imperial self-awareness in Asia that included an ambitious vision for architecture. The iconic buildings of this era showcased an approach to the built environment that was both bold in conception and massive in scale—one that was self-consciously aesthetic, drawing on earlier precedent, while occasionally being inventive. Traditionally, architectural historians (in the strictest sense of that term) have quibbled over the solecism or accuracy of the forms and details of particular buildings associated with this imperial age. But to focus on this alone is to miss or overlook important social and cultural aspects associated with the region's built heritage.

It is important to note from the outset that no single ideology or 'style' undergirded the architecture of the British empire. The meaning of architectural style, and what might have been considered appropriate for the empire, were hotly contested, especially during the Victorian era. Nor were imperial buildings simply copies of buildings in Britain. Central to their production was articulating the relationship between ruler and ruled. An 'appropriate' architecture was one that calibrated the correct distance between the colonizing elite and those over whom they ruled. British intellectual and climatic explications for these spatially (and stylistically) composite buildings were essential in buttressing the idea that they respond to the hybrid realities of colonial life. Control over this process was crucial. As the English artist Colesworthy Grant (1813–80) once astutely observed, 'few Europeans were willing to admit they were products of a hybrid culture'.[1]

Nevertheless, the British never wholly defined an architecture of empire in South and South East Asia. Local populations—as users, designers, engineers, builders, and sometimes patrons—also shaped this region's architecture. The production of buildings in many if not most circumstances was a collaborative effort. The bulk of the expertise, albeit often at lower levels, was drawn from colonized populations. Thus, in conception, construction, and use, the architecture of the British empire should be seen as a 'contact zone', which is vital to any understanding of it as a means of interpreting British imperial culture.[2]

[1] Grant quoted in S. Chattopadhyay, *Representing Calcutta: Modernity, Nationalism and the Colonial Uncanny* (London, 2005), p. 135.

[2] This term was coined by Mary Louise Pratt. See M. L. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London, 1992).

This chapter considers several important buildings in key locations that were central to British rule in the South and South East Asian region. The buildings discussed were often in dialogue with one another and demonstrate important historical developments and trends seen at other sites. On the Indian subcontinent, for example, early iconic buildings marked a break from the plain, functional structures that had hitherto served the English EIC, such as the Writers' Building in Calcutta (1780) (Figure 8.1). Through their massing, architectural detail, and function, these buildings were designed expressly to impress local inhabitants, and even other European powers, speaking to ideas of military conquest, imperial presence, and even collaboration. Indeed, from the last quarter of the eighteenth century, just as the EIC was establishing itself as a foreign ruling presence in India, it began founding trading outposts in other parts of Asia. Further east, Singapore become a British possession in 1824, followed by the cession of Hong Kong Island from Imperial China at the Treaty of Nanking in 1842. Owing to this extension of British power across the region, certain patterns and commonalities in British architecture are also observable.

In analysing this building culture, this chapter will reflect upon important new developments in the historiography and methodology of the subject, incorporating and enlarging upon the insights of much recent scholarship. As will be familiar to those who study South Asian architecture, especially in the late modern period, early accounts of British architecture on the Indian subcontinent by British writers, particularly from the 1980s, were notable for surveying large numbers of buildings, in the process providing rich descriptions of building form and style. However, these accounts focused exclusively and somewhat uncritically on colonial architecture as the product of the singular vision of British expertise and patronage.[3] Both earlier and later accounts by continental European scholars improved this state of affairs only marginally. Although including more by way of analysis of plans and interiors, and paying greater attention to Indic details and the influence of European ideas on Indian constructions, the focus on European architecture remained.[4]

Beyond this survey format, Robert Grant Irving's classic *Indian Summer: Lutyens, Baker and Imperial Delhi* (1981), in its exploration of the design and construction of New Delhi, drew the reader into the intrigues and personality clashes of its leading architects and planners, revealing in immense detail the processes and problems germane to the realization of such a grand architectural vision.[5] While making valuable contributions to our understanding of the architecture of the British empire, the main problem with these works is that in focusing on key figures, and dealing almost exclusively with monumental buildings, they largely

[3] Examples of this include P. Davies, *Splendours of the Raj: British Architecture in India 1660–1947* (Harmondworth, 1987) and J. Morris, *Stones of Empire: The Buildings of the Raj* (Oxford, 1983).

[4] See S. Nilsson, *European Architecture in India 1750–1850* (London, 1968); A. Volwahsen, *Splendours of Imperial India: British Architecture in the 18th and 19th Centuries* (Munich, 2004).

[5] R. G. Irving, *Indian Summer: Lutyens, Baker and Imperial Delhi* (New Haven and London, 1981). See also A. Volwahsen, *Imperial Delhi: The British Capital of the Indian Empire* (Munich, 2002). For a post-colonial perspective on colonial Delhi by a cultural geographer, see S. Legg, *Spaces of Colonialism: Delhi's Urban Governmentalities* (Oxford, 2007).

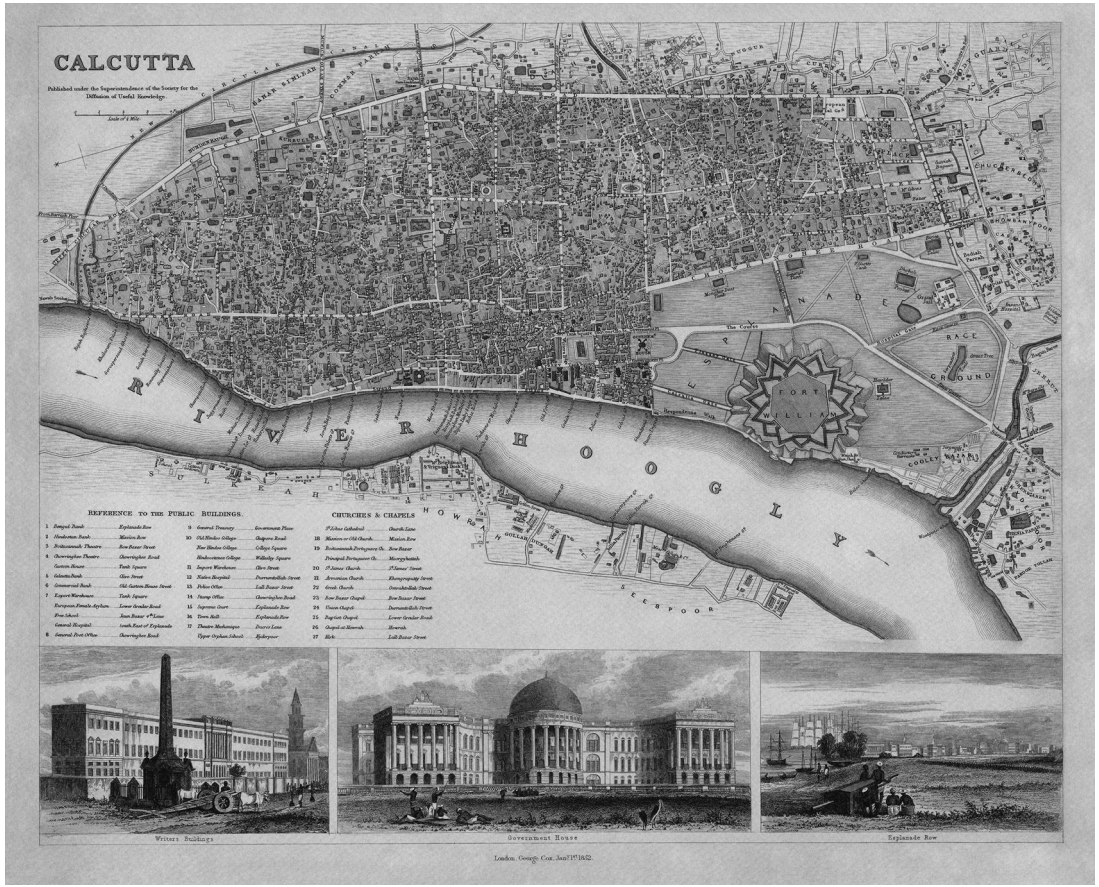

Figure 8.1. Map of Calcutta (*c.*1852). The star-shaped formation of Fort William is evident at centre right of the map, bordering the River Hooghly. In the illustrations across the bottom can be seen the Writers' Building (1780, *left*) by Thomas Lyon, with Holwell's monument to the Black Hole standing in the foreground; the rear façade of Government House (1799–1803, *middle*); and a panorama of Esplanade Row (*right*) (courtesy Phillips Images, Mumbai).

neglect the contributions made by local populations to the history and fabric of the colonial built environment.

Some time prior to most of these accounts, Anthony D. King's *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment* (1976) outlined the distinctive contours of the colonial city, becoming an important foundational text for a new, more theoretically informed approach to the subject. Likewise, in his second path-breaking book, *The Bungalow: The Production of a Global Culture* (1984), rather than taking monumental architecture as his cue, King traced a vernacular form from its humble origins as the hut of a Bengali peasant to a building type that circulated globally.[6] While returning to a focus on elite architecture, Thomas R. Metcalf's *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj* (1989) exposed the ideological underpinnings of so-called Indo-Saracenic architecture, where Indic forms were united with 'European science' in a British/European building that was used for 'modern functions' and which, as he demonstrated in a subsequent publication, was also a regional phenomenon through its export to South East Asia.[7]

However, the most important and exciting shift in the field of late can be found in the work of a new generation of scholars, whose perspective has been influenced substantially by post-colonial theory. This scholarship has sought to expand our analysis of empire and unsettle previously held views on colonial dominance through its drawing attention to the attitudes, contributions, and agency of local populations in the construction and habitation of the colonial city. While earlier scholarship gave little space to the colonized, these works have increasingly turned our attention to precisely such people. Scholarship of this kind is also characterized by its critical spatial analysis of buildings and city planning, including elite and non-elite residential architectures of both the colonizer and colonized.[8] This has further expanded the range of building types explored in colonial contexts to include a variety of previously neglected institutional architectures, such as hospitals, lunatic asylums, penal institutions, and town halls (see also Chapter 2, pp. 52–6).[9]

With these developments in view, this chapter will examine the distinctive architectures of British imperialism as they developed through time and across space. After sections dealing with the early and high colonial periods in South Asia,

[6] A. D. King, *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment* (London, 1976); A. D. King, *The Bungalow: The Production of a Global Culture* (London, 1984).

[7] T. R. Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj* (London, 1989), p. 77; T. R. Metcalf, *Imperial Connections: India in the Indian Ocean Arena, 1860–1920* (Berkeley, 2007), pp. 56–67.

[8] See B. S. A. Yeoh, *Contesting Space in Colonial Singapore: Power Relations in the Urban Built Environment* (Oxford, 1996); Chattopadhyay, *Representing Calcutta*; J. Hosagrahar, *Indigenous Modernities: Negotiating Architecture and Urbanism* (London, 2005); W. J. Glover, *Making Lahore Modern: Constructing and Imagining a Colonial City* (Minnesota, 2008); A. Pieris, *Architecture and Nationalism in Sri Lanka: The Trouser Under the Cloth* (Abingdon, 2013); N. Rao, *House, but No Garden: Apartment Living in Bombay's Suburbs, 1898–1964* (Minneapolis, 2013).

[9] See P. Chopra, *A Joint Enterprise: Indian Elites and the Making of British Bombay* (Minnesota, 2011); A. Pieris, *Hidden Hands and Divided Landscapes: A Penal History of Singapore's Plural Society* (Honolulu, 2009); S. Chattopadhyay and J. White (eds), *City Halls and Civic Materialism: Towards a Global History of Urban Public Space* (London, 2014).

it will go on to consider the 'connected histories' of imperial architecture in South East Asia important to our understanding of the extension and consolidation of the emergent capitalist world order in the region.[10] Although obviously central to our image of the architecture of the Raj, better known monuments such as the Victoria Memorial in Calcutta and Viceroy's House, New Delhi, are covered in Chapter 3 (pp. 101–2, 111–21), leaving more space here to discuss some of the less grand, intimate spaces of colonial domesticity. Such spaces are also important in making sense of British colonial architecture in all its forms, not just as representational constructs but as lived experience too. Finally, it will be argued throughout that the architecture of empire in Asia was a product of contact zones where colonized populations both challenged and collaborated with foreign colonial power by participating in the production, habitation, and thus characterization of its modern buildings and spaces.

EARLY IMPERIAL GESTURES

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the EIC had been in India for almost two hundred years. Founded on 31 December 1600, and given a Royal charter by Elizabeth I, it became one among many European trading companies operating in Asia. In 1617, the Mughal Emperor Jahangir (1569–1627) awarded a concession to Sir Thomas Roe, James VI and I's ambassador to the Mughal court, granting the EIC permission to establish factories for trade at select Mughal ports. By 1700 the Company had established small but vital coastal toeholds through the acquisition of the three 'presidency' capitals of Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta—all staging points from which claims were made on the interior of the subcontinent. These trading enclaves were protected by substantial fortifications, such as those at Fort St George, Madras (see Figure 1.3), and Calcutta's old Fort William. Arriving as governor-general in 1798, Lord Wellesley (1798–1805) could see that the British were one among many 'country powers'. However, he aspired to a British presence the extents of which would include the entire subcontinent, initiating twenty years of military activity that, by 1818, resulted in the EIC effectively becoming rulers of India.[11]

From the late eighteenth century, often in the wake of key military victories, early iconic buildings were constructed not only in the three Presidency settlements but also at the British Residencies of Lucknow and Hyderabad, which were capitals of states under the rule of Indian sovereigns. But as the British began to conceive of themselves as a regional power, there was a shift in racial attitudes towards the indigenous population. Relationships of intimacy between Indians and the British were increasingly frowned upon. From the 1790s, Eurasians were excluded from appointments in the civil service and commissioned ranks of the

[10] For use of this term 'connected histories', see S. Subrahmanyam, 'Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia', *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 31:3 (1997), pp. 735–62.

[11] B. D. Metcalf and T. R. Metcalf, *A Concise History of India* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 43–9, 67.

army. In this changing racial climate the British ruling classes began to distance themselves, spatially and socially, from those over whom they ruled.[12]

Imperial Architectural Assertion in the Presidency Towns

Government House in Calcutta, built by Richard Wellesley (1st Marquess, 1760–1842), was the first unambiguous architectural pronouncement of British imperial power on the Indian subcontinent. A few years after the Battle of Plassey (1757) the British found themselves in control of great swathes of eastern India. When Wellesley came to Calcutta as governor-general in 1798, he found the accommodation used by previous governors (governors-general after 1774) to be insufficient. Almost immediately he constructed a new residence, which was completed in 1803. It was designed by Captain Charles Wyatt of the Bengal Engineers, based on James Paine's Palladian-style plan for Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire (a project that was later taken over by Robert Adam), constructed in 1761 (Figure 8.2). Like Kedleston, the plan for Government House, Calcutta, consisted of a large

Figure 8.2. Government House, Calcutta (completed 1803), to design by Captain Charles Wyatt (Victoria & Albert Museum, London).

[12] K. Ballhatchet, *Race, Sex, and Class under the Raj: Imperial Attitudes and Policies and Their Critics, 1793–1905* (New York, 1980), p. 4.

rectangular central block with passages curving out from its corners to connect with the building's four wings.[13] Writing of the expansiveness of Wyatt's plan, Sten Nilsson observed that: 'the dimensions of the proposed building were considerable; by stretching out in all four directions, the plan gave an impression of expansion and power, and by its provenance was reminiscent of the lordly country seats of the homeland'.[14] Thus, Government House would become the model and inspiration for other seats of power in British India, including the residences of indigenous potentates, such as the Nawab of Bengal in Murshidabad.

Government House was prominently located on Esplanade Road, facing the expansive open space (originally military parade ground) known as the *maidan*. Next door was the substantial neoclassical Town Hall, constructed between 1807 and 1813, and based on designs by John Garstin. The *maidan* was created to form a firing range when the British constructed Fort William after 1757, on the eastern bank of the River Hooghly (see Figure 8.1). The location of prominent buildings outside of the fort signalled the EIC's confidence in its own military supremacy. Apart from its military function, the *maidan* formed a splendid setting for the array of magnificent buildings that would come to be constructed along the Esplanade and Chowringhee roads on its northern and eastern perimeters respectively.

Although Government House was an imperial building in what was by that time an imperial capital, the EIC's Court of Directors back in London remained unconvinced by its huge expense, becoming a reason for Wellesley's recall to London. However, Wellesley's defenders, such as Lord Valentia, wrote approvingly of his initiative, arguing:

> The Head of a mighty Empire ought to conform himself to the prejudices of the country he rules over; and the British in particular ought to emulate the splendid works of the Princes of the House of Timour . . . In short, I wish India to be ruled from a palace, not from a counting-house; with the ideas of a Prince, not with those of a retail-dealer in muslins and indigo.[15]

The view that the Orient alone was associated with dazzling 'extravagance' is a familiar trope. Wellesley might also have been persuaded by the excesses displayed by his own predatory countrymen in India who amassed and spent large fortunes, by fair means or foul, acquiring the epithet 'nabob', after the Mughal term *nawab* (governor).

Despite their striking similarity, Kedleston Hall and Government House were fundamentally different, too. Apart from the strategic placement of fenestration for climatic reasons (cross ventilation) in Calcutta, the central hall in the main block at Kedleston had a splendid staircase, whereas in Government House the ceremonial staircase leading to the principal storey was transferred to the exterior. Here, a magnificent flight of steps created a gradually ascending ceremonial way

[13] For a concise account of this building, see Nilsson, *European Architecture*, pp. 101–6. See also, Davies, *Splendours of the Raj*, pp. 63–9.

[14] Nilsson, *European Architecture*, p. 101.

[15] Quoted in Metcalf and Metcalf, *Concise History*, p. 67. For a general discussion on the relationship between classical architecture and empire, see Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision*, pp. 8–16, 176–210.

with room at the sides for the presentation of arms by numerous soldiers. A closer inspection of the plans also reveals that they catered to very different social lives (Figure 8.3). Significantly, Kedleston Hall demonstrated the growing practice in affluent English residences of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of segregating servant spaces from the main public and private areas of the house. Entry to all of the main rooms at Kedleston was buffered by linking elements such as stairs, passages, or vestibules, maintaining the distinct identity and use of each room. In contrast, in Government House, and other nineteenth-century European houses in Calcutta, every space flowed into the next through a number of doorways without the use of buffering elements.

Further south, in Madras, Edward Clive (1754–1839, 1st Earl of Powis, son of Lord Clive of Plassey (1725–74)), echoed Wellesley's imperial architectural gesturing. His extravagance also incurred the wrath of the EIC's Court of Directors, likewise becoming one of the reasons for his recall to London. Arriving in India in 1798, Clive, like Wellesley before him, was dissatisfied with the existing stock of government buildings, located both inside and outside Fort St George. He engaged the services of locally based Danish architect John Goldingham to rework and expand one of the houses for use as a permanent residence. Known as the Triplicane Garden House, this building became the new Government House in Madras. It was located outside the fort and given a distinct country house character, further accentuated by Goldingham's addition of a surrounding English-style park. Oriented towards the sea, the building's dominant architectural feature was a deep, colonnaded verandah that wrapped around three sides of its facade.

However, perhaps the loudest imperial note in Madras was struck by another building, the so-called Banqueting Hall, which was both an advertisement of military victory and a temple to hero-worship. The road to the Government House passed directly by this most remarkable building—a massive, entirely new, temple-like structure also designed by Goldingham (Figure 8.4). Opened in 1802, it was built to accommodate official functions and entertainment hosted by the Governor. Like Wellesley's endeavours with Government House in Calcutta, the Banqueting Hall was built at a scale not previously seen in Madras, being two-storeys high and emblazoned with a Tuscan/Doric order of classical columns. The hall rested on a terrace formed by a high podium, arcaded on three sides. Guarded by Sphinx, a flight of steps led to its grand entrance. Its entablature and pediments acted as a billboard for the celebration of military victory, with spoils of war inserted in the metopes of the frieze. In one of these pediments trophies of victory were represented, along with arms and the inscription 'Seringapatam' with the year '1799', commemorating the important victory over Tipu Sultan. 'Plassey', the first seminal victory that established British rule in India, was inscribed on the rear pediment. The martial decorations continued on the interior, framing the portraits of famous military men. As Nilsson correctly observes, 'the Banqueting Hall functioned very like a *Heroum*, a neo-Classical temple for hero-worship'.[16]

[16] Nilsson, *European Architecture*, p. 109. For further discussion of this building, see Davies, *Splendours of the Raj*, pp. 34–6; Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision*, pp. 10–12; Volwahsen, *Splendours of Imperial India*, pp. 70–3.

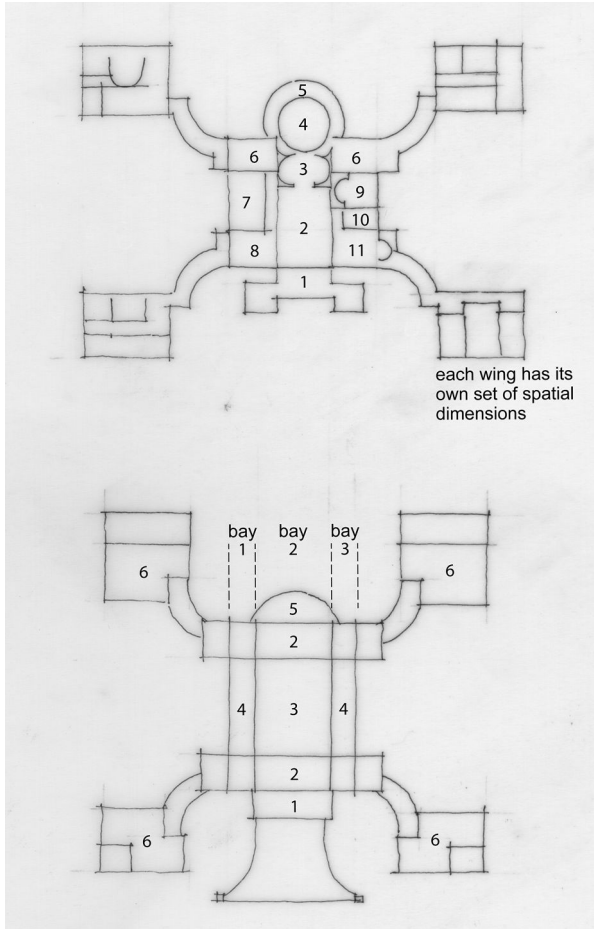

Figure 8.3. Schematic plans of Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire (*top*), and principal storey of the Government House, Calcutta (*bottom*), illustrating the main differences in spatial arrangement of the two buildings. Note the distinctive three-bay arrangement of Government House (*Legend* Kedleston Hall: main entrance [1], hall [2], great stair [3], saloon [4], portico [5], library/dressing room [6], drawing room [7], music room [8], state bedroom [9], wardrobe [10], dining room [11]. Government House: main entrance/north portico [1], north hall (subsequently breakfast room)/south hall (subsequently throne room, with public drawing room above) [2], principal dining room (subsequently Marble hall/audience hall 'Durbar hall', with ballroom above) [3], colonnades [4], north portico [5], Governor General's apartments/private and military secretaries/council chamber and chief secretaries office [6]) (source: S. Chattopadhyay, *Representing Calcutta: Modernity, Nationalism, and the Colonial Uncanny* (2006), fig. 2.18).

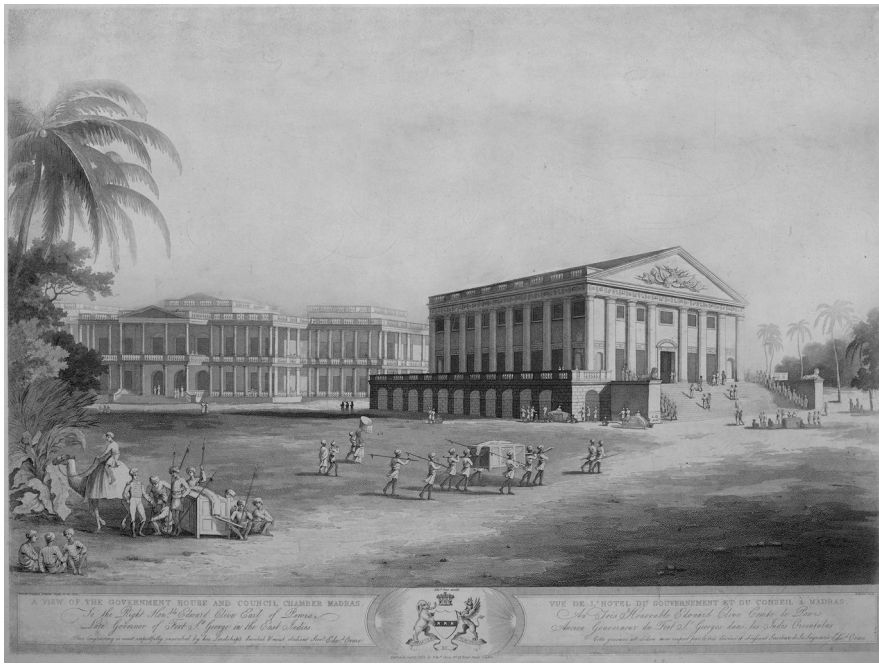

Figure 8.4. Aquatint by H. Merke (1807) showing Government House (*left background*) and Banqueting Hall (*right middle ground*), Triplicane, Madras, to designs by John Goldingham (© The British Library Board).

This temple was part of a broader trend in British India. Tombs and monuments for 'heroes' or the memorialization of horrific events, private memorial temples, memorial churches, tombstones, sculptures, and paintings were all important ways of commemorating worthies in the British imperial imagination. In addition, graveyards, such as South Park Street Cemetery in Calcutta, and memorial tablets in churches played a significant role in British efforts at place-making in India.[17] Marquis Cornwallis, for instance, who was central in establishing British rule through his 'treaty' with Tipu Sultan in 1792, was the hero most memorialized in locations throughout India in the decade that followed his death in 1805, including a cenotaph erected for him in Ghazipur.

In western India, the Battle of Kirkee had broken the power of the Peshwas by 1817, allowing mercantile interests in Bombay unhindered access to trade routes across the Deccan, while at the same time elevating it as the commercial centre of the Arabian Sea. Bombay's grandiose Town Hall, with its weighty Greek Revival façade, therefore announced a new imperial era. Designed by military architect

[17] For instance, see B. Groseclose, *British Sculpture and the Company Raj: Church Monuments and Public Statuary in Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay to 1858* (Newark, 1995). For the early twentieth century, see T. R. Metcalf, 'Monuments and Memorials: Lord Curzon's Creation of a Past for the Raj', in M. A. Pelizzari (ed.), *Traces of India* (Montreal, 2003), pp. 240–59.

Colonel Thomas Cowper, this building was first proposed in 1811, and constructed between 1821 and 1833, being the settlement's first significant architectural gesture. Along with the new Mint (1829), it was located in the heart of the Fort, within the vicinity of dusty Cotton Green. Again, statues to 'heroes' of imperial rule—Wellesley and Cornwallis—were raised in the Green in 1814 and 1822 respectively. Erected in this new context, the Town Hall struck a confident pose, conveying 'an impression of might and *mass*', making it one of the most notable Greek Revival buildings in India of the period (Figure 8.5).[18] It was used to host entertainment as well as house the Asiatic Society and government offices.

In the nineteenth century, town halls would be constructed in numerous locations throughout South Asia. Unlike government houses, or the Banqueting Hall in Madras, where the dominant message was of imperial expansion through triumphant militarism, in many locations, including Calcutta, Bombay, and Surat, town halls would constitute key locations in the history of the formation of an Indian bourgeois civil society. The town hall became a middle ground for the holding of public meetings permitted by government, including meetings organized jointly by members of both British and native communities. The town hall thus became

Figure 8.5. Photograph of 1854 showing Elphinstone Circle and Town Hall, Bombay (1821–33) (Victoria & Albert Museum, London).

[18] Nilsson, *European Architecture*, p. 117.

one of the institutions through which the British government established its hegemony in India.[19]

Indirect Rule and the Residencies of Lucknow and Hyderabad

While large parts of the Indian subcontinent were ruled directly, India's princely states were often governed 'indirectly'. In this strategy of governance, the local ruler accepted the dominance and protection of the British, who, while taking away the local ruler's right to wage war, pledged to safeguard them from their (mutual) enemies. In accepting these terms, local princes were forced to agree to the presence of a British 'resident' at their court, and to follow their advice. In principle, the local princes were allowed to govern the internal matters of state only. As the British extended their control over the subcontinent from their coastal enclaves during the 1760s, this mode of governance emerged through a desire to search out collaborators as a cushion against rivals.[20] The policy was implemented after 1764, initially through the appointment of residents at the court of the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Nawab of Awadh, and it was the Indian rulers who paid for the buildings to accommodate the British Resident.

Located prominently, high on a hill, the Residency building in Lucknow was begun in 1780 but not completed until the early nineteenth century. Over time other structures were added to this emerging complex, including a banqueting hall and council chamber. The whole was secured by basic defences and entered through a guard-house and a large gate named after Major John Baillie, Resident from 1811 to 1815. In contrast to the magnificent hybrid buildings of the Nawabs of Oudh, or the French-born General Claude Martin, such as Martin's fantastical Palace–Tomb of La Martinière (*c.*1794–7), the Residency buildings were distinguished by their restrained neoclassical exteriors. However, they were influenced by Indian building practices. The Resident's block (*c.*1800) had a suite of below-ground rooms, known as *tykhanas*. Such rooms were used during the hot season in many parts of north India. After the building's destruction in the Revolt of 1857 its remains revealed that, as with many other structures in Lucknow, the *tykhanas* were the result of Indian workmanship.

In 1803 work on a new Residency began in Hyderabad. The building's architect, the military engineer Lieutenant Samuel Russell, drew on Palladian models, with Wellesley's Government House in Calcutta serving as inspiration for a number of its features. Built at a time when Wellesley's expansionist policies were beginning to bear fruit, its reference to Government House was probably no coincidence. Like its illustrious predecessor, it was also used for grand state occasions. Calculated to impress, a formal processional route from the river was developed so that visitors entered through a triumphal archway. A contemporary aquatint by R. M. Grindlay

[19] P. Chopra, 'The Bombay Town Hall: Engaging the Function and Quality of Public Space, 1811–1918', in Chattopadhyay and White, *City Halls and Civic Materialism*, pp. 158–76.

[20] M. H. Fisher, 'Indirect Rule in the British Empire: The Foundations of the Residency System in India (1764–1858)', *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 18:3 (1984), pp. 393–428. See also M. H. Fisher, *Indirect Rule in India: Residents and the Residency System 1764–1858* (Oxford, 1991).

reveals how such an entrance was supposed to occur, showing a group on elephants, camels, and horses passing through the archway, which was embellished with a sphinx and trophies. This opened up on to a vista of the striking, classical grandeur of the main building itself, which was the centrepiece of the complex (see Plate 15).

The charismatic James Achilles Kirkpatrick (1764–1805) was the Resident responsible for persuading the Nizam to agree to this ambitious complex. Kirkpatrick fell in love and married a young girl (Khair-un-nissa) from the Nizam's court in one of the most famous interracial and interfaith relationships associated with the British Raj. Separate *zenana* quarters—or, in other words, the section of the house reserved for the women of the household, known as the Rang Mahal—were erected behind the main Residency building for Kirkpatrick's new Muslim wife. Female guests of visitors were entertained here, while male guests were treated to the hospitality of the Residency itself. This *bibighar* (literally 'house of women', for the wives or 'female companions' of British officials), with its scalloped arches, was clearly based on indigenous models of architecture. As his Begum remained in the *zenana*, Kirkpatrick erected a miniature version of the main building of the Residency in her garden.[21] Thus, the Residency was a complex that incorporated imperial gestures, European planning, and European and Indian stylistic precedents, even though its spatial planning and social practices were shaped appreciably by Muslim codes of gender segregation.[22]

THE CREATION OF THE MODERN STATE, REVOLT, AND URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE

The rebellion in 1857–8 against the British in much of northern India was a major watershed, which ultimately saw the abolition of the EIC and the Indian subcontinent brought under Crown rule. With the subsequent declaration of Queen Victoria as Empress of India in 1877, a new hierarchical order was established that included making Indians imperial subjects. Referred to as the 'Mutiny' by colonial rulers and the 'First War of Independence' by Indian nationalists, these labels reveal contrasting understandings of this momentous occasion. While the Revolt is often used as the starting point for modern Indian history, keeping global transformations in mind, some historians argue that 1848 is a more appropriate date for the creation of a 'modern state' in India. Various technological changes, such as

[21] According to Durba Ghosh, in eighteenth-century India, 'Bibi (also spelled beebee) generally meant wife or lady when used by speakers of Hindi or Urdu. In the context of colonial society, however, bibi was often used to refer to the female companion of Englishmen, whether those women were Indian or not. . . . Begum, ordinarily means women of high rank or status, generally women who were Muslim. Yet, in the eighteenth century, women without noble status were often referred to as begum and occasionally, bibi and begum were used interchangeably'. D. Ghosh, *Sex and the Family in Colonial India: The Making of Empire* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 33.

[22] Davies, *Splendours of the Raj*, pp. 94–9. For an intimate history of Kirkpatrick and Khair-un-Nissa's marriage, see W. Dalrymple, *White Mughals: Love & Betrayal in Eighteenth Century India* (New York, 2002).

canals, railways, and the telegraph came to India only a few years after they were constructed in Europe. Other characteristics of the modern state such as 'unification of sovereignty, the surveying and policing of the population, and institutions meant to create an educated citizenry' also came to India at around the same time as they did in Europe.[23] A telling example of the conjunction between the Revolt and the advent of the modern state in India is seen in the stipulation to make railway stations in northern India (where most of the violence took place) defensible, as in the case of the fortified station in Lahore (1864).

From the second half of the nineteenth century we see the profound ways in which architecture and spatial planning were affected by both the Revolt and its aftermath. Even while the British sought to segregate themselves increasingly from Indians, the emergence of modern public institutions and shared spaces resulted in the creation and expansion of what may be termed a 'joint public realm'. Here, statues and busts dedicated to Indian worthies would join those raised to British ones. Distinct from both real and imagined ethnic, religious, and class enclaves, this 'joint public realm' was a spatial arena that, in theory, was owned by and open to all citizens which helped in the construction of an imagined common public.[24]

Death, Memorials, and Tourism

The anthropologist Bernard Cohn has traced the development of a 'regular Mutiny Pilgrimage' established in the second half of the nineteenth century for Englishmen travelling in India to three sites that were central to the geography and narrative of the history of the Revolt. They were the Delhi Ridge, with its Mutiny Memorial; Kanpur, including the Memorial Well in the Memorial Gardens, with its large carved figure of the Angel of Resurrection, and Memorial Church by Walter Granville (completed in 1875); and the Residency complex in Lucknow. Most significantly, these memorials—which were a reminder of the sacrifices and martyrdom of the British—made 'sacred to the Victorian Englishmen, their rule in India'.[25]

As victors, the British were able to establish the dominant narrative of the Revolt's history, emphasizing the barbarity of the Indian 'mutineers' while downplaying accounts of their own brutality. Apart from the violence done to Indian bodies, British reprisals radically reshaped Delhi, Kanpur, and Lucknow, destroying large parts of these cities out of revenge and for reasons of security. Two-fifths of Lucknow was destroyed, while in Delhi railway lines were cut through the city and buildings razed between the Red Fort (former residence of the now deposed Mughal emperor) and the Jama Masjid in order to clear a 500-yard free firing zone (Figure 8.6).

[23] Metcalf and Metcalf, *Concise History*, p. 91. [24] Chopra, *A Joint Enterprise*.
[25] B. S. Cohn, 'Representing Authority in Victorian India', in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 179.

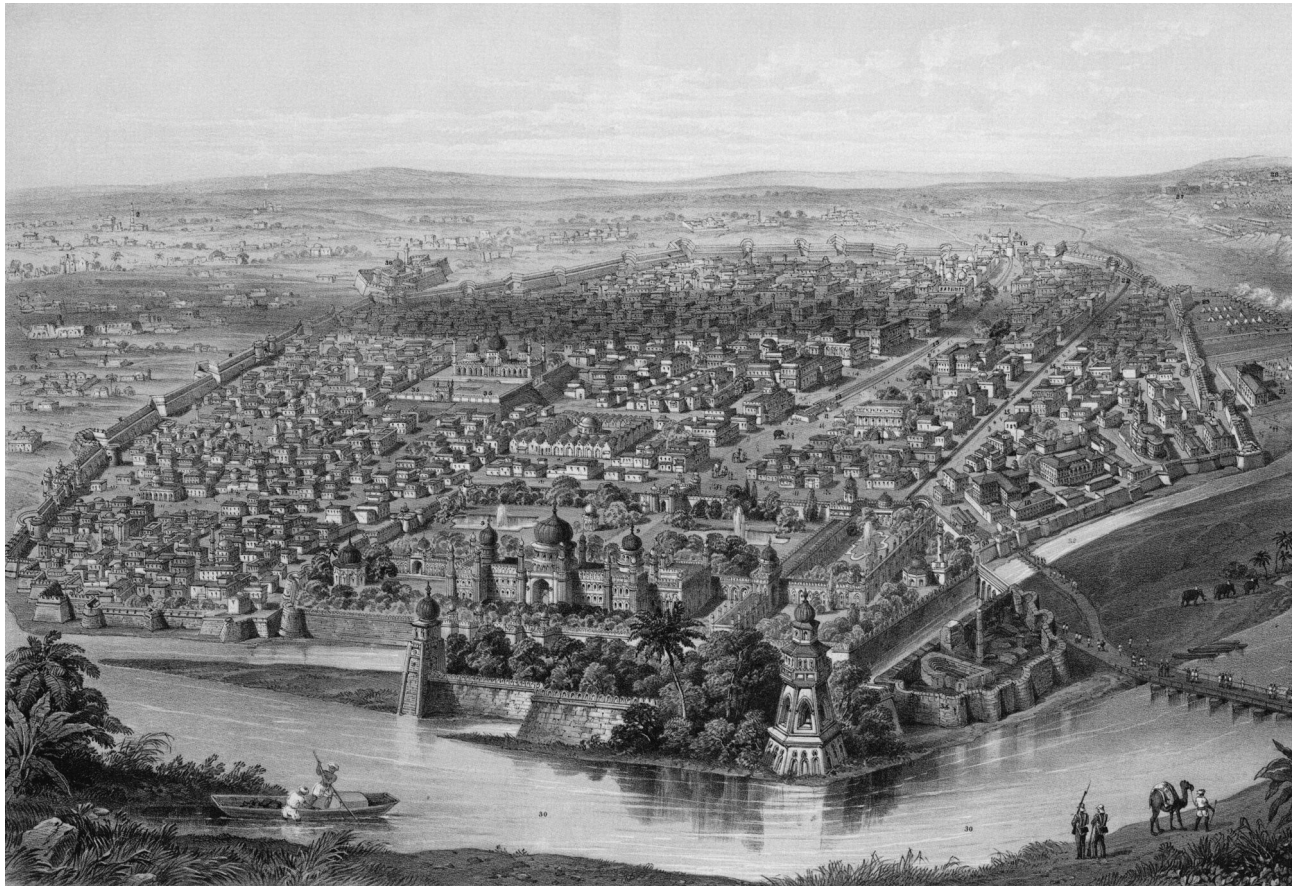

Figure 8.6. 'A Bird's Eye View of the City of Delhi and the British Cantonment' (1857). The view shows the Red Fort (*centre foreground*), Jama Masjid (*centre left middle ground*), and the cantonment can be seen in the upper-right of the view (courtesy Phillips Images, Mumbai).

Ian Baucom has shown how pilgrimage became embedded in practices of British tourism, evidenced, for example, in the 1924 revised edition of John Murray's *Handbook for Travellers in India, Burma, and Ceylon*. So-called Mutiny pilgrimage radically affected how key sites of the Revolt were framed in the British public imagination, with a narrative schema that reconstructed these sites as memorials to the 'Mutiny', with innumerable monuments including those mentioned above. Such tours often began at a site important to this narrative, such as the Residency compound in Lucknow, rather than at the former palace of the deposed Nawabs of Oudh, thus disrupting and displacing indigenous rule (indeed, the entire Mughal imperial system) from the history of these cities. Baucom insightfully notes of the Delhi tour that:

> [i]f the *Handbook* does not direct the traveler's attention to a grave, it gestures to a memorial tablet; if not to a memorial tablet, then to the scars that the mutineers' bullets traced into the wall of a church . . . It seems as if nothing else exists, or if there is something else – a temple or a mosque – it exists only as the awful scenery that framed this tragedy of betrayal.[26]

Installing monuments to the Revolt in British and Indian buildings alike, these insistent accounts of almost every colonist's death merely enhanced the sanctity of British sacrifice while reducing Indians and their buildings to harbingers and remnants of evil.

In Kanpur, for instance, the location of General Sir Hugh Wheeler's hastily erected entrenchment against the mutineers, along with important buildings at the site, were later marked by pillars, with a connecting hedge indicating the line of the defences. The Kanpur Memorial Church (1862–75), designed by Walter Granville, was erected north-west of this entrenchment. Designed in the Lombardic Gothic style, and constructed in 'bright red brick with polychrome dressings', it stands, with its prominent campanile, as a conspicuous monument to the events surrounding the 'Siege of Cawnpore' (1857). Inside, marked on fourteen memorial tablets, are tragic reminders of those who died, while on the south side of the exterior is a railed memorial slab bearing an inscription to those who were the first to fall. To the north-east of this church lay the Sati Chaura, or 'Massacre' Ghat, where an inscription reminded visitors of the gruesome events that took place there.

However, the most evocative memorial was that at Memorial Park, where a mound was shaped over the remnants of the well into which the bodies of over one hundred women and children were thrown after the massacre at Bibigarh. Surrounding the well, Sir Henry Yule, RE, designed a delicate octagonal Gothic screen. At its centre, the noted nineteenth-century French-Italian sculptor Carlo Marochetti (1805–67) produced a figure of the Angel of Resurrection in marble. Bearing palms in her hands, with arms crossed, she was intended as a symbol of peace (Figure 8.7). While the angel was the gift of Lord and Lady Canning, the

[26] I. Baucom, *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire, and the Locations of Identity* (Princeton, 1999), p. 109.

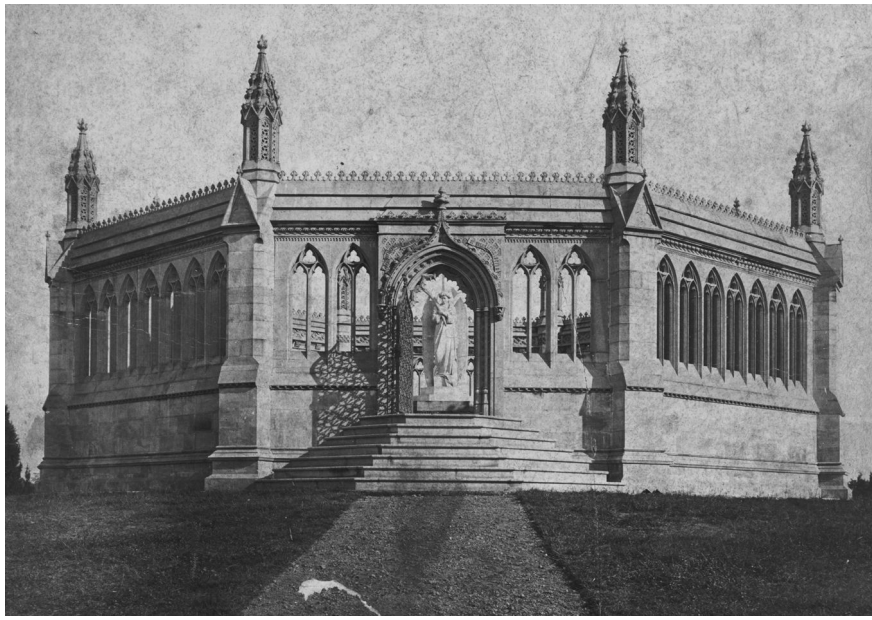

Figure 8.7. Cawnpore Memorial Well, Kanpur (*c.*1861). Photography by Francis Firth (*c.*1865) (Victoria & Albert Museum, London).

Indian populations of Kanpur were forced to pay £30,000 for the construction of the memorial and were not allowed to visit it before independence. After independence, the memorial was shifted to the churchyard of the Kanpur Memorial Church.[27]

Colonial Anxiety and Locating Home

British domestic architecture in India was characterized during this period by a desire to protect the family from outside intrusion, that is, from India and Indians. The British had long conceived of India and Indians as different with respect to dirt, disease, sensuality, lack of self-control, and other 'undesirable' characteristics. Added to this was the ingrained fear of Indians in the wake of the Revolt. This resulted in what Thomas Metcalf has called an 'ideology of distance', premised on ideas of 'difference', and wholly articulated in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first two of the twentieth. Spatially, this was made manifest as a series of 'nested boxes, each walled off from the larger Indian world outside'. The three salient 'boxes' were the residential bungalow, the civil lines/civil station/cantonment, and the hill station.[28]

[27] Davies, *Splendours of the Raj*, p. 138; *A Handbook For Travellers in India and Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon* (London, 1949), pp. 431–6.
[28] T. R. Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 177.

The bungalow, as a building type, had its origins in the Bengali peasant hut.[29] This was adapted in the late eighteenth century to a new type of residence for European use, spreading globally from India to Britain, North America, Africa, and the settler colonies of Australasia. They were thatched, single-storey residences built on a plinth surrounded by verandahs, and were often constructed for temporary use. From these humble beginnings the bungalow would be transformed into a permanent structure under the auspices of the British, undergoing many changes in the course of its history. However, central to its meaning was its location in a large compound of two, ten, or even twenty acres, which may be understood as the first level of 'nested' enclosure. Within the compound, the verandah of the bungalow formed an important boundary. Except for the servants of the household, most Indians were never allowed beyond this point, with the verandah itself becoming a location for much business. While protecting the high-ceilinged interior rooms from the hot climate, the bungalow verandah served many additional functions: it was often used for sleeping, to accommodate servants, as a place of relaxation in the cooler hours of the morning and evening, a space for entertainment when there were visitors, and, occasionally, a place to park palanquins and gigs.[30]

Indeed, from about 1780 onwards, increasing numbers of large individual houses, usually set in compounds, were being constructed in the Chowringhee area of Calcutta for wealthy merchants and civil servants of the EIC. These eighteenth- and nineteenth-century mansions in 'white town', with their neoclassical gesturing, made the British residents feel somewhat at home. However, upon entering such buildings, the environment would have appeared foreign in numerous ways. For example, none of the doors could be bolted, making it impossible to achieve absolute privacy, or to create an impassable barrier between the house and the outside world. Built by both Indians and Europeans for speculation, most such houses followed a typical pattern of running long axes from north to south with a porte-cochère to the north and verandahs on the south. Despite some variations in interior layout, they usually had three sets of rooms with the central room on axis between the porte-cochère and verandah, flanked by a further set of rooms on either side to create a three-bay arrangement. In this Anglo-Indian house, the central hall functioned as both an entrance foyer and social space. In contrast, the surrounding rooms had less specific functions, despite often being referred to as 'bedrooms' and 'chambers'.

Swati Chattopadhyay has argued that one should see these colonial houses as an adaptation of the traditional Indian courtyard house which comprised a 'single-loaded passage around a courtyard within the geometry of a single-roofed entity'—the difference being that the central hall replaces the courtyard. On the other hand, Colesworthy Grant, who, as mentioned earlier, was a contemporary observer, understood these buildings as a European adaptation of the 'middle-class' Indian bungalow, which consisted of a room (or two) surrounded by a verandah

[29] King, *The Bungalow*, pp. 14–65.
[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 30–1.

on all sides. The European adaptation consisted of enclosing the verandah with partitions to form small rooms. Residences of this type in Calcutta therefore emerged from indigenous models, responding to the need to house visitors and to create gathering spaces at a time when there were few public accommodation or recreational spaces. Indeed, although built to entertain on a grander scale, the central rectangular block at Government House also followed this three-bay arrangement, echoing local spatial patterns of Anglo-Indian residences rather than those of Kedleston Hall (see Figure 8.3).[31]

This interconnectedness of space, and the presence of Indian servants that came with it, can be seen in British residential architecture right across India, not just in Calcutta, and was similar to patterns observable in indigenous residential areas. The effect these connected spaces in Calcutta had on Anglo-Indian life led, as Chattopadhyay argues, to an 'open-endedness of spatial meaning [that] unsettled dearly held ideas of public and private, self and Other, by denying colonizers a sense of safe confines within which to construct an imperial self'.[32]

Just as the man of the house was an agent of empire at large, the lady effectively ran the bungalow household as an empire in microcosm. Writing on such domestic arrangements, William J. Glover observes that 'the home was a critical site for cultivating distancing postures, refinement in taste, and bourgeois moralities that underwrote inter- and intra-racial relations in the colonial city'. However, conditions in India undermined such efforts. Separation of public and private realms was important to Victorian sensibilities, but this was not entirely possible in India where bungalows of government officials often contained a room where the area's residents could meet with them. Moreover, as verandahs often served as connecting spaces, the home was porous, further undermining the separation of public and private selves (Figure 8.8). As the compound bungalow required a huge, live-in Indian staff with various domestic specialisms, sketches of life in civil stations reveal the penetration of Indian attendants into the inner domains of the house, despite their residential quarters being located along a wall of the compound where they could not be seen from the principal rooms of the main house. Rather than an island of Englishness designed to impress Indians, the compound bungalow 'juxtaposed different spatial practices – Indian and English – each with its own sets of demands and criteria of competence'.[33]

With transferable jobs, British officials were often forced to decorate their bungalows with furnishings that were easily transportable, not missed, and bought cheaply, making it impossible for many to display the requisite civility that only proper furnishings could give. Bungalows were also built by Indian labourers, usually under the supervision of Indian contractors, and sometimes based on the designs of Indian architects. Complaints can often be found in correspondence of

[31] Chattopadhyay, *Representing Calcutta*, pp. 76–135. [32] *Ibid.*, p. 135.

[33] W. J. Glover, '"A Feeling of Absence from Old England:" The Colonial Bungalow', *Home Cultures*, vol. 1:1 (2004), pp. 66, 77. For images showing the penetration of Indian servants into the interior domains of the home in civil stations, see G. F. Atkinson, '*Curry and Rice,' on Forty Plates; or, the Ingredients of Social Life at 'Our Station' in India*, 3rd edn (London, 1860).

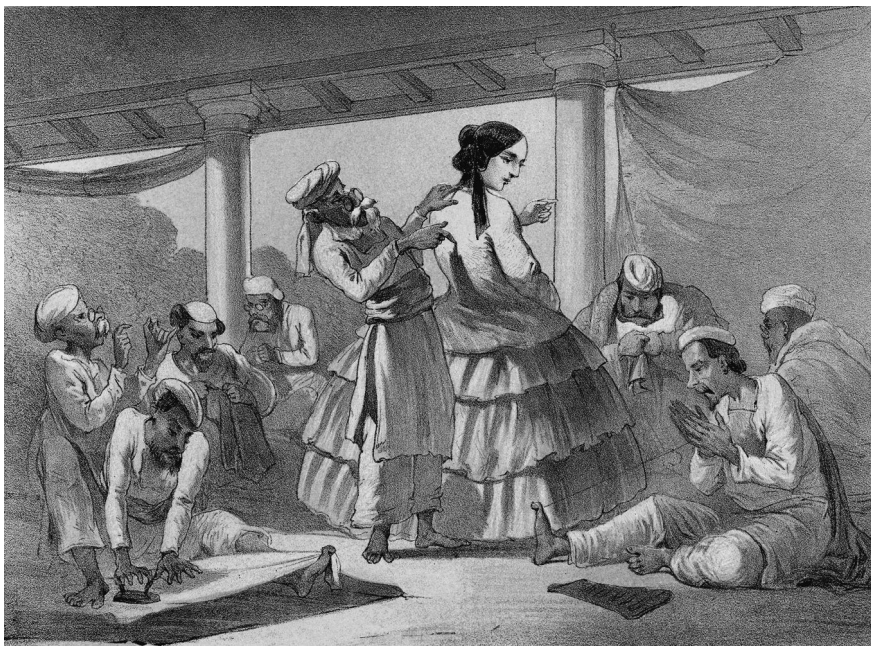

Figure 8.8. 'Our Colonel's Wife', from G. F. Atkinson's *'Curry and Rice,' on Forty Plates; Or, The Ingredients of Social Life at 'Our Station' in India* (1860).

the poor quality of Indian construction, which seemed to undermine further the refined, genteel setting that bungalow life was supposed to represent.

From the middle of the nineteenth century, besides the cantonment, where officers lived in bungalows and the soldiers in barracks, residential quarters were grouped together in a spacious locality known as the 'civil lines', comprising wide, geometrically configured roads (Figure 8.9). This contrasted dramatically with the narrow, winding, and irregular lanes of the areas of indigenous settlement, forming the second part of the nested enclosure. Apart from Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, most Europeans were settled in cantonments and civil lines, located two to three miles from pre-existing Indian towns and cities. After the Revolt of 1857, railway lines in Delhi and Allahabad, for example, were used to separate Indian from European areas of settlement, giving an additional layer of security (see Plate 4).[34]

In Bengal 'compound bungalows' were also located in 'civil stations', which were provincial administrative settlements known as *zilla sadar* (district headquarter town), and located in the *mofussil* (provincial or interior areas) that blurred the zone between country and city.[35] In the second half of the nineteenth century an infrastructure inherited from the Mughal era was further developed to administer India. This was divided into 250 separate administrative districts. Each district was

[34] King, *Colonial Urban Development*, pp. 97–121.

[35] See T. Sengupta, 'Between Country and City: Fluid Spaces of Provincial Administrative Towns in Nineteenth-century Bengal', *Urban History*, vol. 39:1 (2012), pp. 56–82.

Figure 8.9. Bungalows at Barrackpore (*c.*1870) (Victoria & Albert Museum, London).

under the control of a collector and magistrate, or deputy commissioner, depending on the region or province. A road network linked the civil and hills stations, towns and cities, along which were located 'dak bungalows'—where relays of runners carrying mail were changed and officials might stay overnight.

Hill stations were the third nested enclosure. The British began to explore the mountainous regions of India from the 1820s, founding Ootacamund, Darjeeling, and Simla in the 1830s. For the most part, the hills were used for the convalescence of troops. This changed after 1865, when Sir John Lawrence (1811–79), Viceroy of India from 1864 to 1869, established Simla as the customary summer capital of British India. From approximately the 1860s to the 1940s, senior government officials, as well as British women and children, moved to these places each summer, while their husbands came from the plains when they could. Central to the meaning of the hill stations was the belief that, with a climate closer to that of England, it could save Europeans from the 'degeneracy' brought on by living in the tropics. Individual hill stations served different groups and classes of Europeans, with Indian princes establishing their own. Even though most elite Europeans sent their children 'home' to study, a large number of schools were established in hill stations that catered to European and mixed-race children.[36]

[36] For hill stations in general, see D. Kennedy, *The Magic Mountains: Hill Stations and the British Raj* (Berkeley, 1996). See also King, *Colonial Urban Development*, pp. 156–79; J. T. Kenny, 'Climate,

Figure 8.10. View of Simla (*c.*1908) showing the Town Hall (*centre*), Jakho Hill (*background*), and the tower of Christ Church, just visible topping the trees (*centre left*) (courtesy Ames Library of South Asia, University of Minnesota).

While hill stations varied a great deal, they offered a striking contrast to the plains. Nestled in the Himalayas and the Nilgiris, cottages with English names were preferred to bungalows, and, in contrast to the grid-iron layout of the plains, the settlement was scattered. The model for the hill settlement was the English village, and just as the Anglican Church was the centre of the village, so it was for the hill station. This was usually a Victorian Gothic Revival structure, and the main avenue generally started from here. Along this thoroughfare were located government buildings such as the post office, banks, and major business premises (Figure 8.10). According to Jan Morris, in the hill stations the British in India had evolved 'the most distinctive of their vernacular styles'. Here we find a style known

Race, and Imperial Authority: The Symbolic Landscape of the British Hill Station in India', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, vol. 85:4 (1995), pp. 694–714.

as 'Himalayan Swiss-Gothic', which became the principal style in such stations after the mid-nineteenth century.[37]

As the summer location of imperial government was Simla, it was the most exclusive hill station in British India, and the architectural setting was dominated by the Viceregal Lodge (1888), designed in a neo-Jacobethan style by Henry Irwin. Occupying a 330-acre site on the highest point of the station, it could be seen from miles around. Much like a Mycenaean prince ruling from his mountain redoubt, the Viceroy of India exercised imperial power from here, out of reach of the millions over whom he ruled, and above the vast territories of British India.

Aided by the geographical difficulties of reaching hill stations (eventually alleviated by railways), combined with sanctions on movement to keep Indians out of sight at such stations, the British were successful at first in distancing themselves from the indigenous population. This success, however, was merely temporary as the railway lines also made it easy for Indians to travel to the stations in larger numbers. Thus, in time, the last nested enclosure would also be breached.

FINDING THE 'RIGHT' ARCHITECTURAL STYLE FOR INSTITUTIONS OF THE MODERN STATE

The meaning of architectural style, along with the search for an appropriate 'imperial' style, was hotly debated in colonial India. In 1920, John Begg (1886–1937), then Consulting Architect to the Government of India (1908–21), observed that there were two schools of opinion on how to build in India. The first made the case that the British should take the Romans as their model and plant British architecture, as well as British notions of justice, law, culture, and order as 'improvements', with civic architecture reflecting these qualities to Indians. In contrast, the second maintained that there was a living tradition in Indian architecture that needed to be nurtured and sustained by curbing outside influences, and that the agents of this tradition—Indian craftsmen and native architects or master-builders (*mistris* and *stapathis*)—ought to be patronized. Begg tentatively referred to these two schools as 'the Roman' and 'the "swadeshi"'.[38]

Metcalf's insightful analysis of Indo-Saracenic architecture in India has shown that the debates between various schools of design was more nuanced than such binary oppositions allow. To be sure, classicism dominated British building in India in the first half of the nineteenth century, even after it was no longer fashionable in Europe. It was seen to exemplify an eternal aesthetic perfection that in India represented the cultural supremacy of the West, while celebrating the military triumphs of Britain's Raj as heirs to the Hellenistic and Roman empires. But there was the Gothic Revival, too, which had begun making inroads by the opening decades of the nineteenth century, finding full expression in places such as

[37] Morris, *Stones of Empire*, pp. 52–4.

[38] J. Begg, 'Architecture in India', *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, vol. 20 (1920), pp. 342–4.

Bombay by the 1860s. In contrast to the universal claims of classicism, advocates of Gothic in Britain found that it was the style that best captured 'religious devotion' and national identity, with architects such as G. G. Scott observing that it was more suited to 'celebrate the achievements of our own country'.[39]

But the Revolt of 1857 added another layer of complexity as the British began to display a change of heart. Following the transferral of power from the EIC to the Crown in 1858, the British sought to project themselves as legitimate successors to the now defunct Mughal empire—that is, as indigenous rather than foreign rulers. Such a reworking of the ideology of empire required a new type of architecture, the so-called Indo-Saracenic. This was an architecture that was identifiably European while at the same time being linked to India's past through its mastery of Indic detail.[40] Builders of the Indo-Saracenic style did not fit neatly into either of Begg's categories. It was, after all, not just a question of style but of how to build.

Although English-educated Indians generally rejected the Indo-Saracenic, it found its broadest acceptance among the princely elite. Some preferred classical styles, while others merely deployed Indo-Saracenic in public locations to gratify their colonial superiors. Nevertheless, many princes built Indo-Saracenic palaces that were hybrid in design and decoration. Just as in Residency buildings of an earlier period, women continued to be segregated in designated *zenana* quarters, in a separate wing, as in the Lakshmi Vilas Palace in Baroda (1881–90), designed by Major C. Mant and R. F. Chisholm for Sayajirao Gaekwad III (1863–1939), the Maharaja of Baroda. Alternatively, *zenana* quarters might be located on an upper storey, as in the Lallgarh Palace (1902), designed by Swinton Jacob, one of the most celebrated advocates of the Indo-Saracenic style, for Maharaja Ganga Singh in Bikaner. The Lallgarh palace drew on architectural elements used in old Rajput forts, and followed traditional Rajput precedents in its planning around two large courtyards. Yet they often departed from these older spatial modes in the way space was divided and furnishings allocated. For example, at Lakshmi Vilas, one side of the court had individual guest rooms, while the other three sides had a number of public rooms decorated in Western styles with specific functions, such as a billiards room and a dining room.[41]

After 1857, the governors of Bombay and Madras actively promoted a suitable Anglo-Indian style for their capital cities. Because of their important foundational roles, the Gothic Revival would flourish in Bombay, the Indo-Saracenic in Madras, while Calcutta retained its classical image. The following sections will examine two of these three Presidency cities and discuss specific buildings in the context of the expansion of the joint public realm in the years following the Revolt.

[39] Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision*, p. 3.

[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 8–16, 55–104. For the British constructing themselves as rulers in India, see also H. Jyoti, 'City and Durbar: Theatre and Power in Imperial Delhi', in N. AlSayyad (ed.), *Forms of Dominance: On the Architecture and Urbanism of the Colonial Enterprise* (Aldershot, 1992), pp. 83–105; Cohn, 'Representing Authority', pp. 165–209.

[41] Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision*, pp. 105–40.

A Style Fit for a Christian? The Case of Indo-Saracenic in Madras

When Lord William Napier became governor of Madras in 1866, he encouraged Robert Fellowes Chisholm (1840–1915), who was appointed consulting architect to the presidency government in 1865, to incorporate 'Saracenic' features in his architectural designs. In 1870 the Government of Madras made a decision to expand the Chepauk Palace into a set of offices for the Revenue Board, and Napier saw this as an opportunity to demonstrate how one could use the Muslim style for modern purposes. Located along the waterfront of Madras, Chepauk Palace was, before becoming the Revenue Board offices, the residence of the Nawab of the Carnatic (Arcot) until 1855. Chisholm's transformation was designed to blend with the existing structures, achieving coherence through the insertion of a central tower with corner spirelets, machiolated parapet, and a central onion dome (Figure 8.11). Other examples of buildings in this style include the Senate House at the University of Madras (1874–9), also by Chisholm (see Chapter 5, p. 191), and the Law Courts (1888–92), by J. W. Brassington. Napier's advocacy of this approach to architecture was central in transforming Madras from an essentially classical city into an Indo-Saracenic one. In time other public buildings in this style were constructed along the city's waterfront, including the combined Post and Telegraph Offices (1874–84). Later, Governor M. E. Grant Duff (from 1881–6) tied these buildings together through the construction of a Marina, creating a three-mile long carriageway along the Coromandel Coast.

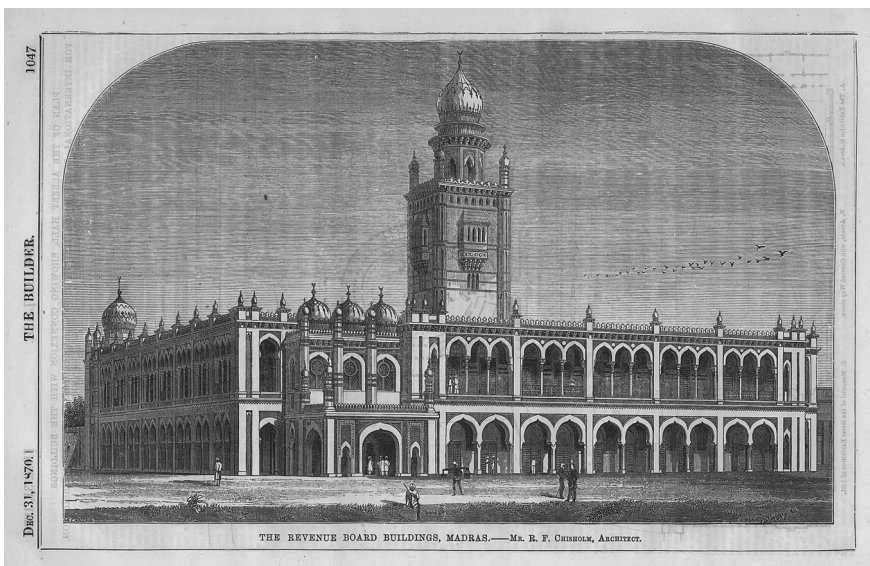

Figure 8.11. Revenue Board Buildings, Madras (completed in 1871), by Robert Fellowes Chisholm (source: *The Builder*, December 1870).

Initially, the project created a stir, with Napier being forced to defend his approach.[42] His views were not universally accepted. In a lecture given in 1873, the architect T. Roger Smith argued in favour of employing European architecture for buildings used by Europeans in India, rejecting Napier's suggestion that the Government of India should consider adopting the Indo-Saracenic 'as the official style of architecture'. Smith argued forcefully that it made little sense to design in the Indo-Saracenic style when Englishmen in India remained 'British to the backbone' in every other respect.[43]

Despite Napier's approach to the common inheritance of both Christian and Islamic architecture, the introduction of Indo-Saracenic styles in church buildings and Christian institutions provoked active hostility. Churches in India in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries followed the model of James Gibbs's St Martin-in-the Fields, London. This model spread throughout the empire. From the 1840s, however, Gothic Revival architects such as A. W. N. Pugin argued that Gothic was the only suitable style for a Christian society, and for church architecture in particular. The Afghan Memorial Church, Bombay (1847–58), erected to commemorate those who died in the First Afghan War (1840), was important as the first church to be erected in India that followed the principles laid out by the Eccelesiological Society.[44] But there were exceptions. One such was the Catholic Church of the Sacred Heart, Mathura (1870s), by F. S. Growse—an extraordinarily hybrid structure that incorporated many Indic elements. Other buildings for Christian institutions in this style include the YMCA, Madras (built in 1899), and St Stephen's College, Delhi, designed by Swinton Jacob (1890). All these structures were met with criticism, as the prevailing imperial view was that Christianity had to be housed in a suitably 'European' structure (for further discussion of religious architecture in the empire, see Chapter 5, pp. 160–83).

Moulding Identities: The Gothic Revival in Bombay

British colonialists viewed the use of Indian architectural elements in their buildings as a demonstration of their knowledge and mastery over India's past. However, in Bombay the Indo-Saracenic style never flourished. The American Civil War (1861–5) resulted in a cotton boom for Bombay as the British began cultivating and importing cotton from India. This boom encouraged Governor Henry Bartle Frere (from 1862–7) to throw down the fort walls, no longer necessary, and use the land for building. From the 1860s a series of new public buildings were built facing Back Bay in one grand sweep, all based on variations on the Gothic Revival style,

[42] See 'Modern Architecture in India', *Builder* (27 Aug. 1870), pp. 680–2.

[43] T. Roger Smith, 'Architectural Art in India', *Journal of the Society of Arts*, vol. 21 (1873), pp. 280–1.

[44] For more on this church, see M. Dossal, 'Henry Conybeare and the Gothic Revival in Bombay c.1840–1900', in G. A. Bremner (ed.), *Ecclesiology Abroad: The British Empire and Beyond*, special issue of *Studies in Victorian Architecture and Design*, vol. 4 (2012), pp. 128–34.

leading Philip Davies to conclude that, 'as a result, paradoxically, Britain's finest heritage of High Victorian Gothic architecture lies in Bombay'.[45]

In England, Gothic architecture had been actively promoted by the likes of John Ruskin, who extolled its virtue as an artefact of craftsmanship rather than machine production. Thus, medieval architecture represented a period that he and other critics of the industrial era (such as Pugin) romanticized as somehow more honest and truthful than their own, and that by reviving its architecture society might recapture its dignity. Baucom has argued that in the years following the Revolt of 1857, Frere and other government officials elected to spend large amounts of money on building projects in Bombay because they believed in Ruskin's view that 'the identity of the empire's subjects was to a significant degree a product of the objects and structures which they beheld and inhabited. Ruskin had spent years informing England that there was a direct relationship between the arrangements of space and the contours of the personality.'[46] If Indo-Saracenic architecture aimed to remake the British as indigenous rulers, Bombay's Victorian Gothic sought, in a sense, to shape a collective personality so that the *English* might remain English while Indians could be remade as Englishmen.

Buildings in which the Gothic Revival style was combined with Indic details were confusing for the British as they simultaneously helped project a sense of Englishness while producing hybrid identities, even as they revealed the colonial state's 'capacity to collect and exhibit alterity'.[47] There are many such buildings of this type that one could point to in British Bombay, such as the Law Courts (1871–9), the Secretariat (1867–74) (see Figure 5.13), or the Municipal Buildings (1888–93); but among the most conspicuous is the magnificent Victoria Terminus and Administrative Offices of the Great Indian Peninsular Railway Company (1878–87), or Victoria Terminus for short (see Plate 16). Designed by Frederick Williams Stevens (1847–1900), and based on G. G. Scott's Grand Midland Hotel at St Pancras Station in London (1868–77), it contains Indic details that came from the hands of students and craftsmen associated with the Bombay School of Art, under the supervision of John Griffiths. The administrative buildings formed three sides of a square, enclosing a garden whose entrance gate was guarded by a huge lion and tiger carved in stone. A triumphant figure of Progress crowned the building's impressive dome, and a life-size statue of Queen-Empress Victoria stood in front of the main façade.

The construction and experience of the Victoria Terminus is imbricated in other popular histories that shape its meaning. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Bombay emerged as a major centre for Islam, both in the context of its continental hinterland and as the central hub of a West Indian Ocean world. Nile Green has uncovered stories that reveal the commonly held belief that this industrial city was governed by hidden supernatural forces. One was of the shrine of a Muslim saint, Sayyid Bismillah Shah Baba, that was built into the very structure of the Victoria Terminus. Bismillah Shah was a migrant and, similar to other migrant

[45] Davies, *Splendours of the Raj*, pp. 156–7. For British Bombay, see also R. G. Irving, 'Bombay and Imperial Delhi: Cities and Symbols', in A. Hopkins and G. Stamp (eds), *Lutyens Abroad: The Work of Sir Edwin Lutyens Outside the British Isles* (Rome, 2002), pp. 169–74.

[46] Baucom, *Out of Place*, p. 79.

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 85.

shrines, his 'unknown grave…was "rediscovered" in miraculous circumstances'. The story, according to oral tradition, suggests that when the railway was being laid the tracks in this part of the station would surprisingly disappear or break overnight. Finally, British surveyors and workmen found out that a Muslim holy man lay buried there. The railway company paid for the construction of the domed mausoleum that covers Bismillah Shah's grave, undoubtedly to ensure that the construction of the Terminus proceeded smoothly. This then became a site of pilgrimage for travellers who made a stop here before embarking on their journey.[48] One might say that, in the minds of some, the saint's tomb displaced the importance of Victoria as Queen-Empress, identifying the building with the saint's protection instead.

British Bombay was also the product of intentional cooperation between colonial rulers and local elites—a 'joint enterprise' of interest, design, labour, and financing. A good example of this collaborative effort can be found in the career of native engineer and architect Khan Bahadur Muncherji Cowasji Murzban (1839–1917), who, hailing from the Parsi community, had worked for the colonial government in the construction of numerous public works projects in Bombay for almost half a century. Murzban was the architect of both the Pestonji Hormusji Cama Hospital for Women and Children (opened in 1886) and the Bomanji Allbless Obstetric Hospital (opened in 1891)—institutions that came to be part of the same complex, and designed in the Gothic Revival style. The donors for these hospitals were Parsi philanthropists, with the government providing the site and agreeing to maintain the hospital in perpetuity. The Cama Hospital, for instance, symbolized revolutionary changes—a hospital for women staffed entirely by women. While the hospital was the product of cooperation between the government and native philanthropy, including a native architect and engineer, the author of the project was the leading Parsi merchant P. H. Cama. Murzban, and most likely other social reformers and patrons, would have been proud of the numerous hospitals and schools he designed, sheathed as they were in a rendition of the Gothic Revival style.

But this was far from a superficial admiration for the symbols of the colonizer. Instead, these new institutions would visually signify a reformed and hence purified community. Rather than any kind of mere colonial imposition, social reform resulted from hard-won battles within communities that allowed the transformations to be viewed with pride by those who advocated and approved of them. These new types of building—Gothic Revival architecture designed by new professionals, rather than craftsmen—were to be the containers for new ways of being. Here Gothic buildings would outwardly represent the reformed (and transformed) subjects who used them. The forward-looking patrons, too, became symbolic of the progress and enlightenment of the community from which they hailed. While the Cama and Allbless hospitals were for all classes of native Indian, Parsi patronage allowed many Parsis to believe that they were leading others to the path of

[48] N. Green, *Bombay Islam: The Religious Economy of the West Indian Ocean, 1840–1915* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 63–4.

progress. Murzban's buildings thus had the ability to transform the meaning of Gothic Revival architecture. He could be understood as either native or Parsi, or both; an architect of public buildings, funded by natives, that were an expression of reform. But Murzban, by his own example, demonstrated above all that Indians were capable of designing and constructing substantial buildings on their own that were essentially no different to those designed by British architects and engineers, in the process contributing significantly to the creation of the joint public realm of Bombay's urban environment.[49]

Debates over architectural style in British India were not superficial, nor were they simply about aesthetics. Instead, they revealed competing ideologies on how to rule India while remaining, as mentioned, 'British to the backbone'. British Bombay may have been the product of a 'joint enterprise', but such processes were not limited to that city alone. Lahore's Montgomery Hall (1866), and Punjab Chiefs' College (renamed as Aitchison Chiefs' College in 1886), for example, were also expressions of forms of cooperation resulting from the 'collaborations' of native elites and the colonial state.[50] The case of the Bismillah Shah shrine at Victoria Terminus is one among several examples that also show how local practices shift the meaning of an imperial monument, cautioning us against accepting the colonial state's ability to control meaning at every level. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Bombay was *simultaneously* the empire's largest port in Asia *and* the religious centre for Islam in the West Indian Ocean.

RECASTING THE BRITISH EMPIRE

The British empire has long been seen as a worldwide network emanating from Britain, the heart of empire. However, as mentioned in the introduction to this volume, that view is now being revised. For example, Metcalf, among others, has called for a reconceptualization of empire that situates India as a sub-imperial centre. Such a recasting allows us to see that India was not simply another one of Britain's colonies, but, in addition, 'a nodal point from which peoples, ideas, goods, and institutions – everything that enables an empire to exist – radiated outward'.[51] Thus, in the Indian Ocean region, imperial links ran not just to and from London, but also from Simla, Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta. Indians were used by the British in a number of capacities: to conquer, police, exploit resources, and work in these lands, while some Indian entrepreneurs migrated in search of business opportunities. 'In effect', Metcalf argues, 'the late Victorian and Edwardian empire in Africa and Southeast Asia was run by Indians and by Britons trained in India. The practice of empire was, as well, shaped by structures of governance devised in British India.'[52]

[49] Chopra, *A Joint Enterprise*.
[50] See Glover, *Making Lahore Modern*, pp. 59–98.
[51] Metcalf, *Imperial Connections*, p. 1.
[52] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

These links would tie India to EIC settlements in South East Asia: Penang (from 1786), Singapore (from 1819), and Malacca (from 1825), all of which were controlled by the Company until a separate colony known as the Straits Settlements was founded in 1867. Significantly, the Straits Settlements were a penal colony from 1825 to 1873 for the transportation of Indian convicts. From 1875, the British began making forays into the Malay Peninsula where the sultans were in theory the rulers of these states, but where British residents and magistrates increasingly took control over governance. In 1896 the Federated Malay States was created to provide an integrated government, while some Malay States remained unfederated.

In terms of governance practices and architectural style, India would provide the model. Administratively, individual Malay States, such as Perak, followed the Indian local government model of division into districts, each of which, following Indian titles, were under a collector and magistrate. Hill stations, too, such as the Cameron Highlands, were founded in Malaysia. Bungalows could also be found in both the Malay States as well as the Straits Settlements. The European residents of Singapore began moving to country bungalows as early as the 1830s, and by 1865 a large number of such bungalows, surrounded by picturesque gardens, were located approximately two miles away from the main settlement, indicating that the ideology of distance was at work here as well. Singapore's landmark Raffles Hotel, which began in 1887 as a ten-room bungalow, was replaced by a substantial new building between 1897 and 1899 (Figure 8.12).[53]

Representing and Constructing the Modern Imperial State in Malaya and Singapore

Major public buildings in the Malay States and Singapore diverged with respect to architectural style. As the British began developing the economic resources of the Malay States, particularly mining and plantation agriculture, they encouraged immigration. Specific ethnic groups were encouraged to work in particular sectors of the economy. For example, immigrants from China worked in mining and Tamil labourers from South India in plantations. While these immigrant groups were drawn into the global capitalist order, Malays were to remain oblivious to the modern world through subsistence agriculture, and were kept apart from both Chinese and Indians. Furthermore, according to the British, to be 'Malay' was to be Muslim, and, through a newly constructed political order, Malays were to be connected to indigenous regal rulers, while the British and community leaders oversaw immigrant communities. An early physical model for separating ethnic groups was of course Sir Stamford Raffles's 1822 layout for Singapore, which placed a 'European Town', with its government offices and public buildings, at the centre of a layout that isolated various ethnic groups in their individual *kampungs* (villages) on either side. A similar system would not only be implemented by the

[53] See A. Jackson, *Buildings of Empire* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 173–93.

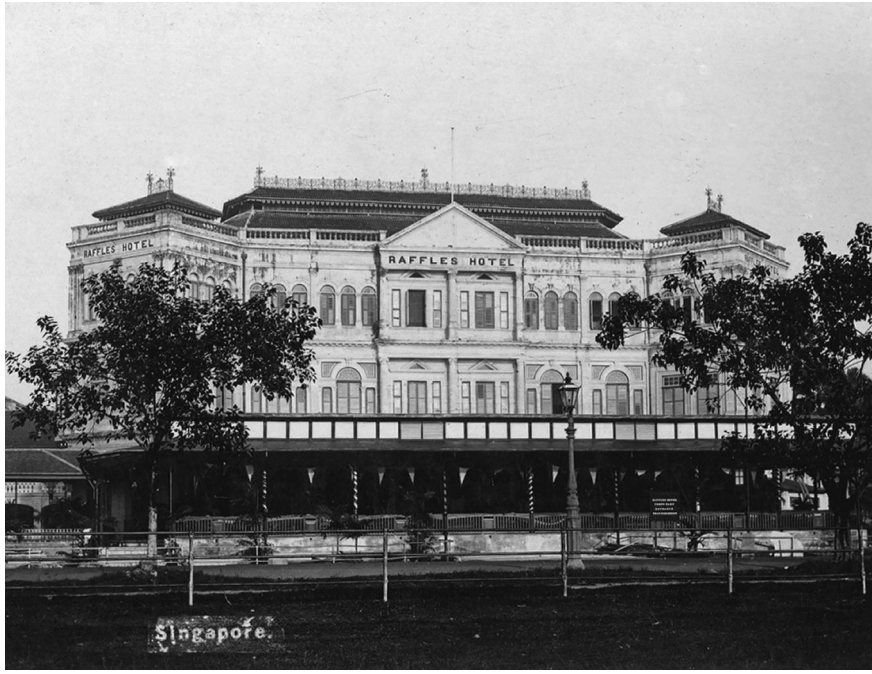

Figure 8.12. Raffles Hotel, Singapore (1897–9), by Swan & Maclaren.

British in Hong Kong (Victoria) in the later part of the nineteenth century, but also enshrined in law.[54]

The knitting together of Malay, Muslim, and sultan to each other and to the British empire was achieved visually through architecture. Here the 'Saracenic' style was chosen to clothe the colonial state's modern public buildings. In India, the Indo-Saracenic was meant to associate the British as heirs to the Mughals. In contrast, in Malaya, the link to Malays was through Islam, for 'in Malaya a Saracenic public architecture, the British expected, could make the new colonial regime appear to be an integral part of an enduring Muslim land'.[55] Unlike India, Malaya did not have a history of monumental pubic architecture. A more modest wooden residential typology had sufficed for Malaya's rulers. Undeterred by this, the British pulled together an array of architectural elements from the wider Muslim world, including from India, North Africa, Spain, and Ottoman Turkey.

The construction of public architecture in a Saracenic style went hand in hand with the establishment of offices, institutional buildings, and railway stations that were necessary for a modern colonial state and its economy. Among the first was

[54] G. A. Bremner and D. P. Y. Lung, 'Spaces of Exclusion: The Significance of Cultural Identity in the Formation of European Residential Districts in British Hong Kong, 1877–1904', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, vol. 21 (2003), pp. 223–52. See also, P. Wesley-Smith, 'Anti-Chinese Legislation in Hong Kong', in M. K. Chan (ed.), *Precarious Balance: Hong Kong Between China and Britain, 1842–1992* (Hong Kong, 1994), pp. 91–105.

[55] Metcalf, *Imperial Connections*, p. 57.

Figure 8.13. Secretariat Building, Kuala Lumpur (1894–7), by A. C. Norman.

the Selangor Secretariat (1894–7) in the centre of Kuala Lumpur by A. C. Norman, now known as the Sultan Abdul Samad Building, designed to house all the departments of the new government (Figure 8.13). Constructed with corner minarets, copper-coloured domes, and a prominent 134-ft-high clock tower, it signalled the importance of time, modernity, and the capitalist economy to the province's inhabitants. Other prominent public buildings of this ilk constructed during the early twentieth century include the high court (1909) and railway station (1911).

The Secretariat was one of the buildings that fronted the *padang* (open space), which had earlier been the cricket ground for the whites-only Royal Selangor Club (1884). There were other important colonial buildings surrounding the *padang*, later known as Kuala Lumpur's famous Merdeka (or 'independence') Square. These included St Mary's Anglican Cathedral (1894) and the National History Museum (1910). Victory Avenue, as it was called during the colonial era, a prominent road leading to the Square, was lined with Saracenic buildings, including the so-called 'Two Sisters'—one, the headquarters of the Malaysian Railways Limited, the other, across the road, the famous Kuala Lumpur Railway Station, designed by Arthur Benson Hubback, who worked as architectural assistant to the director of the PWD. Influenced by his earlier work on mosques in Malaya, Hubback produced 'what seemed like a cross between an extravagant Oriental palace and a mosque'.[56]

In India, the British kept away from religion, but in Malaya they actively designed and constructed mosques. Indeed Metcalf points out, 'as their building in

[56] Jackson, *Buildings of Empire*, p. 132.

the colonial capital of Kuala Lumpur sought to make the British-run government part of an Islamic Malaya, so too were the mosques and palaces they erected at the capitals of the Malay sultans meant to make the sultans, along with their subjects, participants in this vision'.[57] Examples such as Hubback's Ubadiah Mosque, Kuala Kangsar, Perak (1913), with its large central and smaller onion shaped golden domes, tall minarets banded in alternate light and dark colours, and horseshoe arches, appeared to come straight from some kind of Orientalist fairytale.

As in the case of the Indian maharajas of Gwalior and Kapurthala, some Malay sultans also rejected British stereotyping of them as 'traditional' rulers, including the use of the colonial Saracenic in favour of more modern styles with which they preferred to identify themselves. One who was able to sidestep the excessive use of the Saracenic was the Malay sultan, Abu Bakar (ruled 1862–95) of Johore, partially because the British were able to exert less control, as his state was not part of the Malay federation. Closer to earlier traditions in British India, both Singapore and Hong Kong rejected the Saracenic, choosing instead the purity and apparent permanent beauty of European classicism, demonstrating in a different way the influence of regional imperial styles and typologies.

Buildings are not simply the product of their designers' visions but are actively shaped by the hands of labourers who realize and contribute to their original conception. In the case of the Straits Settlement, convict labour played a prominent role in the construction of the infrastructure and public buildings of the colonial landscape, and in so doing contributed to the meaning of that landscape. Penang's Fort Cornwallis (1804), Government House (1793–1803), and St George's Church (1818), 'new and powerful symbols of colonial authority', were constructed using convict labour.[58] In Singapore, public institutions were at first accommodated in private homes in the European town. However, by the mid-nineteenth century, Singapore marked its ascent with the construction of grand public buildings. Familiar with the *maidan* in India, Raffles planned for an open square, which would become the *Padang* (open field), located in front of the church and courthouse. Just as many prominent buildings have been juxtaposed against the *maidan* in Calcutta, so too in Singapore the esplanade provided a grand and spacious setting.

Three important buildings or sets of buildings were constructed with the help of convict labour in Singapore during this time. The first was St Andrew's Cathedral (1856–62), designed by Ronald MacPherson, which was 'an interesting hybrid of Anglo-Indian and Victorian Gothic architecture'. However, its relevance was as ' "a great training school for convict artificers" that would benefit future public works'.[59] The second, the civic centre, was made up of several buildings designed in the neoclassical style, such as the Singapore Town Hall (1856–62), the fives racquet court, the Post Office (resulting from the conversion of the old court house in 1864), a new court house, medical store, and master attendant's quarters. The

[57] Metcalf, *Imperial Connections*, pp. 61–2.
[58] Pieris, *Hidden Hands and Divided Landscapes*, p. 116.
[59] Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 118.

buildings of the civic centre were prominently located at the mouth of the Singapore River and connected by Cavenagh Bridge (1867) to the Commercial Square (now Raffles Place), that was south of the river, including the Edwardian Baroque-style Victoria Theatre and Memorial Hall opened in 1905 (Figure 8.14). The first government hospital complex (1860) was located a mile from the city centre at Kendang Kerbau. This included a general hospital, medical asylum, and other facilities, being the first such institution of this type in Singapore. It is notable that the Supreme Court (1937–9), designed by Frank Dorrington Ward of the PWD in the classical style, and which is located on a site that looks over both the Singapore Cricket Club and the *Padang*, 'has been referred to as the last example of British Imperial architecture in Singapore'.[60]

The role of local experts (architects, engineers, draughtsmen) in the building process in the British empire is a relatively understudied subject. In Singapore, Bawajee Ramjee, a convict from Bombay, who had two convict draughtsmen working under his supervision, prepared all the working drawings for St Andrew's Cathedral and worked on many other projects. After being released from prison he took on architectural projects, and might be considered Singapore's first native

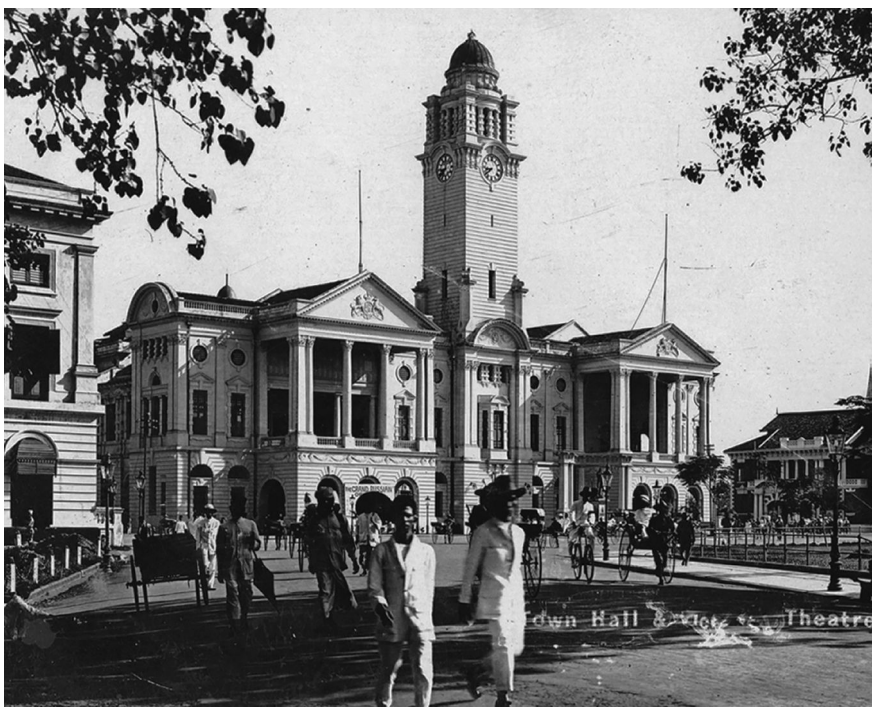

Figure 8.14. Victoria Theatre and Memorial Hall, Singapore (1905), by R. A. J. Bidwell of Swan & Maclaren. This began as the Singapore Town Hall (1856–62), by J. Bennett of the Chief Engineers Office.

[60] R. Powell, *Singapore Architecture: A Short History* (Sydney, 2004), p. 78.

architect. Apart from Murzban, already mentioned, other native engineer/architects who had remarkable careers include Rai Bahadur Kanhayalal (d. 1888), Rai Bahadur Ganga Ram (d. 1925), and Bhai Ram Singh (d. 1915), all from Lahore.

THE END OF EMPIRE AND POST-COLONIAL BEGINNINGS

The announcement at the 1911 Delhi Durbar of the decision to move the capital of British India from Calcutta to Delhi by king-emperor George V allowed the imperial government to retreat from Calcutta, which had been in nationalist turmoil since Lord Curzon's partition of Bengal in 1905. This precipitated the Swadeshi movement that made the case for self-sufficiency, resulting in a new school of Indian art that emphasized Indianness.[61] With the construction of the hierarchically ordered city of New Delhi, and Edwin Lutyens's celebrated Viceroy's House, one might conclude that, architecturally at least, the Raj had ended on a triumphant note. In emphasizing restrained, abstract principles in the design of Viceroy's House, Lutyens's taming of Indic elements would seem at last to have found a balance in articulating the relationship between ruler and ruled.[62] As discussed further in Chapter 3 (pp. 111–13), New Delhi as a whole was given symbolic meaning by its juxtaposition with the old Mughal capital of Delhi (Old Delhi), the centrepiece of which, the magnificent Red Fort, was now under British control. Much of Delhi's Mughal magnificence was destroyed in the post-Revolt violence, but it had also begun to decay owing to decades of 'slow violence' through neglect.[63]

In South Asia, the architectural focus on New Delhi has obscured the fact that there were much fewer prominent public buildings constructed by the British colonial government after the 1920s in other parts of the subcontinent. Neglect was ubiquitous in the localities inhabited by the city's local residents in South and South East Asia, including Hong Kong. Brenda Yeoh has written eloquently about the high rates of disease and deplorable housing conditions of the poor in Singapore, and the colonial government's ineffective methods of tackling the crisis.[64] In 1896 the plague travelled from Hong Kong to Bombay, and to other parts of India, forcing the government to pay more attention to the appalling living conditions in non-European quarters of colonial cities. This was the beginning of public housing, although the poor rarely benefited in large numbers. From the 1920s, the middle and lower-middle classes in Bombay took to apartment living in the

[61] See T. Guha-Thakurta, *The Making of a New 'Indian' art: Artists, Aesthetics and Nationalism in Bengal, c.1850–1920* (Cambridge, 1992).

[62] For New Delhi and Viceroy's House, see Irving, *Indian Summer*; R. G. Irving, 'Architecture for Empire's Sake: Lutyens's Palace for Delhi', *Perspecta*, vol. 18 (1982), pp. 7–23; J. Ridley, 'Edwin Lutyens, New Delhi, and the Architecture of Imperialism', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol. 26:2 (1998), pp. 67–83.

[63] R. Nixon, *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor* (Cambridge, Mass., 2011). I am applying the term to the built environment rather than the natural environment.

[64] For Singapore, see Yeoh, *Contesting Space in Colonial Singapore*.

suburbs (as part of the Bombay Improvement Trust's suburban development plan). This new type of dwelling, which was copied throughout the city, became the main mode of dwelling.[65] Only in Hong Kong did the colonial government effectively tackle the issue of public housing after the 1950s. It was largely in the post-colonial context since 1960, and as an independent city-state after 1965, that Singapore transformed itself through its public housing 'from a landscape of slums and squatters in the immediate postwar years to a self-styled "tropical garden city" of apartment blocks and skyscrapers'.[66] Hong Kong and Singapore's public housing schemes have been hailed a success, and considered vital to their economies.

In South Asia, apart from New Delhi, and despite the political turbulence between 1920 and 1950, there were crucial developments in architecture where the British colonial regime was no longer the dominant arbiter of taste. Instead, various competing architectural currents threaded through these decades. By 1930, the art and architectural ideas of the Swadeshi era were no longer influential. The architectural rendering of these ideas by Surendranath Kar (1892–1970) at the Rabindranath Tagore School in Santinikentan, Bengal, failed to impress leading architectural firms. However, the desire to articulate an 'Indianness' would never disappear. The idea would persist in various strands through the immediate post-colonial era into the present. Between 1918 and 1939, Bombay became the leading centre of architectural thought. George Wittet, consulting architect to the Port Trust, established the planning guidelines for Ballard Estate (1908–23) with its Edwardian architecture, being the first planned commercial precinct in the city. The most significant British-led architectural firms, as well as several prominent, recently established Indian practices, and the Sir J. J. School of Art (the only notable institution for architectural education in India), were all located in Bombay. Claude Batley (1879–1956), one of the teachers at the school, was a towering figure, not only as a teacher but as a partner in the major firm of Gregson, Batley and King (GBK). So influential was GBK that it was essentially the Indian postgraduate design school from the 1920s well into the 1950s and even beyond.[67] Both this firm and the school emphasized the importance of producing a modern architecture that was sensitive to the Indian climate, everyday life, and cultural symbols.

At the same time Art Deco had captured the imagination of many in the 1930s and 1940s, and buildings in that style continued to be built into the 1960s. Buildings in the Art Deco style (and 'Indo-Deco', which incorporated Indic elements) were constructed all over India. But it was in Bombay, particularly in the numerous apartment buildings at the Back Bay Reclamation (Churchgate) area, that one finds its most extensive expression. Conversely, there were few examples of International Modernism during the 1930s and 1940s, and those that did exist were mostly products of foreign architects working for rich clients.[68] A particularly

[65] N. Rao, *House, but No Garden: Apartment Living in Bombay's Suburbs, 1898–1964* (Minneapolis, 2013). For a focus on domestic space in colonial and post-colonial Sri Lanka, see Pieris, *Architecture and Nationalism in Sri Lanka*.

[66] M. Perry, L. Kong, and B. Yeoh, *Singapore: A Development City State* (Chichester, 1997), p. 191.

[67] J. Lang, *A Concise History of Modern Architecture in India* (Delhi, 2002), p. 32.

[68] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

Hindu reaction to both Art Deco in India and International Modernism in Europe and Japan, influenced by the Swadeshi movement of the early twentieth century, can be found in a revivalist movement whose leading light was Sris Chandra Chatterjee (1873–1966). Prominent examples of his work in the 1930s included Lakshmi-Narayan (Birla) Temple (1938) and the Mahasabha Bhavan (1939), both constructed in Delhi. Indian revivalists looked to Buddhist and Gupta era models for inspiration—after all, British architects who were revivalists found in classicism a suitable representation of imperialism. Alongside these myriad currents, the PWD continued to have a huge influence on the built environment, with Indians playing increasingly prominent roles from the 1930s.[69]

On achieving independence from British rule, the newly independent nation states of South and South East Asia sought a break from the colonial past, and were faced with the question of how to represent their future architecturally. Some of the subcontinent's most important architects emerged during this time, and made a break with Britain in terms of training and influences. For instance, it was during this period that the influential MARG was formed in India (1945), with its magazine *Marg* appearing in 1946 (see Chapter 6, pp. 205–6). This was also the time when many Indian architects chose to continue their studies in architecture in the USA, rather than Britain. For example, after studying architecture at the Sir J. J. School of Art in Bombay, Achyut Kanvinde (1916–2002), continued his studies at the Harvard University Graduate School of Design from 1945 to 1947, which was then under the leadership of Walter Gropius. James Belluardo makes the case that 'Kanvinde, along with fellow architects Habib Rahman and Jeet Lal Malhotra, introduced the Modern Movement in India some years before the arrival of Le Corbusier and Louis Kahn'.[70] Leading the opposition to the Modern Movement was Claude Batley. Habib Rahman (1916–96) joined the Central PWD, and even as he would steer it along new paths, for a long time his was an isolated vision in the Department.

Seeking alternative visions after independence in 1947 through foreign expertise, India employed Le Corbusier (who built on the work of earlier experts) for the design of Chandigarh, the capital of Punjab.[71] The eminent architect Balkrishna Doshi (b. 1927), worked at Le Corbusier's atelier in Paris and supervised Corbusier's projects under construction in Ahmedabad. The newly created state of Pakistan engaged the services of Doxiadis Associates to design the capital of Islamabad in what was then West Pakistan; while the American architect Louis Kahn was invited to design the magnificent capitol complex, now called Sher-E-Banglanagar for Dhaka/Dacca, the capital of East Pakistan (Bangladesh after 1971).[72] Muzharul

[69] See Lang, *A Concise History*; S. Dwivedi and R. Mehrotra, *Bombay: The Cities Within* (Bombay, 1995); and J. Lang, M. Desai, and M. Desai, *Architecture & Independence: The Search for Identity—India 1880 to 1980* (Delhi, 1997).

[70] J. Belluardo, 'The Architecture of Kanvinde, Doshi, and Correa in Social and Political Context', in K. K. Ashraf and J. Belluardo (eds), *An Architecture of Independence: The Making of Modern South Asia* (New York, 1999), p. 14.

[71] For Chandigarh, see V. Prakash, *Chandigarh's Le Corbusier: The Struggle for Modernity in Postcolonial India* (Seattle, 2002).

[72] See S. Nilsson, *The New Capitals of India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh* (Lund, 1973).

Islam (1923–2012), whose 'work which, in addition to Kahn's capital buildings has dominated the early architectural scene in Bangladesh', also pursued further architectural education in the USA, first at the University of Oregon and later at Yale University. He was responsible for persuading the American trio Kahn, Paul Rudolph, and Stanley Tigerman to work in Bangladesh, providing a similar provocation to that of Le Corbusier in India.[73] Charles Correa (1930–2015), also influenced by Le Corbusier and Kahn, was another towering figure in the shaping of architecture in South Asia. He too studied architecture in the USA, first at the University of Michigan and then the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In the post-colonial context, however, all three of these nation states have been unsuccessful in providing adequate housing for their urban poor and have only achieved global infamy for the state and extent of their slums.[74] In contrast to these countries in South Asia, relying on local expertise, Sri Lanka sought the services of its own Geoffrey Bawa (1919–2003) to design a New Parliamentary Complex at Kotte, on the outskirts of Colombo (1977–80). This was a highly acclaimed project, which, like much of Bawa's work, melds Modernism with the Sri Lankan vernacular.

In South East Asia, following World War II, many foreign, but especially British, architects were to come to Malaysia and Singapore. In Malaysia these expatriate architects continued to reside in the country even after independence in 1957 and the subsequent creation of the Federation of Malaysia in 1963. It is quite striking that many expatriate architects worked for the PWD both prior to and after independence. For example, Australian-born W. Ivor Shipley of the PWD, worked on the design of Malaysia's Parliament building (1963). Other important buildings representing the newly independent nation were also designed by expatriate architects, including Stadium Merdeka (Independence Stadium, 1957), Stadium Negara (National Stadium, 1962), and the National Mosque (1965). Many private sector expatriate firms were located in Malaysia and a number of local architects also established private practices, the most prominent being the Malayan Architects Co-Partnership. Following the violence of May 1969, there was a shift in policy to ensure that the Malays and other indigenous groups had a greater stake in the country's economy. One result was the greater 'Malaysianization' of architectural firms, which resulted not only in changes in name but an increase of Malays as partners. Expatriate architects were increasingly dependent on local, and particularly Malay architects for commissions, especially from the government (for more on Modernism and Malaya, see Chapter 6, pp. 221–31).[75]

As discussed by Mark Crinson in Chapter 6 (pp. 224–5), many leading architects in all of the abovementioned countries engaged with the question of how to represent the nation's past, its history, its vernacular, and yet be modern. In contrast,

[73] K. K. Ashraf, 'Muzharul Islam, An Architect in Bangladesh', in Ashraf and Belluardo, *An Architecture of Independence*, p. 21.

[74] For a global and dystopian perspective on slums, see M. Davis, *Planet of Slums* (London, 2006). For a focus on Mumbai's most famous slum, see L. Weinstein, *The Durable Slum: Dharavi and the Right to Stay Put in Globalizing Mumbai* (Minneapolis, 2014).

[75] K. Yeang, *The Architecture of Malaysia* (Amsterdam, 1992).

Singapore and Hong Kong (under British control until 1997) found it easier to embrace an international form of Modernism. After World War II, many Singapore architects returned home after studying in Britain, Australia, and the USA. Ng Seng Siang was one of this group, and his Asia Insurance Building (1954) is seen as the earliest rendition of a Regional Modern architecture. However, after independence in 1965, Singapore architects would find that from the 1970s until the 1990s their own investigations into expressions of local identity would be limited by at least two factors: the bulk of the work was in the hands of architects working for the public sector, and the invitation by government and developers of foreign architects to design prominent buildings with local practices acting as associates.[76] In recent decades, iconic modern buildings, such as Norman Foster's Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation (HSBC) building (1983–5) in Hong Kong, and Kuala Lumpur's Petronas Twin Towers, have garnered global attention.

In the last few decades there has been a growing concern for heritage and many colonial-era buildings are now valued and protected as heritage structures. In 2008, UNESCO listed Melaka and George Town (historic cities of the Straits of Malacca), now in Malaysia, as World Heritage Sites. An application to list Delhi as a UNESCO World Heritage Site was submitted in 2012, and in 1995 Bombay was the first city in India to develop Heritage Regulations. Colonial-era buildings are, of course, a part of the lived fabric of everyday life in South and South East Asia. They are key to understanding an important historical period, providing clues to contemporary practice, and remain as material demonstrations of the connected histories forged across and through Britain's colonial empire.

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[76] Powell, *Singapore Architecture*, pp. 80–3.

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9

The Australian Colonies

Stuart King and Julie Willis

The history of the landmass known as Australia, and therefore that of its built environment, is far older than its colonization by British settlers from 1788. Once part of the ancient continent of Gondwanaland—reaching back some 500 million years, and stretching roughly from 10°S through 45°S of latitude, including the Tropic of Capricorn—Australia is vast in scale with considerable variations in climate. It was originally settled from the north some 40,000 years ago, via a long-vanished land bridge connecting through what is now New Guinea into South East Asia.

Indigenous Australians, also known as Australian Aborigines, have some of the oldest continuous cultures on earth. Aboriginal Australia was, and continues to be, made up of multiple nations and clan groups, each with their own distinct language.[1] There was not a single culture and therefore no single approach to art, decoration, or built form. The vagaries of the Australian climate, prone as it is to extremes, meant that many Indigenous clans were at least partially nomadic, moving across different parts of their territory as food sources waxed and waned with the seasons. Aboriginal architecture was thus often impermanent, concerned with mitigating the worst of the weather, and included rain, wind, and shade structures. Depending on their region, some groups built large woven huts of elaborate design; some constructed low-walled permanent structures that were re-roofed each season; others built bough platforms; and some used natural formations, such as caves. Many groups developed specialist techniques and knowledge to utilize materials for construction, most notably the harvesting of large sheets of bark that were then cured to become flat and supple. These materials and techniques were later co-opted, sometimes by force, by the settlers to become a uniquely Australian vernacular building tradition.[2] Traditional structures are still in use, particularly for daytime shelters, by Aboriginal clan groups, especially those living 'on country' (homelands) in the north of Australia, and have remained a continuous building tradition.[3]

[1] David R. Horton's representation of the key regional areas of Aboriginal Australia and the various language groups within each is reproduced in P. Goad and J. Willis (eds), *The Encyclopedia of Australian Architecture* (Melbourne, 2012), p. xxv. The component parts of the map were first published in D. R. Horton (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of Aboriginal Australia* (Canberra, 1994).

[2] C. Keys, 'Preliminary Historical Notes on the Transfer of Aboriginal Architectural Expertise on Australia's Frontier', *Fabrications*, vol. 25:1 (2015), pp 49–62.

[3] This is in spite of the containment of many Aboriginal people to missions, which occurred from the mid-nineteenth century well into the twentieth, governed by policies of assimilation and the dis-

Australia, although far from the centres of Western culture, was not entirely isolated. Clan groups had connections across the Torres Strait to New Guinea, and interactions and trade much further afield with Polynesia and Indonesia. The first documented sighting of the Australian coast by European eyes was in 1606, when a Dutch East India Company ship, under the command of Willem Jansz, landed on Cape York Peninsula. Later, in 1616, a ship captained by the Dutchman Dirk Hartog landed on the west Australian coast. But it was not until 1642 that Abel Janszoon Tasman (?1603–59), another Dutchman, documented parts of the current island state of Tasmania. By 1650, some two-thirds of the Australian coast had been described by Dutch cartographers. Various significant voyages of exploration thus ensued, including that of the English vessel, the *Endeavour*, under the command of Captain James Cook (1728–79) in 1770, which explored and charted the east coast of Australia in some detail. The earliest contacts were seeking bounties that could be traded into Europe, such as spices; later, scientific voyages sought to document and determine what other resources could be exploited in the name of their sponsors.

With the east coast of Australia claimed by Cook in 1770, British expansion across the continent was comparatively rapid and all but complete by 1829. So had begun the colonial history of Australia. Thirty years later, in 1859, this expansion and settlement resulted in the final formation of six independent crown colonies, each of which developed its own distinct identity. 'Australia', as a conceptual whole, was forged over the course of the nineteenth century, particularly as the proportion of the Australian-born settler population grew. Promoted by a growing sense of 'nationalism' that reached its apotheosis in the 1880s and 1890s, the emergent sense of Australianness was vital in laying the groundwork for the Federation of the six colonies into the single nation of Australia in 1901. These colonies, until Federation, were governed with direct oversight from London, and were effectively in competition with one another. Each had a slightly different sense of affiliation or affinity with other British colonies, with a tendency to look outwards from continental Australia, rather than inwards. Queensland, to the north, saw itself in a similar situation to Singapore and Malaya; Western Australia to that of Cape Town; and the significant amount of trans-Tasman movement bound New South Wales and Victoria closely with New Zealand. The origins of each colony also imparted distinct social structures and political character, of which echoes remain today. Moreover, the physical distances between the major cities of each colony meant that each place—climatically, materially, topographically, socially—was different. This in turn encouraged identifiable differences in their architecture. Yet, various aspects of settlement, particularly the aspirations of individual colonies, and their individual relationship to empire, helped foster similarities in architectural approach, inspiration, and precedence.

couragement of traditional practices. It is worth noting that indigenous groups co-opted, in return, material introduced by the settlers into their architecture, including metal sheeting in the forms of corrugated iron. Traditional forms of Aboriginal architecture (bough structures, humpies, shade and wind shelters) are an important part in maintaining a clan's social structure. For further information, see P. Memmott, *Gunyah, Goondie + Wurley: The Aboriginal Architecture of Australia* (Brisbane, 2007).

SYDNEY: THE EARLY PERIOD

The establishment of permanent white settlement in Australia, considered since 1779, and driven in no small part by the loss of the American colonies,[4] came with the decision by the British government in 1787 to establish a penal colony at Botany Bay, so named by Joseph Banks on Cook's voyage of 1770. In the early days of 1788, a fleet of eleven ships, carrying a military contingent of 252, including their wives and children, and some 751 convicts, approximately a third of whom were women, arrived at Botany Bay.

It is a measure of the challenges that faced Captain Arthur Phillip and the other leaders of the First Fleet that the flotilla was relocated north to Port Jackson (Sydney Cove) within a week of its arrival—Botany Bay being unable to provide sufficient dry ground or fresh water to sustain a permanent settlement. The Fleet had brought as much as it could carry for the long journey from Portsmouth in England, and had replenished supplies at each of the ports it called into on the long journey, including Tenerife, Rio de Janiero, and Cape Town. On their departure from the latter, where some 500 animals were procured, they were described as resembling a Noah's Ark.[5]

On 26 January 1788, the entire fleet exited Botany Bay and made the short journey around to Sydney Cove. On the same day, the colours were raised, marking the beginning of European settlement in Australia. The immediate task was considerable: 1,000 people to disembark, to feed and to shelter, in a place that had no pre-existing conventional infrastructure or cultivation on which to draw. The difficulties of this were only heightened by the challenges of marshalling the convict population to assist in this endeavour.

The exigencies of the early Australian settlements, particularly those with large convict populations, dictated the ways in which the nascent built environment was shaped. The priorities of the Sydney settlement, as compared to later settlements such as Melbourne and Adelaide, reflected urgent needs in the face of dire consequences. Almost always—where there was a sanctioned, rather than illegal, major settlement—the first building erected was a house for the settlement's governor (or equivalent). Prefabricated and carried as part of the ship's cargo, as it was for Sydney, the erection of the governor's house—no matter how modest—was an important symbolic gesture that proclaimed authority. In contrast, the rest of the contingent, military and convict alike, were accommodated in tents.

More durable buildings soon followed, and the pattern was repeated with the immediate construction of a permanent Government House (1788–9) in Sydney—a double-storey brick dwelling, only one room deep but embellished with a breakfront and central gable. Elsewhere, basic needs prevailed and the early structures that followed were typically constructed using timber—wattle and daub,

[4] S. MacIntyre, 'Settlement', in G. Davidson, J. Hirst, and S. MacIntyre (eds), *The Oxford Companion to Australian History* (Melbourne, 2001), p. 585.

[5] J. J. Auchmuty (ed.), *Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay* (Sydney, 1970 [1789]), p. 20.

slab or log construction sealed with clay—with hipped and thatched roofs.[6] Poor tools and hard local timbers made it difficult for these structures to be anything other than crude and basic. As the Sydney settlement struggled to discover sufficient deposits of limestone nearby, lime for mortar was in short supply, with the only source coming from burning huge middens of oyster shells amassed by the local Indigenous peoples. As a result of the shortage of lime, bricks were mortared with clay or mud, thus the early attempts at more permanent building using fired-clay bricks in Sydney were of poor quality and at constant threat of collapsing in the rain.[7]

A priority among the first permanent buildings of each of the Australian penal settlements was the commissariat store constructed in brick or stone for the safe-keeping and supply of food and goods to the military and convict population.[8] A hospital for the sick was another priority. Only after the security of the governor, the settlement's food, and the sick were satisfied did attention turn to more permanent structures for the military and convict populations. Spiritual welfare and religious ministrations did not take priority, for it was not until 1793 that the first church was built—a wattle-and-daub building funded by its priest, with little support from the governor.[9]

The earliest permanent accommodation for the convicts and the military were simple, one-storey structures, with thatched or shingled roofs.[10] Early sketches of the Wynyard barracks show plain single-storey ranges of around 80–100 ft fronting the parade ground. Exigency, rather than embellishment, ruled the day. It was not until 1810, with the arrival of new Governor Lachlan Macquarie (1762–1824) did the standard and aspiration of architecture in Sydney significantly improve (see Plate 17).

These early official structures were typically designed on an ad hoc basis by military personnel and built using convict labour. Designers drew upon prior experiences in Britain and other British colonies. For example, John Cliffe Watts (1786–1873), an Irishman trained in architecture in Dublin prior to enlisting in the British Army, served in the West Indies and Channel Islands before arriving in Sydney in 1814. Watts served as Governor Macquarie's *aide-de-camp*, while his architectural skills were deployed in the transformation of the colony through an ambitious public works programme. Designs such as the Military Hospital, Sydney (*c.*1815), were based on his experience with colonial building in the West Indies, and his additions to Government House, Parramatta (1815), are thought to have drawn upon a personal collection of architectural books, including works by Andrea Palladio and Colen Campbell.[11]

[6] J. M. Freeland, *Architecture in Australia* (Richmond, 1972), pp. 12–13.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[8] J. S. Kerr, *Design for Convicts: An Account of Design for Convict Establishments in the Australian Colonies During the Transportation Era* (Sydney, 1984), p. 4.
[9] Freeland, *Architecture in Australia*, p. 18.
[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 17–18, 22–3.
[11] N. Boyd, 'John Watts', in Goad and Willis, *Encyclopedia of Australian Architecture*, p. 755.

SETTLING *TERRA AUSTRALIS*

The pattern of development that occurred in Sydney, New South Wales, was specific to its early establishment as a penal colony. The creation of new, far-flung colonies extending into the mid-nineteenth century—including Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania, 1803), Western Australia (1829), South Australia (1836), Port Philip (Victoria, 1835), and Queensland (1859)—saw a more diverse picture of colonial architecture in Australia emerge. The extended period of initial settlement; the origins of settlement (directly from Britain or from other colonies); differing political, economic, and social priorities (penal versus free settlement; official versus unofficial settlement); differing patterns of settlement; and a diverse range of environmental conditions, all meant a wide range of contingencies and priorities in early building activity around the continent of Australia and its neighbouring islands. Nevertheless, similar needs and requirements determined their first buildings, revealing a common set of priorities in public infrastructure.

Almost every colony experienced a slow development of architecture and architectural expertise. The earliest structures were constructed under the auspices of the most competent personnel available, whether they be military officers with a modicum of building or architectural experience, or builders, architects, and engineers sourced from the convict and settler populations. Architectural competence was thus a relative term: in the face of little competition, barely competent men like the free settler Daniel Dering Mathew, who arrived in Sydney in 1812, could gain commissions, but were swiftly replaced when a more skilled proponent arrived—often bearing a pattern book or two.[12] This cycle was repeated in the rapid succession of officially appointed superintendents/colonial architects in Van Diemen's Land around the time of the colony's separation from New South Wales (1825)—William Wilson, David Lambe, and John Lee Archer—as each man was displaced when a more professional architect was recruited.

The first European settlement in Van Diemen's Land (renamed Tasmania in 1856) was a camp and explorers' supply garden established at Recherche Bay, south-eastern Tasmania, by the French d'Entrecasteaux expedition of 1792–3. The subsequent British settlement of Van Diemen's Land—in part, to deter possible competing European interests—did not occur until 1803–4, firstly at Risdon Cove and then Sullivan's Cove, Hobart, followed by a separate settlement in the northern part of the island in 1804. Van Diemen's Land was settled from Sydney and the priorities of building followed the establishment of New South Wales. Marquees, tents, and 'tent huts' accommodated officials and convicts, while a pre-cut framed structure is believed to have been transported for the colony's first Lieutenant Governor.[13] A modest, single storey timber cottage, constructed *c.*1805, became the government house, while the largest permanent structure for the fledgling settlement was a

[12] J. Willis, 'Daniel Dering Mathew', in *ibid.*, p. 434.

[13] E. Ratcliff, *A Far Microcosm: Building and Architecture in Van Diemen's Land and Tasmania 1803–1914*, 4 vols (Hobart, 2015), I, pp. 40–1.

two-storey brick and stone commissariat store built *c.*1808–10.[14] The military was accommodated in tents and makeshift timber barracks until the construction of permanent barracks, officers' quarters, and military hospital followed in *c.*1814–18, to designs supplied from Sydney, under the direction of Governor Macquarie.

Initial urban and architectural developments were largely concentrated in the early settled districts of New South Wales, extending up the Parramatta River from Port Jackson, and Van Diemen's Land. In addition, there were also 'secondary punishment' penal settlements established from within the existing colonies that provided a catalyst for the expansion of settlement and industry, such as that at Moreton Bay (1824) in what is now Queensland. In Van Diemen's Land, penal settlements were established at the remote Macquarie Harbour (1822–33), where convicts were tasked with timber-cutting and ship building, and at Maria Island (1825–32), where, in addition to timber-cutting, tanning, shoe-making, and cloth production occurred in a mechanized textile factory. Port Arthur (1830–77), the largest and longest running penal settlement in Australia, was a complete prison 'town', with barracks, workshops, and a church (1836), containing within it a prison (1849–50) based on the separate system established at Pentonville 'model prison' in England (1840–2) (Figure 9.1).[15]

Figure 9.1. Port Arthur, Tasmania (1830–77). Photograph by John Watt Beattie (1860) (Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales).

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

[15] P. Goad, 'Prison Architecture', in Goad and Willis, *Encyclopedia of Australian Architecture*, p. 563. For additional reading, see Kerr, *Design for Convicts*.

Further afield there were three short-lived attempts to establish military and trading ports along Australia's northern coast at in what is now the Northern Territory: Fort Dundas, Melville Island (1824–7), Fort Wellington, Raffles Bay (1827), and, ten years later, Port Essington (1838).[16] These remote military settlements comprised log fortifications with timber and thatch accommodation and stores, built by convicts who accepted the remote assignment in exchange for the chance of tickets of leave. The settlements served a dual strategic purpose in relation to an international context of colonialism. Firstly, they were to secure British occupation of the vast Australian continent; and secondly, they were to operate as potential trading ports, connecting with regional trade networks into South East Asia and beyond.

In contrast, Port Phillip (colony of Victoria from 1851) was an entrepreneurial venture, settled by Van Diemonian pastoralists in 1835 seeking a new frontier for development across the waters of Bass Strait. Initially declared an illegal settlement by the Sydney authorities, sanctioned settlement of Port Phillip (Melbourne) began in 1836 with the arrival of Captain William Lonsdale and a small contingent of military, convict, and civil personnel. The sequence of building that followed was an established pattern: the commandant's house, a small commissariat, a temporary hospital, military and convict barracks, mostly prefabricated and quickly built in a fenced cantonment, later known as the Government block in Melbourne.[17] Buildings of greater physical substance and sophistication soon appeared. Melbourne and its surrounds were to be exploited for government profit, with the land surveyed and divided using the principles of the Darling regulations, and sold, freehold, through a series of auctions held on site, and thence in Sydney between 1837 and 1839.[18] Within the town reserve of Melbourne, owners of blocks were required to erect buildings of a value of not less than £50 within two years of purchase, which led to rapid development.[19] The public buildings erected echoed this more commercial approach to settlement, where trade, law and order, and communication control were the order of the day. Where once a commissariat would have dominated the docks, an elegant Georgian stone custom house rose (1838–41). Law and order took the form of a police station and 'lockup' (1839), followed by a picturesque Gothick court house (1842–3). A Georgian post office (1841) was established, as well as a government office (1843–5).[20]

In contrast to the colonies of the east coast, Western Australia (Swan River Colony, established 1829) and South Australia (1836) were founded as experiments in free settlement, directly from London, and independent of the earlier east

[16] For detail on the Fort Dundas settlement, see C. F. K. Fredericksen, 'Confinement by Isolation: Convict Mechanics and Labour at Fort Dundas, Melville Island', *Australasian Historical Archaeology*, vol. 19 (2001), pp. 48–59.

[17] G. Tibbits and A. Roennfeldt, *Port Phillip Colonial 1801–1851* (Clifton Hill, 1989), p. 13.

[18] M. Lewis, *Melbourne: The City's History and Development* (Melbourne, 1995), pp 26–9.

[19] This applied to the first two sales of land. Thereafter the requirement was for buildings of value of not less that £20. See *ibid.*, p. 38.

[20] Tibbits and Roennfeldt, *Port Phillip Colonial*, pp. 28–42.

coast colonies.[21] Indeed, Western Australia was supplied from the Cape of Good Hope and was part of an Indian Ocean trading network.[22]

The Swan River Colony was founded as an idealistic free settlement based on agriculture, largely on the glowing accounts of its future governor's voyage there in 1827. Managed by the Colonial Office in London, the conditions of land provision were carefully considered, but no Act or proper governance was instituted, nor were any preparations made for the arrival of the first settlers and their families.[23] The Colony's first civil engineer was Henry Reveley, who joined the colony's founding Lieutenant Governor, James Stirling, in Cape Town en route from London. In contrast to the east coast settlements, the colony's first buildings were generally huts and houses for the free settlers, rather than public buildings, following the immediate needs of the colony. Indeed, a church (1829) of timber with rush walls and thatch preceded almost every other public structure.[24] Reveley designed a small number of buildings in the ensuing years, including a small gaol at Fremantle, known as the Round House (1831), a commissariat store (1834), a governor's house (1835), and court house, replete with a Greek Revival porch (1837) in Perth, followed by a public office and Legislative Council chambers (1839).[25] The slow pace of building colonial infrastructure was the result of the 'penny-pinching attitude of the British Government towards the Swan River Settlement'.[26]

The founding of the Colony of South Australia was also an idealistic exercise in systematic, self-supporting colonization. In contrast to Western Australia, it was more closely regulated by the South Australia Act of August 1834. Land sales were to fund loans for ongoing development and to assist migration of free labourers to the colony. Importantly, the South Australian settlement was to be free of convicts and based on principles of religious freedom.

The realities of settlement were, however, far from ideal. The first settlers began arriving in July 1836, ahead of the completion of surveying work, and initial accommodation was in tents, prefabricated timber houses, or wattle-and-daub structures. It was not until the appointment of Governor George Gawler in 1838 that a major public works programme in Adelaide was commenced. Gawler's initiative to replace temporary structures with permanent was designed in part to support local investment and absorb migrant labour.[27] Gawler's architect was the Irish-born George Strickland Kingston (1807–80), who held official positions as the South Australian Deputy Surveyor General (1836–8) and, subsequent to a

[21] Development in Western Australia was subsequently aided by convict transportation and labour from 1850 to 1868, after the cessation of transportation to the New South Wales and Tasmanian colonies.

[22] A. Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia: A History*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 2004), p. 96.

[23] M. Pitt Morison, 'Settlement and Development: The Historical Context', in M. Pitt Morison and J. White (eds), *Western Towns and Buildings* (Perth, 1979), pp. 2–3.

[24] J. Oldham and R. Oldham, *Western Heritage* (Perth, 1962), p. 7.

[25] J. White, 'Building in Western Australia 1829–1850', in Pitt Morison and White, *Western Towns*, pp. 80–5.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

[27] R. Hetherington, 'Gawler, George (1795–1869)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (National Centre of Biography, Australian National University), http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/gawler-george-2085/text2615, accessed 12 May 2015.

brief period in private practice, Inspector of Public Works & Building (1839–40). First among the new works was an extension to the existing Government House (a pisé structure) comprising a Regency-style east wing constructed in brick (1838), followed by police barracks (1838), public offices (1839), custom house (1840), gaol (1840), hospital (1841), post office (*c.*1841), and asylum (1841), as well as houses for public officials.[28] Markets, warehouses, and churches also sprang up in the colony. Law, order, administration, and revenue dominated the public infrastructure agenda, dressed in Kingston's simple Georgian or picturesque Gothick style.

The colony of Queensland, the last of the independent Australian colonies to be founded, was separated from New South Wales in 1859. Queensland was constituted with an immediate provision for responsible government and economic self-sufficiency within a competitive regional and international economic environment heightened by the discovery of gold in New South Wales and Victoria from 1851. The colony was vast, stretching well into the tropics, settlement was free and highly decentralized, and architecture was subject to competing demands, including the need to present an economic identity for the new colony. Within four years of separation, the new Colonial Government in Queensland embarked upon an ambitious proposal of urban embellishment in Brisbane, the former penal settlement of Moreton Bay, and now capital city in the colony's south-eastern corner. In parallel, Somerset was settled at the tip of Cape York Peninsula, ambitiously conceived as the 'Singapore of Australia'—an entrepôt to colonial trade networks in Asia—reprising earlier attempts at northern settlement. At this time, settlement was connected to a strategic manoeuvring within a greater regional and imperial context underscoring the competitive nature of Australia's separate, self-governing colonies of the nineteenth century.[29]

PENAL AND PASTORAL: IDEALISM AND IDYLL

The early development of architecture in the Australian colonies was allied to social reform and the idea of 'improvement', most notably under the governorship of Major-General Lachlan Macquarie, Governor of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land from 1811 to 1824, with the aid of his influential wife Elisabeth.[30]

[28] On the establishment and early building of South Australia, see E. Jensen and R. Jensen, *Colonial Architecture in South Australia: A Definitive Chronicle of Development 1836–1890 and the Social History of the Times* (Adelaide, 1980), pp. 1–45.

[29] Somerset was settled with a suite of timber structures designed and prefabricated in Brisbane and shipped the length of the Queensland coast (more than 2,000 kilometres), with crews to assemble them on site. At the same time, a feasibility study for steamship communication and trade with the British and Dutch colonies of South East Asia onto India and China, via the Torres Strait, was examined. The port and trade routes were intended to provide a stimulus for colonial development whilst establishing political and economic alliances and strategically positioning the colony of Queensland within the region. See S. King, 'Colony and Climate: Positioning Public Architecture in Queensland, 1859–1909', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Melbourne, 2010), pp. 132–6.

[30] J. Broadbent, 'Building in the Colony', in J. Broadbent and J. Hughes (eds), *The Age of Macquarie* (Parkville, 1992), pp. 159, 166–9.

Among the first notable, permanent structures to be erected during this period was the Parramatta Female Orphan School (1813–18), a large-scale Palladian composition detailed in a restrained Georgian manner, and based upon the design of Aird House, near Appin, Argyllshire, in Scotland, the former home shire of the Macquaries.

Whilst the memories and pattern books of patrons and builders are known to have provided early sources for architectural expression in the colonies, in 1816 Macquarie employed the ex-convict architect Francis Greenway (1777–1837) as the colony's first Civil Architect and Assistant Engineer. Greenway had been trained in London, articled to John Nash, and subsequently practised in partnership in Bristol. However, the practice failed and Greenway was convicted for forgery and sentenced to death, which was commuted to transportation to New South Wales for fourteen years. Almost immediately on arrival he was granted a ticket of leave and allowed to practise architecture, for Macquarie recognized the value of having a higher level of architectural competence and expertise in the fledgling colony.[31]

Greenway was fundamental to the early architectural development of colonial Australia. He brought with him a copy of William Chambers' important and influential *Treatise on Civil Architecture* (1759).[32] Drawing on the influence of Nash and his British contemporaries, he designed in the fashionable if conservative Georgian mode, underpinned by refined use of proportion within a strict regime of ornamental decorum. This is best captured in his designs for such buildings as the Hyde Park Convict Barracks (1817)[33] (Figure 9.2) and St James's church (1820–4, on axis opposite the barracks) in Sydney Town; St Matthew's church, Windsor (1817–20), in the manner of Sir John Soane; St Luke's church, Liverpool (1818–19); and the Liverpool Convict Hospital (designed in 1818, built 1824–30)—all constructed in face brick using convict labour.

In Van Diemen's Land, a refinement of penal architecture occurred under Lieutenant Governor George Arthur (1784–1854), aided by his appointment of John Lee Archer (1791–1852) as Colonial Architect and Engineer from 1826 to 1836,[34] and the convict James Blackburn (1803–54), employed in the Colonial Architect's Office from 1833 through to the mid-1840s. The use of scale and proportion, alongside a restrained application of classical detail (including porticoes, loggias, articulated wall surfaces and rustication, cornices, architraves, and quoining), combined to codify institutional hierarchies pertaining to civic, military, and convict architecture within the towns and penal settlements of the colony. Gothick or Romanesque detailing was applied to early ecclesiastical buildings, such as Blackburn's St Mark's (Anglican) Church, Pontville (1839–41; Figure 9.3), the Scots

[31] M. H. Ellis, *Francis Greenway: His Life and Times* (Sydney, 1953).

[32] C. Lucas, 'Francis Greenway', in Goad and Willis, *Encyclopedia of Australian Architectur*e, pp. 295–7.

[33] For a detailed examination of the Hyde Park Barracks precinct, see S. Hill, 'Francis Greenway and the Design of the Hyde Park Barracks: Revisiting Aspects of the Design of the Barrack and the St James Precinct', *Fabrications*, vol. 20:2 (2011), pp. 6–33.

[34] R. Smith, *John Lee Archer: Tasmanian Architect and Engineer* (Hobart, 1962).

Figure 9.2. Hyde Park Barracks, Sydney (1817), by Francis Greenway (Central Sydney Heritage Inventory Photographs, City of Sydney Archives).

Church, Sorell (1839–41), and St Matthew's Presbyterian Church, Glenorchy (1842), which were all Romanesque in style.

Early colonial governors, particularly Macquarie, appeared to recognize an important role for architecture in the Australian settlements. However, as had been the case in many other parts of the British world, the imperial authorities resisted expenditure on public works beyond essential infrastructure. These tensions were brought to the fore by John Thomas Bigge in his *Report of the Commissioner of Inquiry into the State of the Colony of New South Wales* (1822), which criticized Macquarie's expenditure on buildings 'finished in a style of ornament and decoration little suited to the limited means of so young a colony as New South Wales'.[35] Macquarie's investment in a substantial public works programme was not necessarily an act of colonial aggrandisement but, rather, a means of utilizing a surplus of convict labour generated by increased transportation at the end of the Napoleonic Wars.[36] This dilemma was compounded by disastrous climatic conditions in New South Wales during much of the second decade of the nineteenth century, subduing settlers' need for convict labour (and their ability to feed them) in agricultural enterprises. It was not until the constitution of responsible government in the

[35] J. T. Bigge, *Report of the Commissioner of Inquiry on the State of Agriculture and Trade in the Colony of New South Wales* (London, 1823), p. 102.

[36] T. G. Parsons, 'Does the Bigge Report Follow From the Evidence?', *Historical Studies*, vol. 15:58 (1972), pp. 268–74.

Figure 9.3. St Mark's Church, Pontville, Tasmania (1839–41), by James Blackburn (Russ Ashton Photographic Collection, National Library of Australia).

Australian colonies from the 1850s onwards that individual colonial governments were able to pursue and implement ambitious, indeed aspirational, public works programmes.

Pastoral expansion was not solely the result of increasing convict transportation and bigger penal colonies. It was principally driven by the settlement of swathes of arable land by free settlers, whether pardoned convicts, retired military personnel, or new immigrants. The primary housing type to emerge with agricultural and pastoral expansion during the 1820s and 1830s was the homestead: understood since early European settlement to be a building, or collection of buildings, associated with a large land holding. Formally, this characteristic building type comprised one or two storeys under a broad, hipped roof, often with verandahs to the front, in some cases encircling the building entirely.[37] Elizabeth Farm, Parramatta, New South Wales (1793, with later additions) and the original timber section of the homestead at Woolmers, Longford, in Tasmania (1818–19), are early examples of the type, still extant. Later homesteads showing the development of the type include Throsby Park, Moss Vale (1834), and The Homestead, Georges Hall (1837), both in New South Wales, and Somercotes in Tasmania (*c.*1842; Figure 9.4).

[37] P. Cox and C. Lucas, *Australian Colonial Architecture* (Melbourne, 1978), pp. 5–120.

Figure 9.4. Somercotes, Ross, Tasmania (*c.*1842) (Wes Stacey Archive of Architectural Photographs 1968–72, National Library of Australia).

Many of these homesteads approximated the form of a bungalow—a type associated with British colonial occupation in India and other British colonies in the tropics. In the case of Horsley, Horsley Park, New South Wales (1832), Captain George Weston, a former merchant with experience in India, directly interpreted an Anglo-Indian bungalow, complete with a *punkah* in the dining room.[38] However, more general transmission of the bungalow to the Australian colonies appears to have been diffuse, rather than direct. Individuals—officials, military personnel, and settlers—brought experiences from other British colonies with them that were reinterpreted by builders and architects at distance. Indeed, the architectural historian James Broadbent has argued that verandahs first appeared in official and military buildings before being more widely adopted in houses-cum-bungalows.[39] Nevertheless, the climatic imperative ensured the popularity of the verandah. A more specific development in response to climate may be seen in the distinctive tropical bungalow that emerged in Queensland from the 1860s. It comprised a bungalow form constructed using an efficient, expressed

[38] J. Broadbent, *The Australian Colonial House: Architecture and Society in New South Wales 1788–1842* (Sydney, 1997), pp. 325–7.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 301.

timber frame with a single-skin lining, roof ventilators, screens, and sunhoods, with the whole raised high on timber stumps.[40]

As would become observable later in New Zealand, vernacular building details also reveal the impact of particular migrant groups from within the British Isles and Europe.[41] For instance, in Tasmania, Scottish settlers built houses with Scots gable skews and open verges at Pitcuncarty (1825), Craigie Knowe (*c.*1821), Glendassary (1838), and Cranbrook House (pre-1840), among other examples.[42] In South Australia, German settlers in the Barossa Valley and Adelaide Hills, South Australia, likewise brought specific vernacular building traditions, such as *fachwerk* and *lehmwickel*, in the late 1830s and 1840s.[43]

The development of more architecturally pretentious houses, informed by stylistic currents in Britain, occurred on the back of economic expansion in the 1830s. Between 1830 and 1835 wool prices in Britain doubled, leading to rapid expansion and returns on wool production, as well as local meat prices. New markets for livestock and goods for settlement also emerged with the establishment of the new colonies of Western Australia, South Australia, and Victoria, supporting the development of the earlier settled colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land.[44]

In Sydney, this period of economic prosperity corresponded with the short but prolific architectural career (*c.*1830–7) of John Verge (1782–1861), who became builder-architect to New South Wales's most prominent pastoralists and entrepreneurs. Not formally trained as an architect, Verge began his career as a merchant builder in London. Nevertheless, on arrival in New South Wales in 1828, he brought with him a proficient if somewhat idiosyncratic knowledge of Regency design and neoclassical Greek detailing then fashionable in the metropolis. Key among his oeuvre of more than one hundred commissions are Camden Park, Camden, New South Wales—a neo-Palladian composition designed for the prominent pastoralist John Macarthur in 1831–2—and Elizabeth Bay House, Sydney (1833), for the then Colonial Secretary, Alexander Macleay.[45]

In Van Diemen's Land during the same period, individuals and farming cartels reflected their wealth in the construction of grand Regency houses such as Lake House, Cressy (1831–5), a refined Palladian composition with pilastered façades; Panshanger, Longford (*c.*1835), a single-storey sandstone building with Grecian detailing, attributed to Archer; and the monumental Clarendon, Nile (1831–8),

[40] For further reading on this distinctive housing type, see R. Fisher and B. Crozier (eds), *The Queensland House: A Roof Over Our Heads* (Brisbane, 1994).

[41] See Chapter 10 (pp. 361, 365, 373, 376).

[42] Ratcliffe, *A Far Microcosm*, pp. 70–80. On the later contribution of Scottish settlers to the development of homesteads in western Victoria, see H. Edquist, 'The Architectural Legacy of the Scots in the Western District of Victoria, Australia', *Architectural Heritage*, vol. 24 (2013), pp. 67–85.

[43] G. Young, 'Early German Settlements in South Australia', *Australian Historical Archeaology*, vol. 3 (1985), pp. 43–55. See also Miles Lewis, 'Australian Building: A Cultural Investigation', http://www.mileslewis.net/australian-building/, accessed 20 June 2015.

[44] H. Reynolds, *A History of Tasmania* (Port Melbourne, 2012), p. 92.

[45] Broadbent, *Australian Colonial House*, pp. 191–205.

Figure 9.5. Ayers House, North Terrace, Adelaide (*c.*1860), by George Strickland Kingston (State Library of South Australia).

designed by Blackburn. In 1843, the Woolmers Homestead was updated with new formal reception rooms and an Italianate frontage.[46]

The sheltering homesteads and bungalows suggest responsiveness to the Australian climate—its bright light, hot summers and periods of intense rainfall. However, such a consideration of climate is difficult to quantify in architecturally self-conscious buildings of the early to mid-nineteenth century. Architects including Verge (New South Wales) and Ayers House (South Australia; Figure 9.5) exploited the possibilities of Regency colonnades, loggias, and verandahs familiar in the cooler climes of Britain. However, their deployment, with attendant climatic benefits, was typically governed by established formal and stylistic conventions, rarely challenging British architectural orthodoxies. Throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century, this tension with the Australian environment was central to debates over and the search for an 'Australian style' of architecture in the late 1880s and early 1890s.

[46] E. G. Robertson and E. N. Craig, *Early Houses of Northern Tasmania: An Historical and Architectural Survey* (Melbourne, 1964).

MID-NINETEENTH-CENTURY ASPIRATION

The discovery of gold in Australia in 1851 wrought dramatic change. The first significant discoveries were at Bathurst in New South Wales, followed by major strikes in the colony of Victoria. After several years of agitation, Victoria was formally separated from New South Wales as an independent colony on 1 July 1851—on that very day a significant amount of gold was discovered at Clunes, and some three weeks later at Mount Alexander, near Castlemaine. Further finds were then made at Ballarat, Bendigo, Beechworth, and elsewhere in the colony.

The impact on Victoria was twofold: firstly, the colony saw a huge influx of immigrants, many seeking their fortunes on the goldfields; and, second, the colony enjoyed rapidly increasing wealth. The early years of the gold rush had brought building to a virtual standstill as workers downed tools to prospect for gold. But the need to establish the trappings of colonial government and infrastructure soon rehabilitated the construction industry in the towns of Melbourne, Geelong, Ballarat, and Bendigo. The possibilities of all this encouraged young but established British architects to migrate, bringing with them new levels of experience, sophistication, and professionalism to the Australian scene. Confidence in the burgeoning wealth of Victoria saw large and complex designs proposed for new key buildings, such as the Treasury Building (1857–62) by the brilliant young Liverpudlian J. J. Clark (1838–1915), working for the Victorian PWD, and Parliament House (1856–) by Peter Kerr (of Knight & Kerr; Figure 9.6), both in Melbourne. Municipal corporations built grand town halls. Hotels, retail premises, offices, churches, a university, and banks all rapidly followed.

Other examples include the monumental Renaissance Revival classicism of the Public Library (now State Library), Melbourne (1854–1913), and the town halls in Geelong (1855, almost identical to David Rhind's Commercial Bank of Scotland headquarters in Edinburgh (1843–7)) and Melbourne (1867–87), all by the Cornish-born architect Joseph Reed (1822–90). Town halls in the major inland gold-mining settlements of Bendigo (W. C. Vahland, 1859–86) and Ballarat (J. T. Lorenz, Henry Caselli & Percy Oakden, 1870–2) were both in a French Second Empire style. In New South Wales, the Colonial Architect, James Barnet, designed an impressive suite of Renaissance Revival public buildings for Sydney, including the Sydney General Post Office (1866–91) and the Lands Department (1876–91), as well as notable court houses and post and telegraph offices for the inland towns Bathurst (*c.*1878–80; Figure 9.7) and Goulburn (1880–7).[47]

With the establishment of responsible government for each of the Australian colonies over the course of the late 1850s (the exception was Western Australia, not granted responsible government until 1890) came greater autonomy over public works programmes, generating a period of significant civic expansion. Responsible government also encouraged both imagination and aspiration. Visions of future

[47] C. Johnson, P. Bingham-Hall, and P. Kohane, *James Barnet: The Universal Values of Civic Existence* (Sydney, 2000).

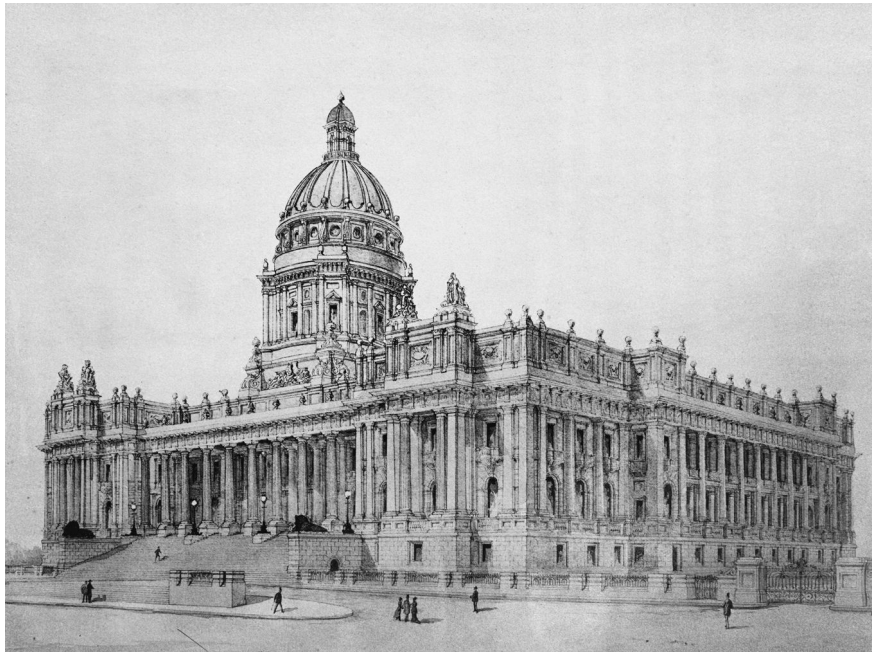

Figure 9.6. Perspective of Parliament House, Melbourne (1856), by Peter Kerr (of Knight & Kerr), from G. H. Jenkins, *A Short History and Description of the Parliament House, Melbourne: Prepared at the Request of the Royal Commission on the Parliament Buildings* (1886) (State Library of Victoria).

Figure 9.7. Bathurst Post Office and Court House (*c.*1878–80), New South Wales, by James Barnet (Frank Walker Glass Lantern Slide Collection, Royal Australian Historical Society).

success stimulated ostentatious designs for local parliament buildings, all intended to accommodate the bicameral Westminster system of government, and usually in a confident form of Renaissance Revivalism. Impressive treasuries, supreme courts, and general post office buildings, as well as various mints and printing offices, were built in all of Australia's colonial capitals during the second half of the nineteenth century. In country towns court houses and post offices were typically built in classical and Italianate styles. Porticoes and giant orders abounded; tiered arcades and Italianate towers rose. Styles proliferated and ornament was enriched.

In Adelaide, just prior to the granting of responsible government to the colony of South Australia, a rather modest Jacobethan-style parliamentary chamber was erected in 1855 to the designs of the then Colonial Architect, W. Bennett Hays (1814–*c.*1887), only to be replaced with a much grander neoclassical edifice with a giant order in 1883 (Edmund Wright and Lloyd Tayler). For the new Parliament House (1865–81) in Brisbane, the style (French Renaissance) was influenced by Louis Visconti and Hector-Martin Lefuel's extension to the Louvre (Tuileries Palace) in Paris between 1852 and 1857—a style that had been popularized in Britain following the published competitive designs for the Foreign Office in London (1856–7). Indeed, this influence can be traced specifically to the central block of Robert Kerr's unbuilt design for a 'National Museum' at South Kensington, published in *The Builder* just prior to the finalization of the design in Brisbane.[48] In Melbourne, Knight & Kerr's 1856 design for Parliament House was a grand Renaissance pile that took inspiration from Cuthbert Broderick's design for Leeds Town Hall (1853–8).

This surge in building activity in the Australian colonies during the mid- to late nineteenth century highlights uses of architectural style with specific, rather than generic, intellectual pedigrees, thus shining a light on the diversity within 'British' architecture abroad. In Victoria, the London-born William Wardell (1823–99), Inspector General of Public Works between 1859 and 1878, oversaw a conservative classical design tradition underpinned by a strict regime of decorum that served to articulate institutional hierarchies, all traceable to his training in England. Moreover, as was the case in New Zealand, expertise and influence were as likely to come specifically from Ireland or Scotland as from England. In contrast to Wardell, the Colonial Government architect in Queensland from 1871 to 1881 was the Edinburgh-trained, Scottish émigré Francis Drummond Greville Stanley (1839–97), who designed a large contingent of major public, ecclesiastical, and commercial buildings in an eclectic Scots mode. Stanley expressed institutional identities and hierarchies through a range of styles, including neoclassical, Renaissance Revival, neo-Romanesque, Italianate, and Gothic Revival—all learnt and practised in Scotland, effectively linking the development of Brisbane in many ways to Edinburgh.[49]

[48] *The Builder* (25 June 1864), p. 475. For further discussion, see King, 'Colony and Climate', pp. 136–45.

[49] S. King, 'Eclecticism in the Work of Queensland Colonial Architect FDG Stanley, 1871–1881', *Fabrications*, vol. 21:2 (2012), pp. 36–59.

Architectural personnel and expertise also flowed between colonies of Australia and New Zealand as building opportunities waxed and waned in different places. William Clayton, the first Tasmanian-born and professionally trained architect (in England), established a prolific practice in Launceston and was responsible for notable civic and ecclesiastical buildings, including the refined Italian Renaissance Revival public office, Launceston (1858–61), and the complex Gothick Chalmers' Free Presbyterian Church (1859–60). As discussed by Ian Lochhead and Paul Walker (Chapter 10, pp. 371–2), Clayton immigrated to Dunedin, New Zealand, possibly attracted by the Otago gold-rush, at a time when the Tasmanian economy was declining. In Dunedin, he entered private practice and was subsequently appointed the first, and only, New Zealand Colonial Architect from 1869. Another highly mobile architect practising across Australasia was J. J. Clark. After a twenty-five-year career with the Victorian PWD, he was appointed as Queensland Colonial Architect for a short and prolific, if contentious, two-year period during which he realized the highly ambitious Queensland Treasury Building, Brisbane (1883–1928; Figure 9.8). The building itself illustrates the global, regional, and local connections in Australia's colonial architecture. Clark adapted a conservative Renaissance Revival vocabulary characterized by Sansovinoesque devices echoing G. G. Scott's and Matthew Digby Wyatt's designs for the new Government Offices in Whitehall, London (1862–75). At the same time the design advanced a decorous Renaissance

Figure 9.8. Queensland Treasury Building (Stage One), Brisbane (1883–5), by J. J. Clark (Queensland State Archives).

Revival urbanism characteristic of design culture in the Victorian PWD, while confidently responding to Queensland's subtropical climate, with façades of tiered arcaded loggias. In 1896, Clark followed the gold-rush to Western Australia and was appointed to that colony's PWD (1896–9), with a parallel right to private practice, establishing a partnership with his son E. J. Clark. Among his Western Australian projects was the Perth Children's Hospital (1898). He returned to Brisbane in 1899, and then Melbourne in 1902, securing major commissions in Queensland, Victoria, New South Wales, and New Zealand, among them the City Baths in Melbourne (1901–4), Melbourne (Queen Victoria) Hospital (1909–15), and the Town Hall in Auckland, New Zealand (1907–11).[50]

The architectural possibilities in Asia also encouraged Australian architects: William Salway (1844–1902), who had migrated to Australia as a ten year old and completed his articles with the Melbourne-based firm Reed & Barnes, travelled extensively in Asia in 1867, before settling in Hong Kong, where he practised from 1868 to 1876.[51] There he founded the firm which was to become Palmer & Turner, before returning to Australia. Sydney-born John Smedley (1841–1903), who had been articled to George Allan Mansfield (1834–1908), also left Australia for Hong Kong, where he joined Storey & Son as a junior partner in 1866. After visiting Japan in 1868, he set up an office in Yokohama in 1872. In 1880 he returned to Sydney, where he practised until 1891. He later returned to practice in Yokohama, then Hankow in China (1894–6), and finally in Shanghai.[52]

These architects followed opportunity wherever it took them. Their mobility brought and transmitted architectural knowledge as a two-way exchange and strongly indicates that architecture in Australia was not just an end-point of architectural understanding and taste, but instead a nodal point of multiple and complex transmissions across the British empire and beyond.

The ambitions of colonial societies in Australia is also manifest in ecclesiastical architecture of the period. There was idealism and aspiration bound into the procurement of these designs from high profile English ecclesiastical architects, ranging from scholarly renditions of the Gothic Revival to progressive High Victorian experimentation. As discussed further by G. A. Bremner and Louis Nelson (Chapter 5, pp. 175–6), the Roman Catholic bishops of Sydney and Hobart—Archbishop John Bebe Polding, and Bishop Robert Willson—commissioned no less a figure than A. W. N Pugin to provide plans and models for idealized Gothic Revival churches for their new dioceses (see Figure 5.7). Indeed, Pugin's influence extended to Melbourne, where his friend and faithful follower, Wardell, designed the magnificent St Patrick's Roman Catholic Cathedral (1858–1939) in a solid and accurate English Decorated Gothic idiom (although the apsidal east end is of French inspiration; see Figure 5.8). Wardell would later go on to design the equally impressive St Mary's Roman Catholic cathedral in Sydney (1868–). The designs

[50] For a biographical account of Clark's career, see: A. Dodd, *J. J. Clark: Architect of the Australian Renaissance* (Sydney, 2012).

[51] B. Trethowan, 'Salway, William', in Goad and Willis, *Encyclopedia of Australian Architecture*, pp. 613–14.

[52] J. Willis and A. Higham, 'Smedley, John', in *ibid.*, p. 634.

commissioned from the 1850s for Anglican churches and cathedrals saw the engagement of prominent English ecclesiastical architects such as G. G. Scott, G. E. Street, William Butterfield, G. F. Bodley, and J. L. Pearson, reflecting the status of the church within an increasingly competitive social and fiscal environment.

Important ecclesiastical commissions by English architects in the Australian colonies demonstrate architectural contiguities within the British empire despite geographic discontinuities and distance, thus challenging traditional historiographic distinctions between 'colonial' and 'metropolitan' architectures. For instance, George Frederick Bodley (1827–1907), one of England's most distinguished Gothic Revival architects, was commissioned to design St David's Anglican Cathedral in Hobart (designed 1865, modified 1891, and completed 1936), resulting in his only completed cathedral design. Likewise, William Butterfield (1814–1900), perhaps the greatest of Victorian Britain's ecclesiastical architects, designed two Anglican cathedrals in Australia: St Peter's, North Adelaide (1868–1904), and St Paul's, Melbourne (1880–91). Both of these buildings were intended for strong visual effect, employing polychrome and polytexture stone work respectively.[53]

Tensions soon emerged as these architects attempted to respond to colonial contingencies with respect to ecclesiological discourse. William Burges's ecclesiologically correct and climatically responsive design for an Anglican cathedral in Brisbane (1859, unbuilt), characterized by a massiveness based on early French and Italian precedent, was rejected in the local press largely on account of primitivist associations. Butterfield's design for St Peter's, too, was modified by local architect E. J. Woods, especially the nave and west front, losing its polychromatic exterior in the process. Indeed, one of the frustrations for English architects designing by remote control in colonial contexts was the sometimes unsympathetic and dismissive attitude of locally appointed superintending architects, as was initially the case with Leonard Terry and the construction of St Paul's, Melbourne, until the job was handed to Joseph Reed.

In time church designs imported from England were matched by those from émigré architects in the colonies, chief among them being Edmund Blacket (1817–83), Henry Hunter (1832–92), William Wardell, John Horbury Hunt (1838–1904), and Joseph Reed, all of whom produced accomplished and sophisticated Gothic Revival church designs, with Blacket also designing the first buildings at the University of Sydney (1855–62; see Figure 5.12).[54] In Queensland, R. G. Suter (1827–94) drew upon ecclesiological discourses of 'development' to produce a raft of single-skin timber Gothic parish churches, schools, and teachers' residences that were to be advocated as the possible basis for a locally invented vernacular, as seen in the emergence of the tropical Queensland bungalow.[55]

[53] For Anglian architecture in Australia, see G. A. Bremner, *Imperial Gothic: Religious Architecture and High Anglican Culture in the British Empire c.1840–1870* (London and New Haven, 2013).

[54] B. Andrews, *Australian Gothic: The Gothic Revival in Australian Architecture from the 1840s to the 1950s* (Melbourne, 2001).

[55] D. Watson, 'Outside Studding: "Some claims to architectural taste"', *Historic Environment*, vol. 2 (1988), pp. 22–31.

Figure 9.9. Werribee Park Mansion, Werribee (1872–4), Victoria, by J. H. Fox (State Library of Victoria, photograph Fred Kruger [1880]).

The aspiration apparent in public and ecclesiastical buildings was also apparent in the emergence of the grand house mansion for the 'squattocracy', as the newly wealthy pastoralists became known. Examples include the grand Italianate Werribee Park Mansion by J. H. Fox in Werribee, Victoria (1872–4; Figure 9.9), for the wealthy pastoralist Chirnside family; Rippon Lea in Elsternwick, Victoria (1868–76), by Reed & Barnes, with its wonderful High Victorian polychrome exterior in a distinct Ruskinian-style Lombardo-Romanesque; and the Italianate-style Mona Vale, Ross, in Tasmania (1867) by William Archer. These buildings ushered in new standards of scale, aspiration, and sophistication, with elegant loggias, tessellated tiling, delicate stencilling, 'correct' detailing, careful proportioning, and conspicuous towers.

BOOMTIME: THE 1880s

The height of architectural confidence in nineteenth-century Australia was evident in the 1880s. Its colonial cities were wealthy, supported by mining and pastoral success, and were adorned with extraordinary buildings. As property prices rose and land became more valuable, these cities were rebuilt and reformed in the height of Victorian-era splendour. The region's wealth and prosperity was showcased at

successive international expositions not only in Sydney (1879) and Melbourne (1880, 1888), but also London (1886). The Sydney and Melbourne events were held in grand, purpose-built exhibition halls, with the Melbourne building remaining today as a rare survivor of this typology. This new-found affluence was also indicated through the increasing frequency of high-rise buildings that began to dominate urban centres, surpassing the traditional high points of steeple and tower.

The rise of commercial buildings in the 1880s was a key determinant in the transformation of late nineteenth-century Australian urbanism. New construction techniques, in conjunction with passenger lift technology, allowed for ever taller structures, as each new project sought to outdo the last. The upwards pressure presented an architectural challenge, for mid-nineteenth-century civic buildings had hitherto relied on precedent for their inspiration. But even the grandest European palace did not come near the proposed heights of these new 'skyscrapers'. Architects took up the challenge with gusto, creating myriad responses.

The Australian colonies had mature social structures by the 1880s. The days of creating the instruments of civil society were largely past, with key public amenities, such as government, the police and judiciary, custom and postal services, benevolent institutions, hospitals, and schools, having all been largely established in urban areas. Moreover, new infrastructure, such as railways, created architectural opportunities as well as facilitating travel, in turn encouraging urban sprawl and the rise of the suburban villa. A rapidly emerging middle class also helped fuel a boom in buildings associated with leisure and entertainment: theatres, shopping arcades, and coffee palaces, all of which adopted the latest in architectural taste to attract and enthral their clientele.

Classicism had long dominated architecture on the Australian continent. Whether Renaissance Revival, neo-Roman, Palladian, or the simpler Italianate, these styles became the preferred palette for most civic buildings. The Gothic and Tudor revivals were mostly reserved for churches and educational buildings (see Chapter 5, pp. 187–9). There were, however, notable exceptions. For example, the English, Scottish & Australian Bank preferred Gothic as a deliberate branding choice, leading them to engage William Wardell to produce designs for its headquarters in Melbourne (1883–7). Among the more accomplished of civic Gothic revivalists during this period was Melbourne-based architect William Pitt (1855–1918), who produced such noted exemplars as the (Old) Stock Exchange (1888; Figure 9.10), the (Old) Rialto Building (1889), and the riotous Olderfleet Building on Collins Street (1889–90; Figure 9.11).

The 1880s was also a time of significant architectural experimentation. Wealth brought confidence among Australian architects, who felt less beholden to British tastes. As time went on, more and more architects were locally trained, encouraging distance from the immediate architectural concerns of Britain. In both domestic and civic architecture there was a fusing of Gothic sensibilities with classical elements. In housing this became manifest in picturesque morphology and polygonal bay windows with label moulds, dressed in balustraded parapets, and bracketed eaves. The Tudor met the Italianate, decorated with intricate cast iron lace that

Figure 9.10. (Old) Stock Exchange, Collins Street, Melbourne (1888), by William Pitt (State Library of Victoria, photograph J. W. Lindt [*c.*1890–2]).

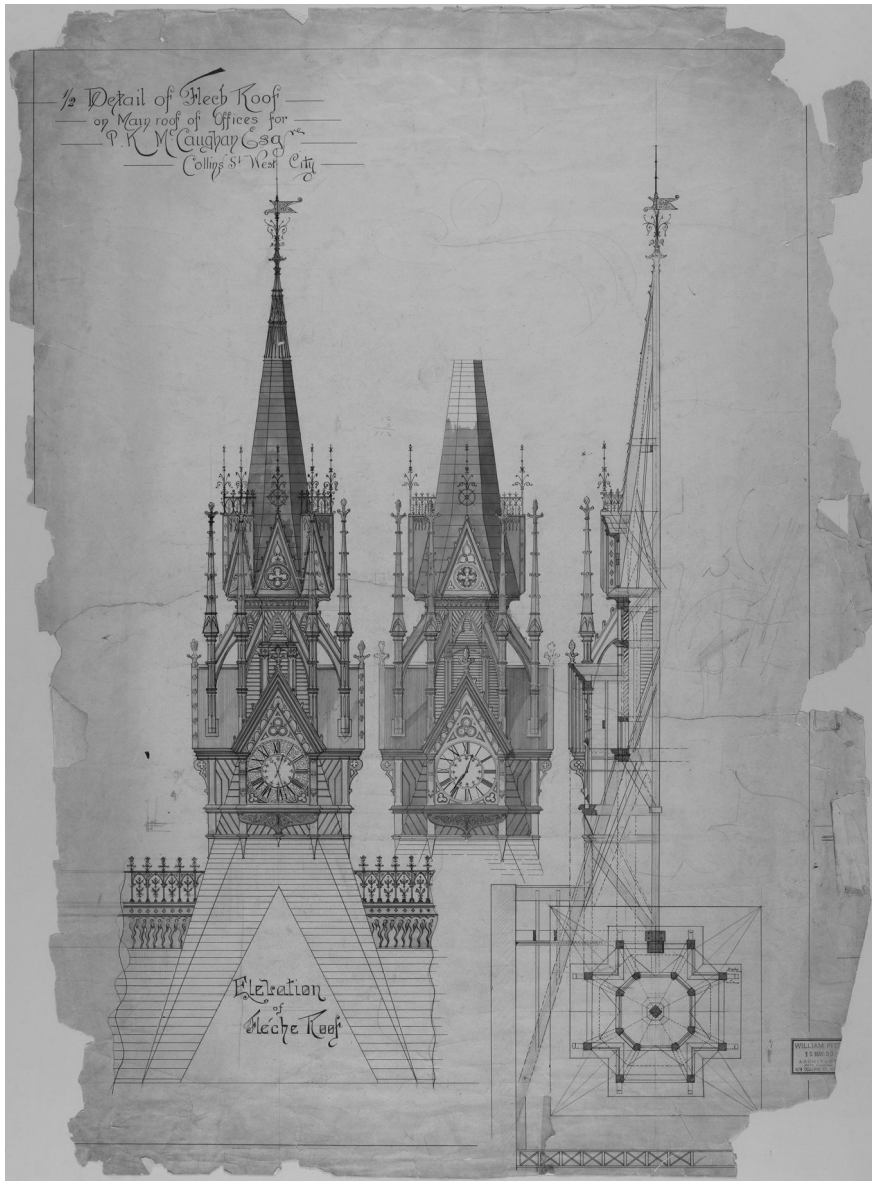

Figure 9.11. Detail of Flèche on Main Roof of Olderfleet Building, Collins Street, Melbourne (1889–90), by William Pitt (State Library of Victoria).

frilled eaves, fringed balustrades, and crested ridgelines. In civic buildings, compositional techniques of the Gothic were melded with those of classicism, which tended towards Mannerist manifestations, with implied structure and details layered into an exuberant architectural montage. In the most notable examples, all plain surfaces were eschewed in favour of a profusion of structural elements. Combinations of elements were used to create excitement and dynamism across façades, as well as considerable richness of effect.[56] This design approach has been described as 'Boom Style', despite its free use of either Gothic or classical details to create its dizzying effects, and was often disparaged as ill-educated eclecticism, or frippery, by early generations of Australian architectural historians (who were mostly Modernist architects).[57] Yet, the discipline shown in these works indicated deep interest in experimentation and great skill in the handling of façade design to produce extraordinarily confident and balanced compositions. Notable examples include the classical Block Arcade (1891), designed by Twentyman & Askew, and the former Mercantile Bank (1888), designed by Salway, Wright & Lucas (Figure 9.12), both in Melbourne. In Sydney, there was Sulman & Power's Mutual Life Assurance building (1891), and in Brisbane, Her Majesty's Opera House (1888), as well as a selection of flamboyant commercial buildings, by the Italian-born architect Andrea Stombucco (1820–1907).

Confidence in being Australian—for the concept of an 'Australia' gained significant momentum at this time, laying the groundwork for eventual Federation of the colonies into a single nation state—encouraged consideration of what was an appropriate style of architecture for Australia. If the debates about Gothic versus classic being played out in England fostered a sense that style was a conscious choice, then Australian architects envisioned a wide range of possibilities in selecting a style suitable to express this nascent identity.

Two distinguishing factors underscored the difference between Australia and the 'Old Country': the heat and intense sunlight. As early as 1860 architects were calling for appropriate design responses to Australia's particular climatic conditions. Alongside the exigencies of climate, architects also sought a suitable foundation from which a truly 'Australian' style could grow. In a series of articles in the local architectural press between 1887 and 1892, suggestions ranged from the Norman and Romanesque (as foundational styles), through Italianate (for its climatic appropriateness), to the Swiss Chalet (for its spreading roof).[58] Whatever direction might be taken, all agreed that the current fashions in Australian architecture were inadequate to the task, and many despaired at the lack of insight and understanding of Australia as both a place and an emergent identity.

[56] P. Kohane, 'Classicism Transformed: A Study of Façade Composition in Victoria, 1885–1892', *Transition* (February 1983), pp. 27–36.

[57] P. Kohane and J. Willis, 'Boom Style', in Goad and Willis, *Encyclopedia of Australian Architecture*, pp. 97–8.

[58] J. Willis and P. Goad, 'Revisiting the Search for an Australian Style: Late Nineteenth-Century Arguments for a National Idiom', in K. Green et al. (eds), *In the Making: Architecture's Past*, Papers from the 18th Annual Conference of The Society of Architectural Historians, Australia & New Zealand (Darwin, 2001), pp. 66–73.

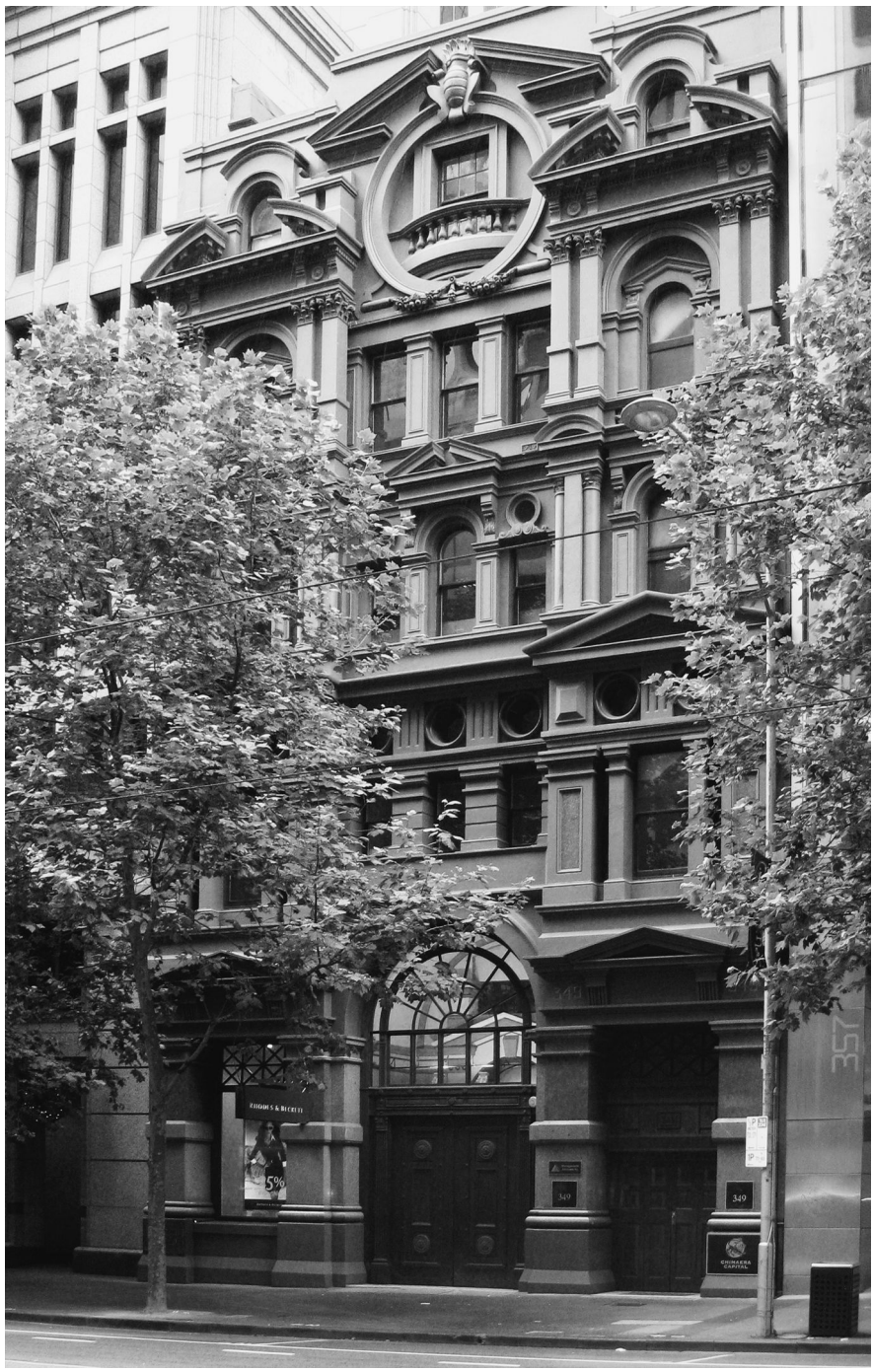

Figure 9.12. Former Mercantile Bank, Collin Street, Melbourne (1889), by Salway, Wright & Lucas (photograph Julie Willis [2010]).

BUST: THE 1890s

All booms eventually fade. The heightened confidence that had gripped many of the Australian colonies during the 1880s, and which led to an extraordinary renewal of its cities into bustling metropolises rivalling the wealthiest cities in the empire, came to an abrupt end with the deep recession that followed the 1891 Argentinian crisis. British investors, burned by the collapse of Argentinian speculative investments, withdrew capital and finance from the Australian markets, weakening confidence and derailing colonial economies. The effect on architecture in Australia was profound, with a near halt in commercial and institutional works along the east coast, including a parallel contraction of the market for grand houses. By 1893 building was at a virtual standstill and architects began leaving the major cities of Melbourne and Sydney looking for opportunities elsewhere.

The bust of the early 1890s proved a boon for those areas less affected by the economic downturn. Much of the success of the colonies in the southern hemisphere had been fuelled by mining booms that led to subsequent building booms. Those places seemingly immune to the financial problems of the period, including western Australia and northern Tasmania, were underpinned by ore discoveries that ensured continued success. While the rest of Australia dwindled to a halt, Perth, Kalgoorlie, and Queenstown roared into life, with architects at the ready to build the dreams of these newly flush cities.

The boom period had been characterized, stylistically, by significant interest in the revivalist styles of classicism and, to a lesser extent, the Gothic. Multiple implied structural layers, richly carved or cast decoration, and montage effects had dominated the architectural sensibilities of that time. The 1892 depression, however, brought a new-found restraint which quickly revealed itself in architecture, with simpler, bolder forms accompanied by less intricate detail and plainer finishes. Where Mannerist tendencies once prevailed, the so-called Edwardian Baroque came in their place. In domestic architecture the Italianate gave way to elements of the Arts and Crafts, the Queen Anne Revival, the English Domestic Revival, and American Shingle Style. The English 'Free Style', the Scottish Baronial, and the work of noted English designers such as R. N. Shaw and C. F. A. Voysey, also exerted their influence.

For the cities of Adelaide, Melbourne, Sydney, Hobart, Brisbane, and surrounding towns, the 1892 depression therefore resulted in civic buildings that were restrained and comparatively sombre. However, those colonies that became wealthy continued to flaunt their new-found status architecturally, only in different ways. In Perth, for instance, which reaped the financial benefits of gold discoveries at Kalgoorlie (1892), this was seen in examples such as the Titles Office (1896) by G. T. Poole (Figure 9.13), the Surrey Chambers (1903) by E. H. Dean Smith, and His Majesty's Theatre and Hotel (1904) by William Wolf.[59]

[59] R. Oldham and J. Oldham, *Western Heritage Part 2: George Temple Poole: Architect of the Golden Years, 1885–1897* (Nedlands, 1980); White, 'Building in Western Australia', pp. 109–23.

Figure 9.13. Titles Office (Lands & Survey Building), Cathedral Avenue, Perth (1896), by G. T. Poole (Fritz Kos Collection of Photographs, State Library of Western Australia).

The biggest change came in the approach to form and materials. Not for the first time in Australia did the availability of imported building materials have a significant effect. Terracotta roofing tiles from Marseilles and large profile softwoods from the American west coast, lathed as bulbous supports for verandahs and porches, became popular, especially in domestic building and the 'Federation' villa. Interest and variety was achieved through picturesque effects, including the use of varied roofscapes, balconies, turrets, and arches. Improved industrial brick production also enabled new colours and the increased quality of face brickwork. In civic buildings, simpler and bolder forms prevailed, along with expanses of plain wall surface, including strong colour contrasts: orange, red, liver-brown, white, cream, and black. The results were graphic. They include Alexander North's Launceston General Post Office in Tasmania (1885–9), George Temple Poole's Albany Post Office in Western Australia (1896), and John Smith Murdoch's striped Ipswich Post Office in Queensland (*c.*1900; Figure 9.14), as well as the masterful contortions of Robert Haddon's design for Eastbourne House, East Melbourne, in Victoria (Sydney Smith & Ogg, 1906). More restrained were Walter Liberty Vernon's Engineering School and Workshop at the University of Sydney in New South Wales (1906–8), and the unadorned volumes of G. D. Payne's 'modern' Romanesque Presbyterian Church, Brisbane, in Queensland (1905).

At this moment the nascent nationalism that had been on the rise in Australia since the 1880s culminated on 1 January 1901 in the federation of the six

Figure 9.14. Ipswich Post & Telegraph Office, Brisbane Street, Ipswich (*c.*1900), by John Smith Murdoch (Queensland PWD) (Queensland State Archives).

independent colonies (the five on the Australian mainland and Tasmania) into the new Commonwealth of Australia. Federation itself may have been a catalyst for the formation of a new, culturally unified identity in Australia, but the idea of nationalism as expressed by architecture had already gained ground in numerous places by the later part of the nineteenth century, including the United Kingdom, Europe, and the USA. Thus, the idea of a 'native' architecture (to borrow the parlance of the time) was not exclusive to Australia. More importantly, the means by which

'Australian' nationalism was expressed borrowed heavily from the conceptions of British and British imperial architecture of the period. For example, Arts and Crafts-style decoration in Australian architecture was just as likely to depict a waratah flower or eucalyptus leaf as it was a rose or *ficus pumila* leaf. Fine examples may be seen in the spandrels of A. J. Macdonald's South Yarra Post Office in Melbourne (1892), or in the column capitals at Alexander North's neo-Byzantine Anglican church of St John's in Launceston (1901–38), both of which incorporated Australian flora and fauna.[60] The architectural styles touted as appropriate for a 'new' country, with its harsh climate, nevertheless continued to be conceived in extant Western revivalist terms. As in New Zealand, larger civic and state buildings intended to inscribe a sense of new-found nationhood were rendered in that most imperial of styles, the Edwardian Baroque.[61] The Queensland state government's Executive Building (1898–1905), designed by Thomas Pye, along with the Queensland PWD, are among the most impressive examples.

The architecture that celebrated or defined the new nation in 1901 was a reflection of the positioning of that nation in its international context. New nations do not necessarily come with their social, cultural, and governmental institutions ready-made: Australian nationhood was formed out of six separate colonial governments, each with their own parliamentary and public infrastructures, as well as competing interests as to the location of the nation's new capital. It would take another seven years before the site of Canberra was chosen for the capital (1908), and twenty-six years before the federal parliament was located there. The structures that then represented the new Commonwealth were not those of a dedicated new capital city but, rather, a combination of buildings used to house the idea temporarily, with Melbourne becoming the itinerate capital from 1901 to 1926. The proclamation of Federation itself was signed in a purpose-built, Edwardian Baroque-style pavilion erected in Sydney's Centennial Park. The event was marked by the festooning of buildings, along with a series of temporary commemorative arches that spanned the major streets of Australian cities, which likewise drew inspiration from the Edwardian Baroque style. The arch under which most members of the new Australian parliament passed—the new Flinders Street Station, Melbourne (Fawcett & Ashworth, 1901–10; Figure 9.15)—was a loosely Edwardian Baroque-style red and buff brick pile. The same style was also used for Central Station in Sydney. Architect to the new Commonwealth of Australia, the Scottish-born and trained John Smith Murdoch (1862–1945), again drew on this style for the Commonwealth Offices in Treasury Place, Melbourne (1912–14), built to house the new federal civil service. The style also found favour in lesser public buildings and commercial projects, including many suburban and country post and telegraph offices (under the jurisdiction of the new federal government) that connected the sparsely populated continent. The consistent employment of

[60] For further reading on the Australian Arts and Crafts architecture, see H. Edquist, *Pioneers of Modernism: The Arts and Crafts Movement in Australia* (Carlton, 2008).

[61] J. Willis and P. Goad, 'Modernism from Empire: The Charting of an Australian Government Architecture 1901–1950', in K. Darian-Smith, P. Grimshaw, K. Lindsey, and S. Macintyre (eds), *Exploring the British World* (Melbourne, 2004), pp. 822–39.

Figure 9.15. Flinders Street Railway Station, Melbourne (1901–10), by Fawcett & Ashworth (State Library of Victoria).

this style across Australia and much of the wider British world at the time, including Britain, suggested that, although now effectively independent, Australia still felt allegiance to the 'mother country', as the catastrophic events of World War I would soon demonstrate.

Yet, all the while, a distinctive domestic architecture was emerging. There is some irony in the naming of it as 'Federation' style, especially given the grandiose classical forms employed in much of the architecture erected to celebrate the act of Federation. But this moniker was designed to reflect the timing and local character of the style more than anything else.[62] In reality, Federation architecture was a hybrid style that developed distinct variations in each of the Australian states owing to differences in climate, materials, and local building traditions.[63] The Federation villa became *the* house of the emergent middle classes, built in rapidly expanding

[62] J. Willis and P. Goad, 'A Myth in the Making: Federation Architecture and Australian Architectural History', in A. Leach, A. Moulis, and N. Sully (eds), *Shifting Views: Selected Essays on the Architectural History of Australia and New Zealand* (St Lucia, 2008), pp. 132–42.

[63] T. Howells, 'In Search of a Grand National Style', in T. Howells and M. Nicholson (eds), *Towards the Dawn: Federation Architecture in Australia 1890–1915* (Sydney, 1989), pp. 13–20.

suburban estates opened up by the building of fixed rail transport lines. Drawing on ideas ranging from the bungalow, the Arts and Crafts movement, as well as suburban imaginings from Britain and the USA, these houses have variously been described as 'Queen Anne', 'Edwardian', and 'Arts and Crafts'—terms which are both inadequate and rather misleading.

Indeed, the term 'Federation' suggests a far more intense and localized response than were many of the houses built in this apparent style at the time. While some did incorporate Australian flora and fauna into their decoration (kangaroo finials and the like), the predominant features were mostly drawn from English precedent: hung tiles, shingles, roughcast and half-timbering, and leadlight windows. Exposed brick and terracotta were the preferred materials. Among the most complex and picturesque renditions of the Federation villa include the Cupples House, Riversdale Road, Camberwell, in Victoria (Ussher & Kemp, 1900), and Thomas Searell's eclectic Lemana, Elphin Road in Launceston (1906; see Plate 18). In places like Queensland, the forms were replicated entirely in timber, which was both more climatically responsive and reflective of local building traditions, from the picturesque (Eaton & Bates's Cremorne, 1905) to the restrained (Robin Dods's Rangemoor, 1907).[64] Much of this architecture, whether in tropical or more temperate climates, incorporated spreading eaves, verandahs, and enclosed porches that provided shading and external living spaces appropriate for Australian conditions.

The architects of these houses were often young men who had emigrated from England and other places at the height of the 1880s boom, bringing with them knowledge and love of the vernacular architecture of their homeland. The likes of Alfred Dunn, Walter Butler, and Henry Kemp all brought their sketchbooks, revealing how their sensibilities had been forged in the romantic milieu of the Arts and Crafts movement, as well as through the influence of noted English architects such as R. N. Shaw, J. D. Sedding, William Eden Nesfield, William Burges, and R. W. Edis.[65] But there were also a growing number of architects who were trained in Australia and whose consumption of international architectural trends was primarily via publication rather than first-hand knowledge. This shift in the profession to significant numbers of Australian-trained architects from the 1890s helped foster greater divergence from architectural fashions in Britain. Through a growing and increasingly accessible international architectural press, hungrily consumed by the local profession, a wider sphere of inspiration and influence opened up, including from the USA. Thus, rather than changing architecture entirely in Australia overnight, Federation instead laid the groundwork for a progressively local interpretation of international trends going into the first decades of the twentieth century. Drawing on multiple sources, it resulted in a recognizable, if not entirely original, form of 'Australian' architecture.

[64] R. Riddel, *Robin Dods: Selected Works* (Brisbane, 2012).

[65] See G. Tibbits, 'An Emanation of Lunacy', in Howells and Nicholson, *Towards the Dawn*, pp. 47–86.

POSTSCRIPT: MODERNISM

The declaration of the Australian Capital Territory (Canberra and its surrounds) on 1 January 1911 represented a significant architectural opportunity for Australia. The location was essentially a greenfield site 100 miles south-west of Sydney—open grazing land, nestled between a number of major hills. The opportunity was not lost on government, with an international competition for Canberra's design declared on 30 January 1911.

The competition caused consternation in some quarters. The Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA), for example, furious that the competition was not being judged by 'qualified' architects and planners, advised its members against entering. At the time there was no single, Australia-wide institute of architects, but even the state-based institutes (all affiliated with the RIBA) discouraged their members from submitting proposals.[66]

On 23 May 1912 the Canberra competition winners were announced. In first place was the entry by American architect Walter Burley Griffin (1876–1937), whose extraordinary competition drawings were by the hand of his partner, Marion Mahony Griffin (1871–1961) (for a plan of Canberra, see Figure 2.12).[67] In second place was the entry by Finnish architect and perennial bridesmaid, Eliel Saarinen (1873–1950). Picking up third prize was Alfred Agache (1875–1959) of Paris. If Australia had sought a new beginning through a new capital city, then the conditions that surrounded the competition for Canberra certainly led to a bold imagining of what might be achieved. The reality, however, was something different.

It had been long standing practice in Australia to hold architectural competitions for major public buildings, but not to build the winning design verbatim. Throughout the nineteenth century the practice was for the relevant government architecture agency to take the 'best' elements from the premiated designs—without reference to the competition winners—and create a new amalgam, which was then built. The intention for the Canberra competition was no different in this regard, and the Commonwealth Department of Works (CDW) soon produced the now infamous 'Departmental Plan' for Canberra, which retained only fragments of the Griffins' vision.[68] Griffin, unfamiliar with Australian procedures, was naturally aghast that his design was to be bastardized in this way. In 1913, at the invitation of the then acting Minister of Home Affairs, William Kelly, he set sail for Australia to defend his right to see the winning design implemented. Thus began a long-running battle between Griffin and the CDW, played out over some ten

[66] J. W. Reps, *Canberra 1912* (Carlton, 1997), pp. 63–7, 76–84.

[67] The submission to the Canberra competition was under the name of Walter Burley Griffin. The substantial contribution to the success of the competition drawings and much of the oeuvre of the firm of Walter Burley Griffin Architect and Landscape Architect by his wife, Marion Mahony Griffin, has been long acknowledged and is understood and acknowledged here.

[68] The Departmental Plan drew heavily on a minor-placed submission by the Sydney-based Griffiths, Coulter & Caswell and did not have the same axial clarity of the Griffins' design. See Reps, *Canberra*, pp. 242–7.

years,[69] and leading to the slow development of Canberra for a government deeply distracted by the demands of World War I and its immediate aftermath.

The Great War severely tested, if strengthened, Australia's imperial ties with Britain. A moment of significant political upheaval and loss of life, it was a deeply sobering time. The hiatus of war further encouraged restraint in architectural form: the red bricks and cement banding remained, joined by the glazed terracotta of faience. But the joy and whimsy of Edwardian Baroque overtones were replaced by a staid and stolid classicism, including neo-Greek and Egyptian elements.

Wartime had coincided with the rise of formal architectural education in Australia. While institutional instruction in architecture-related subjects (some leading to diploma-level qualification) had been available through various technical colleges and schools of mines from the late nineteenth century, it was intended as complementary to articles and not as its replacement. Universities, too, offered various types of study in architecture, but this was more as an extension to existing engineering degrees rather than stand-alone instruction.[70] The appearance of full-time courses—diplomas, followed quickly by degrees—in architecture in Victoria and New South Wales, then South Australia and Queensland, occurred between 1914 and 1918. The success of these courses, coupled with the passing of architectural registration acts in several states in the early 1920s, saw a rapid regularization of professional architectural qualifications that permanently changed the nature of the profession, including facilitating (possibly by default) the passage of women into the profession.[71]

Young architects had joined the war effort in droves, seeing service across Europe, Africa, and the Middle East. Despite the carnage and horrors of war, many architects used leave as an opportunity to see well-known monuments and architectural icons across Europe. The end of the war also brought opportunity. Through the auspices of the Australian government, demobilized architects were offered the prospect of studying at the AA Schools in London as a means of re-engaging them with their profession and the civilian realm. Some fifty-five Australian architects attended the AA between 1918 and 1919, which brought connections and engagement that would have a profound effect on their careers. Many of these Australians also sat for the RIBA examinations while in London, further strengthening their ties with England.

It was these young architects that would foster the introduction of Modernism to Australia, supported by return trips to England and continental Europe in the 1920s and 1930s.[72] The modern—or more properly, the Moderne—at this time again saw the dual influence of England and the USA. Progressive ideas from

[69] P. Reid, 'Walter Burley Griffin's Struggles to Implement His Canberra Plan, 1912–1921', in J. Turnbull and P. Navaretti (eds), *The Griffins in Australia and India* (Carlton, 1998), pp. 18–25.

[70] For detailed information on the development of Australian architectural education, see J. Willis, 'Architectural Education', in Goad and Willis, *Encyclopedia of Australian Architecture*, pp. 32–4.

[71] See J. Willis and B. Hanna, *Women Architects in Australia 1900–1950* (Canberra, 2001), pp. 17–22.

[72] D. L. Johnson, *Australian Architecture 1901–51: Sources of Modernism* (Sydney, 1980), pp. 85–104.

America, in the forms of cinema, skyscrapers, and Hollywood-style flats, made their mark, as did those of the Dutch architect Willem Dudok (1884–1974) and his refined brick Modernism, also echoed by a number of English firms. The 'Mediterranean'—a reductive architecture of white rendered walls and terracotta Córdoba-style tiles—was inspired by travelling Australians who admired the simple forms and climatic appropriateness of buildings in Spain, southern France, and Italy, which shared similar climates to temperate southern Australia. In parallel, there was also a serious consideration of simple and relatively unadorned forms of the Georgian and Australian Colonial.[73]

Antipodean expatriates in England, responsible for some of the most forward-looking buildings there in the interwar period, such as Australian architect Raymond McGrath (1903–77), also provided inspiration (see also Chapter 10, p. 387). Australian interest in Dutch Modernism was fostered in no small part by Francis Yerbury (1885–1970), secretary of the AA, and his colleagues, who personally escorted a number of Australian architects on separate occasions to tour the Netherlands. Travel for Australian architects was no longer the once-in-a-lifetime 'Grand Tour' of Europe, but instead an essential means by which they could glean inspiration, create networks, and acquire knowledge that they could then invest into their practices.

Arthur Stephenson (1890–1967) was emblematic of this new emerging professional. One of the demobilized servicemen who attended the AA in 1919, he establish his practice in Melbourne in the early 1920s. He understood the value of exposure to the latest architectural thinking, and travelled extensively in 1927 through the USA, and again, primarily through Europe, in 1932–3, studying hospital and Modern architecture. On this second trip he visited the nearly complete Paimio Sanatorium (1932) by Alvar Aalto, and the Weissenhofsiedlung housing estate in Stuttgart, Germany (1927), among other sites, thereby gaining first-hand knowledge of some of the early icons of Modernist architecture. This knowledge was then immediately translated into his firm's next project, the Mercy Hospital, East Melbourne (1933–4), one of Australia's first properly Modern buildings (Figure 9.16). It also heralded new, more direct lines of architectural influence into Australia, in which Europe and the USA featured ever-more prominently.

As with the other settler dominions of the British empire, architecture in Australia throughout the nineteenth century was a product of influence from England and the broader United Kingdom, following the lines of its settlement, patterns of immigration, and transmission of architectural knowledge. But that influence was not always direct and not always unilinear: movement of personnel between British colonies brought knowledge and connection, as did exploration further afield by Australian architects. As avid consumers of architectural literature, Australian architects utilized printed resources to inspire their work, from pattern books to the latest journals. Architectural sophistication grew slowly over

[73] C. Hamann, 'Paths of Beauty: The Afterlife of Australian Colonial Architecture, Part 1', *Transition*, vol. 26 (1988), pp. 28–44.

Figure 9.16. Mercy Hospital, East Melbourne (1933–4), by Stephenson & Meldrum (Source 'Two Australian Hospitals: Stephenson and Meldrum, Architects', *Architectural Review*, vol. 81 (February 1937), p. 51).

time, greatly bolstered by newer immigrants bringing ever-more professional approaches to architecture. Wealth, from both pastoral and mining sources, brought architects and architectural confidence in the second half of the nineteenth century, founding distinctly Australian interpretations of stylistic trends emergent across the English-speaking world.

Just as the rhetorical peak of empire was celebrated through the Edwardian Baroque—the style that circumscribed the celebration of Australia's Federation into a single nation, as well as the aspirations of many other British colonies—the draw of new ideas from beyond the British world began to exert their presence, leading to the rise of American and European influences in Australian architecture. The shock of the Great War, then the hiatus of the Great Depression, recast the old allegiances to Britain, with evermore interest in the New World. Australia, having overrun and segregated Aboriginal cultures relatively quickly on settlement, was unusual in that it did not have a strong local built history on which to reflect, nor a competing culture with which to contend. Of all the British possessions, it was perhaps the 'blankest slate' in architectural terms. Its development, from basic needs and exigencies, through to wealth and urbanity, illustrates the birth, growth, and then slow atrophying of the reach of the British empire.

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10

New Zealand and the Pacific

Ian Lochhead and Paul Walker

New Zealand's geographical position in the South Pacific—1,500 kilometres to the east of Australia, on the southern fringe of Polynesia—meant that it was one of the last significant landmasses to be inhabited by humans. Polynesian voyagers reached the country around 1250–1300 CE, and were followed by successive waves of migration. Effectively isolated by distance from island Polynesia, Māori developed a distinctive timber architecture characterized by small gabled dwellings set into the ground and storehouses raised above the earth on poles.[1] Houses of persons of rank were decorated by finely carved posts and bargeboards, but surviving examples of Māori building mostly date from the period following European settlement. Māori settlement patterns featured a highly developed formal arrangement focused on a central ceremonial space, the *marae*. Fortified *pa*, often located on hilltops or headlands, involved sophisticated fortifications incorporating rings of defensive ditches and palisades. The skills of Māori in military engineering were subsequently to prove their worth in the New Zealand wars of the 1860s.[2]

European expansion into the Pacific in the seventeenth century resulted in the Dutch navigator, Abel Janszoon Tasman (?1603–59), charting a section of the western coasts of both the North and South Islands in 1642. But following a fatal encounter with Māori, he departed without making landfall. It was left to the British expedition, commanded by Lieutenant (later Captain) James Cook (1728–79), to circumnavigate the country in 1769–70, literally putting New Zealand on the map. By the end of the eighteenth century New Zealand's natural resources were increasingly being exploited for commercial purposes, particularly timber and sea mammals, including seals and whales. However, systematic European settlement did not occur until 1840, following formal annexation by Britain in that year.

When the Oxford historian J. A. Froude arrived in Auckland in 1885, he was just in time to witness the final stages of the demolition of the city's first Anglican Church: 'In a few days the church was gone. Sentiment belongs to leisure, and in

[1] D. Brown, *Māori Architecture: From Fale to Wharenui and Beyond* (Auckland, 2009), pp. 24–39. For a general survey of architecture in New Zealand, see P. Shaw, *A History of Architecture in New Zealand*, 3rd edn (Auckland, 2003).

[2] J. Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict* (Auckland, 1998).

the colonies, just now, they have none of either.'[3] The lack of sentiment for the past that Froude observed in New Zealand was symptomatic of settler societies detached from their cultural origins. The lack of a visible past also troubled Archdeacon Henry Harper who, in 1868, pondered the impact on future generations of living in 'a country so new that it is completely devoid of any historical associations in the past'.[4] Yet, by the turn of the twentieth century, the first historical survey of New Zealand architecture had appeared. Writing for an international audience in the *RIBA Journal* in 1900, Samuel Hurst Seager (1855–1933) complained that 'there has been no true development; we have no style, no distinctive forms of art'.[5] Seager did, however, recognize that the brief tradition of colonial architecture could form the basis for future developments. In dismissing Māori art as 'scarcely suitable as standards on which to found our national taste' he was, nonetheless, very much a man of his time.

It was not until New Zealand's centennial commemorations in 1940 that the first serious study of the country's architecture appeared in the form of Paul Pascoe's surveys of the nation's domestic and public buildings.[6] Influenced strongly by his experience of Modernist architecture in Britain in the 1930s, the pattern that Pascoe's survey traced—decline from early colonial simplicity, to the decorative excesses of Victorian architecture, and a final reassertion of rational building through adherence to Modernism—shaped thinking about New Zealand architecture until the 1970s.[7] The establishment of the New Zealand Historic Places Trust in 1955, however, had already begun to encourage a different view of the nation's built heritage that was concerned less with the Modernist leading edge and more with the relevance of contemporaneous sources.[8] By 1972 John Stacpoole and Peter Beaven's illustrated survey *New Zealand Art: Architecture, 1820–1970* had established a broader framework for understanding of the nation's built history as a whole.[9]

Since then the foundation of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand (1985), along with its journal, *Fabrications* (from 1989), has done much to promote the academic study of New Zealand's architectural history. The international success of the exhibition *Te Maori* in 1984 also ensured that

[3] J. A. Froude, *Oceana, or England and Her Colonies* (London, 1886), p. 209.

[4] H. Harper, *Letters from New Zealand, 1857–1911* (London, 1914), pp. 146–7.

[5] S. H. Seager, 'Architectural Art in New Zealand', *RIBA Journal*, vol. 7:9 (1900), p. 481.

[6] P. Pascoe, *Houses* and *Public Buildings* in *Making New Zealand*, vols 20 and 21 (Wellington, 1940).

[7] A similar pattern is found, for example, in Ernst Plischke's *Design and Living* (1947), and essays by James Garret, notably his entry 'Architecture' in the 1966 *Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*.

[8] The pioneering studies in this respect were Margaret Alington's *Frederick Thatcher and St Paul's: An Ecclesiological Study* (1965), and John Stacpoole's *William Mason: The First New Zealand Architect* (1971)

[9] This was followed in 1976 by Stacpoole's *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand*. The Trust also published two important surveys in 1979 and 1983, *Historic Buildings of New Zealand: North Island*, and *Historic Buildings of New Zealand: South Island.* Also associated with the Trust has been the work on the history of building technology in New Zealand by the engineer Geoffrey Thornton, whose books include: *New Zealand's Industrial Heritage* (Wellington, 1982); *The New Zealand Heritage of Farm Buildings* (Auckland, 1986); *Cast in Concrete: Concrete Construction in New Zealand 1850–1939* (Auckland, 1996); and *Bridging the Gap: Early Bridges in New Zealand 1830–1939* (Auckland, 2001).

Māori architecture was no longer ignored.[10] Indeed, Peter Shaw's *New Zealand Architecture from Polynesian Beginnings to 1990* (1991) reflected this emerging perspective while also synthesizing much new research carried out by postgraduate students in the Department of Art History at the University of Canterbury under the supervision of Ian Lochhead and Jonathan Mane-Wheoki.[11]

Although the influence of Modernism had inhibited the study of New Zealand architectural history in the country's schools of architecture until the 1980s, it is now firmly established as an area of vigorous research, reflecting methodological and historiographic developments elsewhere. Theoretical schema, too, have been productively adopted from other disciplines. While a focus on the architecture of the mid-twentieth century has developed somewhat at the expense of earlier periods, current scholarship is no longer constrained by New Zealand's historic geographical isolation—what the Australian historian Geoffrey Blainey once called 'the tyranny of distance'. The country's architectural development is now articulated within a global discourse that belies rigid boundaries between centre and periphery.

If remoteness was once perhaps the most obvious determinant in New Zealand's history, the country's location, on the seismically active intersection of the Pacific and Australasian tectonic plates, has also had a profound impact on the nation's architectural history. For Māori, the god of earthquakes and volcanoes, *Rūaumoko*, was a very real presence. For European settlers, earthquakes were an ever-present risk to traditional methods of construction. As a result, masonry construction was avoided in some cities for decades.[12] But it was not until 1931, when the provincial cities of Napier and Hastings on the east coast of the North Island suffered devastating earthquake damage, that a fundamental re-evaluation of construction practices occurred. Despite the introduction of state-of-the-art techniques, along with the seismic strengthening of many older structures, the Christchurch earthquakes of 2010 and 2011 caused unparalleled destruction to both historic and modern buildings. New Zealand's entire architectural development has occurred in the shadow of this ongoing threat.

Taking into account these historiographic developments, alongside the physical constraints that worked to characterize architecture in the South Pacific region, this chapter provides an overview of British colonial architecture in New Zealand and parts of Polynesia, its imperial associations, and the key transformations that occurred going into the Commonwealth era.

[10] See S. Moko Mead (ed.), *Te Maori: Maori Art from New Zealand Collections* (Auckland, 1984). Following on from *Te Maori*, there has been much scholarship on Māori building traditions and their significance to contemporary New Zealand. See R. Neich, *Painted Histories* (Auckland, 1993) and *Carved Histories* (Auckland, 2001); D. Skinner, *The Carver and the Artist: Maori Art in the Twentieth Century* (Auckland, 2008); and Brown, *Māori Architecture*.

[11] Important theses were produced on key figures including Ernst Plischke (Linda Tyler), Paul Pascoe (Robyn Ussher), and John Campbell (Peter Richardson).

[12] e.g. The Marlborough earthquake of 1848 caused extensive destruction in Wellington and was reported in the British Parliament. See 'New Zealand: Papers Relative to the Recent Earthquakes at Wellington, London, 1849', in *Irish University Press Series of British Parliamentary Papers: Colonies: New Zealand*, vol. 6 (Shannon, 1969).

EARLY EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT: PROCESSES AND PATTERNS

The evangelization of Māori by Christian missionaries based in the colony of New South Wales began when Samuel Marsden (1764–1838) of the CMS conducted the first Christian service on New Zealand soil at Rangihoua in the Bay of Islands on Christmas day 1814. A second CMS settlement was established at Kerikeri in 1819. The house built in Kerikeri for the missionary James Kemp in 1821–2 is the oldest surviving example of Western architecture in New Zealand (Figure 10.1).[13] This two-storeyed, timber-framed house is surrounded by a verandah on three sides but has few architectural pretensions. Its design is credited to the CMS carpenters, William Bean and William Fairburn, who most likely built it with the aid of an architectural pattern book. Adjacent to Kemp House the CMS constructed a two-storey store (1832–6) of local scoria with dressings of imported Sydney sandstone. This robust, utilitarian building was a clear statement of the CMS's long-term commitment to the New Zealand mission.[14] Of the chapels erected by

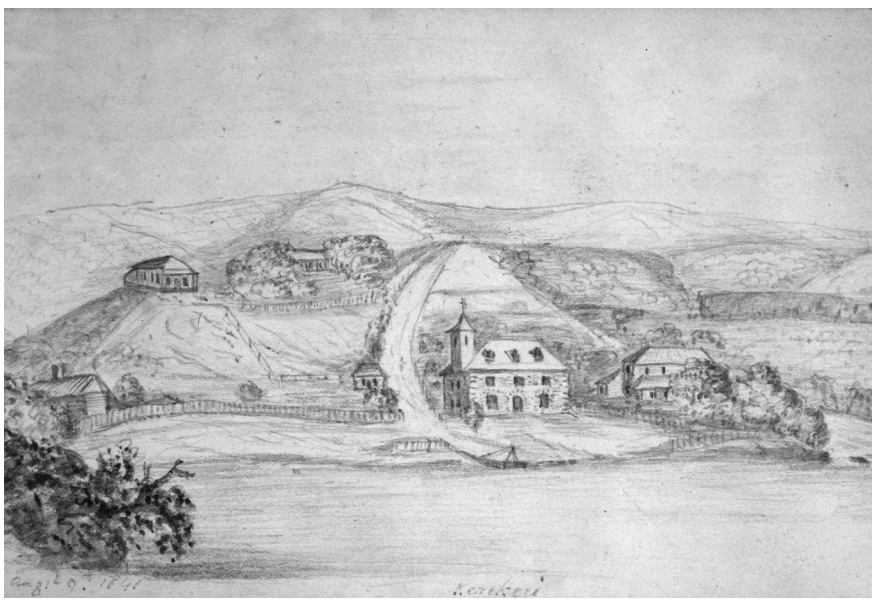

Figure 10.1. *The Kerikeri Mission Station, Bay of Islands, August 9th 1841*, sketch by Richard Taylor (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, Ref: E-296-q-035-1).

[13] See R. I. M. Burnett, 'Kerikeri', in F. Porter (ed.), *Historic Buildings of New Zealand: North Island* (Auckland, 1979), pp. 14–16, and J. Salmond, 'The Mission House, Kerikeri: An Architectural Appreciation', in J. Binney (ed.), *Te Kerikeri 1770–1850: The Meeting Pool* (Wellington, 2007), pp. 93–8.

[14] See G. McLean, 'The Kerikeri Stone Store: A Backwater White Elephant', in *ibid.*, pp. 99–104.

the CMS, only Christ Church, Russell (1835), survives—originally a rectangular Georgian preaching box of timber construction.[15]

In 1838 French Marist missionaries under the direction of Bishop Jean Baptiste François Pompallier (1802–71) entered into competition with the CMS for Māori souls, erecting a printing works in Russell in order to publish religious texts in Māori. Pompallier's printing works (1841–2) was built to the designs of Louis Perret using *pisé de terre* according to the principles set out in J.-B. Rondelet's *Traité de l'art de batir* (1812).[16] It was the first industrial building to be erected in the country, and the use of earth construction was a product of constrained resources in conjunction with a desire for a fireproof and defensible structure.

In spite of the presence of a CMS mission at Paihia and the Marist presence in Kororareka (also known as Russell), the Bay of Islands gained a reputation as one of the South Pacific's most unruly and debauched settlements, and it was in response to the need to assert civil order that James Busby was appointed as the British Resident in 1833. Busby's role was to represent the interests of British subjects, but he lacked any means to uphold his position. The British Residence was located at Waitangi, across the bay from Kororareka. Unlike the CMS mission houses, the residence was prefabricated in Sydney from Australian hardwood to the designs of John Verge, an English architect who was responsible for some of early Sydney's most elegant Georgian houses.[17] Although considerably reduced as a cost saving exercise from Verge's original design, the Residence building introduced a new level of architectural refinement into New Zealand's nascent architectural tradition.

Although the Colonial Office was reluctant to assume greater responsibility for growing British interest in New Zealand, its hand was eventually forced by the departure of a preliminary contingent of New Zealand Company settlers for Port Nicholson (Wellington) in May 1839. On 6 February 1840, on the grounds in front of the British Residency, the Treaty of Waitangi was signed. The treaty established British sovereignty in New Zealand, although its guarantees to Māori of unfettered rights to the land and its resources were quickly put aside. With the issue of sovereignty resolved the way was open for the New Zealand Company to take advantage of the abundance of land opened up for purchase and settlement, and over the course of the next decade Wellington, Wanganui (both 1840), New Plymouth (1841), Nelson (1842), Otago (1848), and Canterbury (1850) were all established under Edward Gibbon Wakefield's system of colonization.[18]

The plans of the principal towns of each of these settlements followed the grid layout that is one of the enduring characteristics of colonial cities. The 1840 plan for Wellington by the New Zealand Company's surveyor, William Mein Smith,

[15] J. Stacpoole, *Colonial Architecture in New Zealand* (Wellington, 1976), pp. 16–17.

[16] See J. Salmond, F. Clunie, and A. Challis, *Pompallier Project, Russell: A Conservation Plan, fourth draft* (Wellington, 1990), and R. M. Ross, *A Guide to Pompallier House* (Wellington, 1970).

[17] See P. Richardson, 'Building the Dominion: Government Architecture in New Zealand, 1840–1922', PhD thesis (University of Canterbury, 1997), vol. 1, pp. 1–3, and P. Shaw, *Waitangi* (Napier, 1992).

[18] See P. Burns, *Fatal Success: A History of the New Zealand Company* (Auckland, 1989).

imposed a grid of streets on the limited flat land available at Thorndon and Te Aro, forming the armature for the modern city. In Auckland, however, the Colonial Government's Surveyor General, Felton Mathew, adopted the additional formality of crescents and quadrants in an attempt to accommodate the undulating topography of the site, although with limited success. In order to revive its flagging fortunes, the New Zealand Company's later settlements were adapted to appeal to specific groups of settlers and reflected particular social, cultural, religious, and even national identities. Thus in Otago, established as a predominantly Free Church of Scotland settlement, the names of Dunedin's main streets perpetuated those of Edinburgh; while in the Church of England settlement of Canterbury to the north, Anglican associations were evoked by naming major streets in Christchurch after English bishoprics, including, in a response to the global expansion of Anglicanism, Irish and colonial sees (see Plate 3). The growing recognition by mid-century of the need for cities to incorporate ample open space is also seen in the reservation of extensive Town Belts, green spaces flanking the central areas of Wellington and Dunedin. Auckland's Domain was set aside as open space in 1843, three years after the city was founded, while in Christchurch Hagley Park was established adjacent to the central city.[19]

As a crown colony, New Zealand was ruled by a non-elected governor, the first of whom, Captain William Hobson (1792–1842), established his capital in Auckland in 1840.[20] Among New Zealand's colonial cities Auckland was an anomaly since its settlement was driven primarily by administrative and commercial interests. In a pattern that was repeated throughout the colonial world, Hobson's first architectural commission was for a prefabricated house of bolted timber construction made by Manning of High Holborn in London.[21] The order for Government House was made prior to Hobson's departure for New Zealand in 1839, and by mid-1841 it was largely compete, although the Governor had already ordered extensions to either end of the central, prefabricated block. The finished building was by far the grandest structure in Auckland, although hardly the mansion of early descriptions. Manning's house measured 120 ft by 50 ft and rose to a height of 24 ft. Its formal spaces included dining and drawing rooms connected by folding doors that could be opened to form 'a very magnificent apartment'.[22] Marble chimneypieces and built-in furniture were also part of the design. On the exterior an attempt was made to make the building appear grander than it actually was, the timber cladding being applied with flush joints to create the impression of stone. Its colonial character was nevertheless emphasized by the presence of a verandah along the full extent of the north elevation. As an attempt to establish the

[19] See D. Hamer, 'Wellington on the Urban Frontier', in D. Hamer and R. Nicholls (eds), *The Making of Wellington 1800–1914* (Wellington, 1990), pp. 227–54; J. P. Morrison, *The Evolution of a City: The Story of the Growth of the City and Suburbs of Christchurch the Capital of Canterbury in the Years From 1850 to 1903* (Christchurch, 1948); M. Austin, 'Notes on the Colonial City', *Fabrications*, vol. 2 (1992), pp. 35–44.

[20] See U. Platts, *The Lively Capital: Auckland 1840–1865* (Christchurch, 1971).

[21] Richardson, 'Building the Dominion', pp. 43–55.

[22] *New Zealand Gazette* (4 July 1840) quoted in *ibid.*, p. 44.

prestige and authority of the Crown in the fledgling colony, Auckland's first Government House was, however, a limited success. The permanent Under Secretary of State for War and Colonies, James Stephen, advised Hobson in 1840 that although 'there is much that is praise-worthy in the wish . . . to imitate the customs of England in the splendour of Public Buildings and other works dedicated to Public uses . . . the time is as yet unripe in New Zealand. At the commencement, and for some years afterwards, we must be content with what is useful, plain and solid, remitting to a future day what is merely ornamental.'[23] Government House confirmed Stephen's injunction, and it was to be more than a decade before the 'merely ornamental' made any inroads on New Zealand's public architecture.

Government House was destroyed by fire in 1848 and it is a measure of the advance of the colony during its first fifteen years that its replacement could, with some justification, be described as a mansion. The new Government House was designed by William Mason (1810–97), who had worked under Edward Blore in England and had been engaged by Hobson in Sydney in 1840 as Superintendent of Public Works in New Zealand.[24] After a decade and a half of designing rudimentary timber structures Mason was finally able to exercise his architectural skills. However, his two-storey timber house in the Palladian style was already considered to be outmoded by the time it was completed in 1856. Its main façade was made to imitate masonry construction, although the lower wings that flanked the central block were clad in lapped weatherboards. The newly appointed Governor, Thomas Gore Brown (1807–87), thought it unsuitable as an official residence and sought designs for a replacement in the Gothic style from the Christchurch architect, Benjamin Mountfort (1825–98), although nothing was to come of this request because of the eventual decision to relocate the capital to the more central location of Wellington. By the mid-1850s knowledge of Gothic Revival architectural theory was sufficiently widespread in New Zealand that the Rev. Vicesimus Lush could describe Government House as 'far from being a good design being too much pretence . . . a good building could have been designed which would have manifested its materials and yet been an ornament to the place'.[25] Lush's views were not those of an impractical idealist since ecclesiastical architecture in New Zealand had embraced these principles for over a decade.

RELIGIOUS IMPULSES AND THE GOTHIC REVIVAL

The colonization of New Zealand coincided with the emergence of the Gothic Revival as a significant movement within British architecture. The selection of Charles Barry and A. W. N. Pugin's design for the rebuilding of the Palace of Westminster in 1835, the founding of the Cambridge Camden (later Ecclesiological)

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

[24] See J. Stacpoole, *William Mason: The First New Zealand Architect* (Auckland, 1971), pp. 56–67 and Richardson, 'Building the Dominion', pp. 129–38.

[25] A. Drummond (ed.), *The Auckland Journals of Vicesimus Lush, 1850–63* (Christchurch, 1971), p. 167.

Society in 1839, and the publication of Pugin's *True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* in 1841 all established the Gothic style as British, Christian, and rational. It was to have a profound impact on the development of architecture in New Zealand. The ordination of George Augustus Selwyn (1809–78) as Bishop of New Zealand in 1841 marked the expansion of the Church of England's role from the conversion of Māori to ministering to the settler population. Anglican church building under Selwyn was strongly influenced by the ideals of the Camden Society of which he was a patron.[26] In spite of the Ecclesiologists' initial suggestion that Romanesque would be appropriate for church building in New Zealand because it was thought that Māori craftsmen would be able to execute the intricate geometric patterns of the style, attempts to build in stone were quickly abandoned in favour of timber construction.

In 1844 Selwyn established St John's College at Tamaki, to the east of Auckland, as his centre of operations. The St John's College Chapel (1847) was designed by Frederick Thatcher (1814–90) along lines set down by Selwyn (Figure 10.2).[27] It was cruciform in plan with a steeply pitched roof, the structural timbers of which were extended to ground level beyond the walls to give additional stability in the event of high winds or earthquakes. The timber frame of the walls was exposed on the exterior of the building with vertical boards applied to the inside of the frame. Thatcher's design, with its commitment to structural 'reality', anticipated R. C. Carpenter's model design for a timber church for Tristan da Cunha, which was published by the Ecclesiological Society in the second series of *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica* (1856)—a precocious example of practice at the periphery anticipating the promulgation of approved models from the centre. Later timber churches by Thatcher, including St Paul's Pro-Cathedral in Wellington (1865), were clad in uniform skins of vertical boards and battens, but the revealed construction of their interiors, especially their open timber-framed roofs, became hallmarks of the so-called Selwyn Gothic style.

Bishop Selwyn saw his role as Bishop of New Zealand extending to the islands of the Pacific, and St John's College also became a centre for training Melanesian clergy.[28] The first Pacific island students arrived at St John's in 1849, but the Melanesian Mission, as it became known, had to wait a further decade before its own buildings were completed at Kohimarama on the coast below St John's College. The only surviving buildings from the complex are the dining room and kitchen designed by Reader Wood, who had formerly worked on the buildings at St John's College. Selwyn's influence on these simple stone buildings remained

[26] See I. Lochhead, 'Experiments in Ecclesiology: Anglican Church Building in Colonial New Zealand', in G. A. Bremner (ed.), *Ecclesiology Abroad: The British Empire and Beyond*, special issue of *Studies in Victorian Architecture and Design*, vol. 4 (2012), pp. 56–77, and J. Mane-Wheoki, 'Selwyn the Ecclesiologist – In Theory and Practice', in A. K. Davidson (ed.), *A Controversial Churchman: Essays on George Selwyn, Bishop of New Zealand and Lichfield, and Sarah Selwyn* (Wellington, 2011), pp. 128–45. See also G. A. Bremner, *Imperial Gothic: Religious Architecture and High Anglican Culture in the British Empire, c.1840–1870* (New Haven and London, 2013), pp. 46–56.

[27] M. Alington, *An Excellent Recruit: Frederick Thatcher, Architect, Priest and Private Secretary in Early New Zealand* (Auckland, 2007).

[28] R. M. Ross, *Melanesians at Mission Bay* (Wellington, 1983).

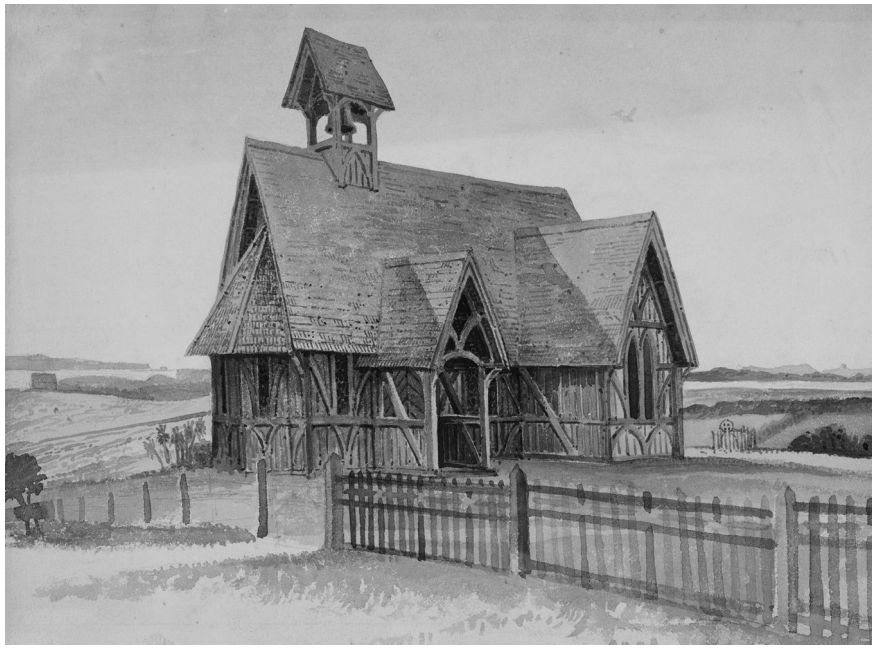

Figure 10.2. *St John's College Chapel*, Auckland (1847), by Frederick Thatcher. Watercolour by Rev. John Kinder (*c.*1870) (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, Ref: B-038-003).

strong, ensuring that ecclesiological principles were influential well beyond New Zealand.

Ecclesiological ideals were also influential in Canterbury, founded in 1850 under the auspices of the Canterbury Association, whose President was the Archbishop of Canterbury.[29] Canterbury was intended as a model Church of England settlement and was a clear expression of many of the most potent themes of mid-century British culture: religious reform, idealistic immigration theory, and the social critique implicit in Victorian medievalism. The Gothic Revival in Canterbury became the architectural embodiment of these ideals.[30] From the outset the Canterbury Association was intent on shaping the architectural development of the colony, commissioning a model design for a combined chapel, school, and master's house from William Butterfield in 1849. George Gilbert Scott also designed a timber church for Canterbury around 1850, although this, like Butterfield's chapel school, remained unbuilt.[31] The dominant figure in Canterbury

[29] L. C. Webb, 'The Canterbury Association and its Settlement', in *A History of Canterbury*, 3 vols (Christchurch, 1957–71), I, pp. 135ff.

[30] I. Lochhead, *A Dream of Spires: Benjamin Mountfort and the Gothic Revival* (Christchurch, 1999), pp. 39–54.

[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 48–9, and J. Mané, 'Gilbert Scott's Colonial Churches', in M. Belcher and H. Debenham (eds), *Australasian Victorian Studies Association Conference Papers 1987* (Christchurch, 1987), pp. 31–42.

church architecture was Benjamin Mountfort, a pupil of R. C. Carpenter, who arrived in New Zealand with the first contingent of Canterbury colonists in 1850. Despite early professional setbacks as a result of inexperience with local materials, Mountfort became the leading Church of England architect in the colony. For parish churches he developed an economical but adaptable formula in which Puginian picturesque utility was combined with timber-frame construction and vertical cladding of boards and battens. His national reputation as a church architect was based on his supervisory role for G. G. Scott's design for Christ Church Cathedral (1864–1904; Figure 10.3). Scott's initial proposal incorporated an internal arcade and clerestory of timber with exterior walls of stone, a concept derived from medieval tithe barns and intended to secure the building against earthquakes. Resistance from the church resulted in this innovative, hybrid design being replaced by a more conventional structure with stone arcades, although Scott's original concept influenced subsequent buildings in Christchurch.[32]

Following the consecration of the first stage of Christ Church Cathedral in 1881, Mountfort was commissioned to recast Christ Church, Nelson, as a cathedral (1887) and to build St John's Cathedral in Napier (1886–8), a brick structure modelled on Albi Cathedral, that was destroyed by earthquake in 1931. St Mary's Pro-Cathedral in Auckland (1888–98) marked the culmination of his timber churches.[33]

In Presbyterian Otago religious architecture was also predominantly Gothic in style although of a markedly different character from Canterbury. The Scottish-born and trained architect R. A. Lawson (1833–1902) won the competition to design First Church, Dunedin, in 1862 while resident in Melbourne, later moving to Dunedin to supervise its construction.[34] First Church was built between 1868 and 1873 and constructed of brick with an exterior facing of Oamaru limestone. Lawson adapted English Decorated Gothic to the liturgical requirements of Presbyterian worship, but the extreme verticality of his west tower, a dominant feature on Dunedin's skyline, is reminiscent of Gillespie Graham and Pugin's Tolbooth Church in Edinburgh (1844).

Roman Catholic church building was stimulated in the 1870s as a result of an influx of Irish settlers who gained employment on the extensive public works projects undertaken during that decade. Dunedin's Roman Catholic St Joseph's Cathedral (1878–86) was constructed of local basalt and emphasized its denominational distinctiveness in Presbyterian Dunedin through reference to French thirteenth-century Gothic features. Its architect, Francis Petre (1847–1918), also designed the austere St Dominic's Priory (1877) adjacent to the cathedral in a simplified Gothic influenced by his choice of material, monolithic concrete.[35]

[32] Lochhead, *A Dream of Spires*, pp. 128–56, and Bremner, *Imperial Gothic*, pp. 100–9. Christ Church Anglican Cathedral suffered significant damage in the Christchurch earthquake of 22 February 2011. Although all but the tower and west front are still standing the Anglican Church has signalled its intention to demolish the building, a decision that has not gone unchallenged.

[33] Lochhead, *A Dream of Spires*, pp. 157–80.

[34] See N. Ledgerwood, *R.A. Lawson: Victorian Architect of Dunedin* (Dunedin, 2013).

[35] E. J. McCoy, 'Petre Churches', in Frances Porter (ed.), *Historic Buildings of New Zealand: South Island* (Auckland, 1983), pp. 150–9.

Figure 10.3. Christ Church Cathedral, Christchurch (1864–1904), by George Gilbert Scott and Benjamin Mountfort (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, Ref: 6203.1/1).

Figure 10.4. Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament, Christchurch (1901–5), by Francis Petre (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, Ref: 1/1-019470-G).

Petre's later churches eschewed Gothic as too expensive and adopted French neo-classical basilican plans. His largest and most impressive church, the Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament in Christchurch (1901–5; Figure 10.4), is derived from J. I. Hittorff's St Vincent de Paul in Paris. Although faced with Oamaru limestone both inside and out, the bascilica's structural core is monolithic concrete, the masonry skin acting as the formwork.

The impact of Christianity on indigenous Māori culture resulted in some of the most remarkable church architecture in colonial New Zealand in which the features of Gothic architecture were merged with indigenous forms.[36] At Otaki, on the south-west coast of the North Island, the great chief, Te Rauparaha, oversaw the building of Te Rangiātea (1848–51), a large timber church in which the roof was supported by a ridge beam resting on central columns formed from single trees (Figure 10.5). From the exterior the church was a simple rectangle with pointed Gothic windows, but the interior was derived from the carved meeting-house or

[36] Brown, *Māori Architecture*, pp. 42–8, and D. Brown, 'The Maori Response to Gothic Architecture', *Architectural History*, vol. 43 (2000), pp. 253–70. See also S. Treadwell, *Rangiatea Revisited* (Wellington, 2008). For a detailed study of Māori church building, see R. A. Sundt, *Whare Karakia: Māori Church Building, Decoration and Ritual in Aotearoa New Zealand 1834–1863* (Auckland, 2010).

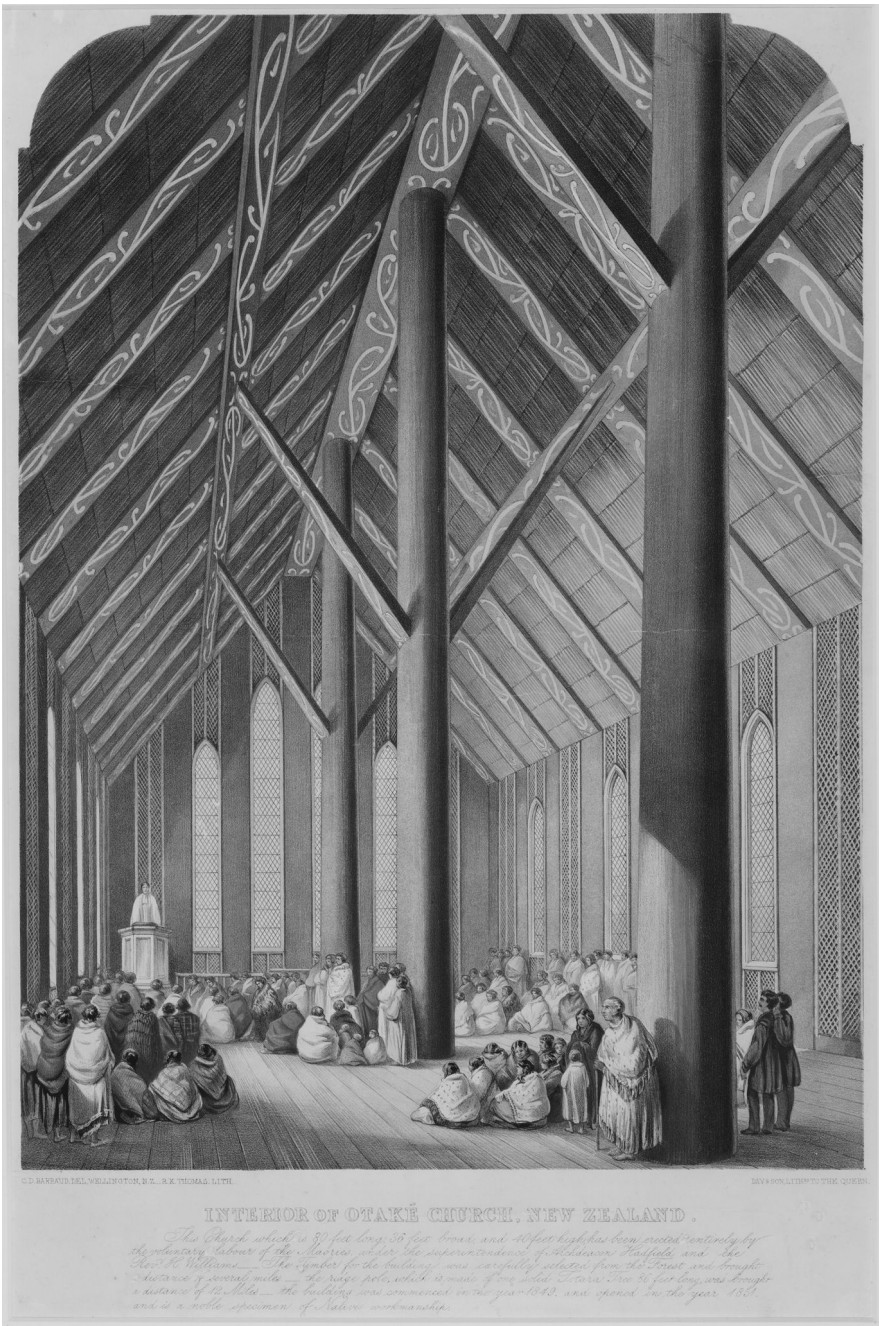

Figure 10.5. Te Rangiātea, Otaki (1848–51). Lithograph by Charles Decimus Barraud.

whare whakairo. On the interior, decoration was restricted to woven *tukutuku* panels and painted patterns. Missionaries were reluctant to allow carvings of human figures in churches because they feared they promoted ancestor worship, but the Rev. William Williams accepted modified carvings for the church at Manatuke (1849–63) in the mistaken belief that the *manaia* figures used were purely decorative. Both churches were built under the direction of the CMS. However, with the decline of the Society's influence in New Zealand following the arrival of Bishop Selwyn, these unique fusions of indigenous and Western architectural traditions ceased.

Māori, nevertheless, found other areas for architectural expression. The impact of European settlement on Māori, including the loss of land and the *mana* it represented, as well as the depredations of Western diseases, contributed to a decline of population and a crisis of confidence. The carved meeting-house, or *whare whakairo*, was a direct response to this crisis.[37] The earliest surviving example is Te hau-ki-Turanga, built at Turanga in the 1840s and now in Te Papa Tongarewa Museum of New Zealand. It is a measure of the potency of such buildings for Māori identity that Te hau-ki-Turanga was confiscated by the government in 1867 during the New Zealand Wars. *Whare whakairo* were richly carved both inside and out. The figures lining the interior walls represented ancestors, although an entire house could also represent the body of an ancestor. Māori also responded creatively to new technologies and newly available commercial paints were used for abstract and figurative designs on meeting-houses such as Rongopai (1886) at Waituhi on the East Cape of the North Island. Because such buildings are often located in remote, rural areas, and because they do not conform to the normal categories of Western architecture, their place in the development of New Zealand's architectural history has, in the past, been ignored or consigned to the field of ethnography. However, in recent decades research by a new generation of scholars has resulted in Māori architecture starting to assume its rightful place within a more inclusive historical discourse.[38]

EARLY COLONIAL STATE ARCHITECTURE IN NEW ZEALAND

The architecture of the state during New Zealand's first decades was marked by an emphasis on economy and expediency, with few buildings of architectural distinction. Exceptions were the colonial hospitals in New Plymouth and Auckland (both 1847), designed by Frederick Thatcher while employed as Superintendent of

[37] Brown, *Māori Architecture*, pp. 48–65; R. Walker, 'Mana and Identity', *New Zealand Historic Places*, vol. 30 (1990), pp. 4–9.

[38] In addition to the works by Brown and Sundt already cited, the most influential publication on Māori art and architecture in recent decades is S. Moko Mead (ed.), *Te Maori: Maori Art From New Zealand Collections* (Auckland, 1984). See also B. McKay, 'Maori Architecture: Transforming Western Notions of Architecture', *Fabrications*, vol. 14:1–2 (2004), pp. 1–12.

Public Works.[39] The New Plymouth hospital has survived and demonstrates, even by international standards, a precocious adoption of ecclesiologically inspired Gothic for a governmental building, albeit one constructed of wood.

If New Zealand's period as a Crown Colony from 1840 to 1852 produced few public buildings of architectural note, the ensuing Provincial Government era resulted in at least one governmental building of real distinction. As a result of the New Zealand Constitution Act of 1852, New Zealand became a self-governing colony with a central legislature located in Auckland and provincial assemblies in Auckland, Wellington, Nelson, Canterbury, and Otago. Wellington's Provincial Government building was designed by the military engineer George Single in 1857, but it became the seat of central government when the capital moved from Auckland to Wellington in 1865.[40] Single's design, which resembled a large wooden school in carpenter Gothic style,[41] was eventually absorbed into the larger parliamentary complex that evolved in a haphazard fashion over the following decade. The building was given some coherence by William Clayton's timber Gothic additions of 1872–3, but its piecemeal development is indicative of the long-standing reluctance of New Zealand politicians to commit money to buildings of substance.[42] In Nelson the Provincial Government Buildings were designed by Maxwell Bury (1825–1912) in 1859 and, although disparagingly described as a 'debased Cockney-Elizabethan sham-stone affair'[43] by one contemporary, its needless demolition in 1965 is now widely regretted.

By far the most impressive of the provincial assembly buildings was the Canterbury Provincial Council Buildings, designed by Benjamin Mountfort and erected in three stages between 1857 and 1865.[44] The initial timber complex was conceived along collegiate Gothic lines—a central quadrangle being flanked on two sides by offices, on the third by a library and refreshment rooms, and on the fourth by the debating chamber. The four wings were linked by a cloister-like corridor around three sides of the quadrangle. Limited funds in 1857 meant only one office range and the council chamber were completed, but a second range of offices, on a more generous scale, was added in 1860. This included a central stone tower of alternating bands of red scoria and a light grey stone, the first example of Victorian constructional polychromy in any of the Australasian colonies. The two-storey wooden office wings that extended from the central tower were framed by higher pavilions in a composition that is remarkably similar to Fuller and Jones's Ottawa Parliament buildings (1859; see Figure 7.13), although on a much reduced scale. It is unlikely that the architects of these buildings at the farthest extents of empire were aware of one another's designs; rather, it seems that both were responding

[39] Richardson, 'Building the Dominion', pp. 91–104.

[40] T. Hodgson, *Colonial Capital: Wellington 1865–1910* (Auckland, 1990), p. 88; R. Cook, *Parliament: The Land and Buildings From 1840* (Wellington, 1988), pp. 17–18.

[41] Within the wider context of the nineteenth-century Gothic Revival 'Carpenter Gothic', or 'Carpenter's Gothic', refers to the use of applied Gothic ornament, often derived from pattern books, on otherwise unremarkable timber structures.

[42] Richardson, 'Building the Dominion', pp. 20–5.

[43] *The Press* (6 January 1864), p. 2.

[44] Lochhead, *A Dream of Spires*, pp. 91–117.

to the widely published designs for the 1857 Government Offices competition for Whitehall.

In 1864, with provincial revenues booming from land sales and the rise of pastoralism, Mountfort added a stone council chamber and refreshment rooms to the complex (see Plate 19). These sophisticated stone additions signalled a new maturity in New Zealand public architecture, transcending the makeshift structures of much earlier governmental building. Despite arriving in Canterbury in 1850, Mountfort's understanding of High Victorian Gothic belies his isolation from the works of his contemporaries in Britain. The Council Chamber's muscular exterior, richly polychromed interior, extensive use of stained glass, and unusual ridge and furrow painted ceiling were a clear expression of the growing wealth and self-confidence of the Canterbury colony. The Canterbury Provincial Council Buildings also demonstrated that distance was not an impediment for skilled colonial architects whose buildings were based on Victorian design principles rather than the superficial adaptation of historical styles to a new environment.

Mountfort's commitment to the Gothic Revival as the appropriate style for a British colony is paralleled by the Auckland buildings of Edward Rumsey (1824–1909), a pupil of G. G. Scott, who came to New Zealand via Australia.[45] Rumsey's brick and stone Supreme Court (1865–8) was adopted after he submitted a revised design in the wake of an inconclusive competition. It owes something to Alfred Waterhouse's Manchester Assize Courts (1859), and anticipates the triumph of Gothic in the London Law Courts competition in 1867. Although Rumsey's original design was pared back to cut costs, it was given a distinctly Ruskinian character through the inventive contributions of the Prussian carver, Anton Teutenberg. On the strength of his court design Rumsey was also commissioned to design Auckland's Post Office and Customs House (1865–8), a further exercise in Ruskinian Gothic on which Teutenberg collaborated.

The architecture of the central government gained a new sense of consistency and coherence with the appointment of William Clayton (1823–77) to the position of Colonial Architect in 1869. Clayton was a true child of empire. Born in Tasmania in 1823, he studied in England between 1840 and 1848. He built up a thriving practice in Tasmania, but in 1863 immigrated to Dunedin, probably in anticipation of a building boom following the discovery of gold in Central Otago in 1861. In Dunedin he entered a partnership with William Mason who had settled in the southern city after a period of government service in Auckland. Mason's connections led to governmental commissions for the Colonial Museum (1865) and Government House (1868), both in Wellington, the latter being to Clayton's design. Clayton's appointment as Colonial Architect was the result, not of any recognition of the need for architectural skills within the public service, but of the architect offering his services to government. His appointment was timely since Julius Vogel, the Colonial Treasurer and Clayton's son-in-law, was about to initiate an unprecedented programme of immigration and public works, supported by heavy borrowing.

[45] Richardson, 'Building the Dominion', pp. 145–67.

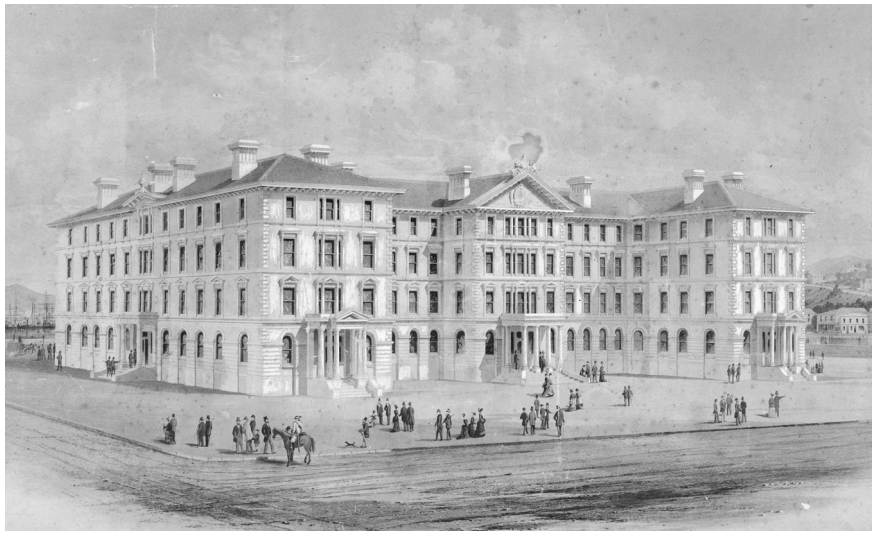

Figure 10.6. Government Departmental Buildings, Wellington (1876), by William Henry Clayton (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, Ref: D-016-006).

Post offices, customs houses, and court buildings designed by Clayton and his small team of assistants appeared across the nation during the 1870s, creating for the first time a recognizable governmental architecture.[46] In smaller towns standardized wooden structures were usually provided, either Italianate in style or in an English rustic cottage mode derived from Gervase Wheeler's pattern book *Homes for the People* (1855). Clayton's most important building was the Government Offices in Wellington (1873–6), a vast, three-storey, Renaissance palazzo that housed the entire public service (Figure 10.6). Clayton proposed to construct the building in either concrete or timber, but because of cost, and Wellington's recent history of earthquakes, it was decided to build in timber.[47] Containing 2,053 cubic metres of timber, it is reputedly one of the largest wooden buildings in the world.[48] By replicating a wide range of classical architectural features in wood Clayton exhibited an almost wilful disregard for contemporary criticisms of architectural shams, an attitude he shared with many colonial architects.[49]

[46] Richardson, 'Building the Dominion', pp. 186–225.

[47] R. Skinner, 'Understanding the Risk: Seismicity and Architectural Development in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', *Fabrications*, vol. 19:1 (2009), pp. 122–39.

[48] C. Cochran, 'Capital City Buildings', in Porter, *Historic Buildings* (1979), pp. 238–40; C. Cochran, 'Styles of Sham and Genuine Simplicity: Timber Buildings in Wellington to 1880', in Hamer and Nicholls, *The Making of Wellington*, pp. 107–28.

[49] For an alternative view of 'shams' in New Zealand colonial architecture, see R. Skinner, 'The Cringe Commences: Nineteenth-Century Reviews of Pakeha Architecture', *Fabrications*, vol. 9 (1999), pp. 68–77.

COMMERCIAL ARCHITECTURE

Amidst the fluctuating peaks and troughs of the colonial economy the 1870s was a period of comparative prosperity reflected in an upsurge of commercial building throughout New Zealand. The discovery of gold in 1861 boosted the wealth of Dunedin, but that city's most impressive commercial building, W. B. Armson's Italian Renaissance Bank of New Zealand, was not completed until 1883.[50] Earlier the Bank of New Zealand had employed the Melbourne architect Leonard Terry (1825–84) to design its premises in Auckland and Christchurch (both 1865), but there is little to distinguish Terry's New Zealand banks from those he designed for Melbourne or Ballarat in Australia. Although the protests of local architects at the employment of a rival from Victoria were ignored, in reality movement of architects between Australia and New Zealand was constant during the nineteenth century.[51] Clayton, Lawson, Rumsey, and Armson all moved to Dunedin from Australia in the 1860s in search of better employment. Lawson's Scottish training is apparent in his pair of buildings for the National Bank (1870) and Bank of New South Wales (1883) in Oamaru (Figure 10.7). Constructed on adjacent sites from the local sedimentary limestone, the two banks are variants on David Rhind's Commercial Bank of Scotland in Edinburgh (1844–6), their contrasting Corinthian and Composite porticoes forming an ensemble of Victorian commercial façades that transcends its provincial location.

Commercial architecture in New Zealand, as throughout the British Empire, was predominantly classical in style, but Christchurch was exceptional both for the early date and quantity of its Gothic commercial buildings. Mountfort began the trend with his Union Bank of Australia in Lyttelton (1857) and New Zealand Trust and Loan Company (1866), but Armson expanded it in the following decades with his offices for J. Lewis (1877) and the New Zealand Loan and Mercantile Company (1881). The predilection for Gothic in Christchurch was so great, in fact, that Terry's chaste, neoclassical Bank of New Zealand was castigated as 'unworthy of the city' and especially of its site so close to Scott's Anglican Cathedral.[52]

By the end of the century Italian Renaissance was the accepted style for commercial architecture throughout New Zealand. In Wellington the desire to be close to the centre of government gave impetus to the construction of commercial buildings, while anxiety about masonry construction was reduced as a result of new building technology from the USA. Thomas Turnbull (1824–1907), a Scot who had practised in both Melbourne and San Francisco, was instrumental in introducing techniques for reinforcing masonry buildings using iron columns and

[50] I. Lochhead and J. Mané, *W. B. Armson: A Colonial Architect Rediscovered* (Christchurch, 1983).

[51] M. Lewis, 'The Tasman Connection: Regionalism, Colonialism and Nationalism', in I. Lochhead (ed.), *Regional Responses: Papers and Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Conference of the Society of Architectural Historians of Australia and New Zealand* (Christchurch, 1991), pp. 1–36.

[52] *The Press* (17 March 1865), p. 2. See also I. Lochhead, 'Mrs Grundy and the Gothic: James Edward FitzGerald and Architectural Criticism in Colonial Canterbury', *Bulletin of New Zealand Art History*, vol. 14 (1993), pp. 71–92.

Figure 10.7. National Bank of New Zealand (1871) and Bank of New South Wales (1883), Oamaru, by R. A. Lawson (North Otago Museum, Oamaru).

tensile reinforcing.[53] Turnbull's head office for the Bank of New Zealand in Wellington (1901), designed in conjunction with his son, William, marks the culmination of this trend. Sited on a triangular plot on the former shoreline, the building's curved corner entrance provided a serendipitous visual link to Sir John Soane's Bank of England in the City of London.

Although the principal expression of the colony's growing economic stability was seen in cities, the sources of wealth were primarily rural. The production of wool for export to Britain and, following the introduction of refrigerated cargo ships in 1881, the export of frozen mutton, resulted in buildings that had no counterpart in Victorian Britain. Large-scale shearing sheds, such as that at Morven Hills (*c.*1873) in North Otago, were essentially vernacular structures in which local materials were employed to create buildings planned for the efficient holding and shearing of vast flocks of sheep (up to 135,000 in a season at Morven Hills; Figure 10.8).[54] The other innovative building type was the freezing works—industrial plants for the slaughtering, butchering, and freezing of sheep carcasses for export.[55] The acknowledged expert in this specialized field was the Christchurch architect, Joseph Clarkson Maddison (1850–1923), and

[53] J. McKenzie, 'Head Office Country: South Lambton Quay', in J. Wilson (ed.), *The Past Today: Historic Places in New Zealand* (Auckland, 1987), pp. 154–63.
[54] R. Pinney, 'Otago Farm Buildings', in Porter, *Historic Buildings* (1983), pp. 214–21.
[55] G. Thornton, *New Zealand's Industrial Heritage* (Wellington, 1982), pp. 104–9.

Figure 10.8. Morven Hills Station, Shearing Shed, Lindis Valley, North Otago (*c.*1873) (Geoffrey Thornton, Wellington).

his designs were constructed throughout the South Island and much of the North between the mid-1880s and 1910.

EDUCATIONAL AND DOMESTIC, MĀORI AND PĀKEHĀ

The provision of education in nineteenth-century New Zealand was the responsibility of the provincial governments from 1852 until 1876, and during this time access to primary education was variable from one province to the next. However from 1877 free, secular, and compulsory education was introduced nationally for children aged seven to thirteen, both Pākehā (non-Māori people) and Māori. Early schoolrooms were often rectangular timber structures with high windows and open timber roofs but, particularly in Otago, where the Scottish commitment to education was strong, and Canterbury, substantial schools were erected. J. E. FitzGerald's Big School at Christ's College (1861), Gothic in style with a massive open timber roof, is indicative of the simple, single-space schoolrooms of the period, while R. A. Lawson's Otago Boys' High School in Dunedin (1885), with its pinnacled central tower, represents the rapid advance in both the scale and architectural pretentions of educational buildings. In Christchurch the emphasis placed on the provision of advanced education for girls can be seen in the construction, in rapid succession, of Thomas Cane's Christchurch Girls' High School (1877), a picturesque Gothic Revival building in stone, and in W. B. Armson's second and larger Girls' High School (1880), also Gothic in style but built of brick. Tertiary education was also available to women from 1869, when the University of Otago was established, followed soon after by Canterbury University College in 1873.

The University of Otago's first permanent building, designed by Maxwell Bury in 1877, emphasized the province's Scottish origins through clear references to G. G. Scott's designs for Glasgow University. In Christchurch Mountfort developed a distinctive version of collegiate Gothic for Canterbury College (1876–96). He was also architect for the Canterbury Museum (1869–82), a reinterpretation of Deane and Woodward's Oxford Natural History Museum for a colonial city in which the Gothic ironwork of the Oxford museum's central court was replaced by timber columns and arched braces. The Museum was sited adjacent to Canterbury College and aligned along the east–west axis of Worcester Street with Christ Church Cathedral. Together they formed an assembly of Gothic Revival buildings that clearly expressed the social and religious vision of the city's founders.

For most New Zealander settlers the idealistic vision of the founders of Canterbury was remote from their everyday experience. The first homes of many settlers were *whares* constructed from raupo reeds with the aid of local Māori.[56] A wide range of publications provided plans and instructions to guide settlers in the construction of basic two-room dwellings, although prefabricated houses were also imported. Timber was the commonest material used for houses, bricks being reserved for chimneys until the 1860s. Corrugated iron became a ubiquitous roofing material for dwellings from the earliest years of colonization and was initially imported from Britain, although from 1869 it was manufactured in Dunedin. Materials often depended on local resources as well as the settler's place of origin. Schist was used as a building stone by Scottish settlers in Central Otago, while cob and other forms of earth construction were adopted in Canterbury. In the heavily forested North Island timber was extensively used, although brick was employed for larger houses. House plans tended to be additive as dwellings expanded with increased needs and growing resources. The industrialization of the timber industry from the 1860s revolutionized housing in New Zealand, providing standardization of materials and the ability to embellish houses with machine-cut decoration. The timber framed villa, with a verandah and projecting gable facing the street had become, by the 1890s, the ubiquitous single family urban dwelling and an expression of the New Zealand ideal of ownership of a detached house on a discrete plot of land.[57] The villa's origins, however, as William Toomath has demonstrated, owed much more to the timber houses of the western states of North American than to British sources.[58]

Exploitation of the country's untapped natural resources allowed vast fortunes to be accumulated in short periods of time and this was reflected in mansions built for the newly rich. In Otago Lawson built a Scottish baronial castle for William Larnach between 1871 and 1887, but the double height verandahs that enclosed three sides of the central tower evoke Australia rather than Larnach's Scottish origins.[59] In Christchurch the former Scottish shepherd, Alexander McLean, whose

[56] J. Salmond, *Old New Zealand Houses: 1800–1940* (Auckland, 1986).

[57] M. Fairburn, 'The Rural Myth and the New Urban Frontier: An Approach to New Zealand Social History, 1870–1940', *New Zealand Journal of History*, vol. 9 (1975), pp. 3–21.

[58] W. Toomath, *Built in New Zealand: The Houses We Live In* (Auckland, 1996), pp. 91ff.

[59] Ledgerwood, *R. A. Lawson*, pp. 97–107; H. Knight, *The Ordeal of William Larnach* (Dunedin, 1981), pp. 20–55.

fortune was built on pastoral farming, erected a two-storey timber mansion in 1900.[60] With a floor area of 23,000 square feet it was the largest wooden house in the country, its sixty rooms organized around a galleried central stair hall. In comparison with the Jacobean extravagance of McLean's Mansion, the timber town house in Italianate style built for the footwear manufacturer Robert Hannah in Boulcott Street, Wellington (1904–5), seems almost modest. Auckland's most ambitious Victorian house was The Pah, set on a hilltop and surrounded by parkland planted with English trees. Built for the businessman James Williamson by Edward Mahoney in 1877, it was also Italianate in style but constructed of plastered brick.[61] Like Hannah's house it was also encased by verandahs. In their differing ways, each of these houses expressed their owner's British origins and aspirations while also being adapted to local circumstances.[62]

It was houses such as these that prompted the Christchurch architect, Samuel Hurst Seager to lament the lack of any distinctive New Zealand architectural style in a much-quoted article in the *RIBA Journal* in 1900.[63] Seager was responsible for the Christchurch Municipal Building (1886), the country's first example of the Queen Anne style, although Seager himself described it as simply being 'in the style of the nineteenth century'.[64] Born in England, Seager came to New Zealand as a youth and trained with Mountfort before studying at the Royal Academy in London. While in Britain he was influenced by both the Arts and Crafts and Garden City movements, becoming a tireless advocate for town planning in New Zealand. He was the convenor of the first New Zealand Town Planning Conference in 1919 and played an important role in advocating for the Town and Country Planning Act (1926).[65] Seager was one of the first New Zealand architects to recognize the importance of the country's colonial architecture as the basis for a national architectural tradition, and consciously wove motifs from earlier buildings into his own designs.

BETWEEN WORLDS: REGIONAL IDENTITY AND CONTINUED METROPOLITAN INFLUENCE

Seager also played a role in the formation of the New Zealand Institute of Architects in 1905. Forty years earlier Edward Rumsey summed up his experience as a colonial

[60] Christchurch City Council, *Architectural Heritage of Christchurch, 3: McLean's Mansion* (Christchurch, 1983).

[61] J. Stacpoole, *The Houses of the Merchant Princes* (Auckland, 1989).

[62] For nineteenth-century country houses in New Zealand, see I. Lochhead, 'The Country House in Colonial New Zealand', in P. Burman and L. Schmidt (eds), *Looking Forwards: The Country House in Contemporary Research and Conservation* (York and Cottbus, 2001), CD ROM.

[63] S. H. Seager, 'Architectural Art in New Zealand', *RIBA Journal*, vol. 7:9 (1900), pp. 481–91.

[64] I. Lochhead, '"Distinctly in a nineteenth century style": Samuel Hurst Seager's Christchurch Municipal Offices', in C. McCarthy (ed.), *'Architectural Style Spreads Its Wings': New Zealand Architecture in the 1880s* (Wellington, 2013), pp. 41–7.

[65] B. Schrader, 'Avoiding the Mistakes of the "mother country": The New Zealand Garden City Movement 1900–1928', *Planning Perspectives*, vol. 14 (1999), pp. 395–411.

architect, 'being knocked about from place to place in an unmerciful manner, up one year, down the next, and scrambling for existence the third…', all the while being forced to 'grovel in the back slums of Australia and New Zealand where wooden shantees and native huts are considered works of art, and a brick building is a gem…'.[66] To address the unregulated nature of their profession, architects began to form regional associations, the earliest being the Canterbury Association of Architects in 1872. New Zealand architects were clearly aware of the moves towards professionalism in Britain, and the Canterbury Association based its scale of charges on those of the RIBA. Professional associations were later formed in Dunedin (1876) and Wellington (1883). One outcome of the formation of the national body in 1905 was the passing of the Architects' Registration Act of 1913.[67] The British Parliament only adopted similar legislation in 1931.

From the 1890s the proportion of native-born New Zealanders exceeded those born in Britain or elsewhere, and there were increasing signs of national identity being expressed through architecture. The adoption of Māori names for private dwellings was one example of this, as was the use of Māori motifs and decoration based on native flora and fauna.[68] The simplicity of form advocated by the Arts and Crafts movement also encouraged New Zealand architects such as Basil Hooper in Dunedin and Gerald Jones in Auckland to reject the elaborate decoration of Victorian villas, although the Voyseyesque character of their houses was, in reality, no more characteristic of New Zealand than preceding styles.[69]

The limited extent of this architectural nationalism is demonstrated by the prevalence of the more imperial 'Edwardian Baroque' style in the public architecture of the last decade of the nineteenth century and first decades of the twentieth. Under the direction of yet another Scot, John Campbell (1857–1942), the Public Works Department adapted the English Baroque of Wren and his contemporaries to post offices, court houses, and offices for government departments throughout the country.[70] No buildings express the bonds of empire more clearly than the Chief Post Offices in Auckland and Wellington (both 1908–12), designed by Campbell and his chief assistant, Claude Paton. The model for both, as Peter Richardson has shown, was Sir Henry Tanner's General Post Office headquarters in London (1907–11). Indeed, Prime Minister William Massey suggested that Aucklanders had reason 'to be proud of their new Post Office' for this very reason.[71] In the early twentieth century the Post Office was the veritable nervous system of the empire, and the fact

[66] [E. Rumsey] 'An Architect at the Antipodes', *The Builder* (30 March 1867), pp. 228–9.

[67] I. Lochhead, 'Pioneering the Profession: Architects' Associations in New Zealand, 1840–1905', *Architecture New Zealand* (September/October 2005), pp. 78–80.

[68] I. Lochhead, 'Precedent versus Principle: The Search for Regional Expression in New Zealand Domestic Architecture, 1890–1916', in P. Burman (ed.), *Architecture 1900* (Shaftesbury, 1998), pp. 29–42.

[69] R. Allen, *Motif and Beauty: The New Zealand Arts and Crafts Architecture of Basil Hooper* (Dunedin, 2000); D. Lloyd Jenkins, *At Home: A Century of New Zealand Design* (Auckland, 2004), pp. 23–8.

[70] Richardson, 'Building the Dominion', pp. 296–316.

[71] *Auckland Star* (21 November 1912), p. 9.

that the Chief Post Offices in Auckland and Wellington were virtual mirror images of their London counterpart further consolidated this sense of connection.

By the first decade of the twentieth century New Zealand had become, under the leadership of Liberal premier Richard Seddon (1845–1906; premier 1893–1906), one of the strongest advocates of imperial union. Because of its small size and lack of influence on the world scene, New Zealand politicians recognized that by promoting strong imperial ties they could achieve greater international influence than was possible if they acted in isolation. The constitutional shift from Colony to Dominion status in 1907 did little to change this stance, and the change was, in fact, more symbolic than real. It is therefore unsurprising that when the ramshackle collection of wooden buildings that housed Parliament in Wellington was destroyed by fire in 1907, the building that replaced them was an assertive statement of New Zealand's British identity.[72] The winners of the 1911 competition to design the new parliament buildings were Campbell and Paton (Figure 10.9).[73] Their design was a confident restatement of the Edwardian Baroque style they had been employing for governmental buildings for more than a decade, but only the central entrance block and the north wing were completed when work on the building ceased in 1922. Neither the central dome nor the

Figure 10.9. Perspective by Harold Matthewman of Parliament Buildings, Final Design, Wellington (1911), by John Campbell and Claude Paton (Archives New Zealand/Te Rua Mahara o te Kāwanatanga, Wellington AADU 577 6/72 (R21009924)).

[72] I. Lochhead, 'The Politics of Empire and the Architecture of Identity: Public Architecture in New Zealand 1900–1918', in C. McCarthy (ed.), '… *we have no style …': New Zealand Architecture 1900–1918* (Wellington, 2004), pp. 42–8.

[73] Richardson, 'Building the Dominion', pp. 316–34. See also, J. Martin, *The House: New Zealand's House of Representatives, 1854–2004* (Palmerston North, 2004).

cupola over the north pavilion, essential features of the design, were included on account of cost.

Imperial connections were also important for New Zealand's architects. Seager maintained his links with Britain as a Fellow of the RIBA and actively participated in its affairs. Following World War I many New Zealand servicemen trained as architects in Britain.[74] The empire also offered a sphere of influence that expanded the horizons of New Zealand architects. Seager's former pupil, Joseph Munnings, practised in New Zealand, India, and Australia, and, during his time in India between 1910 and 1918, planned the new provincial capital of Patna and designed its principal buildings.[75]

WAR, MODERNITY, AND THE FORGING OF NEW ARCHITECTURAL IDENTITIES IN THE PACIFIC REGION

The experience of World War I changed New Zealand. The grand visions of empire that were symbolized in Campbell's Edwardian Baroque parliament waned. The mélange left by the abandonment of parliament's southern wing and its central dome were only to be given completion of a kind in the 1980s, when an annex devised in 1964 by another Scot, Sir Basil Spence, was finished by architects of the New Zealand Ministry of Works, Campbell's ultimate successors.[76] In the 1920s, New Zealand erected war memorials aplenty, most commonly as obelisks, sometimes as gateways, sculptures of lone soldiers, or allegorical figures, and many as adaptations of Lutyens's Cenotaph on Whitehall in London. In front of the country's most ambitious monument, the Auckland War Memorial Museum (architects Grierson, Aimer & Draffin (1922–9); Figure 10.10) is a cenotaph which is a direct copy of Lutyens's.[77] As in Australia, the Australia and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC) myth of self-reliance, practicality, and disdain for authority was built in New Zealand around perceptions of a failure of British leadership on the battlefield, particularly at Gallipoli. These Lutyensesque monuments therefore elicited memories with a different flavour than their British equivalents.

But the war had a more peculiarly local architectural outcome. Much reflection in New Zealand has been given to the phenomenon of the 'bach'—an informal, traditionally owner-built habitation, for weekend and holiday use, often located on

[74] M. Findlay, 'Eyes on the Prize: New Zealand Architects, Education and the Travelling Scholarship 1880–1939', *Journal of New Zealand Art History*, vol. 32 (2011), pp. 15–32.

[75] H. Roberts, 'Architect of Empire: Joseph Fearis Munnings 1879–1937', MA thesis (University of Canterbury, 2013).

[76] J. Halliday, 'Function Follows Form: Sir Basil Spence and the Design and Construction of "The Beehive", the Executive Wing of the New Zealand Parliament', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Canterbury, 2005). See also, R. Skinner, 'A Hive of Controversy: Extending New Zealand's Parliament Buildings', in L. Campbell, M. Glendinning, and J. Thomas (eds), *Basil Spence: Buildings & Projects* (London, 2012), pp. 224–37.

[77] C. Maclean and J. Phillips, *The Sorrow and the Pride: New Zealand War Memorials* (Wellington, 1990), pp. 97–9; P. Shaw, *New Zealand Architecture from Polynesian Beginnings to 1990* (Auckland, 1991), p. 116.

Figure 10.10. Auckland War Memorial Museum (1922–9) by Grierson, Aimer & Draffin. On the far left is the Cenotaph. (Alexander Turnbull Library, Ref: WA-09948-G).

land to which the 'owner' had little legal claim. While shacks like this are found everywhere, in New Zealand they came to be venerated because of their make-do, practical aspect, perceived by architects as worthy of emulation in their own work. Baches are places, too, where social hierarchies are disdained. The word 'bach' derives from 'bachelor', and in the most interesting reflection on these buildings, Peter Wood has suggested that the baches of the 1920s and the 1950s—the boom periods of the type—were places where men who had survived war, and afterwards found it difficult to reintegrate into normal life, found solace in a make-shift domesticity reminiscent of that of the trenches, tents, and dug-outs of the battlefield.[78]

In one aspect, however, New Zealand's imperial commitment grew after 1918. The charismatic premier Richard Seddon had envisaged New Zealand as the centre of an empire of Pacific Island territories—a kind of miniature of the broader British empire in which it would be embedded. When Western Samoa became the first German-held territory to fall in World War I, taken by an expeditionary force from New Zealand, a part of this fantasy was realized, and New Zealand was given control of Western Samoa by a League of Nations mandate. But a New Zealand dominated Pacific never materialized: Fiji remained directly under British control until independence in 1970; Tonga was a self-governing British protectorate; and New Zealand continued as a poor colonial power in Western Samoa. Nevertheless, New Zealand colonial influence—direct or indirect—in these island countries, as well as in those for which it had direct responsibility (Tokelau, Niue, and the Cook

[78] P. Wood, 'The Bach: The Cultural History of a Local Typology', *Fabrications*, vol. 11:1 (2000), pp. 44–61; P. Walker, 'The Bach', *UME*, vol. 13 (2001), pp. 44–7.

Islands), led after the mid-twentieth century to mass migration of islanders to Auckland. Their descendants make present-day Auckland (at least in part) a vibrant Polynesian city, in much the same way that many communities in contemporary Britain are also the multicultural outcome of its imperial adventures.

Given the missionary character of early colonialism in the region, colonialism left a scattering of churches across the archipelagic Pacific, but, by the conventions of the Western canon, few other buildings of architectural note. At the time of World War II, Suva—the largest town and centre of colonial administration in the tropical South Pacific—had a population of only 14,000. Photographs from the 1920s and 1930s show a range of colonial institutions and enterprises, all built relatively recently: a Carnegie-funded library and museum from 1909; Government House (1921; rebuilt 1928 following storm damage); municipal swimming baths; the verandahed Grand Pacific Hotel (built by New Zealand's Union Steamship Company in 1914); extensive premises for the Sydney trading firm of Burns Philp; girls' and boys' grammar schools; and the Colonial War Memorial Hospital.[79] These were later outstripped by the impressive Fiji Government buildings, completed in 1939 to the design of W. F. Hedges, Chief Architect of the colonial government in Fiji (Figure 10.11).

These appurtenances of colonialism could have been built anywhere in the tropical territories that European powers had colonized—Hedges, for example, had previously been chief architect in the Federated Malay States.[80] They were buildings quite different from the local/Western hybrids of Levuka on the island of Ovalau, a town that served as colonial capital from the establishment of the Crown Colony of Fiji in 1874, until the government moved to Suva in 1882. These reflected the close relationship of colonial agency and that of local chieftains during the first phase of British administration.[81] Such architectural hybridity was to be re-embraced during the late twentieth century by the decolonized nations of the Pacific, including Fiji, Samoa, and Papua New Guinea, when they built new government complexes with the heavy expectation that they should symbolize architecturally both tradition and contemporary nationhood.[82]

Architectural hybridity was also a feature in New Zealand, although this was not apparent to its white, Anglo-Celtic urban populations during the interwar years. As mentioned previously, during the nineteenth century Māori had embraced European tools and techniques in their building practices, resulting in the expansion in scale and significance of the *whare whakairo*. Hybridity is even more marked in the architecture of '*morehu*' movements. These comprised indigenous groups that, in responding to British settler dominance in New Zealand, also radically reinvented aspects of Māori culture and its authority structures. The 1920s saw the foundation of the most lasting of these *morehu* movements, Ratana—a social, religious, and political organization that cut across conventional tribal affiliations establishing a successful alliance with New Zealand's Labour Party in the

[79] Several of these are illustrated in A. Wright (ed.), *The Colony of Fiji 1874–1929* (Suva, 1929).

[80] *The Straits Times* (11 March 1934), p. 12.

[81] R. Chatan, 'The Governor's *vale levu*: Architecture and Hybridity at Nasova House, Levuka, Fiji Islands', *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, vol. 7:4 (2003), pp. 267–92.

[82] A useful survey of these is found in D. Cruikshank (ed.), *Sir Banister Fletcher's A History of Architecture*, 20th edn (London, 1996), pp. 1668–70.

Figure 10.11. Government Buildings, Suva, Fiji (1939), by W. F. Hedges (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, Ref: WA-03318-G).

Figure 10.12. The Ratana temple at Ratana Pa (1926–7) (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, Ref: 1/2-018648-G).

1930s. Ratana's distinctive temples were built in rural locations across New Zealand's North Island, and while these buildings are based on the forms of simple colonial churches, Ratana religious iconography is otherwise distinctly non-Christian (Figure 10.12).[83] Notably, however, Ratana did not build the *whare whakairo*

[83] Brown, *Māori Architecture*, pp. 111–21.

that by the 1920s were seen to embody traditional Māori culture. Nevertheless, the *whare whakairo* was given further significance by the founding in 1926 of the Rotorua School of Māori Arts and Crafts by the politician Sir Apirana Ngata. This school promoted a unified and codified (and partly historically reinvented) version of Māori culture as an adjunct to Ngata's agenda of advancing Māori through rural land development in alliance with traditional tribal authorities.[84]

THE INFLUENCE OF THE USA AND REVERSE-FLOW KNOWLEDGE TRANSFER

As part of New Zealand's gradual turning from Britain, the 1920s saw increasing interest in the American world. Suburbanites, for example, adopted the Californian bungalow as their preferred housing type. As William Toomath has noted, American housing models had been prevalent in New Zealand since the 1870s—gold-rushes in California, Victoria (Australia), and New Zealand had all encouraged movement of people and goods across the Pacific from the middle of the nineteenth century.[85] American pattern books were also available, and as they focused on timber construction, their designs were quickly adopted. Californian bungalows had plans with a relaxed internal organization, and good connections with porch spaces, as well as modest gardens that made for easy living. They were mostly built by merchant builders using published models. Architects continued to make houses for an elite based on British exemplars, as can be seen in the work of William Gray Young (1885–1962) in Wellington, or R. K. Binney (1885–1957) in Auckland. City buildings by the leading commercial architects (Gray Young in Wellington and Gummer and Ford in Auckland) followed the aesthetic models of contemporaneous British architecture. Gray Young was fond of the neo-Georgian classicism which in Britain had become standard for office buildings, as seen in his Wellesley Club (1925). William H. Gummer (1884–1966) had spent time in London studying at the Royal Academy and working briefly with Lutyens, but on his way back to New Zealand in 1912 and 1913 stopped off at the Chicago office of Daniel Burnham. American knowhow with steel framing and large-scale urban projects exerted their influence. Both Gray Young's Wellington Railway Station (1930–7) and Gummer and Ford's Auckland equivalent (1926)—the great set pieces of urban architecture in New Zealand of the 1920s—owe more to Burnham's Union Station in Washington than any English model.

While there is no stylistic Modernism in New Zealand in the 1920s, the country was nevertheless modernizing technologically. Concrete was adopted early in New Zealand buildings.[86] The First New Zealand Town-planning Conference of 1919

[84] *Ibid.*, pp. 84–5 [85] Toomath, *Built in New Zealand*, p. 80.

[86] G. Thornton, *Cast in Concrete: Concrete Construction in New Zealand 1850–1939* (Auckland, 1996). Thornton writes on the early adoption of concrete in New Zealand building practice [p. 8]: 'Although there are no recorded cogent reasons for this use of an innovative building material in a raw young colony with a small population, the most likely explanation is the shortage of skilled tradesmen such as stonemasons and bricklayers in the early days.'

extended a technocratic focus into the city itself. Held in the aftermath of the Spanish Influenza epidemic, the conference encouraged the view that Australasian cities had a problem with slum conditions and physical degradation. This was promulgated, for example, by the New Zealand journalist Charles Reade in his 1909 book *The Revelation of Britain: A Book for Colonials*. This book was evidence of an ongoing inclination in New Zealand—as in other new world societies—to see the city per se as a problem, promoting the value of British urban reform exemplars such as Bourneville, Port Sunlight, and Letchworth. It had an imperialist dimension: slums were perceived as inimical to raising the men needed to fight imperial wars and the women to mother the next generation of loyal citizens.[87] The perception of urban decay (physical and moral) had already led to a modest clearance of houses in central Auckland for Myers Park, which opened in 1915.[88] Seager's plans for Clifton Spur and for the Durie Hill area in Wanganui adapted English Garden City ideas, and in 1926 the New Zealand parliament passed the Town Planning Act along British lines.[89]

Meanwhile, the technical and sanitary view of building and urbanism gained impetus as awareness continued to grow of the country's extreme seismic activity. Presciently, Gummer had from 1916 adopted the use of reinforced concrete frames in a group of country houses in Hawkes Bay province, while Reginald Ford (1880–1972), Gummer's business partner from 1923 when they formed a practice to compete in the Auckland Civic Centre Competition, had written a book in 1926 on designing for earthquake resistance, apparently one of the first book-length studies on its topic to be published in English.[90] New Zealand civil engineers looked to California in this matter, not to Britain. The disastrous 1931 earthquake that flattened business areas in the Hawkes Bay towns of Napier and Hastings killed 258 people. Gummer's concrete houses survived undamaged, however. The earthquake led to the establishment of a national standard building code.

If New Zealand had a kind of modernity in architecture in the 1920s, but not yet any Modernism to speak of, this was not so different from the situation in Britain. New Zealand's distance, however, made some of its architects avid readers: the perception of remoteness produced a certain anxiety to stay abreast of what was new in the USA and Europe. In 1900 Seager had commented that international publications made New Zealand architects more aware of what was happening in Europe than elsewhere in their own country; he also noted that this circumstance made it impossible that architecture in New Zealand could 'make any independent progress'.[91] The potent effect of technical knowhow, combined with the wish to be modern that published accounts of Modernism encouraged, is clearest in the case

[87] J. Gatley, 'For King and Empire: Australian Women and Nascent Town Planning', *Planning Perspectives*, vol. 20 (2005), pp. 121–45.

[88] A. Cusins-Lewer and J. Gatley, 'The "Myers Park Experiment" (1913–1916) and its Legacy in Auckland', *Fabrications*, vol. 12:1 (2002), pp. 59–80.

[89] Schrader, 'Avoiding the Mistakes of the "mother country"', pp. 395–411.

[90] P. Lowe, 'Ford, Charles Reginald', from the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara—the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 24-Sep-2013: http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/biographies/4f19/ford-charles-reginald, accessed 10 February 2015.

[91] Seager, 'Architectural Art in New Zealand', pp. 481–91.

of two New Zealand-trained architects who made illustrious careers back in Britain.

Amyas Connell (1901–80) and Basil Ward (1902–76) had been educated in New Zealand offices. They travelled to England in 1924 to undertake further education at the Bartlett School of architecture in London. They became part of a group of 'colonial' architects, including Canadian Wells Coates and Australian Raymond McGrath, who by 1930 were leaders of Modernism in the United Kingdom, and the London practice of Connell, Ward & Lucas (1933–9), despite its short life, was one of the most influential in the interwar period. While Connell and Ward took the opportunities available to them once in London to travel in Europe to see, for example, the buildings of Le Corbusier, Ward noted that his own introduction to the new architecture of the early twentieth century had occurred in New Zealand. The Napier office of Louis Hay where he served his articles, he recalled, was 'lined with books on "Art Nouveau", also evidence of Austrian Secessionism, the Chicago School and Louis Sullivan, but in particular, Frank Lloyd Wright'.[92] This was certainly unusual in New Zealand, but knowledge of advanced building techniques was not. Ward commented: 'New Zealand was greatly influenced by happenings in the new world and in particular, developments in America in building and engineering techniques. It was usual to take American technical journals and the American single storey house was in similar national tradition, as was timber construction.'[93] Thus, in a striking reversal in the fortunes of knowledge transfer from colonial days, it was Connell and Ward's familiarity with concrete construction that enabled them to make Modernist buildings with a facility that British-trained architects simply could not match.

THE IMPACT OF EUROPEAN IMMIGRATION AND THE DAWN OF THE MODERNIST ERA

By the end of the 1930s New Zealand had its first Modernist houses. For example, the Robin Simpson house in Auckland, and the Humphrey Hall house in Timaru (both 1938), were by architects for their own use. Explorations in Modernism increased following the immigration of several central European architects in the 1930s, most notably Ernst Plischke (1903–92), who arrived in 1939 and stayed in Wellington until his return to Vienna in 1963. Plischke, like other refugee architects, worked in the Department of Housing Construction (from 1943 the Housing Division of the Ministry of Works). From 1937, as part of its programme of economic expansion, New Zealand's first Labour government had undertaken a massive programme of house construction, which by 1949 had realized over 30,000 residential units, mostly in new suburbs laid out in a picturesque, garden

[92] B. Ward, 'Connell, Ward and Lucas', in D. Sharp (ed.), *Planning and Architecture: Essays Presented to Arthur Korn by the Architectural Association* (New York, 1967), p. 74. See also D. Thistlewood and E. Heeley, 'Connell, Ward & Lucas: Towards a Complex Critique', *Journal of Architecture*, vol. 2:1 (1997), pp. 83–102.

[93] B. Ward, 'Connell, Ward and Lucas', letter to the editor, *Architectural Association Journal*, vol. 72:809 (1957), p. 208.

Figure 10.13. State houses under construction, Naenae, Lower Hutt (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, Ref: 1/4-001171-F).

city manner.[94] Joinery for these houses was produced on a semi-industrial scale (Figure 10.13).

However, despite some Modernist experimentation, most of the designs (hipped roofs with small, often multi-paned windows) were aesthetically conservative, often described as derived from English cottage types. Internal planning was also unadventurous. A few large apartment buildings were part of the state housing programme, notably the Dixon Street Flats in Wellington. These were much more ambitiously Modernist than the houses. Plischke worked on Dixon Street (there is controversy as to his role), but his main contribution while working for the government was in urban layouts for suburbs such as Naenae, for which he also designed a modestly Modernist town centre. In a private capacity Plischke built several uncompromisingly Modern houses (Figure 10.14), and the practice that he formed with Cedric Firth completed Wellington's first notable Modernist commercial building, Massey House (1957).[95]

[94] C. Firth, *State Housing in New Zealand* (Wellington, 1949).

[95] A. Sarnitz, 'Ernst Plischke in New Zealand – Building for a New Utopia (1939–1963)', in A. Sarnitz and E. B. Ottillinger (eds), *Ernst Plischke: Modern Architecture for the New World* (Munich, 2004), pp. 135–201.

Figure 10.14. Sutch house, Todman Street, Brooklyn, Wellington (1957), by Ernst Plischke for W. B. Sutch (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, Ref: 1/2-199947-F).

New Zealand's centenary in 1940 was marked by three architecturally significant undertakings. The first of these was the restoration of James Busby's house at the Bay of Islands in the country's far north, whose grounds were the location of the signing in 1840 of the Treaty of Waitangi. The original Busby estate, including the house, was purchased in 1932 by Governor General Lord Bledisloe, and gifted to the nation. The second architectural marker of centenary was the building under Apirana Ngata's authority of Te Tiriti o Waitangi Whare Runanga adjacent to Busby's house, now known as the Treaty House—two highly stylized buildings from two elite canons apparently at ease with each other (Figure 10.15).[96] The third notable architectural gesture to centenary was the design by Edmund Anscombe (1874–1948) of buildings for the 1940 Centennial Exhibition in Wellington, in an Art Deco manner, the ambition of which was constrained by the exigencies of wartime (see Plate 20). More broadly, the centenary—and a sense of isolation and distance exacerbated by war—led to reflection on the country's history and achievements to date vis-à-vis it colonial past.

[96] D. Skinner, *The Carver and the Artist: Maori Art in the Twentieth Century* (Auckland, 2009), pp. 27–41.

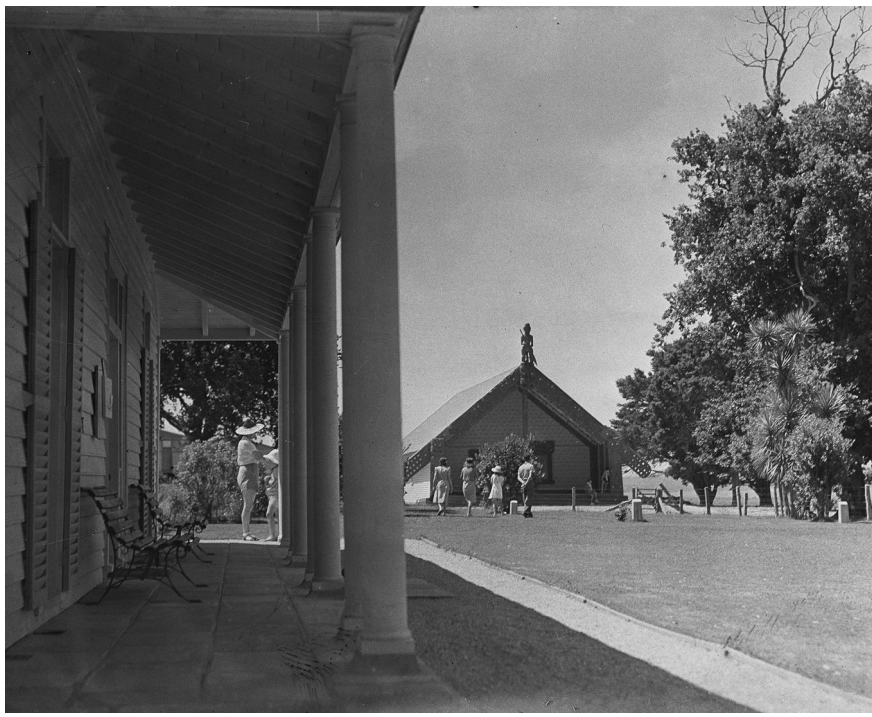

Figure 10.15. View of the verandah of the Treaty House, Waitangi, New Zealand, looking east across the grounds and including the meeting-house (Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, Ref: WA-10335-G).

In the post-war years optimism about the future was linked to this retrospective, and somewhat nationalist tone. In 1947 Plischke published *Design and Living*, a book about the design of modern houses that looked to the earliest period of New Zealand's European settlement (to pre-Victorian buildings such as the Treaty House) to find a local antecedent for the abstraction and Modernism he advocated. Though they admired Plischke, the country's young architects of the 1940s saw more particular lessons about the New Zealand condition when they looked back to the 'pioneers'. The new generation wanted Modernism, but they also wanted an architecture that would be particular to New Zealand. This was expressed clearly in a manifesto put together in 1946 by students at the Auckland School of Architecture, who styled themselves the 'Architectural Group'. Titled 'On the Necessity for Architecture', their manifesto claimed 'We New Zealanders live in a chaos of unplanned speculative building under an unthinking, self-seeking system of land subdivision . . . our homes are ill-planned, graceless and monotonous in their petty variety. . . . We know there is another way of living. . . . Because we want this in New Zealand, overseas solutions will not do. New Zealand must have its own architecture, its own sense of what is beautiful and appropriate to our

climate and conditions.'[97] This plea for a 'local' Modern architecture was in keeping with calls for regionally inflected Modernisms elsewhere, most famously in Lewis Mumford's 1947 defence of California's Bay Region style as an alternative to the new monumentality being promoted by Sigfried Giedion and others.[98] Like other architects in New Zealand, the Group were mindful of the emerging patterns of regionally inflected Modern architecture in California and Scandinavia. Seeking international endorsement, they sent their manifesto to Richard Neutra in Los Angeles.

Members of the Group went on to build a number of houses in the 1950s and 1960s with concrete slab floors, unpainted timber claddings and interiors, and long, low-pitched roofs. The 1950s also saw an ongoing debate about what New Zealand architecture was and what it had achieved. Calling on a putative virtue of 'straightforwardness', as perceived in early settler buildings, farm sheds, baches, and sometimes even Māori *whare*, this debate emphasized the small, single family house as the highest achievement of New Zealand architecture.[99] This local discourse did not stop architects from reading journals and books from elsewhere, adopting new forms, or travelling and working internationally. But it did mean that international ideas were now filtered through a local architectural culture that tended to disavow the significance of urban issues (though these were nevertheless widely aired in the 1950s). Samuel Hurst Seager's comment from 1900 that New Zealand architecture had no style of its own, 'no distinctive forms of art', still held. But when in the 1950s and 1960s New Zealand architects like Miles Warren and John Scott adopted English brutalism, this could be legitimated in relation to the local virtue of straightforwardness exemplified in the work of the Group.[100]

Viewed from the perspective of the early twenty-first century, perhaps the most distinctive feature of New Zealand's architectural development has been its extraordinary rapidity. In little over a century the halting attempts of British settlers to adapt imported building technologies to local conditions had been replaced by a developed architectural culture that embraced both the stylistic and technological dimensions of modernity. For Māori, the challenge of responding to this settler invasion also resulted, within a similarly compressed time frame, in the development of new building types and the adoption of Western building technology. While general agreement on the precise nature of New Zealand architecture remains elusive, it was nevertheless fitting that Scott, the architect of the Futuna Chapel in Wellington (1961), was one of the first Māori to be trained in the academic discipline of architecture.[101] At Futuna the architecture of the colonial and

[97] 'On the Necessity for Architecture: The Manifesto of the Architectural Group', in D. Lloyd-Jenkins (ed.), *New Dreamland: Writing New Zealand Architecture* (Auckland, 2005), pp. 142–45. See also J. Gatley (ed.), *Group Architects: Towards a New Zealand Architecture* (Auckland, 2010).

[98] L. Mumford, 'The Skyline (Bay Region Style)' (first published 1947), in J. Ockman (ed.), *Architecture Culture 1943–1968: A Documentary Anthology* (New York, 1993), pp. 108–9.

[99] J. Clark and P. Walker, *Looking for the Local: Architecture and the New Zealand Modern* (Wellington, 2000).

[100] M. Warren, 'Style in New Zealand Architecture', *New Zealand Architect*, no. 3 (1978), pp. 2–15.

[101] R. Walden, *Voices of Silence: New Zealand's Chapel of Futuna* (Wellington, 1987).

the modern worlds, the indigenous and the Western traditions, were brought together in a fruitful synthesis, linking New Zealand's architectural past to its future.

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11

Sub-Saharan Africa

Iain Jackson and Ola Uduku

The continent of Africa has a vast and rich architectural heritage. Scholarship on the subject has focused mainly on diverse vernacular traditions, much of which have been covered in archaeological and anthropological research, particularly housing.[1] The region's architectural history in general, however, is far less developed. Despite the appearance of some ambitious tomes containing examples from Africa, such as John Donat's *World Architecture* (1966), and the small number of general surveys prefaced with extensive introductions, including Udo Kultermann's *New Directions in African Architecture* (1969)—both written in the post-independence era—little overarching analysis has emerged. To be sure, extensive surveys were conducted during the colonial period, and photographic studies of African and European buildings made by the likes of the Basel Mission; but, again, no systematic studies or comprehensive architectural 'histories' were produced. More recently, a number of journal articles have appeared, along with some broader surveys, such as Nnamdi Elleh's *African Architecture* (1996), offering a wide encyclopedic approach. Antoni Folkers' *Modern Architecture in Africa* takes a more thematic stance, raising important questions on preservation and monument care. Southern and anglophone West Africa have exploited the existence of architectural journals produced in those regions, such as the *South African Architectural Record* (1925) and the *West African Builder and Architect* (1950s–1970). More recently the release of official records following periods of censorship has facilitated further scholarship and enabled more critical discussion to develop.

South African scholars especially have developed numerous surveys, city studies, and monographs on the architectural development of Sub-Saharan Africa. This is in contrast to other parts of Africa where the historiography has taken a more quixotic and romantic form, focusing on architecture as an 'improving' Western intervention, employed specifically to 'save' the 'noble African', and as a cultural process designed to elevate communities from their 'primitive' origins to a Western, civilized mode of living. Even as late as the mid-twentieth century travel writers

[1] e.g. P. Oliver, *Shelter in Africa* (London, 1971); S. Denyer, *African Traditional Architecture* (Nairobi, 1977); J. C. Moughtin, *Hausa Architecture* (London, 1985); Z. R. Dmochowski, *An Introduction to Nigerian Traditional Architecture*, 2 vols (London, 1990); L. Prussin, *African Nomadic Architecture: Space, Place and Gender* (Washington, 1995); and M. Velligna et al., *Atlas of Vernacular Architecture of the World* (Abingdon, 2007).

were offering some insight into how West Africa was viewed. For example, Elspeth Huxley noted that 'Nigeria has no style or tradition either to inspire or constrain. The architects had a true *carte blanche*.'[2]

In many ways the history of architecture in Sub-Saharan Africa aligns with this characterization, particularly in Britain's former colonies. More specifically, the story of West African architecture has been presented primarily through the works of a handful of leading avant-garde architects, which has tended to obscure an entire body of work produced by the PWD, and others outside the popular architecture firmament. Although no doubt inspired by admirable intentions, the focus on these architects in both the contemporary professional press and subsequent historiography has meant that much interesting work went largely unreported. However, those architects that did manage to attract the interest of the British architectural press were granted extraordinary coverage. Entire editions of journals were devoted to British architects working overseas, and West Africa featured heavily in this reportage.[3] The seductive black-and-white photographs with exaggerated contrast, deep shadows, and striking bold forms offered a glimpse into an exotic tropical otherness, far removed from the austerity of post-war Britain and its 'starchy English diet of schools and housing'.[4] Publications such as Jane Drew's *Village Housing in the Tropics: With Special Reference to West Africa* (1947), also stoked interest in the problems of designing in hot climates. In other regions, however, including Central Africa, and much of francophone Africa, there was more limited coverage and research. Furthermore, there are linguistic barriers to accessing the information that is available. The heterogeneous nature and differential development of the continent also makes a comprehensive survey of this nature difficult to achieve successfully. For these reasons, what follows here is an account of African architecture with limitations in coverage, that attempts a general survey of buildings with public, commercial, and domestic significance, across identified, predominantly anglophone, regions of the continent.

SOUTH AFRICA

Although substantial fortresses were built on the West African coast (at Cape Coast and Elmina, for example) following the circumnavigation of the continent in the sixteenth century, it was Southern Africa that received the most sustained, non-indigenous settlement and architectural development in Africa. Of note is the original Dutch establishment of Cape Town and its fortress in 1679. As this part of the continent was under Dutch control until 1807, after which the British took over,

[2] E. Huxley, *Four Guineas: A Journey through West Africa* (London, 1954), p. 186.

[3] 'Kumasi Special Issue', *Arena: Architectural Association Journal*, vol. 82 (July–August 1966); J. McKay Spence, 'The New Role of the Architect in the Tropics', *Architectural Association Journal* (hereafter *AA Journal*), vol. 71 (July–August 1955); G. A. Atkinson, 'British Architects in the Tropics', *AA Journal*, vol. 69 (June 1953) pp. 7–21; M. Fry, 'Town Planning in West Africa', *The Architects' Year Book*, no.1 (1947), p. 72; M. Fry, 'Town Planning in West Africa', *African Affairs*, vol. 45 (1946), pp. 197–204.

[4] Atkinson, 'British Architects in the Tropics', pp. 7–21.

the earlier development of substantial homesteads such as Groot Constantia (*c.*1792) and Stellenberg (*c.*1742) are identifiable by their characteristic pedimented gables and U-shaped planning arrangement (see Figure 6.1). However, once in British hands, Cape architecture began leaning more towards English tastes, with architects in South Africa consciously adopting styles and methods from 'home' to inform their aesthetic choices.

For example, the ubiquitous St Martin-in-the-Fields appears in Cradock by the 1860s, alongside numerous other churches built in a variety of Gothic and classical styles to suit denominational palates, and coinciding with the formation of the Transvaal and Orange Free State.[5] The Royal Observatory, designed by Sir John Rennie in 1821, also adopted the styles popular in England at the time, with its strong 'Georgian' cubic forms and heavy Doric portico. Other prominent buildings in Britain also informed designs in South Africa, such as the Library at Cape Town, which supposedly borrowed from the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, completed just ten years earlier in 1848. Leeds Town Hall (1853–8), with its central domed tower, was also a favoured type that seemed to fit the architectural ambitions of the colony, with variants deployed at Port Elizabeth City Hall (1894) and Cape Town City Hall (Reid and Green, 1905; Figure 11.1). A loose and informal classical approach was used for these large buildings, eager to suggest historical refinement as well as recent success. The town hall designs edge towards the baroque and display eclectic faience flourishes with their corners frequently embellished with campanile-cum-clock towers or monumental domes, as at Pietermaritzburg Town Hall (1891) and City Hall, Durban (begun 1906).

Of similar architectural interest were the schools and colleges built to educate the settler elites' offspring before departing to Oxbridge for further education. These include Bishops Diocesan College, Rondebosch, Cape Town (begun 1850), by William White, the schooling arrangements of which were inspired by Radley College in Abingdon, England; St John's College, Johannesburg (founded 1898), the main campus buildings of which were built to Oxford 'quad' layouts by Herbert Baker; and Michaelhouse, Natal (founded 1896), also by Baker (Figure 11.2).[6] Furthermore, design influences from Britain could also be seen at local school level in cities such as Cape Town, where the architectural firm Parker and Forsyth are credited with the construction of both the West End (Chapel Street) and East End (Trafalgar High) Schools (both *c.*1910). These are reputed to be the finest schools in Cape Town and built in an Edwardian style in English red brick with separate boys and girls entrances and

[5] For church architecture generally in South Africa, see D. Radford, 'South African Christian Architecture', in R. Elphick and R. Davenport (eds), *Christianity in South Africa: A Political, Social & Cultural History* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 327–36. For Anglican architecture, see G. A. Bremner, '*Pro Fide et Patria*: Anglicanism and Ecclesiastical Architecture in Central and Southern Africa, 1848–1903', in F. Demissie (ed.), *Colonial Architecture and Urbanism in Africa: Intertwined and Contested Histories* (Aldershot, 2012), pp. 239–76.

[6] P. Hawthorne and B. Bristow, *Historic Schools of South Africa* (Cape Town, 1993). For White, see G. Hunter, *William White: Pioneer Victorian Architect* (Reading, 2010), pp. 47–65.

Figure 11.1. Cape Town City Hall, Cape Town (1905), by Reid and Green.

ventilation towers (for educational architecture and empire, see Chapter 5, pp. 184–95).

The discovery of underground seams of gold in Witwatersrand in 1886 transformed the entire region, resulting in the creation of the completely new city of Johannesburg. The city was laid out on a rectangular grid to aid the transaction of land sales prompting a young war correspondent, Winston Churchill, to comment, 'we had marched nearly 500 miles through a country which, though full of promise, seemed to European eyes desolate and wild, and now we turned a corner suddenly, and there before us sprang the evidence of wealth, manufacture and bustling civilisation'.[7] Indeed, this was not an imperial, civilizing or faith-based aspect of colonialism, but perhaps the dominant driver of all colonial activity—the pursuit of resource extraction and wealth. Invariably wealth manifests itself through public display, and architecture is surely one of the most conspicuous modes of exhibiting success and fortune. Thus, the unpretentiously named Johannesburg rapidly grew with arcades, offices, railways, and banking halls.

A prominent example of this new-found wealth and its architectural consequences is the Italian Palazzo-style Beresford House, Johannesburg (1925–7),

[7] E. Rosenthal in A. Macmillan (ed.), *Environs of the Golden City and Pretoria* (Cape Town, 1935), p. 11.

Figure 11.2. Michaelhouse, Diocesan College of Natal, Balgowan, Natal (founded 1896). Buildings planned on a quadrangle system were begun in 1901–2 to designs by M. B. Price and F. M. Kent. Herbert Baker was responsible for the chapel and ancillary buildings completed in 1909 (RIBA Library Photographs Collection).

designed by Frederick Williamson (1890–1945), with its projecting canopy at first floor level offering solar shade to the large facade of glazing, over which the stone palace above seems to float (Figure 11.3). Speculation and rising land prices forced higher density construction. The result was that multi-storey buildings such as Union House (*c.*1932), by Stucke, Harrison and Williamson, began to dominate the skyline. Union House is a stripped classical ten-storey commercial development clad in stone, projecting into a tower at the corner and stepped back at cornice level, looking more to American developments than reticent commercial work of the United Kingdom. There was an apparent urgency in the new city of Johannesburg to break with past architectural convention. This was coupled with the wealth necessary to take risks both in terms of construction and aesthetic choices. The rate of development prompted a town planning scheme for the city in 1936 outlining density levels of twenty Europeans per acre, along with road widths and building height ratios. Although the architectural technologies and methods may have been advanced, the politics were not. Like so many other examples of colonial urban development around the British empire, the scheme included a series of open spaces and tree-belts that acted as a 'buffer' between the cities and outlying non-European townships.

Figure 11.3. Beresford House, Johannesburg (1925–7), by Frederick Williamson.

'HURRAH FOR DESPOTISM'

It is impossible to discuss South Africa without including Herbert Baker (1862–1945). An architect of prolific output, he arrived in the Cape from London in 1892, eager to 'transform South Africa out of all recognition and create a modern Dominion inside the British Empire'.[8] After completing several commercial buildings in Cape Town he moved to Johannesburg in 1902 where he designed over '300 houses' in a variety of styles, thus contributing to the domestic architecture of the region like no other architect before or since. Baker also designed a number of churches in what he described as a 'primitive style of architecture', such as St John the Divine, Randfontein (1905). His country houses were opulent and stylistically diverse but nearly always with classical undertones and grandiose timber-panelled interiors. Others were informed by artisan trades, following a broad Arts and Crafts ethos. He was a devotee of Cecil Rhodes (designing the 'Hellenic' Rhodes memorial in Cape Town at Table Mountain in 1912; see Figure 3.8) and believed wholeheartedly in Britain's imperial 'mission'. This imperial dimension was perhaps most forcibly expressed in Pretoria in the Union Buildings that overlook the town and the surrounding districts (Figure 11.4).[9] This complex, built as an administrative centre, as well as in commemoration of the Anglo-Boer union of Cape Colony and Republics, was started in 1910 and largely completed by 1913, in time for Baker to work with his old colleague and collaborator Edwin Lutyens on the New Delhi project in India, which shares a similar language and architectural agenda, albeit on a much larger scale (see Chapter 3, pp. 111–17). For Baker the Union Buildings were to give 'dignity and beauty to the instrument of government', as '[a]dministrative offices of a Nation should, even more than other

[8] C. Chipkin, *Johannesburg Style: Architecture and Society 1880s–1960s* (Cape Town, 1993), p. 39.
[9] T. R. Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and the British Raj* (London, 1989), pp. 180–99. See also, M. Keath, 'Visions of Greatness: Herbert Baker's Imperial Idealism and the Union Buildings', *Architecture South Africa* (May/June 1989), pp. 35–6.

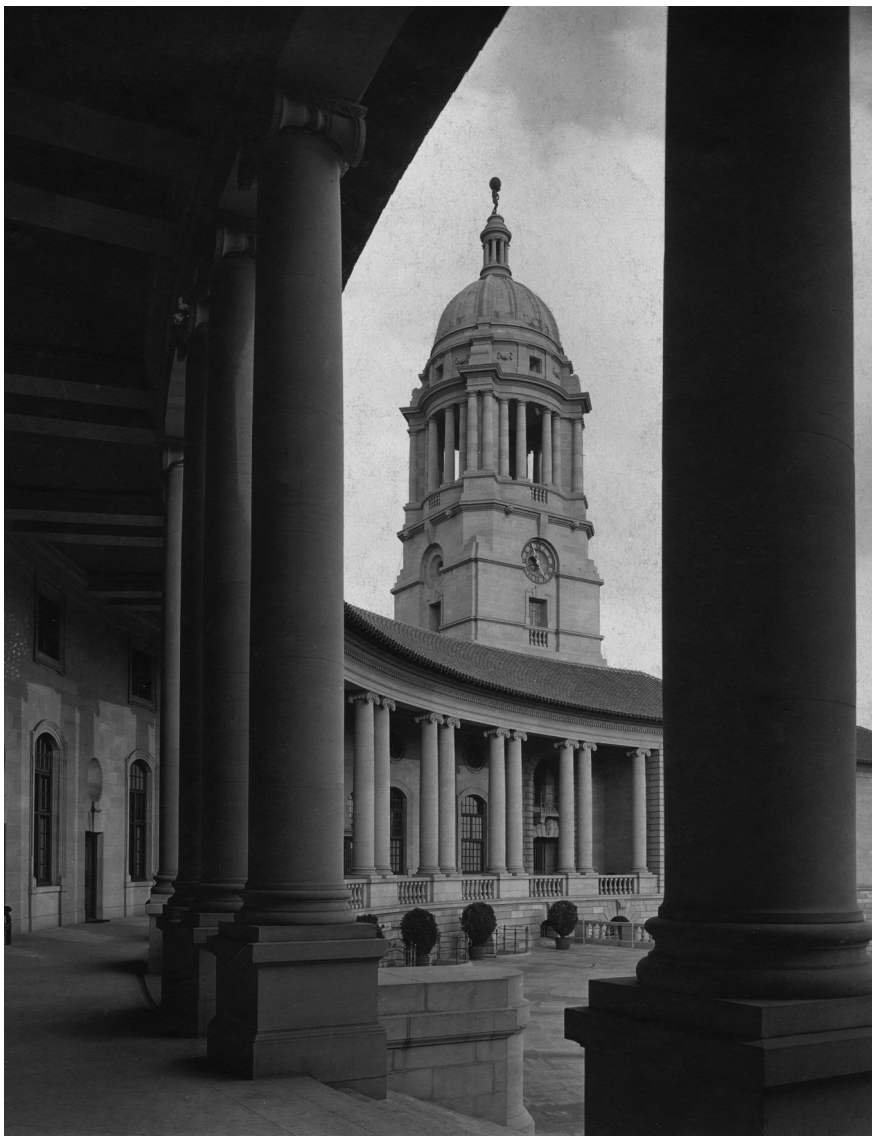

Figure 11.4. 'Dignity and beauty to the instrument of Government': Union Buildings, Pretoria (1910–13), by Herbert Baker (RIBA Library Photographs Collection).

Buildings, exhibit the "Attributes of the Eternal", which Christopher Wren said were the essential characteristics of all great Architecture'.[10]

[10] Baker quoted in Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision*, p. 193. See also Baker's own *Architecture and Personalities* (London, 1944), pp. 20–62, 216–22.

In this Baker was not aiming to produce an architecture that was in anyway African; rather, the outcome was a cascading series of classical monuments that adorn stepped terraces centred upon an amphitheatre, establishing 'in clear, unambiguous terms claims for British hegemony over Africa south of the Sahara'.[11] There was also an attempt to represent symbolically the unity of four colonies from two nations, being brought together and centred around the (unbuilt) Temple of Peace. Of course, the African nations and tribes (and substantial Indian population) are conspicuously absent from the composition (see Chapter 3, pp. 107–11).

Baker also wrote the introduction to the catalogue for the RIBA Exhibition of Dominion and Colonial Architecture in 1926, noting that, 'it will be of interest to study what influences elemental and often pioneer conditions and different climates may have upon architecture of the new world or Greater Britain'.[12] It was a telling statement, whilst acknowledging that materials, skills and climate undoubtedly influence an architectural proposal, the architecture should still pay duty to expressing an imagined or curated 'British' quality. Several buildings were exhibited from South Africa, including work at Witwatersrand University by Cowin and Powers (with Emley) in 1920. Frederick Williamson was later invited to join the practice and introduced pre-cast concrete blocks at the University used in a rather triumphant classical manner in the library (1933).

TRANSVAAL MODERNISM

The links between South Africa and the United Kingdom remained strong at this time, particularly in terms of architectural education and field trips around Europe. William Holford (1907–75), for example, worked for Cowin, Powers and Ellis before studying at Liverpool School of Architecture in 1925, later returning to oversee the planning of Durban and Pretoria after World War II. Many others did the same, including Adriaan Low Meiring (1904–79), who would go on to found the first School of Architecture in Pretoria in 1943, and the more progressive Max Policansky (1909–2003), who designed the sleek Judge Clothing and Cavalla Cigarette factories in Cape Town in 1936 (Figure 11.5). These links with Europe brought many emerging architects into contact with the avant-garde, particularly Le Corbusier, who had a significant impact on Rex Martienssen (1909–42) and Normal Hanson (1909–91). Others, such as the Cowin brothers, were less convinced by the claims of European Modernism, but still sought a new approach to design and construction. Douglas Cowin (fl. 1930s–1950s) won the Rand Daily Mail Ideal Homes Competition in 1934 with a Miesian inspired pavilion.[13] Martienssen was a formidable force at the new Witwatersrand school of architecture and designed the Corbusian-influenced House Stern in Johannesburg in 1934

[11] Chipkin, *Johannesburg Style*, p. 59.

[12] This exhibition was held at the RIBA galleries, 9 Conduit Street, London, between 19 October and 17 November 1926, See *Exhibition of Dominion and Colonial Architecture* (London, 1926), p. 2.

[13] See *South African Architectural Record* (October 1934), p. 266.

Figure 11.5. Judge Clothing Factory and Cavalla Cigarette Factory, Cape Town (1936), by Max Policansky.

(along with Fassler and Cooke), closely following the five points, with a carefully polished concrete finish.[14]

WEST AFRICA

Whereas South Africa was a European settler colony, subsequently receiving investment for significant building projects, other parts of Africa were viewed, initially at least, as mere trading ports with a minimum level of infrastructure, construction, and certainly without the pomp and exaggerated monumentality that took place in the Rand. Vast coastal fortresses had been constructed between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries to facilitate the triangular slave trade (see Chapter 1, p. 29; see also Figure 1.4). However, since the abolition of slavery, West Africa experienced substantial periods of political stability and economic growth. During this period from the late eighteenth century onwards, modest housing was a more familiar

[14] See G. Herbert, *Martienssen and the International Style: The Modern Movement in South African Architecture* (Cape Town, 1975).

Figure 11.6. Bungalow on 6th Avenue, Victoriaborg, Accra (*c.*1900).

sight, constructed along with trading bases, ports, and buildings funded by missionary organizations (Figure 11.6).

Initially, this was very much an unregulated and haphazard form of development, lacking any real sense of coherent planning, including sanitary provision, until the later initiation of colonial town planning ordinances. Christian missionary organizations—mainly but not exclusively the CMS, the Methodist and Presbyterian missions—produced some of the largest structures in Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, and Nigeria, largely in the form of churches, assembly halls, and schools. These structures were basic in design, utilizing materials either locally available or carried in ship ballast for construction. Later, structures would include prefabricated iron kits imported from Glasgow or Liverpool.[15] The most prominent schools were among those founded by the CMS, such as Fourah Bay College (Sierra Leone, *c.*1900), and the British Colonial government's advanced secondary colleges, including Achimota College (Legon, Gold Coast, 1924), with its campanile clock tower topped with a chateau-like roof, and King's College, Lagos (est. 1909)—both erected by the PWD. Missionary organizations were also responsible for the founding of educational institutions in the Gold Coast, at Mfantsipim (Methodist, 1876), and at Adisadel, Cape Coast (Anglican, 1910), and Akropong (buildings date from 1927), near Accra, with sparsely

[15] The most famous foundries in Glasgow were the Carron Company, Lion Foundry, and Walter McFarlane's Saracen Foundry.

Figure 11.7. Maternity Hospital, Zanzibar (*c.*1926), by Philip Capes Harris.

decorated but impressive structures arranged in courts that dominated the surroundings from their remote hilltop locations.

The style was very much intended to remain distinct and removed from the villages. Hope Waddell College, Calabar (Nigeria), was designed and built by the Scottish Presbyterian Mission at a similar location, removed from the native tribes. It was a mix of elevated PWD bungalows with imported prefabricated structures. Whereas at Katsina, and Barewa Colleges, both in Northern Nigeria, traditional mud construction was used as a pragmatic solution rather than transporting Western building materials from the coast over 700 miles north, the cost of which would have been exorbitant. Furthermore, Sir Frederick Lugard (1858–1945) and others were ready to incorporate 'Islamic' culture, as well as its architecture, to facilitate the acceptance of British colonial rule and its infrastructure, including education, in Northern Nigeria. Others elsewhere in Africa also took a more sympathetic view towards the vernacular, such as Philip Capes Harris (b. 1891), who, working in the PWD in Zanzibar, attempted to reconcile the local styles with his own proposals, producing numerous studies on the Arab-influenced architecture of the island, which he then incorporated into the remodelling of the Sultan's Palace (1926–32). Some of this research was also applied to his design for another emerging building type, the hospital (Figure 11.7).[16]

Although these rather eccentric examples exist, the typical approach of the PWD was one of aloof disregard for the local. In addition to 'official architecture', there were some private practitioners, such as Hugh Minty, who designed the Colonial Bank in Kumasi (1924) using reinforced concrete and concrete blocks. Also in Kumasi, Minty designed a shop and residence for Chief Kobina Mensah—a

[16] P. C. Harris, *RIBA Journal*, vol. 32 (April 1925), pp. 341–5. For more on this phenomenon, see also the career of John Sinclair in S. Longair, *Cracks in the Dome: Fractured Histories of Empire in the Zanzibar Museum, 1897–1964* (Farnham, 2015).

rather grand two-storey building arranged in three bays complete with loggia and bracketed cornice.[17]

Of the four British colonies in West Africa, the Gold Coast (later Ghana) was usually the 'pilot' colony, where ideas were tested and explored. It also had substantial business links with Britain, dominated by the United Africa Company and other such conglomerates, as well as smaller firms like Lever Brothers and Patterson Zochonis, who dealt in a variety of commodities from timber and general produce through to gold and manganese mining.[18] Lever would eventually go on to develop Leverville (now Lusanga) in Belgium controlled Congo, an illustration of the power and influence private business maintained throughout foreign as well as British controlled territories in Sub-Saharan Africa.

PLANNING AND SANITATION

This lack of considered planning resulted in Herbert V. Lanchester (who had been working in Zanzibar) writing to the Colonial Office in 1926 noting the paucity of adequate built infrastructure, as well as the disparity that was emerging between the Dominions and the Colonies:

> [T]here is at present no provision for laying out the growing towns in the colonies on the lines recognized in Europe, America, and most of our Dominions. In all such places there should be a definite plan defining the areas suited to commerce, industry and for the various classes of residents. . . .[19]

His concerns were addressed at Takoradi, in Ghana, which had developed into a major port, with an integrated railway network leading to the mines of Tarkwa and to the interior cash crop territories. The dockland developments were mainly utilitarian stores and bonded warehouses, although the railway terminus had a tepid Bakeresque feel (as does the General Post Office in Accra), and several banking offices were built in a designated commercial district of the town in a *moderne*, almost Art Deco, style in the early 1930s (Figure 11.8).[20]

Takoradi seems to be something of an exception, or model development. European housing expanded in the south-west of the town laid out in a meandering picturesque plan to house large bungalows, but the centre of the town planned in the mid-1920s adopted a strong 'cart-wheel' arrangement of interconnected boulevards centred on a circular hub, labelled on the plans as the 'African Township'. A golf course divided the African from the European areas. The plan largely adhered to what the Colonial Office later advocated for all new developments:

[17] See 'Colonial Bank, Coomassie, Ashanti', *The Architect*, vol. 112 (3 October 1924), pp. 206–7; and 'Proposed Bungalow at Kumasi, Ashanti', *The Architect*, vol. 114 (25 December 1925), p. 456.

[18] A. Macmillan (ed.), *Red Book of West Africa* (London, 1920; new impression 1968).

[19] See Letter from H. V. Lanchester to Mr Ormsby-Gore Colonial Office, 11 July 1923, National Archives, Kew: CO 323/909.

[20] See the film *Takoradi Harbour and Railway Terminus, 1921–1928* (Gold Coast Colony, 1928).

Figure 11.8. Railway Terminus, Takoradi (1928), Ghana, by Public Works Department.

> In the case of town planning in West Africa, things have been considerably hampered by the lack of money, by the tendency of native towns to grow up haphazard, by the opposition of the local mercantile community to anything like the provision of a European quarter, and more than anything else by the demands of the Medical Sanitary Department. As you know, the idea laid down by the medical authorities is, a native town, a blank space of 440 yards at least, a business quarter, another blank space of 440 yards or so, and then a European residential quarter; the spaces of 440 yards being for choice a howling wilderness, the idea above all things, being an expanse of smooth concrete entailing no sort of hole where water can gather and mosquitos breed.[21]

The author of this memorandum at least had the awareness to suggest this approach was 'the complete negation of town planning, and is only possible where there is unlimited space and land does not cost much. . . . It never occurred to anybody that this sort of thing was rather unfair and in many ways impracticable.'[22]

In nearby Sekondi a ruined PWD Post Office still survives, wonderfully panelled on the interior 'to form a display of the various Gold Coast timbers, each panel being of a different variety and neatly labelled with the commercial and local names of the timber used'.[23] Although the PWD produced some exceptionally

[21] 'Town Planning in the Colonies', 1930, National Archives, Kew: CO 323/1080/9.
[22] *Ibid*.
[23] Letter from Post Master General to the Acting Colonial Secretary, Victoriaburg, Accra, Public Records and Archives Administration Department (PRAAD), Accra: C.S.O. 14/3 42.

Figure 11.9. Post Office, Ibadan (*c.*1910), Nigeria, by Public Works Department.

mediocre buildings, the Post Office described above also demonstrated how they could sometimes be sensitive to the local, and even extravagant, depending on which official was in charge. No doubt this diversity in approach and quality led to the formation of prescribed building standards that could also be financially efficient and easily replicated. The PWD produced a set of publications that were based on empirical knowledge gathered 'in the field' and written not as a single coherent volume but in parts or chapters, each concerned with a specific building type or design consideration that evolved with skills, experience, and technology. The manuals were used to teach and instruct, giving details on writing style, drawing equipment, and best practice in an attempt to establish a disciplined department not reliant on the expertise and knowledge of any one individual but, rather, on a set of draughtsmen and architects who could be allocated to any project and pick up where another had left off.[24] The Post Office at Ibadan shows one of the variations on the PWD Post Office theme, designed *c.*1910, although, in this case, it does not conform to any of the published types suggesting that there was still latitude for creativity and expression within the PWD (Figure 11.9).

Towns were ranked according to size and importance, and different classes/types of buildings were built according to each town's classification. The PWD guidebooks reveal a variety of different solutions for three main building types: hospitals, post offices, and police stations. Indeed, these three types were the bare

[24] For example, see *Departmental Regulations,* Public Works Department, Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria, Lagos, 1911; *Information Book: Hospitals and Dispensaries*, Public Works Department, Nigeria, 1939; *Information Book: Post Offices*, Nigeria Public Works Department, 1946.

minimum required to govern—that is, places to maintain health, communication, and order. The PWD also produced a guide to the selection of sites which contained the well-known 'ideal plan' for colonial townships, and its clearly articulated desire to separate the colonized from the colonizers with large tracts of open space, as the golf course had achieved in Takoradi.[25] The bungalows were mainly designed with large projecting eaves that provided shelter to the porch and colonnaded logia below, but there were other variants produced that introduced the 'local vernacular' style rendered in mud with flat roofs and projecting crenellations at cornice level—an approach that sought to blend in, as well as using local skills and materials.

Whilst most of the planning and architecture sought to improve the health and comfort of the European populations by the late 1920s, a significant policy emerged that began to address the 'development' of the indigenous populations with the aim of stimulating economic growth in the colonies. This was likewise intended 'to promote commerce with, or industry in, the United Kingdom.'[26] Disasters and emergencies also accelerated change, such as an outbreak of plague in Kumasi in 1924, prompting the government to build 684 new dwellings. Various attempts were also made to address the slum problems in Accra in the 1930s.[27] The 1939 Accra earthquake resulted in some government housing provision in the city, but generally, development was slow and reluctant, even with the establishment of a 'Town Improvement Committee'.[28] Lord Passfield sent out a circular letter from the Colonial Office to the colonies encouraging the employment of planning officers, noting:

> I have been giving consideration to the question of town and regional planning . . . careful planning of this nature is essential to the fullest and healthiest development of which any particular area is capable . . . fortunately the technical personnel for giving this advice is now available, and there should be no difficulty in obtaining qualified men when they are required . . . these sources are those such as are provided by the Diploma in Town Planning of the London and Liverpool Universities, and the examination recently instituted by the Town Planning Institute. I therefore request that you will give your sympathetic consideration to this subject, particularly with regard to the desirability of appointing a Regional Planning Officer in all cases where considerable development of residential, commercial, industrial or transport conditions can be foreseen.[29]

[25] *Selection of Sites for Towns and Government Residential Areas* (Lagos, 1939). For an extended discussion, see A. Njoh, *Planning Power: Town Planning and Social Control in Colonial Africa* (London, 2007), p. 59; A. Njoh, *Urban Planning and Public Health in Africa; Historical, Theoretical and Practical Dimensions of a Continent's Water and Sanitation Problematic* (Farnham, 2012), p. 202; B. Liora, *A History of Urban Planning in Two West Africa Colonial Capitals: Residential Segregation in British Lagos and French Dakar (1850–1930)* (Lewiston, 2009); and R. Home, 'Town Planning, Segregation and Indirect Rule in Colonial Nigeria', *Third World Planning Review*, vol. 5 (1983), pp. 165–75.

[26] As quoted in 'Statement of Policy on Colonial Development and Welfare', Colonial Office (London, 1940), p. 5.

[27] 'Slum Clearance and Welfare Work', 1938, National Archives, Kew: CO96/752/12.

[28] *Ibid*.

[29] Lord Passfield, 'Circular sent to all colonies from Colonial Office, 18th September 1930, Town Planning in the Colonies 1930', National Archives, Kew: CO 323/1080/9.

These subtle prompts and rousings had by 1946 evolved into a new Department of Housing in Ghana, with the powers to acquire land and prescribe building standards.[30] It was hoped that by increasing commerce with the colonies the significant trade deficit that had steadily increased in the United Kingdom after World War I would be reduced, and that British manufacturing, products, expertise, and shipping would receive a significant boost. Construction was ideal in this regard as it utilized all of the above, and whilst the colonies were the beneficiaries in terms of gaining infrastructure and buildings, the real investment was spent furthering British interests and businesses. Various other reports were commissioned in the run up to and during World War II specifically concerned with education. These were antecedents to the two Phelps Stokes Reports on Education (1921 and 1924),[31] which had helped frame the structure and spread of education in West and South Africa after World War I, including *Mass Education in African Society*,[32] and a report from the *Commission on Higher Education in West Africa*,[33] prompting a review of the existing limited provision. The rationale from the Colonial Office was that a colony must be able to educate its future leaders if it was ever to achieve political independence, and so a programme of school building to address this need was initiated, centred largely on Ghana and Nigeria.

Colonial architecture in East Africa emerged from a similar architectural past. Whilst segregation was not enforced as stringently as in southern Africa, there were separate residential quarters, aspirationally built central business district architecture, and significant social infrastructure projects covering schools, health centres, and other facilities. The significant difference to West Africa was that, like southern Africa, East African planners envisaged the presence of a permanent or long term settler population.[34] Similar trends existed in Portuguese owned Angola and Mozambique (for more on urban planning in British Africa, see Chapter 2, pp. 75–83).

TROPICAL MODERNISM

As outlined by Mark Crinson in Chapter 6, much of the impetus behind architectural 'development' in British Sub-Saharan Africa was for the creation of an architecture that would in some way mirror the region's transition to independence, and Modernism in this regard was seen as a 'neutral' replacement to previous 'colonial' styles of building.[35] Following a period serving in West Africa

[30] 'Social Housing in the Gold Coast', *Colonial Building Notes*, no. 2, September 1950.

[31] See *Phelps Stokes Reports on Education in Africa* (abridged with introduction by L. J. Lewis) (London, 1962).

[32] C. W. M. Cox, *Mass Education in African Society* (London, 1944).

[33] 'Report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa' (London, 1945).

[34] For this historical context, see W. Scholz et al. (chapter 5, pp. 67–94) and A. Nuzzaci (chapter 8, pp. 129–44) in N. Silva (ed.), *Urban Planning in Sub-Saharan Africa: Colonial and Post-Colonial Planning Cultures* (London, 2015).

[35] M. Crinson, *Modern Architecture and the End of Empire* (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 128–56. See also H. Le Roux, 'The Networks of Tropical Architecture', *Journal of Architecture*, vol. 8:3 (2003), pp. 337–54;

during World War II, Maxwell Fry was appointed Town Planning Advisor, and his wife, Jane Drew, as Chief of Staff to the British government.[36] Together they developed numerous town planning reports and recommendations for the region, as well as writing a seminal guidebook entitled *Village Housing in the Tropics* (1947).[37] They also collaborated with Alfred 'Bunny' Alcock on experimental, self-build housing estates in Kumasi, and were pioneers in seeking African opinion on planning and architecture.[38] Initially, most of Fry and Drew's work was pragmatic and based on organizational planning in the form of 'sketch plans' spanning across the entire region.[39] At Bathurst, the Gambia, for example, the practice provided new layouts for drains, which previously flooded and even flowed the wrong way.[40] However, Fry claimed there were no precedents to follow, neither 'in our own colonial buildings which were without character or the sort of response to natural conditions that we were seeking; nor in African building which taught us the value of shade but was of a passing order the beauty of which we could admire as it fell and decayed'.[41]

Despite this, he was invariably seduced by what he saw, describing Bathurst to Drew:

> how charming it is. White walls enclosing gardens, wide grass grown streets, white robed men and gorgeously dressed Jollof women, all moving as if [they] were in a dream. And a waterside road lined with colour washed old stone buildings with arcaded fronts on the one side and all sorts of delightful foreshore messes on the other.[42]

At Freetown Fry felt that a town plan was a 'complete luxury, until the port has a new deep water quay and a proper system of water storage'.[43] A plan had been prepared by the PWD as early as 1929 to improve the water supply, but remained unexecuted.[44] The matter was discussed in Parliament in 1944 with the Secretary

H. Le Roux, 'Building on the Boundary—Modern Architecture in the Tropics', *Social Identities*, vol. 10:4 (2004), pp. 439–53; and I. Jackson, 'Tropical Architecture and the West Indies: From Military Advances and Tropical Medicine, to Robert Gardner-Medwin and the Networks of Tropical Modernism', *The Journal of Architecture*, vol. 18:2 (2013), pp. 167–95.

[36] 'Maxwell Fry, Full Autobiography, 1985', RIBA Archive: F&D/20/2, p. 89.

[37] J. Drew and M. Fry (with H. L. Ford), *Village Housing in the Tropics* (London, 2014 [first published 1947]). See also Fry, 'Town Planning in West Africa' (1946), pp. 197–204; M. Fry and B. Benson, 'Draft Townplanning Scheme for Bathurst and the Kombo Area', Office of the Townplanning, West Africa, 1946 (written in 1944); and M. Fry, 'Developing "the Most Beautiful Town in West Africa"', *West African Review* (June 1946), p. 625.

[38] 'Housing Schemes Kumasi, 1945–6', National Archives, Kew: CO96/781/1.

[39] Fry, 'Town Planning in West Africa' (1946), p. 197.

[40] The planning problems of Bathurst were discussed in Parliament in 1949, and described as 'frustrating'. It appears the plans were not being executed. See <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1949/feb/24/gambia-development>, accessed 25 October 2014.

[41] 'Fry's Memoires', RIBA Archive: F&D/14/4, p. 16.

[42] 'Correspondence from Maxwell Fry to Jane Drew' (17 August 1944), RIBA Archive: F&D/18/19.

[43] Fry, 'Town Planning in West Africa' (1946), p. 198. Ships had to 'dock' at sea and rely on smaller boats to bring in and out the goods resulting in an inefficient and time consuming process.

[44] See 'Freetown: Canalisation of Streams and Surface Drainage' (Typescript Correspondence, Annotated, and Memoranda Relating to Public Works in Freetown, between Acting Governor Cookson in Sierra Leone and the Colonial Office), Colonial Office (London, 1929).

of State for the Colonies questioned over the 'failure to develop the harbour of Freetown to a standard worthy of the British Empire'.[45] Freetown still suffered from water shortages despite having the highest rainfall on the coast. It was this experience in West Africa, coupled with Fry's Modernist credentials, that made the Fry–Drew partnership an ideal one for the school building programme in Ghana and Nigeria.

Initially, they designed small extensions to the schools previously mentioned, quickly followed by substantial new-builds throughout the colony. Drew stated that the architectural character of their designs was generated by 'the sunbreakers, grilles and other shading but breeze-permitting devices', as well as a desire to 'design in a way which, without in any sense copying African detail, gives a response which is African'.[46] The forms were indebted to the PWD, but with subtle gestures such as the concrete balustrades and perforated screens incorporating local motifs. The schools all adopted similar planning arrangements centred on the assembly hall or chapel, flanked on either side by teaching and residential quarters with the administration facilities usually forming a ceremonial gateway. Staff housing lined the driveways approaching the school with 'compound' (courtyard) housing for the African staff and 'Bungalows' for the European staff. Principal among these projects are perhaps the Wesley Girls' School in Cape Coast (1955) and Prempeh College, Kumasi (1952–3), which have a more refined finish and carefully composed series of external 'spaces' (see Plate 21). Later on, they also designed several schools in Nigeria, including Holy Cross, Lagos (1960). Similar detailing and construction was adopted at Arya Girls' Senior School in Nairobi, designed by T. G. Gedrych and Peer Abben, that placed a linear and elevated horizontal block above rubble-stone walls. Other examples can be found throughout East Africa, such as the European Primary School, with its entire façade of pierced concrete walls, designed by C. A. Bransgrove at Dar es Salaam, and the School of Hygiene in Mbale, designed by John Falconer of Deans and Partners. Heavily indebted in plan to the Impington Village College arrangement, as well as Fry and Drew's balustrade patterns, it deploys a strong rhythmical façade arrangement of projecting and recessed blocks to provide shaded cover to study–bedroom balconies.

By the late 1940s Fry and Drew were considered experts in 'tropical' design and were eagerly recruited (although Herbert Baker and others were also considered) to design a new university college at Ibadan, after the recommendation of the *Commission on Higher Education in West Africa* (1945) and *Education for citizenship in Africa* (1948) reports.[47] Fry considered the University project the crowning achievement of his career, although he later severely critiqued his own use of lace-like concrete screens which had almost become 'tropical modern' clichés by that point. The plan is similar to the Ghanaian school layouts with a sweeping driveway that leads to a composition of administration block, tower, bookshop, and assembly

[45] <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1944/jul/12/sierra-leone-freetown-harbour>, accessed 25 October 2014.

[46] Drew, 'West Africa', pp. 137–49.

[47] See 'Copy of Minutes', National Archives, Kew: 33599/9/1/47, BW 90/309.

hall, all arranged around a courtyard. The assembly building, Trenchard Hall, was funded by the United Africa Company (UAC) and named after its chairman. The layout of the campus is very spread out to encourage cross-ventilation, but this approach does result in a lack of cohesiveness. The residential quarters are arranged in quadrangles overlooking gardens and communal buildings, all utilizing the concrete balustrades and screens and in some cases rather dramatic buildings such as Sultan Bello Hall, with its concrete dome. The library building stands out for its bold façade, not only providing shade but also becoming something of an emblem for a new type of architecture for a newly emerging nation. Air conditioning was initially considered but with the running costs proving too high, a concrete lattice screen was used to generate airflow and access corridors behind the screen provide further solar shade and a climatic buffer to the interior proper (Figure 11.10).[48]

George Pace (1915–75) designed the campus Chapel as a series of concrete parabolic arches and a free standing campanile, breaking away from the traditional mission hall style, utilizing the construction skills of Italian contractors. The Catholic church on campus, although more conventional in its form, incorporated numerous examples of African craft such as the carved timber doorway and interior

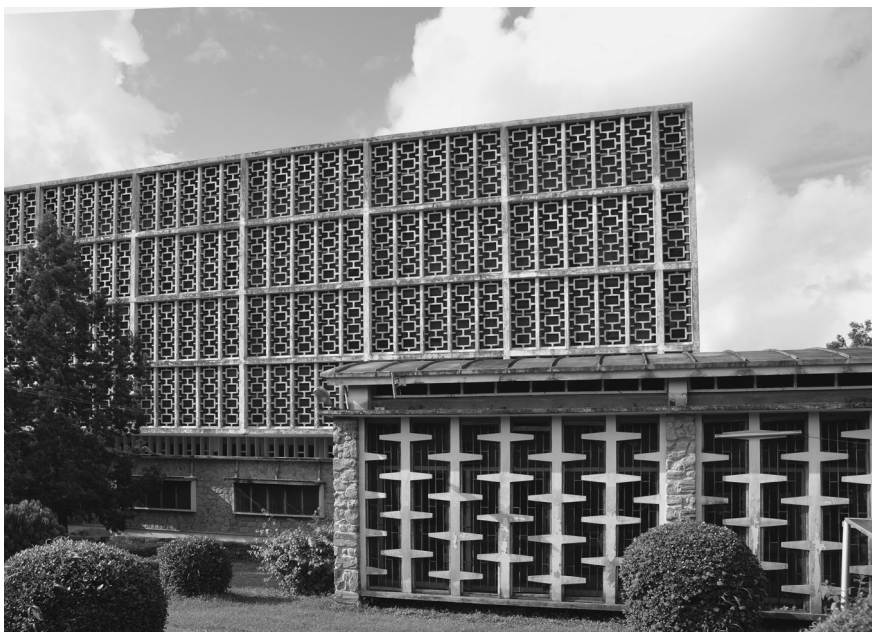

Figure 11.10. University of Ibadan Library, Ibadan (1955), Nigeria, by Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew.

[48] Letter from Walter Adams to G. A. Atkinson, 27 June 1950, National Archives, Kew: BW90/314 University College, Ibadan, Nigeria, June–Aug. 1950. For Fry and Drew in general, see I. Jackson and J. Holland, *The Architecture of Edwin Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew: Twentieth Century Architecture, Pioneer Modernism and the Tropics* (Aldershot, 2014).

Figure 11.11. University of Ibadan, Chapel, Ibadan (1955), Nigeria, by George Pace.

decoration (Figure 11.11). Universities were considered a prerequisite to gaining political independence and subsequently others were proposed elsewhere in Africa, including a University college in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia (1953), and the University of Ghana, Legon (founded in 1948). The campus in Ghana was designed by Austen St Barbe Harrison (1891–1976) and R. P. S. Hubbard (1910–65). With its steep tiled roofs and formal symmetrical arrangements, it invokes a sense of tradition and longstanding respectability, rather than the quest for newness and 'starting afresh'. In contrast, the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi (1953), designed by James Cubitt (1914–83) and Kenneth Scott (1918–82), offers a more radical tropical Modern approach (see Plate 22). The design (and environmental) principles developed by Fry and Drew were largely adhered to, but the architecture was generally of a lighter construction, and more delicately composed. Cubitt also integrated technological solutions of greater sophistication into his schemes, such as in the workshop building that deployed self-opening clerestory windows. The entire campus is an essay on how Modernism could be translated to suit the tropics, utilizing cross-ventilation, narrow plans, and lattice-wall structures, all executed in a precise and formalist vocabulary, leading the *Architectural Review* to describe it as 'grand manner, but not grandiose' (Figure 11.12).[49]

[49] 'Recent Buildings in the Gold Coast', *The Architectural Review*, vol. 119 (May 1956), pp. 230–41.

Figure 11.12. Senior Staff Club House, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Kumasi (1956), Ghana, by J. Owuso Addo, N. Ciko and M. Marasovic.

THE FLUIDITY OF KNOWLEDGE AND MOVEMENT OF PERSONNEL

The British empire was an interconnected, if disparate and disorganized, network. Expertise flowed freely from one territory to another as needs arose, and we see such transfers of expertise and personnel through many architecture and town planning projects in Africa. For example, Harrison had been previously employed in Mandate Palestine (see Chapter 12, pp. 443–5); Fry and Drew went on to work on various projects in Chandigarh; Leo De Syllas (1917–64) had previously worked in the West Indies before designing several buildings in West Africa (as well as the town of Ajena, Ghana).[50] A major influence on Fry and Drew's work in Nigeria was the campus layout for the University College of the West Indies (UCWI) (*c.*1952), at Mona, Jamaica, by Norman & Dawbarn (see Chapter 7, pp. 275–6). Fry had visited the West Indies and would have seen the UCWI campus by 1957 at the latest.[51] Norman & Dawbarn in turn went on to

[50] 'Town at Ajena, Ghana—Architect: Architects' Co-Partnership', *The Architects' Journal* (February 1957), pp. 285–92.

[51] 'The new chairman for the site commission for the FC is Sir Charles Arden Clarke, recent Governor General of [the] Gold Coast. (now Ghana) He will certainly have *Fry and Drew* on his trail I shall try and "salt him down" in Trinidad at White Hall, Port of Spain'. Max Lock, notes in a Letter to Gerald, 19 December 1957, Max Lock Archive, University of Westminster, London: Box 5.8, letters from 1957.

Figure 11.13. Makerere College, Kampala (1963), Uganda, by Norman & Dawbarn (RIBA Library Photographs Collection).

work in East Africa at Makerere College in Kampala, Uganda (1963). Their approach at Makerere presents a further shift towards monumental masonry with concrete detailing, rather than expansive lattices of concrete, informed by Louis Kahn and Le Corbusier (as well as Gropius's work at Impington Village College), whilst incorporating the Anglo-quadrangle model and study–bedroom typology. The bedrooms are also arranged on a forty-five degree angle, maintaining privacy and minimizing solar gain, as well as forming a bold and startling design (Figure 11.13). William Holford acted as a go-between and 'expert client' for the Colonial Office in his role as architectural advisor, and set about producing space standards and regulations for overseas educational buildings. He was also advisor to the Government of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in their development of the new federal capital at Salisbury and University College at Salisbury.[52] Robert Gardner-Medwin had also worked in the West Indies before becoming part of the UN Housing mission in South East Asia, then helping to establish an architecture school in Nairobi in 1964.[53] In 1967 Anthony Chitty and Robert Henning

[52] Building: appointment of Sir William Holford as consultant architect; his visits to Rhodesia, National Archives, Kew: BW90/314

[53] There are many other examples. Most were employed in World War II in the Corps of Royal

designed the University of Nairobi Administration building, the façade of which is arranged as a series of layered spaces created by a vast concrete *brise soleil* and projecting floor plates that create an interstitial zone between the exterior lawns and the glazed, climatically vulnerable, inner façade. At the same campus the Hyslop Building by Graham McCullough also utilizes a composite approach to the façade, with the outer layer being clad in a tessellating arrangement of circular metal tubes that sit proud of the glazing behind. It gives a more delicate quality than the concrete lattices while seeming to offer no relation to what takes place within the building.

This network of experts controlled and dominated not only the design of significant buildings and the modes of procurement but also the production of knowledge and validation of a particular type of architectural education. This was further formalized with the establishment of the RIBA Overseas Relations Committee and the establishment of the Commonwealth Association of Architects—both groups recognizing how the changing political landscape required a new approach to both building procurement and architectural education.

The Colonial Office recognized that they had a body of expertise emerging in these 'tropical experts', but it was an uncoordinated and haphazard canon of knowledge with each set of architects establishing their own methods, construction systems, and space standards. To remedy this (and similar problems with other building types) the Building Research Station appointed a Colonial Liaison Officer in 1948, George Anthony Atkinson, who would act as an expert client for the Colonial Office, as well as collating best building practice and disseminating the latest research findings through the publication *Colonial Building Notes*. This was ultimately aimed at developing more economic forms of construction over which the Colonial Office was becoming increasingly concerned.[54] A meeting was called for architects working on new colonial universities, with the participants agreeing to pool their design specifications and to share information on floor areas, residences, laboratories, and lecture rooms. With these projects being awarded to private practitioners rather than the PWD, the body of knowledge that had been collated and published over previous decades was, it seems, overlooked, and possibly even dismissed. Furthermore, an altogether more scientific approach to building physics was emerging at this time, with data established through experimentation, rather than the PWD's 'rule of thumb' estimates and empirical fettling.

Two building research stations were established along these lines in 1952—one in Accra, Ghana, and the other in Zaria, Nigeria—to undertake scientific research in the field.[55] In London a further formal exchange of expertise occurred through the conference on Tropical Architecture held at University College London in 1953, initiated by the Nigerian architect A. Adedokun Adeyemi in an attempt to share knowledge and to recognize the specialist demands of tropical construction.

Engineers, which gave them a grounding in tropical design and conditions. After the war they inherited, or were given, numerous rebuilding and housing projects.

[54] See 'Circular Dispatch', 9 June 1948, National Archives, Kew: 'Building in Tropical Countries, 1945–8', BW90/1212.

[55] *Colonial Building News* (September 1955).

Talks were given on various aspects of Tropical Architecture, including materials and construction by Otto Koenigsberger, William Holford, G. A. Atkinson, Arthur Foyle, and others, who were deemed 'experts', and who also had the greatest connections to the Colonial Office and the architectural media. A further conference was held on tropical architecture in Uganda in 1955, followed by 'Design for Tropical Living' in Durban (1957), collating and sharing technical knowhow amongst the group of experts. There was also recognition of the growing urbanized populations and the problems associated with sprawling settlements, as Holford noted in his Durban paper:

> the overriding problem of most tropical countries is that of the increasing numbers of people in relation to economic resources and to food production. Most housing must therefore be low-cost housing; and as soon as a settlement becomes urban in character, densities must be high enough to prevent transport and other services from becoming increasingly uneconomic.[56]

While a definite technical approach incorporating building physics and construction research was slowly being applied to school and university building, housing procurement was taking a different route.

HOUSING: GOVERNMENT SPONSORED OR SELF-BUILD?

Municipal housing was being built throughout the colonies in the immediate post-World War II period, but was completely inadequate in accommodating the increasingly urbanized populations.[57] This resulted in a policy shift that utilized Alcock's self-build experiments (as well as those undertaken by Koenigsberger in India), leading to Africans being encouraged to build their own properties, constructed in accordance with European designs, supervision, and limited funding. Alcock's guide, *How to Plan your Village* (1953), inferred this position.[58] It was written as a story with the key protagonist—named Kwame (perhaps a tongue-in-cheek reference to the Ghanaian Prime Minister)—helping to build and plan his native village following a period of study abroad. Furthermore, there was some recognition of the views of the Colonial Office that:

> [w]hile numerous improvements could be suggested on purely hygienic and aesthetic grounds by European architects or designers, there was no certainty that such improvements and modifications would meet with a response from the people concerned.... [I]t was therefore decided that it was desirable that a sociologist should be appointed for each Chief Commissioner's area, who would work in close association with the architects and town planning officers.[59]

[56] W. Holford, 'Design for Tropical Living', Special Collections and Archives, Liverpool University: 1957 D147/LA4, 1.

[57] G. A. Atkinson, 'African Housing', *African Affairs* (1950), pp. 228–37.

[58] A. E. S. Alcock and H. Richards, *How to Plan your Village* (London, 1953).

[59] Extract from Minutes of meeting of central Development Board (copy), undated *c.*1945, no other details of circulation, National Archives, Kew: 'Village Housing in Nigeria', CO583/274/1.

'Scientific' studies followed incorporating sociological advice and documentation, with every aspect of African life being interrogated and recorded. The use of African labour also significantly reduced the financial burden on the Colonial Office, with 'reward' schemes being implemented so that whatever labour Africans invested they would receive 10 per cent of the cost back to spend on local amenities. Although the motive behind the proposal may have been honourable, and a means of promoting ownership, it was fundamentally a cost reduction exercise:

> If it works, [it] should prove a cheap way of getting a lot of good work done, since the cost of the communal facilities is not to exceed 10% of the estimated value of the work done by private enterprise, so that before the villagers get their village hall or what-not they will have to put in ten times its value on improvements on their own account.[60]

Private one-off commissions continued in the wake of World War II, including residences (such as those designed by Edward Mills at Ikoyi[61] and James Cubitt in Accra[62]), but in terms of larger projects attention was devoted to the production of electricity, as well as irrigation. The development of large dams was in part inspired by the TVA (Tennessee Valley Authority) work, including a degree of posturing with respect to technological supremacy and the display of industrialization and 'progress'. In addition to infrastructural works such as the Volta River Project in Ghana, and at Jinja north of Lake Victoria in Uganda, is Owen Falls Dam designed by Sir Alexander Gibb and partners, with the architect Harry Ford designing the power house that was clad in a local pink granite.[63] Other projects in Uganda ran counter to the self-build approach taken in West Africa, such as low-rise flats built for the Kampala Municipal Council, designed by Deans, Inglis and Partners, which were raised on stilts to 'prevent the effect of night-time radiation from heat absorbed in the ground', as well as offering increased ventilation and better views over the lake.[64] These projects received very little attention back in Britain, and even larger more prominent buildings such as the Legislative Council Building, Nairobi, by Harold Thornley Dyer (1904–89) in 1955, and C. G. Andrews' Magistrates' Courts in Kampala, did not garner much interest. The council building is an interesting ensemble of two perpendicular wings that intersect at a clock tower, 'planned to be deliberately reminiscent in form to the Palace of Westminster'.[65] Environmentally, it makes use of large concrete grills as well as local stone, with the concrete portico outside the debating chamber an attempt to bring some classical grandeur to the composition.

[60] Draft letter to Mrs I. Bird, Treasury from J. B. Williams, 25 June 1945, National Archives, Kew: 'Village Housing in Nigeria', CO583/274/1.

[61] See 'Residences at Ikoyi, Lagos, Nigeria, W. Africa', *The Builder* (29 April 1949), pp. 524–5.

[62] '4 Semi-detached Houses at Accra, Gold Coast—Architects: James Cubitt, Scott & Partners', *Architect & Building News* (7 October 1954), pp. 423–5.

[63] 'Buildings in Kampala, Jinja, and Mbale, Uganda', *The Architects' Journal*, vol. 121 (April 1955), pp. 508–10. Harry Ford worked with Fry and Drew in West Africa and produced some of the drawings for *Village Housing in the Tropics*.

[64] 'Buildings in Kampala', p. 508.

[65] 'Parliament Buildings for the Government of Kenya at Nairobi', *The Architects' Journal*, 121 (January 1955), pp. 38–9. Thornley Dyer went on to work in Bermuda.

BIG BUSINESS AND THE IMPACT OF OIL

Although Maxwell Fry considered the 'era of big spending' to be over by 1960, the Colonial Office was not the only client active in Africa. Large banking and business corporations were eager to establish offices as independence loomed and the discovery of oil in Nigeria caused a surge in investment. The principles of tropical design were now being applied to new building types and construction methods. The Co-operative Bank in Lagos, for example, displayed the tropical Modern approach writ large across its entire façade of adjustable louvres. The same bank in Ibadan commissioned a small campus of buildings that included an office tower and community hall. Barclays Bank (referred to as 'Dominion, Colonial and Overseas' outside the United Kingdom) also had an extensive estate of banks in Sub-Saharan Africa, including Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya, and South Africa. These were designed by James Cubitt, Fry, Drew, Drake, and a number of other architects. In Nairobi Amyas Douglas Connell designed the Norwich Union Insurance building (1959) as two interlocking rectilinear towers with light-weight shading and prefabricated panels that seemed to anticipate the arrival of air-conditioning rather than exploiting passive cooling, whereas his Crown Law Offices adopted a perforated screen punctuated with larger openings to allow the glazing to operate behind (for more on Connell in this context, see Chapter 6, pp. 227–30). In Takoradi, Denys Lasdun designed the Ghana Commercial Bank using the *brise soleil* as a geometric decorative motif, as well as very heavy horizontal concrete banding. The entire structure is raised up on a rubble stone dais, and accessed via a bridge spanning a dugout basement, giving the whole a fortress-like feel, and attempting to generate a different vocabulary to the now rather staid grids, screens and patterned jalousie (Figure 11.14).[66] Moreover, increased international business fuelled the requirement for better transportation links and old military airstrips and hangers were replaced with more glamorous commercial lounges, as seen in the airports at Accra, designed by Norman & Dawbarn,[67] and at Dar es Salaam, designed by the PWD in 1961.

However, as Rhodri Windsor-Liscombe has argued, the deployment of Modernist architectural vocabularies in such buildings did not necessarily imply a move away from imperialist business practices during the decolonization and subsequent Commonwealth periods in British Africa. It may be suggested that such architecture merely threw an apparent 'liberalized façade' over what was in effect the near untrammelled if unofficial pursuit of corporate colonial interests.[68] Indeed, large businesses were providing facilities beyond those required for their core business use, not only filling a gap in public sector provision but also revealing a paternalistic

[66] Lasdun also designed the National Ghana Museum (1957), with its press-stressed aluminium roof imported from the United Kingdom, and the rather brutalist Paterson Simons & Co. offices (1962), both in Accra.

[67] 'Terminal Area, Accra Airport', *West African Builder and Architect* (September 1961), pp. 64–5.

[68] R. Windsor-Liscombe, 'Building Dominion and the Colonial Overseas: The Culture of British Fabrics of Financial Intervention in (South) Africa at the End of Empire', in Demissie, *Colonial Architecture and Urbanism*, pp. 347–71.

Figure 11.14. Ghana Commercial Bank, Takoradi (1958), Ghana, by Denys Lasdun.

agenda with their presence in Africa. The Manganese mining corporation funded a Community Centre in Tarkwa that encouraged its employees to spend their free time in 'wholesome' activities, and the Community Centre in Accra, funded by the UAC had a similar agenda. The Colonial Social Welfare Advisory Committee met in 1944 to discuss the establishment of 'social centres', conducting a survey on the existing provision of 'reading rooms' and 'social meeting places' throughout Africa, noting that 'Cadbury Bros., Ltd., have undertaken to erect and equip two village halls at Sunum and Berekum as a contribution towards the scheme of mass education'.[69] Thus, corporate buildings were quickly becoming the largest architectural commissions on offer in Sub-Saharan Africa, with the new headquarters for British Petroleum (BP) in Lagos, designed by Fry and Drew, and completed just in time for the Independence celebrations in 1960, being a classic example (see Figure 6.8). Other large businesses also commissioned new offices using the coterie of tropical Modernists active in the region, as seen, for example, in the Elder Demptser shipping lines office buildings in Lagos and Freetown by James Cubitt and partners. In addition to office buildings were expat dwellings such as the Shell petroleum company flats in Lagos, by Architects Co-Partnership, and large villas for Allen and Hanburys

[69] See 'Social Welfare Community Centres', National Archives, Kew: CO 859/113/6.

(1962) at Aba, by the husband and wife team Godwin and Hopwood (both of whom are still in practice in Lagos). Hotels were also required for the increasing number of commercial visitors, including the Bristol Hotel, also by the Architects Co-partnership in Lagos (1955).

Again, the political liberation of African territories did not result in the immediate cultural independence or the sudden expulsion of British architects and expertise; indeed, it has been argued that Modern architecture and its claims of 'neutrality' permitted the British presence to remain firmly rooted in the continent. This was not to say that African architects were not emerging, but that they had very limited publicity and coverage in the architectural press. The *West African Builder and Architect* journal was edited by one of the architects from the Fry and Drew office, Anthony Halliday. The British-born Alan Vaughan Richards contributed regularly to the journal, arguably bringing a more 'West African' outlook to its architectural coverage and editorials.

There is little mention of African architects at this time, although an increasing number were training at universities in the United Kingdom, including John Dawe Tetlow (b. 1913), while T. S. Clark became the head of the Ghanaian society of architects, responsible for selecting the architects for the new Tema and Volta River Projects in Ghana in 1954. This is in contrast to the more direct approach taken to commissions in other contexts, such as the appointment of Max Lock as consultant for the Kaduna Masterplan in Northern Nigeria as late as 1967.

By the early 1960s much of Sub-Saharan Africa—excluding South Africa, the Portuguese dependencies of Mozambique and Angola, and Namibia—had achieved self-rule or independence. With this came differing levels of national autonomy concerning architectural design in many of these post-independence colonies. Both Nigeria and Ghana set up local professional institutes for architects, and had a small emerging number of indigenous architects who, within the decade, would come to dominate the profession locally, including Adedokun Adeyemi and Olumide Olumuyiwa.

In smaller countries the transition was less immediate, and established British firms often remained involved in construction either with African architectural partners or as consultants on particular projects, even in Ghana and Nigeria. For example, RMJM were consultants to the Federal Ministry of Education in Nigeria, and worked with the Nigerian firm Alex Ekwueme Architects on model secondary school projects across Nigeria, using the overseas building notes/UNESCO school standards as the basis for their post-1960 design.

However, as the 1960s progressed, and the political landscape changed as a result of power struggles and military conflict, the colonial era and early Modernism in architecture faded away. New alliances were formed and in some cases architects changed mid-project. Greater Lusaka was initially planned by William Holford and Brian Colquhoun in 1968, but they were replaced by Doxiadis Associates, prompting Brian Colquhoun to ponder: 'I cannot help feeling that the present unpopularity of our Government had something to do with it.'[70]

[70] Letter from Brian Colquhorn to William Holford, 2 July 1968, Special Collections & Archives, University of Liverpool: D147/SA17.

In the case of West Africa, these shifting alliances involved both eastern and western European, even Chinese, construction firms who were engaged to deliver large-scale infrastructure projects during the 1970s, while local architects came to dominate the domestic architectural scene left by departing expatriate firms.[71] Thus, by the late 1970s only traces of colonial architecture remained intact, often transformed, remodelled, or sometimes totally erased by rapid urbanization and development, or in some cases owing to the deleterious effects of urban insurrection and warfare. This was particularly true of most of what had been the British colonies in West, East, and southern Africa, the exception being South Africa, which from the events of Sharpeville in 1966, became engulfed in nearly two decades of Nationalist rule. This directly influenced the nation's architectural development, which became both politically contested and institutionally centred around 'in-house' architectural departments (with only the likes of Holford and Roy Kantorowich returning home to act as planning consultants). This was especially the case in areas such as education and housing, as well as in the architectural and planning efforts of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), such as *Planact*, which tasked themselves with local initiatives to deliver social infrastructure to apartheid South Africa's displaced communities up until the 1990s.

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[71] For China in West Africa, see C. Roskam, 'Non-Aligned Architecture: China's Designs on and in Ghana and Guinea, 1955–1992', *Architectural History*, 58 (2015), pp. 261–91.

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12

Egypt and Mandatory Palestine and Iraq

Samuel D. Albert

The history of British architecture and urban planning in the Middle East is a complex and contradictory one. Though clearly and directly influenced by British imperial and colonial policies, the architecture of the region (both designed and built) is often profoundly and deliberately local; while urban plans, almost uniformly manifestations of transplanted European planning ideas, generally remained on the drawing board. This history—of the planned, the built, and the partially implemented—is further complicated by the use of the defective, overarching geographical rubric 'Middle East'. The regions considered in this chapter (Egypt, and the areas that became the Mandates of Palestine (including modern-day Israel and Jordan) and Iraq, while geographically contiguous, had significantly different relationships with the British empire and imperialism. This concerns how and why the British presence arrived in the region, as well as what its imperial goals were. These relationships, as varied as the countries themselves, are clearly legible in the built environment.

GREAT BRITAIN AND EGYPT

In 1882, in response to threats of Egyptian nationalization of the Suez Canal, general popular unrest, and concern over the safety of their citizens, Britain and France occupied Egypt, quickly subduing the slight opposition posed by the Egyptian army. The Khedive remained nominal head of the government, but British authority (and the force of the British military) stood behind his power. While the majority of ministries remained in the hands of the Khedive and were staffed by Egyptians, Evelyn Baring (first Earl Cromer, 1841–1917), Britain's chief representative in Egypt and *de facto* ruler ('Controller-General'), viewed the economy as key to political control and development. He therefore kept certain ministries under direct British supervision, including the Ministry of Public Works. British engineers and British architects were brought in to fill critical positions and supervise the Ministry's everyday functioning.

Under Franco-British occupation between 1882 and 1914, Cairo and Alexandria, which had always been cosmopolitan cities, grew, especially Alexandria. The prosperity brought by the occupation further diversified the populations of

these two cities. Over time, organized national and ethnic enclaves emerged: French, English, German, Italian, Greek, and Austrian.[1] The existence of these enclaves, and particularly their cultural activities, came to reflect contemporary European politics. Though under Franco-British rule, Egypt remained part of the Ottoman empire, an empire with which both Austria–Hungary and Germany enjoyed strong ties. These ties were cultivated, even if only subtly, as part of these nations' political interests and foreign policies, with local citizenry often playing key roles. A good example of this is the Transylvanian-born Max Herc (1856–1919)—or, as he is often known, Herz Bey[2]—who worked for the Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe. The Comité, charged with superintending the Islamic and Coptic monuments of Cairo, not only worked to preserve these monuments, but through that preservation, also shaped the modern face of Cairo. It is worth noting, however, that the work of the Comité and other restoration architects in nineteenth-century Egypt was, in no small measure, guided more by an inventive rather than investigative understanding of the region's architecture.[3] The 'restored' Cairo that emerges at the end of the nineteenth century was therefore one deeply influenced by Western preconceptions of 'oriental' architecture. This was a tendency recognized and criticized by Stanley Lane-Poole in his preface to the *Catalogue of the National Museum of Arab Art* in 1896. As Paula Sanders put it:

> This sense of the medieval was clear in Stanley Lane-Poole's assessment of the trauma that Europeanization caused to what he understood to be a decidedly medieval city: 'The introduction of a bastard European style, the laying out of new streets, and the broadening of old ones, during the past fifty years, are responsible for more havoc among the monuments of Saracenic art than the centuries of former neglect. The street fights of the Mamluk Beys and Turkish Pashas did less damage to the mosques of Cairo than the futile attempt to Europeanize a medieval Eastern city'.[4]

The competition among the European powers in Egypt was well regulated. They constantly and consistently strove against each other; and while the Germans or the Austro-Hungarians may have hoped to curry favour with the local Khedive, or the more distant Ottoman Sultan, British control of the region was clear and undisputed. Nevertheless, German and Austrian architects were active in Cairo and Alexandria, producing plans for museums, department stores, and churches.[5]

[1] For the sheer numbers of foreign architects active in Egypt at the time, see M. Volait (ed.), *Le Caire-Alexandrie architectures européennes, 1850–1950*, vol. 5 (Cairo, 2001).

[2] In his native tongue, Hungarian, Herz Bey's family name is spelled Herc, which is pronounced as if it were 'Herz'. This explains why his name is written both ways.

[3] This question of restoration versus preservation, one that was debated in Europe at the time, is considered repeatedly in the minutes of the Comité's meetings.

[4] P. Sanders, 'The Victorian Invention of Medieval Cairo: A Case Study of Medievalism and the Construction of the East', *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*, vol. 37:2 (2003), pp. 189–90.

[5] See, for instance 'Concurrenz-Project für ein museum aegyptischer Altertuemer in Kairo', *Wiener Bauindustrie-Zeitung*, 12 (1895), p. 466; 'Projekt für ein Warenhaus in Alexandria', *Der Architekt*, 19 (1913), p. 145; 'Museum aegyptischer Altertuemer in Kairo', *Der Architekt*, vol. 3 (1897), p. 40; and 'Deutsche evangelische Kirche in Kairo', *Schweizerische Bauzeitung*, vols 53/54 (1909), p. 144. The significance of department store is considered in U. M. Kupferschmidt, 'Who Needed Department Stores in Egypt? From Orosdi-Back to Omar Effendi', *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 43:2 (2007), pp. 175–92.

Foreign architects also produced designs for their own national and ethnic enclaves, as these enclaves tended to employ architects from their countries of origin, whether resident in Egypt or invited.[6] Significantly, these enclaves also imported and employed European housing ideas, such as that of the garden city, with Heliopolis being one of the best known examples.[7] The burgeoning British enclave, composed primarily of officers and colonial bureaucrats, was no exception. This enclave, known as Zamalek, was developed on Gezirah Island in the Nile, site of the Gezirah Sports Club, of which all British Officers, by dint of their commissions, were automatically members.[8] A number of the houses in this enclave are said to have been designed by the architect Ernest Tatham Richmond (1874–1955), though clear and conclusive proof is lacking. Richmond, in many ways, is typical of the English architects and engineers practising in the Middle East. Son of the painter and Royal Academician, William Blake Richmond, he began working in Egypt in 1895 when he aided Somers Clarke in the production of *Wall Drawings and Monuments of El Kab: The Temple of Amenhetep III*. This archaeologically based architectural work was the start of Richmond's lifelong interest in Middle East historic architecture. In 1896, four years before he was actually licensed as an architect, he was appointed Assistant Architect to the Comité pour la Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe, where, working under Herz Bey, he gained practical experience with historic Islamic architecture. In 1902 and 1903 Richmond, attached to the Royal Engineers, was building barracks and houses for colonial administrators. From 1900 to 1911 he was Director of the Department of Towns and State Buildings, and, in 1904, was also appointed architect in the Ministry of Public Works in Cairo. In 1911 Richmond left Egypt and returned to England. After World War I, having re-enlisted, Richmond returned to the Middle East, to the newly created Mandate of Palestine, where he served as Political Officer until 1924, when he resigned in disgust over what he saw as British maltreatment of the Arab population in favour of the Jews. In 1927 Richmond returned to Jerusalem. After abjuring political activity and converting to Catholicism, he assumed the directorship of the Palestine Archaeological Museum, a post he held until 1937.[9]

In Egypt, Richmond and his wife did not live in Zamalek but in Zeinen, another small community, in a house which he designed. The buildings of Zamalek and Richmond's own house share a number of aesthetic similarities: undecorated white plaster finishes, a use of simple geometric forms to supplant traditional architectural

[6] The Austrian community has been particularly well studied. See R. Agstner, *Von k. k. Konsularagentie zum österreichischen Generalkonsulat: Österreich (-Ungarn) und Alexandrien 1763–1993*, Schriften des Österreichischen Kulturinstituts Kairo, vol. 7 (Cairo, 1993); *Die österreichisch-ungarische Kolonie in Kairo vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg: das Matrikelbuch des k.u.k. Konsulates Kairo, 1908–1914*, Schriften des Österreichischen Kulturinstituts Kairo (Cairo, 1994); and *Das Österreichisch-Ungarische Rudolf-Spital ('Ospedale Rodolfo') in Kairo*, Schriften des Österreichischen Kulturinstituts Kairo (Cairo, 1995).

[7] R. Ilbert, *Héliopolis: Le Caire 1905–1922—genèse d'une ville* (Paris, 1981).

[8] C. Soliman Hamamsy, *Zamalek: The Changing Life of a Cairo Elite, 1850–1945* (Cairo, 2005). See also, 'Gezira Sporting Club, Cairo', in A. Jackson, *Buildings of Empire* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 105–23.

[9] *Who's Who in Architecture* (1914), p. 186. For more on Richmond, see J. Richmond, 'Prophet of Doom: E. T. Richmond, FRIBA, and Palestine 1920–1924', *Islamic Quarterly*, vol. 19:3–4 (1975), pp. 187–94.

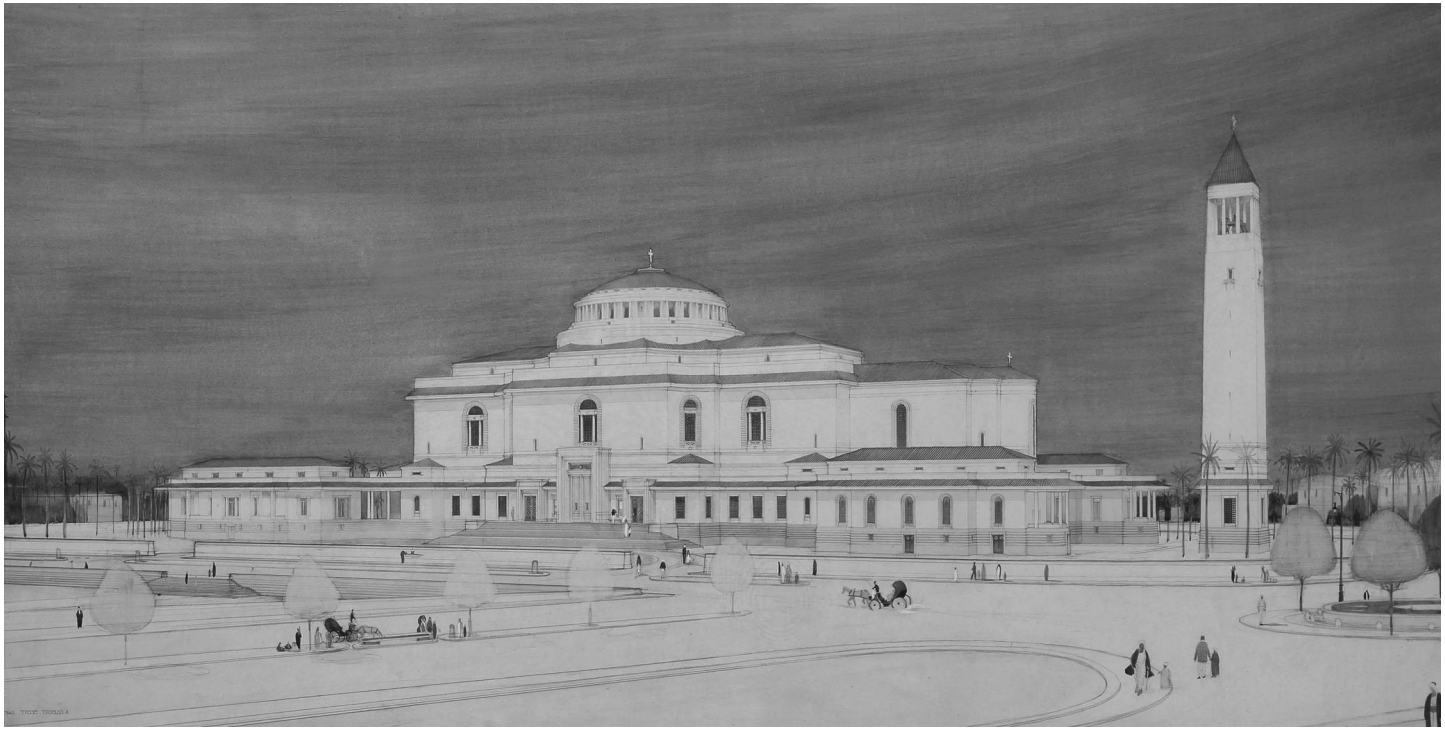

Figure 12.1. Design for Anglican Cathedral, Cairo (1920), Egypt, by Adrian Gilbert Scott (The Wolfsonian–Florida International University, Miami Beach, Florida, The Mitchell Wolfson, Jr. Collection).

decoration, and the use of fenestration to emphasize the geometric aspects of the building.

From 1882 until 1914, British control of Egypt was rather laissez-faire, with the country operating under *de facto* Protectorate status. In 1914, however, as a response to the declaration of war against the Ottoman Turkish empire, the British government formalized Egypt's Protectorate status, using it as a base for military operations in the Middle East. While the Protectorate only lasted until 1922, when the British declared Egypt independent, British control remained strong and influential.[10] Despite nominal Egyptian independence, British architects were responsible for developing much of the infrastructure essential to successful Egyptian independence.

In the period 1920 to 1939 the majority of Egyptian buildings reported in the British architectural press were for public edifices and public infrastructure: hospitals, schools, telephone switching stations, and war memorials. The designs for these structures, though varied as their functions are, can be separated into two 'traditionalist' stylistic groups: European traditionalists, who used European architectural forms (generally neoclassicism) and adapted them to the needs of Egypt; and local traditionalists, who used traditional Egyptian (generally Islamic) forms. The second group may be described as regional contextualists, architects who looked to the local Egyptian and greater Islamic pasts, but rather than attempting to recreate the forms of the past, used those historical forms, often reduced and simplified, as the basis for a new and modern Egyptian architectural vocabulary. They were not the only ones in Egypt engaged in this process, however. Although outside the scope of this chapter, it is crucial to note that many local Egyptian architects were undertaking similar stylistic experiments.[11] While the structures discussed all fulfilled the needs of the modern, semi-industrialized state, how they sought to solve the problem of an 'Egyptian' architecture differed. If we consider three period buildings: the Assiut Law Courts (1912) by F. R. H. Darke; E. H. Gandy's Egyptian State Telephone and Telegraph Offices (1922); and the Cairo Anglican Cathedral (1933–8) by Adrian Gilbert Scott, these three approaches and the differences they embody become visible. In the Assiut Law Courts, Darke employs the polychromy traditional to Mamluk building, creating a structure which seems in its function—the administration of justice—to be a continuation of earlier Egyptian traditions.[12] Gandy, on the other hand, built in a way that was clearly a demonstration of modern Western imperial power, employing a modified neoclassical architectural vocabulary alien to Cairo: the building in its very form represents Western technology and Western ideals.

The Cairo Cathedral illustrates the third stylistic way: the accommodation of Western needs to Eastern conditions, but also the exploitation of indigenous building technology (Figure 12.1). In a brief article about the Cathedral, its architect,

[10] The fact the Egyptian independence was achieved through the British declaration is emblematic of the power which the empire still held.

[11] Even as one considers British architects at the time, it is essential to note that Egyptian architects were facing, and responding to, many of the same questions. See M. Volait, *L'Architecture Moderne en Egypte et la Revue al-Imara 1939–1959* (Cairo, 1988), and, in passing, Volait, *Le Caire-Alexandrie*.

[12] *The Builder*, vol. 123 (1922), p. 271.

Adrian Gilbert Scott (1882–1963), discussed how the form of the building was dictated by available building materials, the limitations of local craftsmen, and local climatic conditions, which indigenous architects, he conceded, had long ago learned to accommodate:

> [t]he climatic conditions were entirely novel in that very little window area was required and the lesson to be learnt from traditional Mosques of Cairo confirmed that the most effective method of lighting a large building and keeping the congregations reasonably cool, was to have the main windows all at the floor level of the Cathedral.[13]

Despite the acknowledged exploitation of age-old building technology and forms, Scott went on to state clearly the needs of the building, particularly the necessity for a large number of subsidiary buildings: an assembly hall, clergy house and offices, and two private residences for the bishop and archdeacon, 'could [not] suitably be accommodated in any medieval or Eastern style of architecture. A free rendering of Ecclesiastical Classic seemed to be the most suitable solution . . .'.[14] Thus, lighting and cooling techniques developed over centuries were cloaked in Western garb.

While the British did erect a number of significant works in Cairo, both buildings and infrastructure, the lasting effect of English architects and urban planners is more evident in city planning, particularly that of Alexandria.

ENGLISH TOWN PLANNING IN EGYPT: ALEXANDRIA

In the 1860s and 1870s the Khedive had undertaken a radical modernization of Cairo. Often denigrated as simply a translation of Parisian-style Haussmannization to the Nile, with the creation of public squares, monumental buildings, grand boulevards, and an entirely new housing district for foreigners (Ismailah) named after himself, this modernization was nonetheless a powerful assertion of a new Egyptian identity. But the scope and pace of construction that transformed Cairo into the 'Paris on the Nile' also nearly bankrupted the state and marked the start of French and British financial and political control. Yet despite British interest in managing the economy of Egypt and its cities, little major or coordinated town planning seems to have been carried out.[15] In 1919, however, the city of Alexandria commissioned its Scottish-born city architect, William H. McLean, to devise a new town plan for the expanding port. After approval in 1921, the plan guided the growth of the city in the years that followed (Figure 12.2). In his 1930 book, *Regional and Town Planning in Principle and Practice,* McLean discussed the process of devising urban plans, comparing his work for Alexandria, Jerusalem, and

[13] *The Builder*, vol. 154 (1938), p. 895. [14] *Ibid.*, p. 899.

[15] M. Volait, 'Making Cairo Modern (1870–1950): Multiple Models for a "European-Style" Urbanism', in J. Nasr and M. Volait (eds), *Urbanism: Imported or Expored* (Hoboken, 2003), p. 36.

Figure 12.2. Plan of Alexandria, Egypt (1919–21), by W. H. McLean (General Research Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Collection).

Khartoum.[16] Before considering new construction, McLean emphasized the necessity of undertaking what he called a 'civic survey'; that is, a thorough study of the history and historical planning of the city. In the case of Alexandria, this meant analysing the city from its foundation by Alexander the Great to the present day, in order to understand both how the city was shaped and what its future could be.

In considering his own plan for Alexandria, McLean identifies its main strength as providing 'the programme of which the city may be improved and developed on preconceived and approved lines and not allowed to grow in haphazard fashion with objectionable results'.[17] In his discussion he makes clear that the focus of Alexandria's development, while not ignoring aesthetic considerations, was fundamentally concerned with the economy: Alexandria is the 'commercial capital of Egypt',[18] and were it to grow without a plan, 'the loss to the town [would be] incalculable on the prejudice to the health of the inhabitants and the depreciation in the value of property'.[19] Understanding that the disorganized urban form that organically evolved from Alexander the Great's initial, rational plan posed a challenge to the urban designer. McLean did not envision eliminating or reconstructing, Haussmann-like, those incoherent urban sections; he simply jumped over them, expanding the city east, west, and south with a more rational form. However, despite his written focus on the practical and the pecuniary, and his claims as to the economic significance of his plan, its achievements seem primarily centred on the aesthetic. The seven points he cites include widening streets and creating public parks and squares.[20] While these all ultimately served a commercial benefit by making the city more attractive and navigable, the details of docks and warehouses, and the actual materials of harbour economics and a port city in which McLean invests great importance, play no visible role in his plan.

JERUSALEM PRIOR TO WORLD WAR I

World War I and the League of Nations' awarding of the Mandate of Palestine to the British Government present a clear demarcation in the periodization of British architecture and urbanism in the Holy Land. Before the War, both in scope and scale, British architectural activity was comparable to that of the other European powers in the region. Working within the very limited framework imposed by the Ottoman Turkish empire, they constructed churches, hospitals, and pilgrimage facilities, mainly in Jerusalem. European urban planning activity was non-existent. Foreign countries, including the United Kingdom, neither had an interest in, nor the authority to implement, any urban plan. Again, this was a reflection of the political reality—the Holy Land was still part of the Ottoman empire, which deliberately limited the ability of foreigners (Christian or Jewish) to undertake large-scale construction projects. Germans and Austro-Hungarians, because of their amity with the Ottomans, were an exception. There exist a number of

[16] W. Hannah McLean, *Regional and Town Planning in Principle and Practice* (London, 1930).
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 61. [18] *Ibid.*, p. 62. [19] *Ibid.*, p. 61. [20] *Ibid.*, pp. 62–3.

German-founded religious settlements in Jerusalem, Haifa, and elsewhere, though usually consisting of only a few houses along one or two roads. These were not on a scale large enough to be considered urban planning.[21] In Jerusalem, though, the majority of German and Austro-Hungarian structures were hospitals, hospices, and churches.[22]

With regards to British architecture of the Holy Land, two clear design strands can be identified: Evangelist (or, as Mark Crinson refers to it, Mission[23]) and 'Orientalist'. These styles were pursued independent of material considerations: the abundant local stone was consistently used for both. Nor were these styles limited by time. Before and after World War I examples of both types can be found. What then is meant by these two definitions? The Evangelical style is one that, as the name would imply, was originally used in religious structures: churches, hospitals (often associated with Churches), or pilgrimage hospices. It is characterized by a reference, usually overt but sometimes subtle, to Western religious architectural forms, particularly the Gothic in its various European manifestations, but modified and simplified for translation by local craftsmen. The Orientalist style is neither a direct copy nor complete invention, but rather a use of forms that were sensitive to and derivative of traditional architectural styles and decorative elements. In the case of Jerusalem and its surrounds, this tradition was strongly influenced by stone architecture. However, the notable and visually striking elements of Jerusalem's high-style Mamluk architecture, such as joggled vouissors and polychromy, played a relatively small role in this style, often simplified to mere citation rather than copied.

One of the earliest British buildings in Jerusalem (1849), and a fine example of the Evangelist style, is Christ Church, financed and erected by (and still closely associated with) the London Society for Promoting Christianity Amongst the Jews (Figure 12.3).[24] This Gothic Revival church was slow to be erected owing to the numerous archaeologically significant artefacts uncovered during the excavation of its foundations. It was designed by the English architect James Wood Johns, although before construction was completed, he was replaced by Matthew Habershon. Hidden away in a courtyard, the building was erected ostensibly as a private chapel, in conformity with the requirements of the Ottoman government, which prohibited construction of openly religious structures. The church compound is typical of European design and construction in the region, particularly

[21] For more on Templar communities, see A. Carmel, *Die Siedlungen der württembergischen Templer in Palästina, 1868–1918*, trans. P. Leshem (Stuttgart, 1973).

[22] During Kaiser Wilhelm's visit to Istanbul and Jerusalem in 1898, several monuments were constructed or restored to commemorate the visits. These included the German Fountain in Istanbul, as well as the reconstructions of the Baalbek and the tomb of Saladin. The best known, however, is probably the construction of the Berlin–Baghdad railway. See P. Hewitt Christensen, 'Architecture, Expertise and the German Construction of the Ottoman Railway Network, 1868–1919', unpublished PhD thesis (Harvard University, 2014). Austrian Emperor Franz Joseph I also visited Jerusalem as part of his trip to the dedication of the Suez Canal, but fewer commemorative works were undertaken.

[23] M. Crinson, *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian Architecture* (London, 1996).

[24] W. H. Bartlett, *Jerusalem Revisited* (London, 1910), pp. 20–1.

Figure 12.3. Christ Church (*left*) and Hostel, Jerusalem (1849), by James Wood Johns and Matthew Habershon (Library of Congress, Washington, G. Eric and Edith Matson Photograph Collection: LC-M33-12840-B [P&P]).

from before World War I, and represents the intrusion of an alien, European style of architecture. Local materials, local labour, and local skill are employed to create a structure that reflected the region in a material sense, but was stylistically foreign.

Roman Catholicism had long been present in the Holy Land; the Franciscans even enjoyed the title 'Keepers of the Holy Land' owing to the number of buildings they superintended. But Protestantism had little physical presence and, more importantly, had no actual control over any monuments in the Holy Land.[25] The sites and structures associated with the foundations of Christianity were controlled by France and Italy, predominantly Catholic nations. In the mid-nineteenth century, Britain and Germany, the two great Protestant nations of Europe, founded a joint bishopric in the Holy Land, which was to be based in Christ Church. Possession of the bishopric was to have alternated between a German and a British bishop, but with the deterioration in relations between Germany and Britain in the 1880s, this was abandoned. The Germans founded their own bishopric, located

[25] The importance of Gordon's 'discovery' of the Garden Tomb is not so much whether the site is actually Christ's tomb or not, but that it was controlled by Protestants, as opposed to every other site of religious significance in Jerusalem, which was controlled by Catholics.

in the Church of the Redeemer in the Old City; while the British continued to use Christ Church until 1889, when the Cathedral of St George, outside the walls of the Old City near the American Colony, was founded.

The interior fittings of Christ Church reflect its origins as a mission church. The wooden main altar is decorated with an Alpha–Omega on one side and a crowned star of David on the other. In the middle is the Hebrew word 'Emmanuel' (God is with us). Across the top, again written in Hebrew, is the phrase 'Do this in Memory of Me'. On the back wall, which is oriented towards the Temple Mount, is emblazoned the Apostles' Creed in Hebrew.

The Evangelist/Mission style was not limited to British architecture. The French, Germans, Austrians, and Italians all used variants of it, copying and adapting the traditional religious architectures of their homelands to structures they erected in the Holy Land. In the 'Orientalist' style, however, the British were pioneers. The English Mission Hospital of 1899 is one of the first structures that can be characterized under this rubric.

THE SCIENCE OF NATIONALISM: THE NATIONALISM OF SCIENCE

In the late nineteenth century, as European powers hacked away at the body politic of the Ottoman Empire (the sick man of Europe), the Holy Land, and Jerusalem in particular, became cultural battlegrounds. Political representation, in the form of churches, was sublimated to advances in science and medicine: every major European power built and staffed a hospital in Jerusalem. The sites and styles of these hospitals not only represented the nations that built them but also corresponding developments in medicine and hospital construction.

The English Mission Hospital, originally located in the compound of Christ Church, moved to new quarters still within the Old City in 1844. Treating locals, pilgrims, and Britons, the Hospital was not well received by the Jewish community in Jerusalem, perhaps wary of its original association with a Mission Church, and fearing that after healing the body, the doctors would try to 'heal' the soul. Despite local rejection, the hospital flourished, and by 1889 discussions had begun concerning the construction of a new hospital. A plot outside the city walls owned by the Jews' Society was chosen, and Beresford Pite,[26] an active member of the Society, was selected as architect. Pite's designs (there were two) employed a pavilion system rather than the monolithic block common to contemporary Jerusalem hospitals. His stated goal was to cure patients 'with as little medicine as possible and as much light and sunshine as we can', noting the 'many windows and doors the building contains'.[27] Erected in 1896, the very form of the hospital—a series of separate

[26] Arthur Beresford Pite (1891–1934) first trained with his father, the architect Alfred Robert Pite, and then at the South Kensington Schools (now the Royal College of Art). For a period he worked in the office of John Belcher. Pite, a Protestant, greatly enjoyed church design.

[27] Y. Perry and E. Lev, 'The Medical Activites of the London Jews' Society in Nineteenth Century Palestine', *Medical History*, vol. 47:1 (2003), p. 76.

pavilions arranged in a semi-circle and connected by a covered walkway—was actively representative of the (medical) modernity Britain was attempting to bring to the Holy Land (Figure 12.4). In the centre stood an administration block upon which was inscribed 'London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews', while to the left of the entrance arch was the phrase 'Mission Hospital for the Jews'. If these messages were not clear enough, in the space in between the inscriptions in English were Hebrew phrases: 'Heal Me, O Lord, and I shall be Healed (Jeremiah 17:4)', and 'I am the Lord that Healeth Thee (Exodus 15:25)'.

As eventually realized, the hospital consisted of seven pavilions. The central administrative pavilion directly faces the grounds' main entrance; flanking the main pavilion are three buildings: two patient pavilions and a residential pavilion, one for doctors and, facing that across the way, one for nurses. The central and residential pavilions were architecturally similar, featuring Mamluk-style polychromy and small domes on top of the buildings, though that of the central pavilion has since been removed.

The layout and style of the English Mission Hospital contrasted markedly with those of the other national hospitals erected in Jerusalem: the French Hospital (1884–1904, Fathers Brisacier and Boubet), the German (Augusta-Viktoria) Hospital (1907–11, Robert Leibniz), the Italian Hospital (1911–17, Antonio Barluzzi), and the Russian (1871), which, though in different architectural styles, all employed the monolithic form Pite studiously avoided. These hospitals also adopted historic styles evocative of their patron countries. Although local materials were often used, in these other hospitals no attempt was made to employ or even take into account the styles common to the region, as Pite did with his hospital. The uniqueness of Pite's design, along with its pioneering role, are clearer when compared with the design for Christ Church, which preceded it, or St George's Cathedral, constructed afterwards.

A brief examination of Continental politics clarifies the reasons behind the design of St George's and its location. The split between the German and English Protestant churches in the Holy Land in the 1880s meant that each Church had to have its own presence in Jerusalem. The Germans, friendly as they were with the ruling Ottoman Turks, were able to acquire a site in the Old City, just down the street from the Holy Sepulchre. There they constructed the Church of the Redeemer, laying visible the earlier, historic structure discovered during foundation excavations, employing as decoration some of the architectural artefacts discovered. Designed by the German architect Friedrich Adler, and begun in 1893 under his supervision, the church was completed posthumously by his student Paul Groth in 1898. Unlike the Cathedral of St George, which is located outside the walls of the Old City, the Church of the Redeemer is only steps from the Holy Sepulchre, attesting to the strong relationship between the German and the Ottoman empires. The church's simplified Romanesque style was also a reflection of the ongoing debate over appropriate styles for German structures in the Holy Land.

Faced with this competition, the English decided to construct a building comparable in scale, if not location. St George's Cathedral, the English Protestant Church in the Holy Land, and seat of the English Archbishopric following the

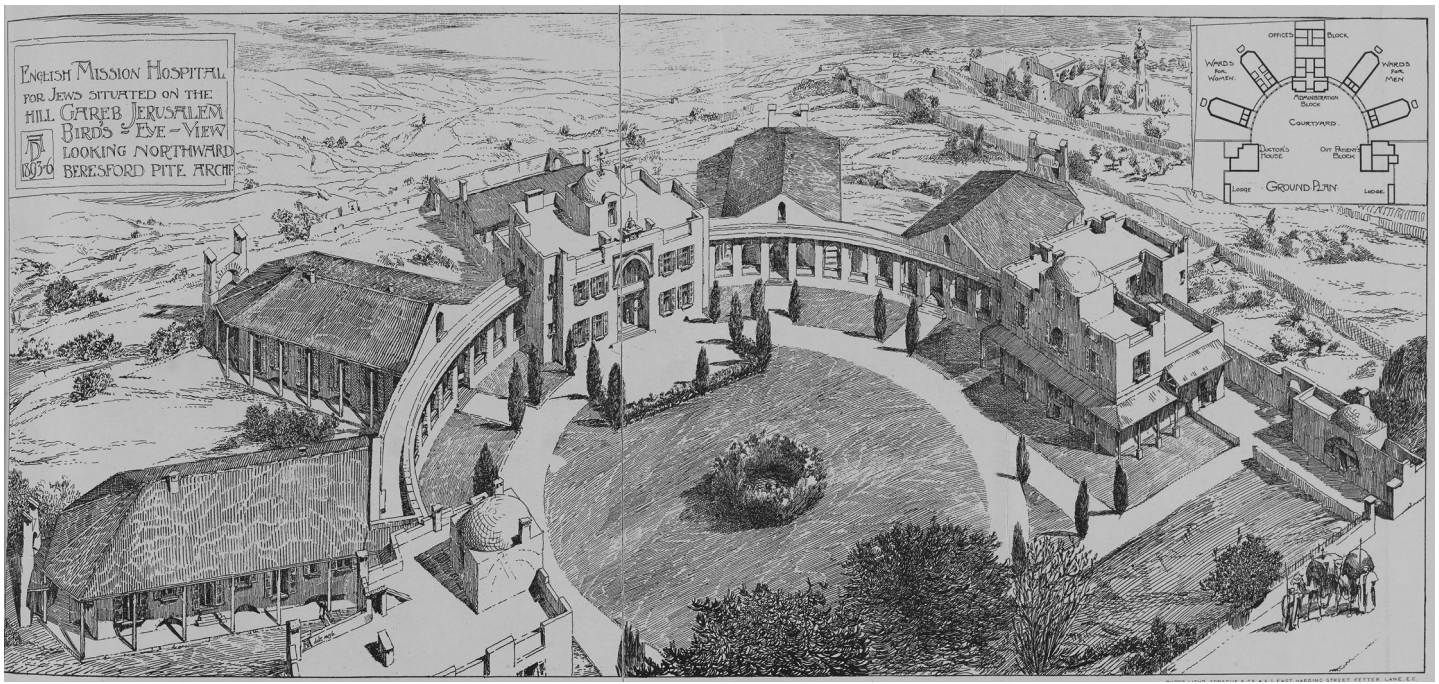

Figure 12.4. English Mission Hospital for Jews, Jerusalem (1896), by A. Beresford Pite (source: *The Builder*, 9 May 1896).

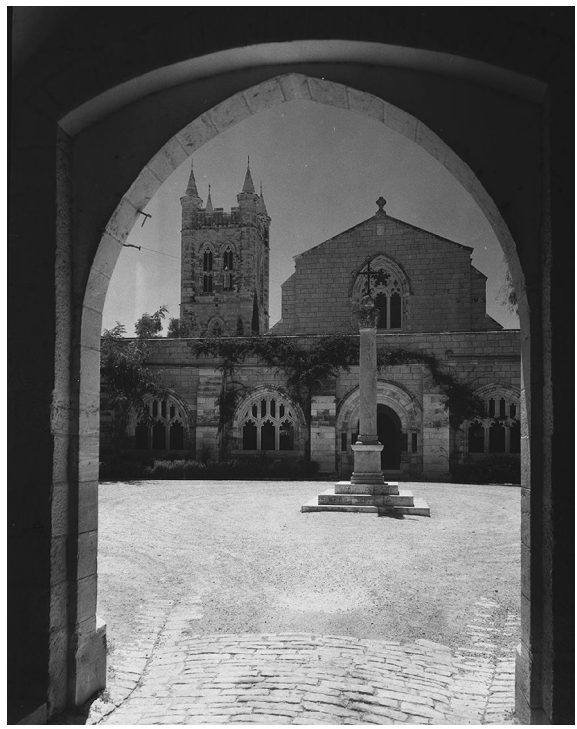

Figure 12.5. Exterior view of St George's Cathedral through main entrance, Jerusalem (1891–8), by George Jeffery (Library of Congress, Washington, G. Eric and Edith Matson Photograph Collection: LC-M345-10771 [P&P]).

split with Germany, was designed by the English architect George Jeffery (1855–1935) after New College, Oxford (Figure 12.5). Active both as an architect and preservationist, Jeffery published a study on the Holy Sepulchre in 1910 and, the following year, a study of the secondary churches of Jerusalem.[28] St George's, unlike Pite's coeval hospital, or even the Church of the Redeemer, made no concessions to its location. The complex, with small tower, cloister, and attached outbuildings, would not look at all out of place in the English countryside, as it did on what was then the far outskirts of Jerusalem.

URBANISM AND PLANNING IN THE HOLY LAND

British infrastructural intervention in Jerusalem before World War I was similar to that of its European rivals: utilitarian and nationally representative. Until the award of the Mandate, the British had no reason, ability, or need to construct

[28] G. Jeffery, *The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem* (London, 1910) and *The Secondary Churches of Jerusalem and its Suburbs* (London, 1911).

public buildings in Jerusalem. Closely associated with this was planning. This concerned the power to create and control the public face of the city in which such buildings were to be situated. An additional factor for British planers in Mandatory Palestine after World War I was Zionism, which was a movement that enjoyed multinational support for its practical realization.

From the turn of the century onward, Zionists were erecting houses, founding settlements, and building cities in the Holy Land, with imported and modified European urban ideals. An example of this can be found in the work of the Vienna-based architect and early supporter of Zionism, Wilhelm Stiassny (1842–1910), whose proposal for a development near Jaffa ignores (or was simply unaware of) the regional climatic and economic conditions. Comprising a regular orthogonal plan, with large houses on expansive plots, the design seemed more appropriate to the green spaces north of Stiassny's Vienna than the sands north of Jaffa.[29]

Like the foreign presence of European powers in the Holy Land, Zionism, too, was an alien power, based in Germany but encompassing a worldwide movement. Therefore, it also had to deal with many of the same difficulties that the Ottoman Turks placed upon foreign powers. But the fundamental and important difference was the range, size, and density of Zionist projects. While other nations were erecting individual representative buildings, Zionists were constructing entire villages and towns, with the intention of changing the face of the land. Style was not a major consideration, the physical realization of built form was.

However, following the awarding of the Palestine Mandate by the League of Nations to Britain after World War I, the situation changed dramatically. Not only were Ottoman hindrances removed, but the absolute necessity of and responsibility for building an infrastructure of governance became paramount. British architectural efforts focused on two main cities: Jerusalem, administrative capital and spiritual centre of the country, and Haifa, the major port and industrial city of the Mandate. In the interwar years, Tel Aviv was burgeoning, but little British construction activity took place there. In 1925 Patrick Geddes (1854–1932) worked on a city plan for Tel Aviv, but it was privately rather than publically commissioned, unlike his plan for Jerusalem.[30] In population, Jerusalem and Haifa differed greatly from Tel Aviv. The latter's was primarily Jewish while the other two cities, in contrast, had mixed populations: Jerusalem attracted religious people from all over the world—Jew, Muslim, and Christian—while Haifa, though religiously significant, was a greater economic draw than a religious one. This economic significance, especially the Kirkuk oil pipeline and the city's deep-water harbour, attracted British planning in the region.

Jerusalem was nonetheless elevated to the administrative capital of the newly created Mandate. This was, in a sense, a political promotion for the city, for under the Ottomans, the entire region had been administered from Damascus. For obvious

[29] I. Sonder, 'The Project to Establish a Colony in the Holy Land: The Viennese Architect Wilhelm Stiassny (1842–1910) and his Building Program for Palestine', *Assaph. Section B: Studies in Art History*, vol. 9 (2004), pp. 135–60.

[30] See V. M. Welter, 'The 1925 Master Plan for Tel-Aviv by Patrick Geddes', *Israel Studies*, vol. 14:3 (2009), pp. 100–9.

reasons, Jerusalem had special cachet for the British. As Ronald Storrs stated in his biography: 'there is no promotion after Jerusalem'.[31]

Once the British had administrative control of the Holy Land, first through the OETA (Occupied Enemy Territory Administration), then through the Mandate itself, the types of structures they both required and desired changed the scope of building in the city. The construction of a single, representative hospital or church was no longer sufficient. Hospitals for the entire population were required as was sufficient office space for administrative purposes. The British were suddenly responsible for running the territory, which was a very different situation to either the pre-war condition or what they were used to in Egypt.

British buildings in Mandate Palestine can be divided in three distinct but interrelated groups: an architecture of memory, an architecture of management, and an architecture of meaning. Though differing in form, the three groups drew on similar inspiration and were limited by similar financial and political constraints. The architectures of management and meaning were the structures of government power, the physical representation of British presence. But these differ in form. Management concerned what might be termed the physical structures of government, such practical buildings as ports, offices, and hospitals. They had some representative details, but given the stinginess with which the British operated the Mandate, they tended not to. The architecture of meaning, however, is a more select category. In Palestine, few such buildings were constructed: the High Commissioner's residence in Jerusalem, and the Municipal building in Haifa, are two examples.

The structures of memory, on the other hand, are in, but not necessarily related to, Mandatory Palestine, such as War Cemeteries. The region was the site of numerous bloody World War I battles—Be'er Sheva, for instance, was the site of the last great cavalry charge of the twentieth century, as English-commanded ANZAC forces on horseback, supported by artillery, advanced into Turkish machine guns with devastating consequences. It is also the location of the largest of the British war cemeteries in the region. The form of the cemeteries was dictated (and financed) from abroad, by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, though local variations were allowed.[32] A guiding design principle of the cemeteries was universality. Little, if any, concession was made to local architectural forms; the experience of one cemetery was intended to be similar to any of the others. Jerusalem, however, does have a unique war memorial, located at the former Allenby, now Romemah, Square, marking the spot where forward elements of Allenby's army (searching for eggs for breakfast) encountered the Mayor of Jerusalem and his officials seeking to surrender the city. The monument, designed by the architect E. Wallcousins,[33] and constructed of local Jerusalem stone, clearly draws upon medieval imagery not uncommon in English art at the time, as well as the Crusader past in the Holy Land (Figure 12.6).[34] Similar in many ways to Lutyens's far better-known cenotaph in

[31] R. Storrs, *Orientations* (London, 1943), p. 465.

[32] The issue of the cemetery's design is dealt with extensively in R. Fuchs, 'The Planning of the British War Cemeteries in Mandatory Palestine [in Hebrew]', *Cathedra: For the History of Eretz Israel & Its Yishuv*, no. 79 (1996), pp. 114–39.

[33] E. Wallcousins, 'Cenotaph to be Erected', *Building News* (1920), p. 54.

[34] The overall question of medievalism in interwar England is dealt with in M. T. Saler, *Avant-Garde in Interwar England: Medieval Modernism and the London Underground* (Oxford, 2001).

Figure 12.6. Romemah Memorial, Jerusalem (1920), by E. Wallcousins (Library of Congress, Washington, G. Eric and Edith Matson Photograph Collection: LC-M32-3001 [P&P]).

London,[35] the monument is a catafalque-like design, with its sides decorated by stylized, vertically oriented gisant. Encircling the base is an inscription explaining the significance of the site and the monument.

[35] It seems to lack the more profound and subtle geometric meaning of Lutyens's monument. See A. Greenberg, 'Lutyens's Cenotaph', *JSAH*, vol. 48:1 (1989), pp. 5–23.

JERUSALEM: CITY PLANNING

Even before the echo of gunfire had faded, the British recognized the significance and responsibility of controlling the Holy City of Jerusalem—the first Western power to do so for more than 500 years—and acted accordingly. Jerusalem and the Holy Land, being a 'Mandate' sanctioned and bestowed by the League of Nations, meant that Britain effectively had absolute power. It thus treated the region as though it were a colony, despite the clear expectation that it would eventually become self-governing. Unlike in Egypt, where an overt British presence was problematic, in Palestine there was a necessity not only to rule, but to demonstrate political visibility—a need which grew with time. As the military administration (the OETA) transformed into the Mandatory government, Palestine itself was also transformed.

In order to affect this change, General, later Lord, Allenby brought William McLean, city engineer of Alexandria, to Jerusalem, commissioning from him a plan for the newly conquered city—a plan that pre-dated the one for Alexandria by almost two years. This plan, though never fully implemented, and probably never could be, was critical nonetheless for the development of the city under British rule. It represented more a vision than a reality (see Plate 23). The Old City, within the walls, was to be surrounded by a green belt and preserved, not as an organic and vibrant Middle Eastern city, but as a historic and somewhat moribund monument. This amounted to a Western image of Jerusalem, a city whose significance rested on its biblical significance. In contrast, McLean's plan for Alexandria put economic development, and therefore the actual liveliness of the city, at the vanguard. Outside the city walls of old Jerusalem, however, in the 'New City', which at the time consisted of a handful of buildings located on the few roads that existed, McLean foresaw the creation of a grandiose European-style capital, featuring grand boulevards, residential and administrative districts, and a war monument centred on a *rond-point*. As with Stiassny in Tel Aviv, this seems to be the result of a profound misunderstanding by McLean of the reality of the city. While its religious significance was clear, the city has little else. There was no port; nor was there very much if any non-religious-based industry. But for all this economic and industrial shortfall, Jerusalem had political capital. It was a name recognized and revered throughout the world, and McLean envisioned a city whose physical structure was on par with its spiritual significance.

Although treated as if it were a British colony, Palestine was required to be self-financing. Imperial monies for local projects would not be forthcoming. A make-do approach therefore emerged. Numerous Mandatory functions, including housing the High Commissioner, were accommodated in the Augusta-Viktoria Hospital, which was seized as enemy property and repurposed. Other government functions were dispersed throughout the city. The lack of investment in the city was clearly a problem, one which Ronald Storrs, military, then civilian, governor of Palestine,[36] solved by founding the Pro-Jerusalem Society. Storrs' concern for the face of Jerusalem was evident from the start of his tenure. Among the first

[36] Recent years have seen a growing Israeli interest in and engagement with the Mandatory Period. For a recent study, see N. Shalev-Khalifa, *The First Governor: Sir Ronald Storrs Governor of Jerusalem* [in Hebrew] (Tel Aviv, 2010).

orders he promulgated was a statute stipulating the use of Jerusalem stone alone within 2,500 metres of the Damascus Gate.[37]

Organizationally and structurally separate from the British Mandatory government (though the two shared numerous members in common[38]), the goals of the Society, if they did not overlap, dovetailed nicely with those of the Mandate government. The focus of the Society's work was primarily the Old City. Much of the achievement of the first years was simple maintenance and cleaning, mainly in the area around the Tower of David. That building, formerly a barracks and prison, was converted into an archaeological museum,[39] while the surrounding fosse, previously filled with garbage and debris, was cleaned out and converted into a park. This required not only repairing broken sections of the Wall but also removing the numerous encroachments which had been allowed to blossom under the Ottoman Turks and reclaiming the space for the public.

The Pro-Jerusalem Society also became a way for foreigners to support the 'Holy City of Jerusalem', without necessarily supporting either the Mandate or Zionism. Storrs went on several fundraising trips to the United States.[40] Even the most innocuous of the Society's activities were fraught with political controversy, such as street naming. Many streets of the Old City had previously been only numbered and not named. The Society set out to name them, attempting to respect cultural and religious differences in the process, but nonetheless often incurred the wrath of the city's inhabitants. The actual fabrication of the signs was problematic as well. To aid the restoration of the Dome of the Rock, Storrs had invited the Ohanessain family—Armenian potters from Kutayha in Turkey who had been recommended to Storrs, and who had previously provided the tiles for the 'Turkish Room' at his country estate, Sledmere.[41] When the Armenian potters received the commission for the Jerusalem street signs, the potters of the Bezalel School, the Zionist Art and Crafts Academy, which had produced much of the decorative architectural ceramics for Tel Aviv,[42] objected. In the end, the commission was split between the two groups.

[37] The works of the Pro-Jerusalem Society are amply and beautifully recorded in the two yearbooks the Society produced: C. R. Ashbee, *Jerusalem, 1918–1920: Being the Records of the Pro-Jerusalem Council during the Period of the British Military Adminstration* (London, 1921), and C. R. Ashbee and K. A. C. Creswell, *Jerusalem, 1920–1922; Being the Records of the Pro-Jerusalem Council during the First Two Years of the Civil Administration* (London, 1924).

[38] The membership list of the Pro-Jerusalem Society shows Storrs was able to unite factions which seemed intractable. These included the Mayor of Jerusalem, the Director of Antiquities, His Eminence the Rais al-'Ulema, His Beatitude the Orthodox Patriarch, His Beatitude the Latin Patriarch, His Beatitude the Armenian Patriarch, the Right Rev. the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem, the Very Reverend the Custodian of Terra Santa, His Reverence the Superior of the Dominican Convent, the Very Reverend Chief Rabbi Kuk, and the Representative of the Palestine Zionist Executive. See Ashbee, *Jerusalem, 1918–1920*, p. 8.

[39] C. N. Johns and Palestine Department of Antiquities, *Guide to the Citadel of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem, 1944).

[40] 'Storrs Ends Visit, Sails for Holyland', *New York Times* (21 February 1923), p. 15.

[41] A general history of the Armenian tile-makers of Jerusalem can be found in N. Shalev Khalifa, 'David Ohannessian: Master of the "Dome of the Rock Tiles" Workshop 1919–1948', *Assaph*, no. 7 (2002), pp. 139–56. See also N. Kenaan-Kedar, *ha-Keramikah ha-Armenit shel Yerushalayim: sheloshah dorot, 1919–2000* (Tel Aviv, 2002).

[42] The story, as well as the works concerned, is documented more fully in B. Carmiel, *Tile Adorned city: 'Bezalel' ceramics on Tel Aviv houses, 1923–1929* [in Hebrew] (Tel Aviv, 1996).

To aid the Pro-Jerusalem Society in its task, Storrs invited the well-known Arts and Crafts theoretician, C. R. Ashbee (1863–1942), who had spent the war years teaching in Cairo, to serve in the newly created position of 'civic advisor'. 'Civics', as Storrs subsequently referred to Ashbee, supervised the architectural work of the Pro-Jerusalem Society and, continuing his Arts and Crafts vision, helped found the 'Jerusalem Looms', a weaving apprenticeship programme housed in the Suq al-Katan, one of the structures the Pro-Jerusalem Society had restored. Although almost none of Ashbee's independent design work for Jerusalem was ever realized, his effect on planning and architecture in the city are still felt today.[43]

Storrs also invited Patrick Geddes, then in Jerusalem at the behest of the founders of the Hebrew University to design a university campus on their Mount Scopus site,[44] to devise a new city plan for Jerusalem. Geddes's typescript 'Jerusalem: Possible and Probable' is typical of the Scotsman's work. After a thorough and insightful analysis of the forces which shaped the Holy City, Geddes considers the actual state of the city. Many of Geddes' recommendations were pragmatic ones, such as moving the site of the municipal incinerator downwind. One of the key architectural recommendations was the removal of the Turkish clock tower from the Jaffa Gate, where it had been erected in 1907 to celebrate the twenty-fifth year of the rule of Sultan Abdul Hamid II. One of seven such clock towers in the region,[45] the Jaffa Gate tower was described by Geddes as 'one of the ugliest structures ever built'. The tower was dismantled, and the clock mechanism placed in a simpler tower as part of a small market structure, re-erected in Allenby Square, only to be demolished later in 1934 as part of traffic reorganization.

The removal of the clock tower, while seemingly a simple aesthetic decision, is representative of a more profound series of political decisions underlying the architectural and urban work undertaken in Jerusalem. As the Pro-Jerusalem Society 'restored' Jerusalem, they sought to uncover and exhibit 'historical' fabric—fabric often obscured by Ottoman Turkish additions. By 'returning' Jerusalem to an earlier appearance—though one that was partially artificial—evidence of Ottoman Turkish rule (and thus Islamic culture) was removed. In a similar fashion, the Jerusalem War Monument evokes Crusader tombs, again, obliterating centuries of Islamic control.

Although the British controlled Palestine for nearly thirty years, surprisingly little construction was undertaken by the Mandate authority itself. As mentioned, the High Commissioner and other departments of government were housed in the Augusta-Viktoria Hospital.[46] Until the earthquake of 1927, this building, with

[43] All documented in the Minutes. These include a hotel on the site of the Fast Hotel, just outside the Jaffa Gate, a new design for the Suq at Mahane Yehudah, and the redesign of the Damascus Gate. See Ashbee, *Jerusalem, 1918–1920*, and Ashbee and Creswell, *Jerusalem, 1920–1922.*

[44] D. Dolev, 'Architectural Orientalism in the Hebrew University—the Patrick Geddes and Frank Mears Master-plan', *Assaph*, no. 3 (1998), pp. 217–34.

[45] Y. Levanony, '*For Whom the Clock Tolls?': The Clock Towers that were Built in the Beginning of the 20th Century in Honor of the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid II* [in Hebrew] (Holon, 2003).

[46] For more on the medievalism of German art in Jerusalem at the time, see E. Meyer-Maril, 'Der "Friedliche Kreuzritter" Kaiser Wilhelm II.—Die Kreuzfahrerrezeption in der deutschen Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts', *Tel Aviver Jahrbuch für deutsche Geschichte*, vol. 34 (2006), pp. 75–97.

slight modifications, including furniture designed by Ashbee, served as the High Commissioner's residence. Following the earthquake, a new, purpose-built residence by Austen St Barbe Harrison was commissioned.

This structure, completed in 1931, is perhaps the best and most mature example of a vision for British architecture for the Holy Land, and illustrates differing approaches to architectural questions (Figure 12.7). Indeed, all three structures in Jerusalem by St Barbe Harrison—the Residence (1933), the Post Office (1934–8), and the Government printing plant (1937)—were built within a few years of each other, and in three very different styles. The printing plant is a Modernist, white plastered building (Figure 12.8); while the Post Office, located on the Jaffa Road, the main street of the day, although slightly more decorative, is still a rather functionalist Modern building, using a modified Western architectural vocabulary (Figure 12.9). But it is the High Commissioner's residence that really shows what St Barbe Harrison and the Mandate authority saw as an appropriate and fitting architecture under British rule. A *Country Life* article from 1931 described this building, located on the 'Hill of Evil Counsel', as nothing less than a 'modern Crusader castle'.[47] In conception, the residence is not far removed from Pite's

Figure 12.7. British High Commissioner's residence, Jerusalem (1933), by Austen St Barbe Harrison (Library of Congress, Washington, G. Eric and Edith Matson Photograph Collection: LC-M32-50781-x [P&P]).

[47] 'A Crusader's Castle of Today: Government House, Jerusalem', *Country Life* (1931). 'Hill of Evil Counsel' was a name it bore during construction, and one exploited mercilessly by the Zionist press. The most complete study of this building (indeed, St Barbe Harrison's work in Jerusalem) is R. Fuchs and G. Herbert, 'Representing Mandatory Palestine: Austen St Barbe Harrison and the Representational Buildings of the British Mandate in Palestine, 1922–37', *Architectural History*, vol. 43 (2000), pp. 281–333.

Figure 12.8. Government Printing Office, Jerusalem (1937), by Austen St Barbe Harrison (Library of Congress, Washington, G. Eric and Edith Matson Photograph Collection: LC-M32-50740-x [P&P]).

Figure 12.9. Post Office, Jerusalem (1934–8), by Austen St Barbe Harrison (Library of Congress, Washington, G. Eric and Edith Matson Photograph Collection: LC-M32-9554 [P&P]).

Figure 12.10. Rockefeller (Palestine) Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem (1938), by Austen St Barbe Harrison (Library of Congress, Washington, G. Eric and Edith Matson Photograph Collection: LC-M32-7375 [P&P]).

hospital; both abundantly employ the local stone, creating structures that, while of the region, are clearly novel and may be related to the late empire architecture of those such as Lutyens and A. G. Shoosmith in Delhi.

While the Residence is the most significant of the Mandatory buildings of Jerusalem, mention must be made of the Rockefeller (Palestine) Archaeological Museum (1938). The museum, though privately financed, was also designed by St Barbe Harrison and can be understood as a further development of his 'Mandate style' (Figure 12.10). Because it was not truly a representational public structure, Harrison was given a slightly freer hand. His design is actually the second proposal for the museum, which was originally to have been built in Cairo, to designs by Welles Bosworth, the Rockefeller family architect.[48] In the museum's form Harrison expanded his stylistic scope, not only employing local materials and construction techniques, but also modelling the interior spaces on historic sites from the Holy Land—sites whose histories would be presented and documented in the museum. The library, for example, is modelled after the Feasting Hall in the Crusader Castle of Akko.

[48] For a full discussion of the Museum and its history, see J. Abt, 'The Breasted-Rockefeller Egyptian Museum Project: Philanthropy, Cultural Imperialism and National Resistance', *Art History*, vol. 19:4 (1996), pp. 551–72; A. Dawood, 'Failure to Engage: The Breasted-Rockefeller Gift of a New Egyptian Museum and Research Institute at Cairo (1926)', unpublished PhD thesis (MIT, 2010); and Fuchs and Herbert, 'Representing Mandatory Palestine', pp. 309–24.

ARCHITECTURE AND CITY PLANNING: HAIFA

While many city plans were devised for Jerusalem, few of them were ever realized. The port city of Haifa, on the other hand, was a different story. As the major deep-water port of the region, and site of the terminus of the Mosul–Haifa oil pipeline, Haifa became the focus of British economic and urban development. This development overlapped with Zionist plans which envisioned Haifa as the major city of the region. Jerusalem, because of its religious importance could not be ignored, but the economic and cultural capital was to be Haifa. Even under Ottoman Turkish rule, Zionists had focused on Haifa: the Technion, now the Israel Institute of Technology, was founded in Haifa, as was the Reali-gymnasium, the foremost high school of its time. While interest in the development of Haifa was both British and Zionist, it was primarily funded by Britain, which also provided visionary guidance. Zionists simply did not have the same authority over urban construction as the Mandate authorities, particularly the power of eminent domain.

British architecture and planning in Haifa were free of many of the constraints that existed in Jerusalem. There was a historic portion of the city, but it did not have the same religious or political importance as that in Jerusalem. Much of Haifa's development was profoundly new, building upon the slopes of the Carmel and on reclaimed land near the port. Also missing was the material constraint of stone. A modern city, Haifa's architecture was composed primarily of glass and concrete with its architects experimenting to a greater degree than in Jerusalem (or Tel Aviv) of the same time.[49] Owing to the greater volume of construction, more architects were also employed. Two architects worth mentioning, whose histories illuminate the range of British architects' experiences in the Holy Land, are Benjamin Chaikin (?1881–1950) and Erich Mendelsohn (1887–1953). Chaikin, who trained at the AA in London, was a son of one of England's best-known rabbis. He initially worked with Geddes on the designs for the Hebrew University in the mid-1920s and stayed on in Palestine. Mendelsohn, also Jewish, had immigrated to England upon fleeing Nazi Germany, where he set up an office. Shortly thereafter he set up a second office in Jerusalem, for several years maintaining a bi-national practice, receiving a number of extremely prestigious commissions from the Zionist establishment, including the Weizman House (1935–6),[50] the Schocken House and Library (1934–6), the Anglo-Palestine Bank (1937–9),[51] and Hadassah Hospital on Mount Scopus (1934–9).[52] In Haifa, he

[49] G. Herbert and S. Sosnovsky, *Bauhaus on the Carmel and the Cross-roads of Empire* (Jerusalem, 1993).

[50] Mendelsohn's renown, being the most famous architect in the Mandate of Palestine at the time, meant that many of his projects were internationally published. For example, for the Weizmann house, see 'House at Rehoboth, Palestine, Erich Mendelsohn, Architect', *Architectural Review*, vol. 52 (1937); 'Residence of Dr. W., Rehovoth: Erich Mendelson', *Habinyan*, vol. 1 (1937); 'House at Rehoboth, Palestine', *Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*, vol. 15 (1938); 'Hôtel particulier à Rehoboth', *Architecture d'aujourd'hui*, vol. 10 (1939).

[51] See 'Bank Building at Jerusalem: Eric Mendelsohn, Architect', *Architectural Review*, vol. 89 (1941).

[52] See 'Current Architecture. Hospitals [by] Erich Mendelsohn', *Architectural Review*, vol. 85 (1939); 'Medical Centre, Mount Scopus, Jerusalem: Architect Erich Mendelsohn', *Architect and*

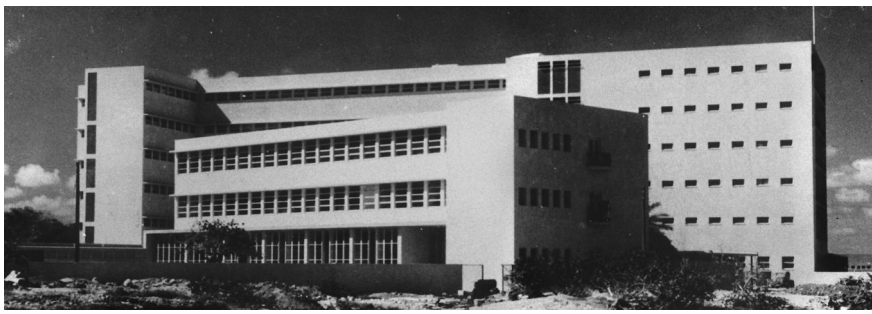

Figure 12.11. Government (Bat Galim) Hospital, Haifa (1938), by Erich Mendelsohn.

was responsible for the Government Hospital (1938), now the Bat Galim Hospital (Figure 12.11).[53] Though both hospitals are Modernist, the Hadassah hospital's design was again constrained by the requirement to use Jerusalem stone. Mendelsohn faced the steel and concrete structure with smooth slabs of stone, oriented vertically, not horizontally, indicating the non-load bearing nature of the façade. Chaikin's most significant work in Haifa, the Municipal Building, is a much more conservative design, as befits a seat of government. Constructed in stone, it nonetheless has something of the smooth Modernist feel that St Barbe Harrison had been attempting in Jerusalem.

GREAT BRITAIN IN MESOPOTAMIA

Although the focus of British architectural activity in the region was Egypt and the Mandate of Palestine, British architects were active outside these areas, in both Jordan and Iraq. The scope and scale of work in these places was significantly less as they lacked the economic importance of Egypt or the religious and political significance of the Holy Land. Britain's presence, and subsequent architectural and urban planning activity, in Mesopotamia (Iraq) shares similar roots to that of Mandatory Palestine. Both began with military occupations during World War I, later becoming 'Mandates' in the interwar period. But there are a number of critical differences, too. British political control in Mesopotamia was much more secure than in Palestine. While there were revolts, there was not the same organized effort to create a new political entity as there was in Palestine. Their economies differed also: Palestine had a small export economy, primarily citrus and souvenirs; Mesopotamia had oil, an eminently exportable and, after World War I, ever

Building News, vol. 161 (1940); 'The University Medical Centre on Mount Scopus, Jerusalem: Erich Mendelsohn, Architect', *Architectural Review*, vol. 87 (1940).

[53] See 'Hospital at Haifa, Palestine: Architect Erich Mendelsohn, Consulting Engineer Erich Kempinski', *Architect and Building News*, 161 (1940). Mendelsohn's work in Palestine is more fully discussed in I. Heinze-Mühleib, *Erich Mendelsohn: Bauten und Projekte in Palästina, 1934–1941*, Beiträge zur Kunstwissenschaft, 7 (München, 1986).

increasingly valuable commodity. British activity in Mesopotamia was also less fettered owing to the lack of the name recognition or international focus that beleaguered the Mandate of Palestine, especially its capital, Jerusalem.

Early in World War I (1914), Britain conquered southern Mesopotamia, including the port city of Basra, an important way-station for maintaining naval contact with India. For the duration of hostilities, the British occupied this southern region of Mesopotamia until 1919 when the League of Nations awarded Great Britain a Mandate for Iraq. However, in 1921, in the aftermath of an abortive Iraqi revolution and continued unrest in the southern provinces, Britain created 'the Kingdom of Iraq under British Administration', which lasted until 1932. Faisal ibn Hussein, the deposed and recently expelled King of Syria, was installed by the British as the 'Iraqi Monarch'. This new, nominally independent, Iraqi state was still heavily reliant on British political and economic support and control.[54] In a similar manner to Palestine, a High Commissioner was installed to protect (and promote) British interests, primarily but not exclusively with relation to oil. British architectural intervention in the region was primarily in aid of the developing oil industry and its infrastructure, both in oilfields and through secondary support structures such as housing and port facilities. As in Palestine and Egypt, one of the first official acts of British government was to constitute a Department of Public Works, to ensure the appropriate development and maintenance of infrastructure, which, in this case, meant supporting not just the exploitation of oil resources but also the planning and erection of civic infrastructure that had not previously existed under Ottoman rule, such as public hospitals, post offices, schools, and administrative facilities.

While no city in British-controlled Mesopotamia is comparable in significance to Jerusalem, British plans for cities such as Basra illustrate the same ideal of imposing a European-style urban plan in a Middle Eastern context. Immediately following the end of World War I, plans for the expansion and redevelopment of Basra were produced by Captain S. Douglas Meadows, Royal Engineer (RE). As discussed and illustrated in a 1919 issue of the *Architects' Journal*, Meadows's vision for Basra was similar to that of McLean's for Jerusalem and Alexandria. Meadows's plan focused on the economic concerns of the city with the intention of expanding it westward, from the Shatt al Arab waterway, site of the port and its infrastructure, to encompass new government and residential districts.[55] These new quarters were to be built on Western urban models, with a regular and orthogonal layout. A major feature of the new governmental quarter was the 'Great Road', which, rather arbitrarily, Meadows designed to be comparable in scale to the Champs Elysées or Unter den Linden.[56] South of the new administrative quarter was to be the businessmen and workers' quarter, which would include all the necessary amenities to elevate the city to modern, Western standards: 'baths, public wash-houses, libraries, laundries,

[54] A variety of aspects of the British Mandate in Iraq and the French Mandate in Syria are considered in N. Méouchy and P. Sluglett (eds), *The British and French Mandates in Comparative Perspectives*, Social, Economic, and Political Studies of the Middle East and Asia, 93 (Leiden, 2004), and in I. Jackson, 'The Architecture of the British Mandate in Iraq: Nation-Building and State Creation', *The Journal of Architecture*, vol. 21:3 (2016), pp. 375–417.

[55] 'Town Planning Scheme for City of Basra', *Architects' Journal*, vol. 50 (1919), p. 291.

[56] *Ibid.*

schools, theatres, and churches'.[57] The housing was to be Western in conception. Although employing traditional materials—mud brick made with clipped straw as the exterior cladding—the spatial arrangement was based on a Western lifestyle. Meadows explained that, as the function of the houses was twofold—to protect against the heat and dust in the summer, and against inclement weather in the winter—they should have the basic proportions of an English house. The inclusion of a larder and a room for the storage of game reinforced the essential and somewhat ill-considered Englishness of the designs. Even when traditional materials, such as reeds, were specified for roof construction, rather than evoking the long tradition of local Marsh Arab architecture, the intention was to evoke instead English thatch, subsuming local traditions into the architectural conception of an alien ruler. That the imposition of a Western ideal was Meadows's goal cannot be doubted. In describing one of the older, 'semi-native and Jewish' residential quarters of the city, which would not have been immediately affected by his plan, he observed that it 'would eventually either assume a European character or disappear all together'.[58] Like similar proposals for Jerusalem, Meadows's master plan was not realized, for the development of Basra in general was the focus of British activity.

Generally, the oil industry had a significant impact on architecture and planning in Iraq. One of the leading architects associated with the industry was James Mollinson Wilson (1887–1965), who, despite his critical role in the development of Iraqi architecture in the inter- and post-war periods, is little known today outside of specialist circles.[59] After articling with a series of architects in the United Kingdom, Wilson worked with Edwin Lutyens in India on New Delhi between 1913 and 1915. At the start of World War I he enlisted in the Indian Army and, while with the Expeditionary Force, was posted in occupied southern Mesopotamia. For the duration of the war he supervised the construction of bridges, barracks, and other essential wartime structures. After the war Wilson remained in Mesopotamia, posted first to the Political Service and then to the Department of Public Works (DPW), where he served as Government Architect. In this position he was responsible for numerous public structures. In Basra, these included the General Maude Memorial Hospital (1921), one of the first modern hospitals of the region, and, in Baghdad, the Theological College of the University of Al Il Beit.[60] Wilson, like his Jerusalem counterpart, E. T. Richmond, was interested in the historical architecture and archaeology of the region. A close personal friend and colleague of Getrude Bell, one of the founders and first director of the Iraqi National Museum, Wilson is repeatedly mentioned in her letters, often as a companion accompanying her to historical sites and on archaeological digs. He viewed

[57] *Ibid.* [58] *Ibid.*

[59] To date, there is no monograph devoted to Wilson, despite his significance. A privately printed biography exists: C. H. L. Smith, *JM: The Story of an Architect* (Plymouth, 1976). Wilson is also dealt with extensively in M. Crinson, 'Abadan: Planning and Architecture under the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company', *Planning Perspectives*, vol. 12:3 (1997), pp. 341–59, and in Jackson, 'The Architecture of the British Mandate', pp. 13–33. His significance is also mentioned, but not fully explored, in C. Pieri, *Baghdad Arts Deco: Architectural Brickwork, 1920–1950* (Cairo, 2010).

[60] 'College Al Il Beit, Baghdad', *Architect (London)*, vol. 116 (1926); 'Theological College, University of Al Il Beit, Baghdad, Iraq', *Architect and Building News*, vol. 117 (1927).

these archaeological sites as something of an architectural library; the forms and styles of the past could be resurrected and modified to the new Iraq. As Wilson wrote:

> Iraq has been the home of a certain style of architecture which has influenced the rest of the civilized world. But present circumstances need a new style of building which, it is hoped, will integrate the best of the traditional decorative features. It is also intended to use natural building materials available in the country, so that what is built may truly become an Arab Renaissance.[61]

Wilson left the DPW in 1926 and started his own London-based practice. He received a number of commissions from the Iraqi government, as well as from the Anglo-Persian Oil Company (APOC), which, in the 1930s, became the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC)—a major economic force in the region. In 1935 Wilson entered into a partnership with his former DPW subordinate, Harold C. Mason, who, after his own government tenure, had remained in Iraq. The two founded the firm which evolved into Wilson Mason & Partners. Unlike Wilson, who had articled, Mason had studied architecture formally under Charles Reilly at the Liverpool School of Architecture—training ground for numerous architects of empire.[62] The buildings the two designed are, in both genre and style, indicative of AIOC and wider British goals in the region.

The Port Administration Buildings in Basra, for instance, which were part of the development of the city undertaken by the British, clearly show the influence of Lutyens's imperial vision as absorbed by Wilson (Figure 12.12).[63] A broad, symmetrical structure, with walls pierced by a colonnade and graced with thin, taut, seemingly decorative buttresses, the building rises gradually, in steps, from the outer edges culminating in a towering tiled cupola, more than 60-ft tall with four clock faces. Reminiscent of the traditional religious structures of the region, the building was described in the press as providing a 'new architectural vocabulary wherein classical and Islamic traditions are melded'.[64]

This Lutyensesque combination of regional traditionalism and Western classicism was used again by Wilson in his design for the Royal Palace in Iraq. He produced preliminary plans for the palace in 1927, which, the following year, were displayed at the Royal Academy where they were well received (see Plate 24). However, realization of the building was hindered by numerous constraints: the

[61] K. Al Sultani, 'Architecture in Iraq Between the Two World Wars, 1920–1940', *Ur: International Magazine of Arab Culture*, vols 2–3 (1982), pp. 100–1.

[62] The significance and influence of the Liverpool school is also discussed in M. Crinson, *Modern Architecture and the End of Empire* (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 33–7; J. Sharples, A. Powers, and M. Shippobottom, *Charles Reilly & the Liverpool School of Architecture, 1904–1933* (Liverpool, 1996).

[63] The buildings are discussed in 'Port Office, Basra, Iraq, Mesopotamia', *American Architect*, vol. 136 (1929).

[64] P. Lavagne D'Ortigue, 'Connaître l'architecture classique et l'urbanisme colonial; rêver d'une ville moderne et syncrétique: J. M. Wilson', in I. Gadoin and M.-E. Palmier-Chatelain (eds), *Rêver d'Orient, connaître l'Orient: Visions de l'Orient dans l'art et la littérature britanniques* (Lyons, 2008).

Figure 12.12. Original design drawing for Port Administration Buildings, Basra (1926), Iraq, by James Mollinson Wilson (courtesy Wilson Mason Architecture and Interior Design).

geography of Baghdad, the expense and lack of building materials, and the poor quality of local workmanship. *The Builder* noted:

> In Baghdad, it is true, a few craftsmen working in the traditional manner can produce very fine geometrical brickwork, but the real understanding of the art is almost entirely absent, and the taste of the workman is inclined toward the most debased and flamboyant designs and their use in the most inappropriate and unconstructional manner.[65]

The design which accompanied the article, presumably the one displayed at the Royal Academy, was for a building similar in many ways to the Port Buildings in Basra. The U-shaped arrangement, comprising two small forward towers, is characterized by a central pavilion capped by a bright white dome. The formal spaces, including reception rooms, dining room, and smoking room, were all located in the central pavilion, while the surrounding adjacent spaces were allocated for service requirements. The upper floor repeats the arrangement, with royal private spaces in one wing and guest spaces in the other.

[65] *The Builder*, vol. 134 (1927), p. 651.

Wilson was praised for his ability to 'accept the drawbacks and difficulties imposed by these conditions', while introducing a 'modern spirit in the architecture; not, however, by imposing western styles or motive but by marrying the best of local art and craftsmanship with modern building methods and design. The result might be termed modern Saracenic style.'[66] The following year, a modified version of the palace design was published.[67] In this new version, of which only the central portion was illustrated, Wilson had simplified the design, flattening out the flanking towers and reducing the plasticity of the façade, making the walls more geometric while introducing a large arch over the main entrance. The overall effect is rather more classical than 'Saracenic'.

In contrast, Wilson's future partner, H. C. Mason, promoted an architecture which was less historicist and idealistic, being more classical and practical. His design for the Royal College of Medicine, for instance (a one-storey 'V'-shaped building, constructed of brick), seems most notable not for the classical nature of its design—a rejection of Wilson's 'Saracenic' influences—but its cost (Figure 12.13). *The Builder* commented:

> This building, lately complete, is simply planned on the cheapest line and allows for easy extension. The work has been entirely carried out by local labour, and the main

Figure 12.13. Royal College of Medicine, Baghdad (1927), Iraq, by H. C. Mason (Library of Congress, Washington, G. Eric and Edith Matson Photograph Collection: LC-M33-4629 [P&P]).

[66] *Ibid.* [67] *The Builder*, vol. 135 (1928), n.p.

structures by a local contractor. The walling is in a local brick, the columns being cast in Atlas White cement concrete . . . The cubical measurement of the building 441, 744 cubic feet, the final cost, including fittings, being Rs 205,00 (£ 15,185), or just over 8½ d. per cubic foot. This is exceedingly cheap for this class of work.[68]

One of the last Wilson and Mason projects completed before the outbreak of World War II halted much large-scale construction was Basra Airport. Originally awarded to Mason alone, the commission was finished after the founding of their partnership. In form, design, and features, the airport reflects the novelty and increasing importance of air transportation—the plan, for instance, resembled an aeroplane. The 'body' of the plane-like formation, set perpendicular to the Shatt al Arab waterway, with its 'tail' end near the waterway, housed the two-storey terminal hall, office space for airlines, and, on the second floor, the control tower, the wireless room, and bedrooms for the control tower personnel. The 'wings' were roughly symmetrical: on the ground floor are the customs hall, medical inspection facility (and its laboratories), a bar, male and female toilets, and a restaurant. The second storey contained twenty-seven bedrooms, each with a private bathroom. To one side, a small, single storey addition with a courtyard houses the 'menials', their work spaces, and dormitory facilities. The location of the airport next to the Shatt al Arab waterway allowed for service by flying boat—a recent innovation that enabled almost any maritime port equipped with customs and immigration facilities to serve as an airport.

Basra airport was one of the most modern of its day, capable of receiving the largest planes flying, in almost any weather, day or night.[69] Consequently, Basra airport became an important transport hub for Britain and its global empire. With the founding of Imperial Airways in 1924, Britain's far-flung empire suddenly became slightly smaller; instead of weeks by sea, a voyage from London to Delhi by air could be accomplished in only days.[70] Because of the length of the journey and the dangers of night flying (radar, a product of World War II, had not yet been invented), overnight stays were often necessary, hence the inclusion of a hotel at Basra airport, as well as bedrooms for pilots and tower personnel. Soon after Basra airport was completed, World War II commenced. A truly global conflict, the war shattered the social and political order Britain had built in the interwar period, putting an end, even if it took some years following the war, to the British empire.

Throughout the Middle East, especially in the interwar period, British architects, urban planners, and engineers answered the empire's call for their services. While the ways in which Britain gained the political control necessary to implement projects and designs (or even the need for these projects) differed from country to country, there is a continuity and similarity in architectural production and urban

[68] *The Builder* (1931), p. 1036. [69] *The Builder* (1939), p. 431.

[70] A typical air journey, though shorter than a sea voyage, was still an undertaking, with stops in Paris, Basel, Genoa, Naples, Corfu, Alexandria, Baghdad, Basra, Karachi, Jodhpur and ultimately Delhi, five days after having embarked at Croydon. For more on the history and influence of Imperial Airways, see G. Pirie, *Air Empire: British Imperial Civil Aviation, 1919–39* (Manchester, 2009).

planning. Buildings which represent the power and authority of Britain's global standing—be it as creditor, Mandatory authority, or ruler by proxy—required forms that could be both understood by indigenous populations as well as larger international audiences. Many of the architects involved, who were trained in Britain (whether British or not), shared an appreciation of the use of classical forms tempered by the indigenous forms which had evolved over time and reflected traditional construction methods derived from locally available materials. The buildings they built and the urban plans they designed largely remain intact. A second and more persistent legacy can be credited to Britain's presence in the region. The architects serving the empire and imperial interests were often associated with DPWs. This resulted in a cadre of locals trained in the techniques of these departments, remaining after the demise of direct British influence to continue British and wider European practices in form and structure.

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