

**School of the Built Environment**

**Processes of Colonisation through the Mechanism of the Architectural  
Pattern. The Crucial Role Played by the Architectural Patterns in the  
British Colonial Expansion, 1750-1901**

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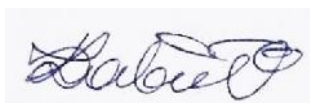
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**This thesis is presented for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of Curtin University**

**2023**



To the best of my knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published by any person, except where due acknowledgment has been made. This thesis contains no material that has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university.

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14th of June, 2023



## ABSTRACT

This research analyses the phenomenon of architectural patterns as instruments of colonization and statements of cultural hegemony in the British overseas dominions during the period of 1750–1901. It explores how these patterns were used to reinforce social classes, delineate British control, and visually separate the ruling powers from local cultures and customs.

Colonialism effectively expanded the dissemination of British architectural forms and triggered the introduction of building and planning regulations across the empire. The role of architectural patterns as instruments of colonization and expressions of cultural hegemony in the British overseas dominions during the period of 1750–1901, was pivotal as the manifestation of the intruding power. The study argues that architecture and urban planning based on British patterns played a significant role in Britain's industrialization and colonization efforts during this time.

In the British empire from 1750–1901, several contexts influenced the role of architectural patterns in culture. Industrialization allowed the middle class to emerge as a leading political power in Britain, while colonialism globalized the influence of British culture at that time. Architectural patterns represented and stratified social classes in both Britain and its colonies. In the latter, they clearly delineated, emphasized, and visually distinguished the areas controlled by the British Crown from the rest of the landscape and the local cultures and customs. In both Britain and overseas, architecture and urban planning based on British patterns divided the population into the rulers and the ruled. As representations of dominant political power and its ideology, architectural patterns played a crucial role in Britain's industrialization and colonization between 1750 and 1901.

This thesis is organized into three parts. The first part investigates the meaning-making practices within British culture from 1750 to 1901 to understand how architectural experiences contributed to the generation and enhancement of ideological outcomes. By studying the perspectives offered

by the meaning-making processes characteristic of British culture of the times, it examines what facilitated the phenomenon of architectural patterns as tools in the discourse of power and hegemony in Britain during 1750–1901.

In the second part, the architectural patterns are shown to symbolize Britishness, as a cultural identity, serving to transmit institutions supporting British rule and way of life, in addition to their role as a symbol of the imposing power. These architectural patterns constituted familiar settings for the colonizers overseas, in various geographical locations, with their climatic-related requirements. At the same time, they forced a foreign culture (cultural formation) with a unique built environment, on the colonized and their resident territories. The study explores specific case examples to illustrate how architectural patterns influenced the design of the built environment, reflecting British cultural hegemony, national identity, and political power

The second part focuses on how architectural patterns symbolized Britishness and served as means to transmit institutions supporting British rule and way of life. These patterns also accommodated the climatic requirements of various colonial locations while imposing a foreign culture and built environment on the colonized territories. The study explores specific case examples to illustrate how architectural patterns influenced the design of the built environment, reflecting British cultural hegemony, national identity, and political power.

Through select examples from chosen study locations, this investigation examines the relationships through which architectural patterns influenced the design of specific types and forms of the built environment as expressions of British cultural hegemony, national identity, and political power, as it is concluded in the third part.

In the third part, the research integrates the political, ideological, and cultural contexts in Britain and examines the consequences for its colonies. Through select examples from chosen study locations, this investigation examines the relationships through which architectural patterns influenced the design of specific types and forms of the built environment as expressions of British cultural hegemony, national identity, and political power.

By analysing the dissemination and impact of British architectural forms and regulations across the empire, this research sheds light on the interplay between the built environment, colonization,

and cultural hegemony. This examination provides an integrated account of the political, ideological, and cultural situation in Britain and the consequences for its colonies. It also contributes to a deeper understanding of the historical dynamics and power dynamics associated with the built environment in the British empire from 1750 to 1901.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	5
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	8
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	11
LIST AND SOURCES OF FIGURES.....	12
INTRODUCTION .....	27
PART ONE: Industrial Britain, 1750-1901 .....	58
1.1 The Industrial Revolution and its Consecutions .....	59
1.1.1 Social Division .....	61
1.1.1.1 The middle class .....	61
1.1.1.2 Education in social class organisation .....	67
1.1.1.3 Hegemony .....	69
1.2 Architectural Patterns.....	71
1.2.1 Urban Planning as an Architectural Pattern .....	72
1.2.2 Building Type as an Architectural Pattern .....	76
1.2.2.1 Banks.....	76
1.2.2.2 Bridges and railway bridges.....	77
1.2.2.3 Deaneries and bishops' palaces .....	78
1.2.2.4 Factories .....	78
1.2.2.5 Hospitals .....	79
1.2.2.6 Law courts.....	81
1.2.2.7 The lunatic asylums .....	82
1.2.2.8 Mints .....	83



1.2.2.9 Post offices.....	84
1.2.2.10 Prisons.....	85
1.2.2.11 Railway stations.....	87
1.2.2.12 Schools.....	88
1.2.2.13 Shops.....	89
1.2.2.14 Town halls.....	90
1.2.3 Building Form and Architectural Styles as Architectural Patterns.....	90
FIGURES 1.1-1.15.....	121
PART TWO: Colonial mechanisms of British imperialism, 1750-1901 .....	172
2.1 Justification for modern colonialism.....	174
2.2 Colonising patterns.....	179
2.3 Church.....	180
2.4 Colonial practices.....	181
2.5 Study location: British India (Calcutta, Bombay, Madras).....	196
2.5.1 The East India Company .....	201
2.5.2 British Empire.....	203
2.5.3 The Colonised and the Colonisers .....	204
2.5.4 Urbanism as the cultural construction of space .....	208
2.5.4.1 Calcutta .....	211
2.5.4.2. Bombay.....	213
2.5.4.3 Madras.....	216
2.5.5 Architecture as the most dominant construction of space .....	219
2.5.5.1 Designers and constructors .....	219
2.5.5.2 Styles.....	222
2.5.5.3 Colonial forts and British colonial government buildings.....	227

2.5.5.4 Churches and universities .....	232
2.5.5.5 Town halls and municipal administrative buildings .....	241
2.5.5.6 Courthouses and prisons .....	243
2.5.5.7 Railway stations and postal buildings.....	247
FIGURES 2.1-2.42.....	250
2.6 Study location: Swan River Colony, Perth Western Australia .....	293
2.6.1 Colonial Architecture 1829-1901 .....	299
FIGURES 2.43-2.67.....	314
PART THREE: Processes of Colonisation through the Mechanism of the Architectural Pattern. The Crucial Role Played by the Architectural Patterns in the British Colonial Expansion, 1750- 1901. Theoretical Framework Revisited.....	
3.1 Observers-participants and their colonial experience 1750-1901. Critical enquiries .....	344
3.2 Architectural pattern as the expression of hegemony .....	348
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	352

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Each of these individuals has played a pivotal role in the development and completion of this thesis, and for that, I am truly grateful.

## LIST AND SOURCES OF FIGURES

### Figure 1.1: **Banks - The Bank of England, London, 1734, by John Soane**

1. *A view of the Bank of England, Threadneedle Street, London, 1797*  
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<https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O685079/designs-for-public-and-private-print-sir-john-soane/>
4. Axonometric projection  
<https://socks-studio.com/img/blog/soane-bank-of-england-04.jpg>

### Figure 1.2: **Bridges and railway bridges**

1. **The Cast Iron Bridge over the River Severn at Coalbrookdale, Shropshire, England, 1781, by John Wilkinson**  
*A view of The Iron Bridge*, 1780, by William Williams, oil on canvas  
<https://comestepbackintime.files.wordpress.com/2013/04/5-iron-bridge-william-williams-painting.jpg>
2. **The Menai Bridge, Wales, 1826, by Thomas Telford**  
*The Menai Bridge from the Anglesey side* from: Gastineau, Henry. 1830.  
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**4. The Forth Railway Bridge, a drawing**

<https://www.theforthbridges.org/media/woxnopm3/forth-bridge-drawing-cropped.jpg?width=1920&quality=90&format=webp>

Figure 1.3: **Factories - Marshall's flax-mill, Holbeck, Leeds, West Yorkshire, England, 1843, by Joseph Bonomi the Younger**

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Figure 1.4: **Hospitals - St Thomas's Hospital, London, 1868, by Henry Currey**

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Figure 1.5: **Law Courts – Law Courts, London, competition entries**

1. *The Builder* 1867 (25), p. 151

2. *The Builder* 1867 (25), p. 191

3. *The Builder* 1867 (25), p. 209

4. *The Builder* 1867 (25), p. 225

5. *The Builder* 1867 (25), p. 293

6. *The Builder* 1867 (25), p. 311

[https://archive.org/details/gri\\_33125006201954/page/151/mode/1up](https://archive.org/details/gri_33125006201954/page/151/mode/1up)

Figure 1.6: **Lunatic asylums - examples**

**1. Middlesex County Lunatic Asylum, by Coley Hatch**

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**2. Essex County Lunatic Asylum, Brentwood, by H. E. Kendall**

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[https://archive.org/details/gri\\_33125007023209/](https://archive.org/details/gri_33125007023209/)

Figure 1.7: **Mints - The Royal Mint, London, 1805-1809, by Robert Smirke**

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Figure 1.8: **Post offices**

**1. The New General Post Office, London, 1829, by Robert Smirke**

James Pollard, 1829 Aquatint, hand-coloured

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**2. The Head Post Office and Customs House, Liverpool, 1839, John Foster**

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Figure 1.9: **Prisons - Pentonville Model Prison, 1842, by Joshua Jebb**

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Figure 1.10: **Railway stations**

**1. Railway Office, Liverpool, 1831, by George Stephenson**

Bury, Thomas Talbot. 1831. *Coloured views on the Liverpool and Manchester railway: with plates of the coaches, machines, &c.: with descriptive particulars, serving as a guide to travellers on the railway.*

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Figure 1.11: **Schools - examples**

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*plans and details for rural parishes.* London: Joseph Masters, plates 1 & 5

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Figure 1.12: **Town halls**

1. **Birmingham Town Hall, 1834, by Joseph Hansom and Edward Welch**  
 Artist's vision of Birmingham Town Hall (competition entry), by W. Harris, 1831, watercolour  
<https://www.architectsjournal.co.uk/news/artists-vision-of-birmingham-town-hall-on-display>
2. (a-b) **Leeds Town Hall, 1853-1858, by Cuthbert Brodrick**  
*The Builder* 1856 (14), p. 690-691  
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3. **Manchester Old Town Hall, 1822-1825, by Francis Goodwin**  
<https://manchesterhistory.net/manchester/gone/formertownhall.jpg>
4. (a-b) **Manchester Town Hall, 1868-1877, by Alfred Waterhouse**  
*The Builder* 1868 (26), p. 318-319  
[https://archive.org/details/gri\\_33125006201947/mode/1up](https://archive.org/details/gri_33125006201947/mode/1up)

Figure 1.13: **James Gibbs**

1. (a-d) **St Mary le Strand, 1714–1724, London**  
 James Gibbs. 1728. *A Book of Architecture, Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments*. London, (Plates XV-XIX)  
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2. (a-c) **Saint Martin in the Fields, 1721–1726, London**  
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3. (a-b) **St Peter's Church, 1722, London**  
 Henry Hulsberg, engraving, 1722-1730  
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4. (a-c) **Round body church buildings**  
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Figure 1.14 **Houses of Parliament, London – competitions entries**

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3. Charles Barry and Augustus Welby Pugin

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Figure 1.15: **Dale Park**

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Figure 2.1: **Fort St. George, Madras**

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Figure 2.2: **Fort William, Calcutta**

[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/7/77/1844\\_Map\\_of\\_Fort\\_William\\_and\\_Esplanade.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/7/77/1844_Map_of_Fort_William_and_Esplanade.jpg)

Figure 2.3: **Fort George, Bombay**

<https://www.worldhistory.org/uploads/images/16210.png?v=1682230810>

Figure 2.4: **Writers' Building, Calcutta**

Photographed in 1885

[https://1.bp.blogspot.com/-RmbN5AdqozU/VGuaGUivgJI/AAAAAAAAAjBs/B-uJV9N0pE0/s0/Writers'-Building-in-Calcutta-\(Kolkata\)---1885.jpg](https://1.bp.blogspot.com/-RmbN5AdqozU/VGuaGUivgJI/AAAAAAAAAjBs/B-uJV9N0pE0/s0/Writers'-Building-in-Calcutta-(Kolkata)---1885.jpg)

Figure 2.5: **Government House, Calcutta**

a) <https://victorianweb.org/history/empire/india/29b.jpg>

b) <https://victorianweb.org/history/empire/india/29c.jpg>

Figure 2.6: **Government House, Madras**

Photographed in 1875-76

<https://www.rct.uk/collection/2701666/government-house-madras-prince-of-wales-tour-of-india-1875-6>

Figure 2.7: **The Banqueting Hall, Madras**

Photographed in 1920s

<https://www.prints-online.com/rajaji-hall-banqueting-hall-chennai-india-14398368.html>

Figure 2.8: **The Revenue Board Building, Madras**

*The Builder* 1870 (28), p. 1047

[https://archive.org/details/gri\\_33125006202085/mode/1up](https://archive.org/details/gri_33125006202085/mode/1up)

Figure 2.9: **Secretariat Building, Bombay**

Photographed – early 20<sup>th</sup> century

<https://www.lookandlearn.com/history-images/M589379/Secretariat-Building-Bombay-India>

Figure 2.10: **The Government Mint, Calcutta**

<https://puronokolkata.files.wordpress.com/2015/03/calcutta-minxt.jpg>

Figure 2.11: **The Bombay Mint**

Postcard

[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/ca/BOMBAY\\_MINT\\_Post\\_Card.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/ca/BOMBAY_MINT_Post_Card.jpg)

Figure 2.12: **St Mary's Church, Madras**

<http://www.navrangindia.in/2014/11/yale-and-clive-married-here-stmarys.html>

Figure 2.13: **St John Church, Calcutta**

<http://2.bp.blogspot.com/-OmGytag4-Aw/T-LoAOPxHZI/AAAAAAAAALM/R0WnJ3piq-Q/s1600/St.+John's+Church+Calcutta+1850-+1870.jpg>

Figure 2.14: **St George Cathedral, Madras**

[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/17/ST.\\_GEORGE%27S\\_CATHEDRAL\\_Chennai.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/17/ST._GEORGE%27S_CATHEDRAL_Chennai.jpg)

Figure 2.15: **St Andrew's Church, Madras**

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<https://archive.org/details/dli.venugopal.437/mode/1up>

Figure 2.16: **St Thomas Cathedral, Bombay**

<https://victorianweb.org/history/empire/india/bombay/11h.jpg>

Figure 2.17: **St Peter's Church, Fort William, Calcutta**

[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/0f/St.\\_Peters\\_Church%2C\\_Fort\\_William%2C\\_Calcutta\\_by\\_Francis\\_Frith.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/0f/St._Peters_Church%2C_Fort_William%2C_Calcutta_by_Francis_Frith.jpg)

Figure 2.18: **King's College Chapel, Cambridge, 1443**

[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/10/King%27s\\_College\\_Chapel%2C\\_Cambridge%2C\\_West\\_Front\\_by\\_Loggan\\_1690\\_-\\_heatons\\_cambs5\\_kings.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/10/King%27s_College_Chapel%2C_Cambridge%2C_West_Front_by_Loggan_1690_-_heatons_cambs5_kings.jpg)

Figure 2.19: **Fonthill Abbey, 1796-1813, by James Wyatt & William Thomas Beckford**

Rutter, John. 1823. *Delineations of Fonthill and Its Abbey*. London: The author  
<https://archive.org/details/delineationsoffo00rutt/mode/1up>

Figure 2.20: **St Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta**

Photographed in 1865

[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/f4/St.\\_Paul%27s\\_Cathedral\\_-\\_Calcutta\\_%28Kolkata%29\\_-\\_1865.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/f4/St._Paul%27s_Cathedral_-_Calcutta_%28Kolkata%29_-_1865.jpg)

Figure 2.21: **Norwich Cathedral, 1145**

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[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/a6/Norwich\\_Cathedral\\_from\\_Cloisters%2C\\_Norfolk%2C\\_UK\\_-\\_Diliff.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/a6/Norwich_Cathedral_from_Cloisters%2C_Norfolk%2C_UK_-_Diliff.jpg)

Figure 2.22: **St James' Church, Calcutta**

<https://puronokolkata.com/2014/06/01/st-james-church-circular-road-calcutta-1864/>

Figure 2.23: **The Church of St John the Evangelist (the Afghan Church), Bombay**

<https://memumbai.com/afghan-church-war-memorial/>

Figure 2.24: **Senate Hall, University of Calcutta**

<https://puronokolkata.com/2013/11/17/university-of-calcutta-1857/>

Figure 2.25: **The Presidency College, Madras**

*Illustrated London News* (8 June 1872: 548)

<https://victorianweb.org/victorian/history/empire/india/images/91.jpg>

Figure 2.26: **The Senate House, University of Madras**

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Figure 2.27: **Convocation Hall, University of Bombay**

*The Builder* 1876 (34), p. 13

[https://archive.org/details/gri\\_33125007023316/mode/1up](https://archive.org/details/gri_33125007023316/mode/1up)

Figure 2.28: **The Library and the Clock Tower, University of Bombay**

Photographed ca. 1890-1910

<https://tile.loc.gov/storage-services/service/ppn/ppmsca/41400/41434v.jpg>

Figure 2.29: **The Town Hall, Calcutta**

Photographed in 1860s

[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/57/The\\_Town\\_Hall%2C\\_Calcutta\\_in\\_the\\_1860s.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/57/The_Town_Hall%2C_Calcutta_in_the_1860s.jpg)

Figure 2.30: **Town Hall, Bombay**

*Drawing of the future Bombay Town Hall*, 1825, unknown artist

<https://www.victorianweb.org/history/empire/india/images/99h.jpg>

Figure 2.31: **The Municipal Corporation Building, Bombay**

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[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/25/BMC\\_1.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/25/BMC_1.jpg)

Figure 2.32: **Victoria Public Hall, or the Town Hall, Madras**

<https://digitalcollections.lib.uh.edu/concern/images/sn009z50n?locale=en#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0&xywh=446%2C768%2C3255%2C1790>

Figure 2.33: **The Old Court House, Calcutta**

*Illustrated London News* 1871

<https://creazilla.com/nodes/7201636-the-court-house-at-calcutta-a-wood-engraving-from-the-illustrated-london-news-18>

Figure 2.34: **The Calcutta High Court**

<https://4.bp.blogspot.com/-AW5IRzKpPSc/Vppgm6OZvaI/AAAAAAAAakuU/D-wk1ALHskU/s0/High%2BCourt%2Bof%2BCalcutta%2B%2528Kolkata%2529%2B-%2BMid%2B19th%2BCentury%2B1.jpg>

Figure 2.35: **George Gilbert Scott's competition entry for the new Hamburg Rathaus**

<https://www.kunstfreund.eu/Hamburg-Rathaus-Entwurf-eines-neuen-Rathhauses-fuer-Hamburg-von-Georg-Gilbert-Scott-in-London->

Figure 2.36: **The High Court of Bombay**

<https://www.mutualart.com/Artwork/HIGH-COURT--BOMBAY/BF09FBDC8968A1C2>

Figure 2.37: **Madras High Court**

[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/bf/04High\\_Court\\_Madras.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/bf/04High_Court_Madras.jpg)

Figure 2.38: **Howrah Terminus, Calcutta**

Photographed in 1945

[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/51/Howrah\\_railway\\_station%2C\\_Calcutta\\_in\\_1945.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/51/Howrah_railway_station%2C_Calcutta_in_1945.jpg)

Figure 2.39: **The Victoria Terminus, Bombay**

<https://smarthistory.org/shivaji-terminus-mumbai/>

Figure 2.40: **George Gilbert Scott's competition entry for the Reichstag, Berlin**

<https://gilbertscott.org/design-for-reichstag/>

Figure 2.41: **The General Post Office, Calcutta**

[https://4.bp.blogspot.com/-pcIpyLd2WEg/TtCpVERaC3I/AAAAAAAAAMrU/3ZjYIP\\_0Lao/s1600/General+Post+Office+%2528GPO%2529+-+Calcutta+%2528Kolkata%2529+1875.jpg](https://4.bp.blogspot.com/-pcIpyLd2WEg/TtCpVERaC3I/AAAAAAAAAMrU/3ZjYIP_0Lao/s1600/General+Post+Office+%2528GPO%2529+-+Calcutta+%2528Kolkata%2529+1875.jpg)

Figure 2.42: **Telegraph Office, Calcutta**

Photographed in 1878

<https://puronokolkata.com/2013/11/04/october-2011-ebook-share-taydoinfo/>

Figure 2.43: **Round House, Fremantle**

[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/12/Round\\_House\\_Fremantle.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/12/Round_House_Fremantle.jpg)

<https://scoop.com.au/discover-fremantles-dark-history-with-a-true-crimes-tour/?type=museums&region=fremantle-region&mapType=roadmap&view=map&mode=discover>

Figure 2.44: **Old Government House, Perth**

<https://govhouse.wa.gov.au/about-us/history-of-government-house/>

Figure 2.45: **Old Court House, Perth**

Photographed ca 1920

[https://purl.slwa.wa.gov.au/download/slwa\\_b2099507\\_2.jpg?agree](https://purl.slwa.wa.gov.au/download/slwa_b2099507_2.jpg?agree)

Figure 2.46: **The Old Mill, South Perth**

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[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/df/Oldmill\\_sthperth\\_1\\_gnangarra.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/df/Oldmill_sthperth_1_gnangarra.jpg)

Figure 2.47: **Fremantle Prison**

<https://thelittlehouseofhorrors.com/fremantle-prison/>

Figure 2.48: **Fremantle Lunatic Asylum**

<https://thelittlehouseofhorrors.com/fremantle-arts-centre/>

Figure 2.49: **Government House, Perth**

<https://govhouse.wa.gov.au/about-us/history-of-government-house/>

Figure 2.50: **Burghley House, Lincolnshire, 1555-1587**

[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/b6/Neale%281818%29\\_p3.128\\_-\\_Burleigh\\_House%2C\\_Lincolnshire.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/b6/Neale%281818%29_p3.128_-_Burleigh_House%2C_Lincolnshire.jpg)

Figure 2.51: **Donaldson's School for the Deaf, Edinburg, 1851**

<https://blog.historicenvironment.scot/2022/04/donaldsons-school/>

Figure 2.52: **Perth Pensioner Barracks**

Coloured photograph

<https://whoisshelly.files.wordpress.com/2013/12/barracks-small.jpg>

<https://fremantlestuff.info/organisations/img/epfbarracks.jpg>



Figure 2.53: **The Old Perth Gaol**

<https://www.museumofperth.com.au/old-perth-gaol>

Figure 2.54: **Bishop Hale's Collegiate School, Perth**

<https://fremantlestuff.info/buildings/cloisters.html>

Figure 2.55: **Eton College, Windsor**

<https://www.britain-visitor.com/uk-city-guides/eton-college>

Figure 2.56: **Perth Town Hall**

<https://finishingtouchgallery.com.au/product/p057-perth-town-hall-c1870-courtesy-rwahs/>

Figure 2.57: **Wesley Uniting Church, Perth**

<https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2478362370/view?partId=nla.obj-2478363328#page/n0/mode/1up>

Figure 2.58: **St George's Cathedral Deanery, Perth**

<https://www.abc.net.au/local/photos/2014/03/11/3961197.htm>

Figure 2.59: **The First Anglican Church of St George, Perth**

<https://www.perthcathedral.org/st-georges-cathedral/>

Figure 2.60: **St John's Pro-Cathedral - The Church of St John the Apostle and Evangelist**

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[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/51/St\\_John%27s\\_pro-cathedral.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/51/St_John%27s_pro-cathedral.jpg)

Figure 2.61: **St Mary's Cathedral, Perth**

<https://www.museumofperth.com.au/st-marys-cathedral>

Figure 2.62: **St George's Cathedral, Perth**

[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/a1/St\\_George%27s\\_Cathedra1%2C\\_view\\_form\\_the\\_south\\_west.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/a/a1/St_George%27s_Cathedra1%2C_view_form_the_south_west.jpg)

Figure 2.63: **Trinity Uniting Church, Perth**

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[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/5b/OIC\\_perth\\_trinity\\_church\\_front.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/5b/OIC_perth_trinity_church_front.jpg)

Figure 2.64: **Central Government Offices, Perth**

[https://purl.slwa.wa.gov.au/slwa\\_b2465077\\_1](https://purl.slwa.wa.gov.au/slwa_b2465077_1)

Figure 2.65: **The Land Titles Offices**

<https://www.gpsmycity.com/tours/perth-historic-buildings-walk-3284.html>

Figure 2.66: **The Old Observatory, West Perth**

<https://www.abc.net.au/news/2015-09-10/perth-observatory-history-now-home-of-national-trust/6764696>

Figure: 2.67: **The Perth Mint**

<https://images.app.goo.gl/z6crEu7Gx9Nuday4A>

## INTRODUCTION

Architectural patterns encompass various aspects of the built environment, including building types, architectural styles, and planning, which result from political, economic, and social processes and relevant institutions. They reflect power distribution and connect different cultural aspects. Architectural patterns offer a comprehensive understanding of the culture in which they develop and allow for their replication in multiple locations simultaneously. These patterns are recorded through texts and visual forms related to architecture, which can be reproduced, published, distributed, or publicly displayed. They serve as models or references for artisans, craftsmen, architects, builders, and even laymen in their professional pursuits.

During the period of 1750–1901, the most popular forms of recording architectural patterns included illustrated pattern books, treatises, large folios, catalogues, and periodicals. These publications varied in focus, some specializing in specific elements of a building, such as order elements, chimneypieces, or entire elevations, often accompanied by floor plans and sections. Others provided designs for particular types of craftsmen (Connor, 1996, p. 273).

Architectural patterns played a crucial role in disseminating designs that characterized a specific culture, setting them apart from other traditions. This thesis argues that during the period from 1750 to 1901, the built environment, and architectural patterns in particular, served an ideological function by upholding power relations and physically segregating society according to the established order in Britain, or distinguishing between colonizers and the colonized in British colonies. As a result, architectural patterns became integrated into the discourse of power, imposing the ideological and political authority of the ruling class over the governed. To examine the socio-cultural and hegemonic implications of architectural patterns in Britain and its empire between 1750 and 1901, this research draws upon Pierre Bourdieu's concept of social stratification through symbolic attributes and Michel Foucault's analysis of disciplinary mechanisms of domination and power relations.

These architectural patterns met the demands of both professionals and the public. The media used to record architectural images during that time reflected the advancements in communication technologies, and their distribution was regulated accordingly. Architectural patterns echoed the economic, political, social, and cultural developments of their time. They conveyed ideas, recorded cultural meanings, constructed socio-political narratives, and exerted power and cultural hegemony. These patterns played a unifying, normative, and standardized role in culture. They were transmitted and replicated alongside social structures, arts, beliefs, institutions, and other products of human work and thought (Rising, 1998). Within the cultural context, patterns were influenced by factors such as historical periods, social divisions, and national distinctiveness, all rooted in a system of values that maintained cultural cohesion and ensured its survival as a distinct entity and closed economy (Benedict, 1934; Manganaro, 2002).

Architectural patterns had the ability to provide an ideological context for social, political, national, and cultural identities. Kevin Lynch argued that an architectural object, as a signifier with ideological objectives, represents social interactions and serves as a language for communicating social meanings (Lynch, 1960). In architecture, the meaning, an obvious and inherent attribute of the visual form, is generated by the observer, and its iconological interpretation is culturally and psychologically oriented (Arnheim, 1977).

According to Rudolf Arnheim, the construction of the ideological interpretation of architecture relies on visual conditions that influence psychological effects, and this must be considered when understanding the function of observed built forms: '...one must establish what people are looking at before one can hope to understand why, under the conditions peculiar to them, they see what they see' (Arnheim, 1977, p. 4). Furthermore, it is argued that "by changing the context, an object changes its character and thereby loses some of its constant identity" (Arnheim, 1977, p. 147). For instance, a factory building in Industrial Britain could be viewed as a monument to the owner and their ingenuity, while for the workers, it may have represented a place of exploitative work practices. Thus, a built structure could simultaneously be seen as a symbol of success and abuse. In the colonial context, institutions and their European architecture symbolized occupying forces that utilized colonial sources and resources for their own benefit, establishing their alleged cultural

domination. In the colonies, the encounter between two distant and distinct cultures created a new context that challenged the perception of British architectural patterns.

In his book "Social History of Art," Arnold Hauser examines the relationship between social change and art and culture in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Europe. He concludes that during this period, art was utilized as a social instrument of authority and propaganda due to the contemporary social class transformation, class struggle, the role of ideologies, and the economic production of art.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, Britain witnessed an unprecedented development of commercial activities and industrialism. The rise of financial institutions facilitated the flow of significant capital through employers and speculators, granting the British middle class not only economic, social, and political power but also a significant role as art patrons. This shift in patronage brought about a major change in taste, transforming art from mere decoration to a means of expression (Hauser, 1999 [a]). Expression became critical for the middle class as it allowed them to create their own identity and establish new cultural patterns and norms.

By 1789, various architectural styles emerged, each appealing to different social classes and subclasses (Hauser, 1999 [a]). Pierre Bourdieu, in his theory of social differentiation, explains how taste operates as a marker of class. According to Bourdieu, taste awards quality, evokes perceptions, and establishes meaningful procedures or practices in the form of materials, physical objects, or behavioural patterns, thereby reinforcing and justifying social order (Bourdieu, 1984, 1990). Symbolic goods and practices also play a significant role in constructing, sustaining, and reproducing the values and practices of societies, acting as markers of social difference (Webster, 2011, p. 31).

Furthermore, Bourdieu agrees with Gaston Bachelard's statement in "The Poetics of Space" (1958) that societies perceive dwellings as objects with symbolic, material, and economic values. He argues that buyers' preferences for housing in terms of form, content, and style reflect their position in social space, determined by their total capital accumulation and the configuration of their capitals, as well as their social trajectory (Webster, 2011). According to Bourdieu, class-based

tastes and preferences in the perception and consumption of art influence the production of cultural objects and the manifestation of societal cultural practices (Webster, 2011). Bourdieu also observes a common trend among the middle class, aspiring to imitate the tastes of higher classes despite lacking the resources and cultural refinement to match them (Webster, 2011).

In his book "Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste" (1984), Bourdieu argues that both art and cultural consumption serve the function of legitimizing social differences. He posits that the social construction of taste maintains social inequality and dependencies between dominant and subordinate social groups (Webster, 2011).

Architecture serves as a reflection of not only the aesthetic and formal preferences of architects and clients but also the aspirations, power struggles, and material culture of a society. The built environment can be considered a text, where each element reveals a nation's changing circumstances. A building can be seen as an architectural work of art insofar as it functions as a visual metaphor, conveying aspects such as the size, permanence, strength, protectiveness, and organizational structure of the institution it represents (but not necessarily houses) (Smith, 2016).

Michael Weinstein delves into the examination of power relations within the organization of built spaces, where the majority either acts in accordance with or is restrained from subverting the plans of the ruling or leading minority (Weinstein, 2017). Established authority operates based on the need for legitimation, connecting it to the interests of the public. Nietzsche, in his work "Will to Power" (1901), argues that power cannot justify itself and requires either hypocrisy or self-deception, thereby transforming the pursuit of power into public service. Symbols play a crucial role in discussions about power, as they are instrumental in both legitimizing and concealing its practices (Olsen, 2019; Wrong, 1979). As Foucault states in his work (1978), "Power is tolerable only on condition that it masks a substantial part of itself. Its success is proportional to its ability to hide its own mechanisms" (Foucault, 1978, p. 168).

The involvement of the middle class in the discourse on power during the period of 1750-1901 can be understood through Bourdieu's concept of the "field of power" and the notion of symbolic power. Bourdieu argued that power dynamics encompass both political and economic fields and

are manifested through symbolic power. Symbolic power involves the acknowledgment and recognition of domination, which in turn reinforces cognitive structures and social structures as natural and self-evident (Bourdieu, 2000).

In Bourdieu's theory of practice, he explored the interdependencies between "habitus" (cultural dispositions), the field of power, and capital. He described "habitus" as systems of schemes that operate across different domains and mediate between social and private spaces (Bourdieu & Saint-Martin, 1998). This concept highlights the role of culture and cultural dispositions in shaping individuals' behaviours, perceptions, and interpretations within the field of power.

Bourdieu also drew on Erwin Panofsky's concept of iconology to investigate the social production of culture within specific historical contexts. Iconology considers the contexts that give architecture its meaning and significance. These contexts are shaped by customs, cultural traditions, and the backgrounds (national, social, and educational) of the observers. They produce "psychological nuances" and reactions, as described by Panofsky (Panofsky, 1955, 1972).

Bourdieu recognized that the ability to create and interpret art is learned and socially constructed, and it is intertwined with the mechanisms that contribute to maintaining social hierarchies (Webster, 2011). He situated artists and intellectuals within socio-historically contingent spaces called cultural fields, where shared beliefs and values guide practices. Even the most unique and personal aesthetic judgments are influenced by an already-established common meaning (Bourdieu, 1969).

The contextual production and interpretation of fine arts and literature are central aspects in the theoretical writings of Hauser, Panofsky, Bourdieu, Foucault, and Arnheim. In this research, understanding the ideological construction of architectural patterns as tools of domination in the discourse of power relied on these contextual discourses, which explore how power relations, cultural dispositions, and historical contexts intersect in the production and interpretation of architecture. This approach allows for a deeper understanding of the symbolic dimensions of architectural patterns and their significance within the broader social, cultural, and political dynamics of the time period.

Bourdieu's concept of the field of cultural production refers to a social space where different agents compete for authority in defining artistic value, legitimacy, and orthodoxy (Webster, 2011). Throughout history, artists' works have been influenced by the legitimizing authorities of the state, church, and aristocracy, who exerted control over subject matter, form, and style. However, during the industrial era, artists began catering to the tastes, economic interests, and cultural values of the emerging middle class. This middle class, based on its perceived moral and ethical superiority, increasingly claimed authority over aesthetics (Hauser, 1999 [a]). According to Bourdieu, they were the “social pressures, which directed the work (of art) from the outside” (Bourdieu, 1969, p. 96). Bourdieu further divided the field of cultural production into the fields of restricted and large-scale production. The field of restricted production focuses on “the production and reproduction of notions of cultural value” (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 116).

During the period between 1750 and 1901, the middle class in Britain held the most cultural capital, as noted by Hauser, effectively replacing the aristocracy as the cultural authority. The control over cultural production represented a form of "cultural legitimacy" for the middle class (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 116). Bourdieu further “(...) developed a hypothesis suggesting that legitimised culture circulated as a form of capital in society, and that cultural capital, like economic capital, was the object of social struggle and status” (Webster, 2011, p. 42).

Bourdieu identified administrative, military, civil, and religious institutions as mechanisms for establishing, defining, and identifying new or existing values (Webster, 2011). Similarly, Foucault viewed factories, schools, prisons, and hospitals as apparatuses of discipline and order. In the period of 1750-1901, industrial urban-based capitalism monopolized Bourdieu's field of large-scale production, generating "popular" art tailored to middle-class clientele, as opposed to the elite, high art. Bourdieu, like Panofsky and Hauser, attributed the lower classes' lack of cultural competence to a discriminatory educational system. Both Bourdieu and Foucault shared the view that education, controlled by those in power, operated in a manner that upheld and supported that power (Webster, 2011).

Foucault, in "The Order of Things" (1971), observed that access to specific types of knowledge was regulated by the cultural production of the time. Cultural codes of order and perception were



intertwined with knowledge and could be understood and interpreted by those who possessed it. Such knowledge produced distinct cultural patterns that were employed to disseminate the knowledge itself. The ruling classes in industrial Britain controlled the distribution of knowledge, assuming the role of guardians, educators, and managers of the labourers and the poor who constituted the subjugated majority. This dominant position resulted in hegemonic power relations within the British social structure between 1750 and 1901 (Reid, 1995; Ursell & Blyton, 1988).

Foucault observed that while knowledge in the eighteenth century heavily relied on representation, in the nineteenth century, it shifted towards historical research and development, in addition to emphasizing "the forms of order implied by the continuity of time" (Fontana-Giusti, 2013, p. 31).

In his work "The Archaeology of Knowledge," Foucault focused on identifying the discursive formations and conditions that facilitated the emergence of certain thoughts and practices within specific historical periods. He sought to understand the mechanisms through which architectural patterns became intertwined with discourses of power and cultural hegemony between 1750 and 1901. Foucault viewed educational institutions as bodies that claimed and interpreted knowledge in the name of power, influencing and shaping the politics and practices of their time (Foucault, 1972). According to Gordana Fontana-Giusti, Foucault's analysis of panopticism has challenged the notion of architecture as neutral, purely aesthetic, or solely functional. It has highlighted the ways in which architecture is implicated in power relations and social control (Fontana-Giusti, 2013).

Foucault examined architecture and urban planning in various contexts, exploring their engagement with knowledge, social discourse, and discursive practices. He analysed their effects on social relations, their role in the politics and techniques of subjugation and control, and their use as aesthetic objects and spatial determinants (Fontana-Giusti, 2013).

Incorporating and applying Foucault's and Bourdieu's framework to the study of British architecture and planning during the period of 1750-1901 allows for an examination of how they were employed in Britain and its colonies. It explores the ways in which architecture and planning were not only functional and aesthetic but also embedded in power structures, social control, and

the politics of domination. By considering the discursive formations and practices surrounding architectural patterns, the research sheds light on their significance within broader systems of power and knowledge.

Foucault developed theories on the mechanisms of domination and control, particularly in relation to power relations and discourse. He perceived power relations as ongoing socio-political negotiations that shape knowledge production, thereby exercising power. According to Foucault, power is not an autonomous intellectual structure but is instead intertwined with systems of social and political control. Institutions, in Foucault's view, serve as disciplinary mechanisms in this process. Examples include educational institutions responsible for producing and disseminating knowledge, as well as social institutions that establish norms of what is considered "normal." These institutions employ mechanisms of standardization, class differentiation (dividing people into "us" and "others"), and spatial separation (defining housing types and locations). Institutionalized discipline aims to train individuals within the confines of their designated roles, utilizing a systematic hierarchy of commands from higher authorities (Foucault, 1977, 1978, 1980). The architecture of governmental institutions at various levels has played a crucial role in the disciplinary system since the eighteenth century, as noted by Foucault. Robin Middleton also supports Foucault's observations, suggesting that in the eighteenth century, there was a belief in the power of institutionalized discipline. This belief held that specific architectural designs for institutions such as hospitals, asylums, and prisons could influence both physical health and moral behaviour, without the need for more direct disciplinary practices (Middleton, 1998).

The establishment of British architecture as a symbol of power and authority played a significant role in the construction of the British Empire. The various colonial settlements within the empire required specific institutions to fulfil their functions, and these institutions were associated with distinct architectural forms that reflected their purposes.

Architectural forms for governance, worship, finance, trade, education, and socialization, among others, were essential components of colonial settlements. These buildings were designed based on examples rooted in European cultural heritage, which aligned with British traditions and

customs. The architectural styles and forms employed in these colonial structures were often derived from prevailing European architectural trends of the time.

By replicating architectural forms from the British homeland, the colonies were visually linked to the larger empire, reinforcing the connection and influence of British culture and power. The familiar architectural styles and forms served as a visual manifestation of British authority and dominance in the social, cultural, and political realms.

These colonial institutions and their architectural designs not only fulfilled practical functions but also symbolized the control and influence of the ruling power. They conveyed a sense of familiarity, order, and superiority, reinforcing the hierarchical structure and power dynamics within colonial societies.

By employing architectural forms rooted in the European cultural heritage, the colonial-built environment reflected the British Empire's desire to project its cultural and political dominance across different regions of the world. It also facilitated the imposition of British values, norms, and customs onto the colonial populations, further solidifying the empire's hold over its territories.

Overall, the architectural forms of colonial institutions in the British Empire exemplified the interplay between power, culture, and architecture. They served as tangible expressions of imperial rule, conveying a sense of authority and superiority while imposing British cultural norms and traditions on colonial societies.

In the cultural context, architectural patterns were intricately intertwined with historical periods, social divisions, social forces, economy, and distinctive national, racial, or religious identities. Construction of an ideological interpretation of architectural patterns can be approached through the research question that this thesis asks which is how did architectural visual effects and understanding of the function of a building generate specific meanings in architecture based on the experience of the observer in the context of British colonial practice? Here cultural associations between culture, power, and the built environment shaped the observer's experience. The objectives of this study include using case studies of a selected location as a ground to help understand these associations.

The particular ideological role of British architecture in Britain, India, and Australia can be comprehended by examining social divisions, cultural production, power dynamics, and political discourses between the ruling and the ruled. The observer's experience allowed for the interpretation of the ideological meanings conveyed through these processes. This experience enabled the identification of architecture and architectural space as 'ours' or 'theirs,' 'inclusive' or 'exclusive,' and as either voluntarily embraced or imposed upon the observer. In this research, the observer is not treated as an individual, but rather as a representative of a group with shared cultural, political, social, racial, and religious backgrounds, expressing the experiences of that particular group.

Architecture plays a direct role in shaping the interpretation of human experience, consciousness, and the clarity of meaning. Various scholars, such as Hopkins, Otero-Pailos, Casey, Pallasmaa, Locke, and Mallgrave, have explored the relationship between architecture and human experience, highlighting the significance of architecture in conveying cultural and ideological messages (Hopkins, 2021; Otero-Pailos, 2010; Casey, 2009; Pallasmaa, 2005; Pallasmaa, 2016; Locke, 2015; Mallgrave, 2013).

The research field explored the encounters between observers and the built environment in both Britain and British colonial settings. These encounters were shaped by policies, practices, and responses from various social classes in Britain and the culturally diverse colonized peoples. The subaltern studies provided insights into the experiences and perspectives of the colonized populations.

In this context, the research question (identified previously) is approached through a research methodology employing mixed methods. The study utilizes qualitative research in a historical analysis focusing on cultural and social phenomena and concepts of power. The study also utilizes a case study – as a method - to provide a ground to discuss architectural patterns and the arguments that this thesis canvases. A more detailed description of frameworks and focus for this mixed method approach follows below.

A theoretical framework has been developed based on conducted extensive literature review, examining visual material from the period under study (1750-1901) and relevant writings of the time. This comprehensive approach aimed to understand the complex conditions that influenced architectural practices and the construction of ideological interpretations of the built environment.

The methodology employed a series of perspectives to address the research question and analyse the claims and issues arising from these perspectives. Additional perspectives were considered based on similarities or contrasts, enriching the understanding of the emergence and transformation of architectural perception and interpretation in Britain and its empire.

The analytical mode adopted a perspectival approach, presenting trends and occurrences within specific conditions of architectural perception and transformation. It offered contextual and interdisciplinary accounts, encompassing historical, political, and cultural perspectives to interpret architectural patterns in Britain (Part One) and the British colonial context (Part Two).

Meaning-making practices of individuals within this research field were analysed using an interpretative methodology that combined critical inquiries and phenomenological analysis. The focus was on architectural patterns as tools in British colonial expansion between 1750 and 1901. The interpretative methodology allowed for the examination of the interdependent conditions and perspectives that influenced the production of architectural patterns and shaped their interpretations.

By employing this methodology, theoretical framework, and thematic approach, the research aimed to uncover how ideological outcomes of architectural experiences were generated and enhanced within the specified timeframe. The analysis took into account the complex interplay between perspectives, conditions, and interpretations, providing insights into the role of architecture in the colonial context.

Observers indeed play a critical role in interpretative analysis by providing insights into their understanding of the visible world based on their experiences. Christian Norberg-Schultz, in his book "Architecture: Presence, Language, Place" (2000), emphasizes the connection between

human perception and the environment, considering it as a "totality." He describes the human world of everyday existence as a dynamic interplay between the subject and the object. In the context of architecture, this interplay involves "the exchange of experienced space" and the qualitative interpretation of the environment (Norberg-Schulz, 2000: 67).

Norberg-Schulz argues that perception goes beyond predefined fundamentals or typical expectations. According to him, perception is neither limited to the established 'fundamentals' nor predictions of what is 'the typical.' Instead, it is the awareness of what exists through the subjectivism of the senses, a process of emergence, participation, and analysis of the essence of the "world of everyday existence." Every awareness comes from experience, and understanding the surroundings is stipulated by experiencing the already existing, known environment (Norberg-Schulz, 2000). This involves a subjective awareness of what exists, driven by the senses and the process of emergence, participation, and analysis of the essence of the world we inhabit. Our understanding of the environment is rooted in our experiences and the preexisting known environment. Precognition, or prior knowledge, is essential for the subject to grasp the meaning of the object.

For Maurice Merleau-Ponty, the awareness of the environment was based on recognising its forms as "the essence of perception," highlighting the importance of identification and engaging with the environment's forms (Merleau-Ponty, 1962). In this approach, 'seeing' involves the recognition and differentiation of similarities. Architecture, as a universal language, is rooted in the environment and considers local customs and the distinct character of a place as a totality. Phenomenological understanding emphasizes the meaningful connection between architecture and its context, considering the ways in which architectural forms resonate with the observer's experiences and contribute to their perception of the built environment.

The experiences that shape the observers' perceptions are complex and determined by the circumstances of power relations and the observers' place within their society or in discursive relations with other social classes or cultural traditions. Juhani Pallasmaa's perspective on the built environment emphasizes the conscious sensual experience and the meaning architecture holds for observers. He argues that architecture elicits rudimentary, common feelings and generates a

language that resonates with people who inhabit and interact with architectural spaces. This interaction is seen as a reciprocal exchange between individuals and the space they occupy, where the built environment frames and directs their actions and perceptions. While visual perception plays a significant role in experiencing architecture, Pallasmaa also highlights the importance of intuitive, unconscious reactions to the human condition in space and time. He sorts architecture into two purposes. The essential architecture, according to him, is for servicing people, while formal architecture's value comes from visually capturing the attention and recognition of the observers either through the language of expression or an appeal to the subconsciousness of their mind (Pallasmaa, 2016; 2005).

Pallasmaa further suggests that the functions of the city are derived from socio-cultural organizations, structures, identities, and meanings that bring together residents in a comprehensive way of life. His approach recognizes the multisensory and multidimensional nature of architecture, going beyond the visual domain. Architecture is not only seen but can also be touched, smelled, and heard. Pallasmaa emphasizes that while focused vision may create observers, engaging other senses encourages participation and a more profound lived experience of architecture (Pallasmaa, 2005). This perspective highlights the interplay between society and architecture, where the built environment both reflects and shapes phenomenological interpretations, deepening the relationship between individuals and their surroundings.

The relationship between society, its buildings, and the physical environment is integral to understanding social dynamics and power structures. Anthony King emphasized the social and cultural constructs embedded in the built environment, highlighting how buildings reflect and shape social forms. The built environment serves essential functions necessary for society to function on cultural, political, economic, social, and religious levels. Changes in the social sphere inevitably lead to alterations in the built environment. New building types emerge, while others become obsolete or undergo modifications to serve different purposes. Architectural patterns play a crucial role in these processes, acting as tools for shaping the built environment. The planning of the physical aspects of the built environment, including its location, appearance, and forms, is influenced by topography and guided by socio-cultural associations, behaviours, resource allocation, and organizational structures. Specific interests also drive commercial and industrial

redevelopments. When studying buildings and society, it becomes necessary to examine selective factors of social and cultural forms in relation to spatial and built structures. This involves identifying the contextual factors that determine architectural patterns. The key considerations lie in understanding how forms of social organization and symbolic meanings are expressed through the physical arrangement of the environment. It involves examining how beliefs and ideologies are represented in the built environment. By studying these relationships, we gain insights into the ways in which society shapes and is shaped by its built surroundings (King, 1980).

The built environment encompassed a variety of architectural patterns and planning approaches that reflected cultural factors and the distribution of power. These patterns were shaped by political, economic, social, and colonial processes, as well as the institutions established within society. Non-domestic structures such as factories, hospitals, prisons, shops, churches, schools, universities, and administration centres played a crucial role in shaping the economic, social, and political organization of cities within a broader cultural context.

Different societies developed institutions that corresponded to specific activities and functions. In less complex societies, individuals such as priests, healers, and political leaders might not have required dedicated institutions to signify their roles. However, as societies became more advanced, institutions were established with specific purposes and functions. Examples of such institutions include business-related structures like factories, offices, warehouses, docks, shops, and restaurants, as well as military facilities like barracks and forts. Educational institutions such as schools, universities, libraries, museums, and memorials, religious structures like churches and cemeteries, and social control institutions including police stations, prisons, and courthouses, also played significant roles. Additionally, governmental institutions like town halls, parliaments, revenue offices, and mints were established to support governance and administration.

The architecture of institutional buildings was designed to elicit certain phenomenological interpretations and responses. For instance, prisons were intentionally designed to create an atmosphere of deterrence. These architectural choices aimed to shape perceptions, emotions, and behaviours within the built environment.



Kenneth Frampton observed that in the mid-nineteenth century, architecture underwent a shift away from the sole pursuit of technological advancement and a simultaneous rejection of the nostalgic decorative elements of historicism and eclecticism in contemporary buildings (Frampton, 1982). The application of architectural patterns in the built environment of Britain and the British empire during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries aimed to establish a distinct appearance of building types, forms, and styles that reflected their cultural, social, and political background, while also symbolizing power and dominance.

Architectural patterns played a role across various perspectives, including the building trade, socio-political processes, and the organizational cultures and practices that shaped Britain and its colonial empire. The socio-political context focused on the social meanings and relationships within a homogenous social group, allowing for the development of identity, shared understandings, aspirations, theoretical self-perception, social criticism, and the broader dynamics and mechanisms of the group.

By analysing and synthesizing multiple perspectives rooted in the British social-class system, socio-political tensions, and colonial practices between 1750 and 1901, a comprehensive understanding of the role of social dynamics in the implementation of architectural patterns emerges. This analysis also highlights the positioning of architectural patterns as tools in hegemonic practices. Additionally, the examination of study locations immersed in the colonial environment sheds light on the use of architectural patterns in the colonial practices of land acquisition and power exertion over native populations.

The study acknowledges the complex background that shapes the analysis of the built environment as a political tool. It recognizes the interplay of social, political, industrial, colonial, and cultural transformations, particularly influenced by the Industrial Revolution and British colonial ventures during the period of 1750-1901. These contextual factors provide important perspectives for understanding the construction and interpretation of architectural patterns.

The research approach combines architectural practice and interpretation, considering the architectural patterns as a reflection of British culture and its unique social and historical traditions.

Furthermore, it examines the experiences of colonialism within diverse cultural traditions, socio-political contexts, and geographical locations of the British empire.

The interpretative methodology employed in the research aims to provide a comprehensive view of architectural patterns, considering their historical, political, cultural, and social dimensions. The study emphasizes the representative nature of these patterns, capturing the essence of typical colonial practices during the era of 1750-1901.

The theories of Pierre Bourdieu and Michel Foucault serve as a theoretical framework for the research, enabling an understanding of the circumstances that elevated architectural patterns to significant political tools in the context of British colonization processes. These theories contribute to the analysis of power relations and the social dynamics that shaped the production and interpretation of architecture during the chosen time period.

The chosen timeframe, from 1750 to 1901, encompasses significant historical events and transformations that shaped the study of the built environment. It begins with the Agrarian and Industrial Revolutions in Britain, which marked a shift from the feudal economy to capitalism. These revolutions brought about substantial changes, including population migrations from rural areas to burgeoning cities that became centres of administration and trade. It and concludes with the death of Queen Victoria and the beginning of the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901.

The increased population and urbanization necessitated proper city planning to accommodate the growing demands of residential and non-residential areas. Infrastructure development and the provision of amenities became essential for addressing the complex socio-political needs of the expanding urban populations. City planning also aimed to introduce standards for safety and enhance the quality of life for residents.

The study recognizes the interconnectedness between socio-political factors and urban development during this period. It acknowledges the need for comprehensive planning strategies that considered the evolving social dynamics, economic shifts, and the division of the population. By examining the architectural and urban developments within this historical context, the research

aims to understand the role of the built environment in addressing these complex socio-political needs, cultural diversity, and safety in urban areas.

During the period of 1750–1901, Britain was a leading European industrial economy with great technological advancements and the largest European commercial empire (A’Hearn, 2014). From the years 1783 to 1920, the British empire established approximately 200 colonies, containing over one-quarter of the world population (Davies, 1999). Due to its size, the British empire enjoyed the widest scale and application of its architectural patterns. The architectural styles employed in the British colonial world reflected the influence of British design principles and were easily recognizable due to the dissemination of architectural manuals from London (Chopra, 2011). These manuals provided a range of architectural possibilities, drawing inspiration from various prototypes, treatises, and pattern books. Around the year 1730, after the Baroque period ended, a process of reviving past styles began in architecture, essentially in search of styles that conveyed values associated with the past.

Architectural patterns in the British colonies were characterized by a heavy reliance on established styles such as Serlio's Mannerism, Gibbs's late Baroque classicism, Palladio's classicism, and Stuart's and Revett's direct copies of Greek models (Broughall, 2014; Nilsson, 1969). These styles, whether in the form of Classicism or Gothic, were often used to serve the ideological purposes of the empire. However, they were not always in harmony with the landscapes and diverse cultures of the colonized regions.

The architecture of the British colonial world exhibited a combination of European structures with Oriental details and ornaments, creating an eclectic fusion of styles. This eclectic approach allowed for flexibility in adapting architectural forms to the local contexts while still maintaining a sense of British identity and authority.

The choice of architectural style or an eclectic combination of styles was influenced by factors such as the intended function of the structure, the social standing of the investor, and their political and ideological inclinations and tastes. This was related to the growing sense of social, political, and cultural identity and distinctiveness. Different architectural styles conveyed different values

and associations. For example, Neo-Palladianism and Neo-Classicism were associated with cosmopolitanism, Neo-Gothic with Church and nationalism, Neo-Greek with democracy, and Neo-Roman with the Republic and the Empire (Barras, 2016, Middleton & Watkin, 1993; Pevsner, 2009). Revivals of other styles such as Romanesque, Byzantine, Renaissance, Baroque, and Rococo were also evident in the architecture of that time.

Overall, the architecture of the British colonial world during this period reflected the growing sense of social, political, and cultural identity and distinctiveness, while also serving as a visual manifestation of British power and influence.

The establishment of new colonies necessitated the development of standardized administrative facilities and infrastructure that would align with the broader British system. The proliferation of British architectural patterns across the colonial world resulted in the imposition of style and purpose upon other societies, visibly enforced through these architectural structures. From the eighteenth to the late nineteenth century, British colonial centers consisted of forts, churches, town halls, governors' residences, post offices, prisons, and similar buildings modeled after ideal British prototypes.

To understand the ideological significance of architectural patterns within socio-political and colonial contexts during the period of 1750-1901, it was crucial to establish the connections between cross-political power relations, architecture, culture, and the processes of colonization in theory and practice. Furthermore, it was essential to examine how architectural patterns were linked to colonization strategies developed on social, nationalistic, economic, and political grounds in both Britain and its colonies during the 1750-1901 period.

The chosen study locations provide examples of how British architectural patterns were adapted in both exploitation/occupation colonies and settler colonies. Exploitation/occupation territories were predominantly found in Africa and Asia, while settler colonies existed in North America, New Zealand, and Australia.

This research focuses on exploring the relationship between culture and power in the context of British colonialism, specifically through the lens of colonial architecture. The primary objective is

to examine how political authority was materialized in the built environment and how the colonial architecture supported the discourse of empire during the years 1750-1901. Central to this discourse are distinct architectural forms and institutions that embodied the concept of colonial power, strengthening the empire's control over both rulers and the ruled in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The colonial-built environment drew inspiration from European architectural styles, as well as earlier Mughal traditions in India, while imposing entirely European culture in places like Australia. This process involved transplanting certain building forms and adapting them to suit the colonial environment, thereby allocating power and introducing colonial order. Instead of providing an exhaustive account of all public and domestic British architecture in the chosen colonial locations, this research focuses on specific buildings that represent broader issues related to culture and power within the British colonial realm. These buildings are monumental in scale; they serve important civic and public purposes; they are not unique to the two examined study locations, but set the colonial world from that of Britain. The built environment gave meaning to the nature of the British empire while the gained knowledge about the distant lands and their traditions, conceived the colonial territories and their populations in the British culture.

The built environment played a crucial role in shaping the nature of the British empire, as knowledge about distant lands and their traditions influenced the perception of colonial territories and their populations within British culture.

The dynamic nature of urban development is a subject of constant change influenced by factors such as population growth, cultural evolution, and changing societal needs. Between the years 1750 and 1900, the global human population experienced significant growth, more than doubling in size. This population increase, reaching over 2.5 billion people by 1950 (<https://www.statista.com/statistics/1006502/global-population-ten-thousand-bc-to-2050/>), had a profound impact on the original settings of the colonial-built environment during the years 1750-1901.

As the population expanded, alterations to the built environment became necessary. Some old buildings were demolished to make way for new construction, while others underwent refurbishment or modification to accommodate the changing requirements and demands of the

growing population. The surrounding spaces around colonial-era buildings were also developed to meet the needs of the expanding communities.

In the context of the research, the illustrative material used is primarily based on visual sources from the time period being analysed. These visual materials, including archival graphics, paintings, illustrated periodicals, and photographs, provide valuable insights into the architectural forms and styles of the colonial-built environment during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, if such visual material is unavailable, the research may turn to later photographic evidence, although it may have limited relevance to the specific historical context of the period being studied.

It is important to consider the limitations of relying on current photographic evidence of the remaining colonial built environment from 1750-1901, as it may not accurately reflect the original state or surroundings of the structures. Changes, modifications, and additions over time can alter the authenticity and historical context of these buildings, making them less applicable for the research focused on the specific time frame of the study. The current state and surroundings of the remaining colonial built environment from 1750-1901, have limited application.

All the architectural descriptions in the following texts come from the researcher and are based on the available visual material to present architectural forms and styles in more detail. Some of the older descriptions contain incorrect identification of styles and errors in the specification of architectural details.

The historical and archival information used in the research is sourced from both past and current literature. The literature review conducted for this research encompasses a cross-disciplinary approach, including the study of architectural history, politics, colonization, and related doctrines during the period between 1750-1901. Additionally, subaltern studies have been consulted to explore the perspectives and reactions of the colonized populations to British presence and colonial architecture.

Currently there is no literature on the subject of architectural patterns as defined in this research. Although architectural patterns were known and used for centuries, they appear rarely in writings

on architecture, and usually are connected with printed architectural pattern books, in various formats, ranging from the basic pocket editions to high quality folios, as well as journals and periodicals. With initiatives such as the Internet Archive ([archive.org](http://archive.org)), many of the architectural pattern books from the earliest times until 1901 and beyond are digitalised and publicly accessible online. The interest in architectural pattern books started in American publications in the 1960s. The bicentennial of the United States of America boosted the interest in American heritage, and also triggered preservation efforts to secure what was left in domestic architecture from that period. However, in 1965, Charles Wood noted that before Henry-Russell Hitchcock's incomplete record titled "American architectural books: a list of books, portfolios, and pamphlets on architecture and related subjects published in America before 1895" (1962), there was no bibliography of architectural publications available in the USA for historical research (Wood, 1965). After Hitchcock, American authors contributed the most to the awareness of the application of architectural pattern books in domestic and religious architectural practice. American publishers re-printed all major European architectural treatises from Vitruvius onwards, and also architectural pattern books that has contributed to the creation of an American identity since the 1760s. The American publications about pattern books are useful for this research in a sense that they present architectural pattern books in both, colonial (settler colony) reality of the USA, and in the building of its social structure and an independent national identity. The following overview of literature presents various viewpoints that link architectural publications, social divisions, and a notion of American identity. Publications are introduced chronologically.

Sadayoshi Omoto wrote in 1964, in an article "The Queen Anne Style and Architectural Criticism," that the correlation between the accumulation of wealth and the building of a mansion was an obvious one in the United States, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Architects, who were involved in the design, knew that their success depended on the proven European origin of their projects, so, for the choices of styles and precedents, they consulted their architectural pattern books. Inventiveness and originality in architecture were suppressed by the existing patterns from books, which were shown to the client in the process of design. Architectural publications were perceived as the followers of popular tendencies, instead of trends makers/starters. Eclecticism of the late nineteenth century was neither based on stylistic correctness nor on any single historical style as it was before. These books and periodicals were used not only by the architects, but also

by the carpenters-builders, whose architectural knowledge and competence was built exclusively on the accessible architectural pattern publications (Omoto, 1964). In 1972, Margaretta Darnall, wrote an article titled “Innovations in American prefabricated housing: 1860–1890,” in which she analysed the emergence and the development of the portable prefabricated houses for American settlements in the second half of the nineteenth century. According to her, the spread of the ready-for-assemble houses was dependent on the advancements in transportation. The railroads, by the 1860s, allowed for Cincinnati and Chicago to become the first centres of the housing industry in the United States, with mass-produced systems of interchangeable building parts. “Although the prefabrication of housing was peripheral in terms of the advancement of technology, it was dependent on many of the innovations arising from the new advances in building construction” (Darnall, 1972, p. 51). Prefabricated houses were meant to shelter homesteaders, farm buildings, buildings at the railway crossings, and as portable shelters during military operations (barracks, hospitals, etc). They were publicised through catalogues and brochures. The idea of the prefabricated buildings originated, according to Darnall, in J. C. Loudon’s design for a small rectangular house constructed on the same module (“An Encyclopædia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture and Furniture,” 1833). The style of these buildings was called “Stick Style,” and based on the method of construction, it was similar across the field of production. During the 1870–1890 period, modular, prefabricated, permanent buildings, and “portable houses” became popular among the middle classes for use as summer cottages: “Particularly adapted for Camp Grounds, Seaside and Resorts, Pioneer Settlements, the West Indies, Etc., Etc.” as per “The Manufacturer and Builder VIII” (1876, p. 10) (quoted in: Darnall, 1972, p.53). Values of these structures rested in their temporality and their potential as second homes for the American middle-classes (Darnall, 1972). Mary Crocker, in her article “Asher Benjamin: The Influence of His Handbooks on Mississippi Buildings” (1979), mainly focused on manuals and pattern books for the builders’ use. The first books of that nature were published in the United States by an architect, Asher Benjamin. They were “The Country Builder’s Assistant” (1797), “The American Builder’s Companion” (1806), “The Rudiment’s of Architecture” (1814), “The Practical House Carpenter” (1830), “The Practice of Architecture” (1833), and “The Builder’s Guide” (1838). Crocker attributed the success of Benjamin’s publications to filling a niche in the American building market of that time, by creating manuals that were “designed principally for the use of those builders who reside at a distance from cities, where they cannot have the assistance of a regular architect” (Benjamin, “The



Builder's Guide" [1838], quoted in Crocker, 1979, p. 266). The extent of the impact of his books on the architecture of Mississippi, according to Crocker, far exceeded the influences of books by others, such as Minard Lafever, Andrew Jackson Downing, Samuel Sloan, Orson Fowler, Calvert Vaux and Frank Wills, whose impact was also evident in Mississippi's architecture. Crocker noticed that Benjamin had almost monopolised the designs in the Greek Revival style for buildings and/or interiors there. She also observed that the Englishmen who worked in Philadelphia (where Benjamin published many of his books) and the surrounding region, and who used Benjamin's patterns in their designs, probably "became accustomed to working with architectural handbooks in England" (Crocker, 1979, p. 269).

Gwendolyn Wright, in her book, "Building the Dream. A History of Housing in America" (first published in 1981), stated that the American colonists during the time of the War of Independence were quite self-conscious, and demonstrated their distinct identities and loyalties. In the independent America, those who sought a new order in community planning in the country considered that new residential housing, together with factories and governmental institutions, would provide a favourable setting for a great nation. The royalists perceived their built environment to be a statement of their own cultural tradition and national background. The Greek revival, which was accepted as a symbol of American independence, combined a glorification of the new country with reminders of its European roots and history. The role of builders and architects varied in these times. Pattern books, written by builders, provided practical guidance on construction in such a way that the models from these books could have been used for individual expression and arrangement of forms. Architects, on the other hand, concentrated on the development of a conservative national style. They expected the builders to follow their lead as learned professionals and guardians of refine taste. Ethnic variations of European architecture were introduced by Dutch, German and Scandinavian migrants since the 1830s. They built their residential dwellings characteristic for their respective regional building traditions and cultural rituals. Anglo-American cultural tones connected with home and the familiar were meant to evoke the feeling of being home, which would focus its values on building and staying in residential housing. That was precisely what was being delivered by the architectural pattern books. In the US architectural pattern books and the prospects provided by the country, they were supposed to offer every citizen a model home for every budget, and the opportunity for independence, by democratic freedom of choice. The ones who failed to develop and apply themselves properly were

considered savages (the paupers) and were perceived as the other end of American society, from the virtuous Christian families, who lived in cottages behind white picket fences. In the American-designed society of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there was no excuse for poverty. Similar to Britain, social power relations in the US were reproduced in an exercised hegemonic approach: “Several variations of industrial towns, designed by managers and professional planners, reflected control over and amelioration of factory workers” (Wright, 1988, p. xvi). Similar to their British counterparts, the American middle class of the industrial era lived mainly in detached rural or suburban cottages, or inner-city hotel-apartments. They tried as much as their contemporary, significantly wealthier, capitalists of the higher classes to isolate themselves from the poor. The differences in wealth were translated into social pretence and domestic habits in the American class system. “Rural homesteaders and urban property owners feared riot and rebellion from a class condemned to perpetual poverty” (Wright, 1988, p. 58). In the 1870s, tenant housing conditions of the poor and the workers in the cities were considered and found wretched, and that was then followed by improved urban tenements that addressed overcrowding, overpricing, and various health hazards. Landlords, by means of education, publications, and campaigns, were encouraged and supported to build cheaper and better-tenanted houses, especially during the earlier industrial period (Wright, 1988).

William Lloyd, in “Understanding Late Nineteenth-Century American Cities” (1981), noted that the reorganisation of the cities and the towns caused by industrialisation, triggered a massive scale urbanisation, “that was marked by a concentration of business activities in a downtown core, by a crowding of ethnic neighbourhoods around that core, and by an extension of suburbs for middle-income groups far into the countryside along radial line of public transportation” (Lloyd, 1981, p. 460). Lloyd sought the imagery of urban landscape, the formation of images and ideas about the city in contemporary literature. The main considerations were class divisions, and ethnic divisions, while the socioeconomic and political powers governed the appearance and negotiated the cultural meaning of the industrial American cities: “What were believed to be culturally mandated attitudes toward certain key landscape elements – the business district, the tenements, the suburbs, the public transit – came to dominate the efforts to make an intelligible metropolitan landscape” (Lloyd, 1981, p. 460). The response to the city of the late nineteenth century, according to Lloyd, was formed in social, technological, and ideological contexts, specific to the United States at the

time. The tenements, for example, were created in line with such concepts as class segregation and environmental influence: “the typical tenement combination of recent immigrants, widespread poverty, high population densities, and deteriorating housing was the cause of disease, immorality, and family disintegrator, which in turn perpetuated poverty and tenement life” (Lloyd, 1981, p. 463). This led to tendency of the middle classes to separate from the low classes in American cities (Lloyd, 1981).

James Garvin, in his article “Mail-Order House Plans and American Victorian Architecture” (1981), discussed one of the American variations of a mode of spreading architectural patterns across the United States of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, which differed from traditional pattern books and manuals. House-plans were published in a particular type of architectural pattern book - the catalogue of patterns, in which every page showed floor plans, a corresponding view of a house, often with two elevations. These publications were reasonably priced, “because the potential profit to the architect lay not in the books but in the sets of plans that were purchased through the books” (Garvin, 1981, p. 309). Commonly, these books were used and then discarded. They resulted in the purchases of mail-delivered full sets of architectural drawings and specifications for the design of each house, for a fraction of the cost of the employment of an architect, and with the offer of further architectural services as required – an architectural-trade innovation of its time, and a challenge in the competitive environment of commerce in the late nineteenth century United States. “Houses built from such plans reflect not only aesthetics of their era but also the new technologies that placed in the hands of the middle class those amenities formerly reserved for the wealthy” (Garvin, 1981, p. 334).

Dell Upton in “Pattern Books and Professionalism: Aspects of the Transformation of Domestic Architecture in America, 1800-1860” (1984) examined the link of developing professionalism and specialisations within the building industry, architectural knowledge, the publication of architectural books, and how that reflected upon contemporary American social and domestic ideologies. According to him, both architectural professionalism and publications of the books answered the demands of the complex socio-urban transformations in America during this time. In the eighteenth century: “most colonial buildings were not designed at all, but were simply built by local craftsmen who worked with available materials and skills in the established English

tradition. For specific details they relied upon their architectural handbooks. But the way in which each craftsman interpreted these books was conditioned by his own capabilities and limitations, and by the degree of informed experience which motivated his patron” (Upton, 1984, p. 109). Beginning with Asher Benjamin’s “Country Builder’s Assistant” (1797), American architectural publications started “to present current architectural information in a form suited to the particular characteristics of American building” (Upton, 1984, p. 110). Upton stated that architectural pattern books in the nineteenth century America promoted distinctiveness and novelty as the desirable quality in the appearance of a building. At the end of the nineteenth century, armed with plan books and prefabricated dwellings, many American houses looked like their published prototypes. Since it was created that way, popular architecture was neither elite nor traditional (Upton, 1984).

Clifford E. Clark, in his book “The American Family Home 1800-1960” (1986) noted that the middle-class ideals, including the notion of the middle-class family home as a symbol for the family’s unity and distinctiveness, were never universally shared by the entire populace. Clark argued that in the middle-class culture, the house was a statement of middle-class achievement and the reinforcement of specific, conservative family-values of standards, aspirations, and expectations. After the American independence “Reaffirming the classical ideals on which Greece and Rome had been built, Americans had tried to set themselves apart from European traditions. In upstate New York (...) the new settlers put up stately white homes in town and cities with the appropriate neoclassical associations (...). Built as soon as the settler could clear the land and set up a water-powered sawmill, these rectangular houses were given an appropriate dignity by the builders’ guides of Benjamin and others that set them off from the disorder of the landscape and quickly established the settler’s presence on the scene” (Clark, 1986, p. 9). In response to the market demands, the plan-books and their writers attempted to create a common stylistic vocabulary, suited for the bungalows and the ranch houses alike, which, with standardisation, building materials, and new technologies, resulted in distinctive house types of town and cities outskirts known across the whole United States (Clark, 1986).

Mary Woods in “The First American Architectural Journals: The Profession's Voice” (1989), examined the development of the American architectural journals in the 1850s and 1860s. Woods attributed the short span of life and popularity of architectural periodicals in their early years to various degrees of support these publications received from architectural professionals and the

publishers in New York, Philadelphia and Boston, where these journals were located. Early architectural journals acceded the reader to education and professional expertise, to guided design and construction in general, instead of any particular style or any contemporary aesthetical trend or fashion (Woods, 1989). “Illustrations (...) were representative of what was available and reproducible at deadline rather than a selection of the best American work” (Woods 1989, p. 117). Their recurrent and widespread publication dependent on innovations in technology, such as the cheap manufacture of paper, mechanization of printing, and low-cost reproduction of graphics, as well as the effective transportation and the distribution structure. Additionally, the new wealth built on manufactures and sales was translated into architecture. The new building types appearing in the professional journals, “such as banks, merchant exchanges, hotels, customs houses, courthouses, jails, asylums, schools, museums, and libraries demanded skills and knowledge that surpassed those of the carpenter or mason accustomed to designing only houses or churches” (Woods, 1989, p. 119).

Linda Smeins in “Building an American Identity: Pattern Book Homes and Communities, 1870-1900” (1999) acknowledged that in the nineteenth century, when buildings were meant to communicate, exemplify, and influence the character of the nation, architecture was involved in the conceptualisation of the American national identity. The American values were based on the dominant middle class cultural hegemony and cultural politics by the end of the nineteenth century: “While economic and social differences were recognized, nineteenth-century texts defined Americans as a culturally homogenous group with similar goals” (Smeins, 1999, p. 18). Linda Smeins attributed this to a competitive entrepreneurship in the architectural pattern book production and sales and the subsequent advertisement of other connected architectural services. She noted that “pattern book designs and pattern-book-inspired houses were built up and down both coasts and across the North American continent, including Canada. (...) Pattern book architects were businessmen who participated in the prevailing credo of success by anticipating and responding to the professional architects and to the middle-class public’s practical and social building needs” (Smeins, 1999, p. 19).

The most comprehensive American publication related to books and architecture in the American traditions of the nineteenth century was probably Daniel Reiff’s “Houses from Books. Treatises,

Pattern Books, and Catalogs in American Architecture, 1738–1950: A History and Guide” (2001). Reiff provided extensive visual information about the designs and styles used in the United States, and with succinct, theoretical explanations to support each studied case. The illustrated part of Reiff’s book contains examples of dwellings in relation to their patterns from books and house catalogues (Reiff, 2001).

Although this research on architectural pattern, as defined above, is unprecedented, certain contexts that ruled and regulated architectural experience in the settler colonies, as described in the American publications, were comparable to one of my study locations. American architectural historians recognised pattern books as an important factor in the transformation of the American landscape according to the notion of identity, built from the 1790s until the late nineteenth century, on social class, economic, national, ethnic, and religious grounds. The American settler experience was relevant to the Swan River colony case study in this thesis: British colonial practices and cultural domination laid at the foundation of the independent United States, as well as of later Australian colonies.

In Britain, Rudolf Wittkower in “English Literature on Architecture” stated that while working on the subject of Lord Burlington and English Neo-Palladianism, he realised that the popularity of the Palladian movement in the British World would not have happened if not for Palladio’s treatise. According to him, pattern books were a response for needs, and, at the same time, the stimuli of the market. Wittkower gave a brief analysis of the pattern books used in Britain until the end of the eighteenth century, including foreign publications and their influences, and expressed the desire for a new, comprehensive study about architectural pattern books in Britain (Wittkower, 1974, p. 94-112). After Wittkower’s death in 1971, his extensive notes and unpublished data on pattern books were forwarded to Eileen Harris and Nicholas Savage, which resulted in a catalogue entitled “British architectural books, 1556–1785: an historical and bibliographical account” (1990). It was a comprehensive survey of a developing British market for architectural books, with explanatory introductions to the whole volume and its singular parts, as well as examples of the graphics from the analysed titles. Although the catalogue covered only 35 years of the period of interest to this thesis, it presents a variety of printed forms of pattern books, such as books on the orders, books of designs, carpenters’ manuals, measuring and price books, books on bridges, and

archaeological books. The authors did not include in their collection any books on fortifications. Historian, John Archer, in “The Literature of British Domestic Architecture 1715-1842,” stated that domestic architectural design of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, was greatly indebted to architectural literature. Large parts of such publications as Colen Campbell’s, and John Wollfe and James Gandon’s “Vitruvius Britannicus” (1715–71), James Paine’s “Plans, Elevations and Sections” (2 volumes, 1767 and 1783), Adam Brothers’ “The Works in Architecture” (1773) and “Original Designs in Architecture” by James Lewis (1780), were designated to address private housing improvements. By the mid-eighteenth century the duties of the publisher, wholesaler and retailer, became distinct, and were performed from that time on, as separate activities, and booksellers became highly specialised. London- based publishers: Ackerman, Bohn, Carpenter, Kelly, Longman, Priestly and Weale, and Taylor, became the main traders of the literature on architecture as early as the second half of the eighteenth century. London was the centre of the British world, and not surprisingly, a majority of the publications of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, came from London (90% of the titles listed by Archer had been printed in London). The other issue was the intended audience for the books. The architectural publications’ clientele varied from the Royal family, nobility, and the middle class, to professional architects, migrants, artisans, and labourers. Design of the books were, therefore, varied in size, the quality of paper used, and the materials used for making the cover, the number and quality of the illustrations, and the content of the introductory Part One, some of which had more emphasis put towards the aesthetic theory, while some towards the practical issues. Architectural practice, as introduced in pattern books, was particularly important for the uneducated and/or those living in remote areas, and people from the outside of the building trade, who could not afford professional advice and help, would, with appropriate instructions, be able to build their own houses, which, according to Archer, contributed to their great popularity (Archer, 1985).

Sandra Blutman, in “Books of Designs for Country Houses, 1780-1815” (1968) noticed the gradual changes in character, content, number of published titles, and the distribution of the books in the period between 1780–1815. According to Blutman's studies, these books were addressed to gentility, gentry and farmers, with their illustrated sections about villas and cottages, delivered invaluable insight into the: “(...) state of architecture, ideals of planning and debates on the merits of the various styles, from the Greek and Roman to the Castellated, Gothic and even the “Fancy”

style. The range of the illustrated designs gives an accurate picture of building activity in the period, and the theories contained in the texts elucidate many of the ideas behind the designs” (Blutman, 1968, p. 25), placing architectural pattern books in their cultural context, noting the inter-connection between architectural design, its stylistic meaning and social dependencies, during the period that recorded changes in stylistic fashion from dominantly Palladian, to Gothic and Rustic (Blutman, 1968). Michael McMordie, in “Picturesque Pattern Books and Pre-Victorian Designers” (1975), analysed the specific application of pattern books in class-making, and in the identity-defining processes in Britain from the late eighteenth century onwards. He credited the popularity of these books among the growing middle class in Britain to addressing their interests in architecture, fashions, distant places and picturesque landscapes (McMordie, 1975).

The most recently published catalogue, that dealt with the British architectural pattern books, was printed in 1998, the second volume of a four-volume edition of the Mark J. Millard architectural series, titled “British books, seventeenth through nineteenth centuries.” Authors of this publication included almost a hundred titles of significant folios that appeared in Britain between the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries, applicable to architecture, furniture, and archaeology that were intended for the gentility rather than the architects or builders. The listed titles were more informative and educational than practical (Middleton et al, 1998); however, the catalogue entries and accompanied illustrations are very useful for the purpose of this thesis.

The last position in this literature review was Helen Long’s “Victorian Houses and their Details. The Role of Publications in their Building and Decoration” (2002), which provided a comprehensive understanding of the vital role of architectural pattern books in disseminating ideas between the architect, the pattern book, the builder, and the client in Victorian Britain. This publication greatly contributed to the content of Part One of this thesis.

This collection of studied materials from various sources discussing the topic of architectural patterns in relation, in particular, to American architecture and society, covers different perspectives and authors, providing insights into the historical context and the role of architectural pattern books in shaping architectural practices and social divisions. It also touches on the influence of pattern books on architectural design, the emergence of prefabricated housing, the



impact of specific architects and publications, the connection between architecture and social divisions, and the role of pattern books in shaping American identity. Additionally, it shows the scarcity of writings on architectural patterns, while providing valuable insights into the subject of architectural patterns in American architecture.

In the view of the above literature review, my research is innovative in introducing a concept of architectural pattern as a tool in the social, cultural, political, and colonial discourses, as well as the cultural and political representation and visualisation of power and hegemony. Focusing on the British empire during the years 1750–1901, the architectural patterns were defining the extent of the British rule and adding to their presence in the colonies. Away from continental Britain, they were distinct in their forms and the types of architecture or shelters of the distant cultural traditions that the British architecture used as a form of challenge in the colonial discourse.

The prospective contribution of this work primarily lies in enhancing our understanding of how British architectural patterns influenced architectural expression in colonial contexts. By analysing the social and political mechanisms underlying architectural patterns in Britain from 1750 to 1901 and exploring how these patterns were transformed and adapted in various colonial realms of the British Empire, this research reveals the crucial ideological and political role they played in colonial hegemonic practices. It also provides insightful information about the role of architectural patterns in fulfilling professional and public demands, as well as their significance in reflecting and transmitting contemporary advancements and cultural meanings.

While architectural patterns have traditionally been studied in relation to their practical applications, their significance as vehicles of cultural hegemony has often been overlooked. This research aims to fill this gap in architectural history, making it a distinct and noteworthy contribution within its field.

## PART ONE: Industrial Britain, 1750-1901

A range of factors, including colonialism, industrialization, commercial activities, social transformation, and cultural ideologies deeply influenced the production of architectural patterns in Britain from 1750 to 1901. These influences shaped the built environment and architectural practices of the time.

Colonial trade played a crucial role in Britain's overall economic performance. The profits, resources, and raw materials acquired from the colonies fuelled industrialization and financed the Industrial Revolution. British investments in new technologies were often driven by the need to process and utilize colonial goods, such as cotton, sugar, tea, and timber. The re-export of these goods to other countries further boosted the British economy.

The rise of industrialization was closely linked to scientific advancements and institutional changes brought about by the Enlightenment. Scientific discoveries, particularly in fields like mechanics, led to technological innovations such as the steam engine, which played a central role in the industrial transformation of Britain. The practical British culture of the nineteenth century emphasized knowledge, understanding, and improvement of life, which contributed to the widespread deployment of steam engines and the adoption of modern practices like artificial fertilization in agriculture.

The expansion of capitalism and the establishment of capitalist corporations relied on the support of political, fiscal, and military institutions. The British nation-state implemented effective policies and military practices to monopolize overseas markets, resources, and exports, which further propelled Britain's ascendancy as a global economic power.

The social transformations brought about by industrialization, including urbanization, infrastructure expansion, and the growth of the middle class, had a profound impact on architectural patterns. The middle class, as commercial elites, played a significant role in shaping

the economic and military agenda of the nation. The built environment became a visual manifestation of these processes, reflecting the dynamics of empire-building, political theories, and cultural ideologies.

The production of architectural patterns during this period was also influenced by the broader context of the Enlightenment and its emphasis on reason, knowledge, and progress. The growing literacy and the need for information spurred the printing industry, disseminating knowledge and empowering individuals with information. This contributed to a sense of self-help and self-improvement within the forming middle class.

The production of architectural patterns in Britain from 1750 to 1901 was intricately tied to the forces of colonialism, industrialization, commercial activities, social transformations, and cultural ideologies. These factors shaped the built environment, reflecting the economic, political, and cultural dynamics of the time.

### 1.1 The Industrial Revolution and its Consecutions

The Industrial Revolution started in Britain with the mechanisation of textile production and the steam engine (1763), further prompting developments in transport. Mining and metallurgy concurrently grew into powerful industries. Cast iron enabled the fabrication of the first cast-iron bridge in 1779 and revolutionised the building industry's bearing and supporting systems. The introduction of steamships in 1802 and the steam locomotive in 1825, with the first railway opening in 1828, connected Britain internally and with its colonial territories for trade and transport.

British technological advancement enabled various modernisations, introducing factory systems and production lines. This, among other developments, allowed for the mass production of goods, such as domestic equipment and accessories, prefabricated structures of houses, chapels, and greenhouses, all ready for assembly (Darnall, 1972; Herbert, 1978). Modernised transport made wider dissemination of products possible to cater to market demands. At the same time, colonial expansion, the development of new economic markets, and the accumulation of capital caused

investors to finance new branches of production. It opened new markets for British architecture and illustrated architectural books.

The eighteenth century witnessed a rapid increase in British agricultural production. New methods of cultivation, the gradual introduction of mechanisation and soil improvements necessitated less human power and caused a surplus of unemployed workers. When Britain went through industrialisation and introduced agrarian reforms, many of the populace migrated from the countryside to towns and cities, causing the transformation of traditionally small rural societies into large but overcrowded and unsanitary suburban communities. Growing awareness of social problems such as poverty or the lack of hygiene impacted architectural solutions in densely populated cities, beginning the lasting influence of ideologically driven social campaigns undertaken by the middle and upper classes.

The processes of urbanisation intensified with the development of manufacturing and trade. With the Reform Act of 1832, the seats in the House of Commons were taken away from the less populated and, consequently, economically and politically insignificant boroughs, and shifted to industrial cities: Manchester, Sheffield, or Leeds. The middle class provided services, such as legal and trade, which concentrated this class in the towns and cities. They became new urban elites with a particular self-perception and self-expression. They acquired greater voting power and, therefore, political influence: the act required that the voter own a property worth a minimum of £10. Most urban population — the labourers and the poor — was excluded from voting. In addition, the subjugation of the lower classes concerning the relationship between the employer (the ruler) and the employee (the ruled) increased the middle class's political significance in British politics (Hammond & Hammond, 1987; Langford, 1992; Pearce, 2003; Phillips, 1992; Wahrman, 2004, 1995 and 1992). The above created favourable social restructuring circumstances and established the middle class as an economic and political power.

Human migration caused by the Agrarian and Industrial Revolutions triggered changes in architecture, architectural patterns, and urban planning of the new industrial towns and cities. While making an allowance for contemporary class divisions, and social concerns, urban planning was challenged to accommodate an unprecedented number of residents, provide the necessary facilities and infrastructure, and the space for governmental, religious, civic, and other public

institutions. Architecture acted as the display of power, and the manifestation of social relations, situated in the controlled and culturally dominated framework provided by urban planning. It correlates with Bourdieu's view that institutions served as mechanisms to establish and update current values, and Foucault's perception of institutions and institutional architecture as tools of discipline and control (Webber, 2011).

### 1.1.1 Social Division

The British social strata have been historically influenced by the class system, which continues today (Harman, 2008; Harvey, 2005). On top was the Royal Family. The nobility or aristocracy — those with a noble title — could participate in contests for the throne. For example, during the fifteenth-century Wars of Roses, the Houses of Lancaster and York struggled for the royal title. If members of the upper class worked, they held high-ranking military positions, top administrative posts, or a bishopric. Membership into the upper class was hereditary and came through birthright. Gentry and esquires constituted the upper-middle class. Their income came from land rented to tenants and labourers or professional work. They could afford a good education and were lawyers, priests, or politicians, not doing manual work themselves (Barr & York, 1982).

The middle class consisted of working professionals and businessmen, such as barristers, physicians, and merchants, usually living and working in towns and cities. The lower middle class comprised yeomen, small shopkeepers, and other tradesmen. The middle class allowed for social advancement within the class based on wealth accumulation (Barr & York, 1982). The low class consisted of labourers and cottagers who worked for others for wages. At the bottom of this class were the poor (the lowest class) (Biressi & Nunn, 2013; Chan & Goldthorpe, 2004). However, for this research, the reference is to the actual power division of the British social classes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as explained hereafter.

#### *1.1.1.1 The middle class*

The social transition prior to and during the Industrial Revolution in Britain resulted in cultural emancipation and the rise of political aspirations among the middle class; and in matters of class consciousness, constructing class identity, and manifesting class distinction displayed in architecture and urban planning of the period between 1750 and 1901. As noted earlier, Hauser

assured that through the alteration of the social class system in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the social and cultural role of ideologies — together with the economy of architectural production, architecture, and architectural patterns — were used as the instruments of authority and propaganda in social discourses of the time. In architecture, numerous contending styles appealed to certain social classes and subclasses (Hauser, 1999 [a]), while in Bourdieu's theory on social differentiation, taste operated as a class maker. Bourdieu's understanding of taste included evocative perceptions, and meaningful practices, objects, and behaviours that established and justified the social order with its inequalities (Bourdieu, 1984; and 1990).

The function of the middleman, from which the middle class developed, existed and pre-dated the industrial revolution. In wool manufacture, as early as the fourteenth century, middlemen (master clothiers) controlled finances and coordinated the distribution of materials between producers and consumers. In the sixteenth century, industries such as shipbuilding, coal mining, iron smelting, glass, armaments production, and copper mining were organised on capitalist principles due to their expensive workshop buildings and required equipment. However, before the eighteenth century, the role of the middleman was primarily restricted to buying and selling. The economy being organised nationally, instead of locally, put Britain in a privileged position, for there were no internal barriers to the exchange of commercial goods; the 1707 Act of Union, between England and Scotland, established the largest European free trade unit (Walker & Munn, 1979). Transport and widely accessible publications significantly contributed to the rapid development of this process.

Printing was actively employed in constructing the identity and distinctiveness of that time's middle class. This further informed and influenced the development of architectural patterns and the content of architectural pattern books. Since Gutenberg, printing techniques in Europe have gone through continual evolution, and due to technical and technological inventions, the cost of printing went down, making literature affordable to a broader audience. With access to education, developments in transport — mainly railways and the Sues Canal — European colonial expansion, and the growing interest in a scientific approach towards the world and humans made prints popular, fashionable, widespread, influential, and therefore a potent political tool in shaping public opinion.

Social aspirations, beliefs, and interests of the middle class and their political predilections were present in the literature of the time. Literary accounts relating to British society, factual and fictional, were written by middle-class observers, from their point of view, and with attention concentrated on the position of their class within society (Phillips, 1978). Jane Austen's characters represent a very narrow social milieu (landowners, gentry, and clergy), with a yearning for riches or higher social standing in provincial England. While reinforcing class separation, Austen drew attention to the female role and female rights in the rural society of her times. Sisters Charlotte, Emily, and Anne Bronte took the female novel to the world of Romanticism and provided readers with middle-class observations into higher-class life and values through the eyes of a schoolmistress or a governess.

In the postromantic period, English literature started to address social issues and aimed to create awareness among the ruling classes about the quality of city living of the poor. Charles Dickens was a vital figure in this trend. He drew from his personal experiences as a child and, in his numerous writings, highlighted various aspects of social injustice towards workers and the poor. His novels were serialised in magazines and newspapers, usually once a month, to allow for cheaper publication and greater reach (Douglas-Fairhurst, 2011; Moore, 2004; Tomalin, 2011). George Eliot (Mary Anne Evans), William Makepeace Thackeray, and Thomas Hardy also voiced social concerns, and spotlighted class contrasts and social injustice. By the end of the nineteenth century, novels were the premier source of entertainment and a platform to analyse and provide solutions to social and political problems. These novels also provided model examples or patterns to follow, necessitating social and cultural norms and standards to preserve class distinction and the national (British) identity.

Pierre Bourdieu's theory on social differentiation explained processes of initiation and acceptance of certain visual representations that made the middle class unique and helped it to develop into a dominating entity throughout the British empire. According to Bourdieu's model of cultural and social reproduction, the structure of distribution of cultural capital within the existing social system — which is meant to be reproduced — was identical to the organisation of distribution of pattern books in industrial Britain, as instruments of visual and verbal appropriation of the class system (Grenfell & Hardy, 2007). Bourdieu stated that culture forms the very basis for human communication and interaction and thus constitutes patterns of domination: arts, with architecture,

science, religion, language, and other symbol-dependent fields, shape the mutual understanding and communication of reality and maintain existing hierarchical social order and institutionalised hierarchies, such as the Government or the Church (Bourdieu, 1993; 1997; and 2006).

Bourdieu analysed the power of symbols as a communication tool related to culture, cultural production, social structure, and behavioural motivation. Power is the core of social organisation, and a symbol constitutes social distinction. Symbols and practices in culture, such as artistic tastes, fashion, dining etiquettes and table manners — together with religion, science, philosophy, and language — represent interest and function to augment social distinctiveness (Bourdieu, 1993; 1997; and 2006). Culture, being an expression of political content, maintains the reproduction of the social order.

Composure and restraint, in public and private, were the primary characteristics of the middle class, employed to find personal identity in a group or class affiliation and live healthier physically and emotionally. Contestation of identity determined the choices of individuals within the social group. Things such as fashion, objects, and structures were used to secure the lifestyle of their aspirations. Servants were to mark their status, and books - to give practical solutions or behavioural directions and instructions. The modelling on aristocracy had been followed only to a certain degree for behavioural etiquettes, such as "table manners, ballroom pleasures, and luxurious style" (Young, 2003, p. 14). Court and elite etiquette were translated into behaviour rules suitable for current needs. The middle class decided what was right or wrong and lived according to these standards. The ability to implement these rules over "inferiors" testified to their dominant cultural position within the society. Linda Young, in her analysis of the middle-class culture, perceived the emphasis of class differentiation as being a strategy of self-creation to define processes of establishing the middle class as a separate social order in Britain during the years 1750 –1901:

“A new culture crystallised around the turn of the nineteenth century, defining an unprecedented middle class, identifiable throughout the Anglo world of Greater Britain in people’s values, behaviours, social lives and material worlds. (...) They adopted conservative values, adapted personal habits to new rules of self-



presentation, acted out formal behaviours in public and in private. They shaped their lives to conform to new standards of expectation and reception. Assiduous and energetic, the early nineteenth-century middle class created itself by living the life of the middle class. In doing, they came to be middle class, making their own definitions of what was correct — for who was to say if they were or weren't?" (Young, 2003, p.10).

Samuel Smiles, the author of such publications as *Self-Help* (1859), *Character* (1871), *Thrift* (1875), *Duty* (1880), and *Life and Labour* (1887), tended to support middle-class gentlemen in self-creation, giving them guidelines to follow. He showed how to take advantage of the changing situation caused by the country's industrialisation, citing the success stories of self-made millionaires: Josiah Wedgwood, James Watt, George Stephenson, and Joseph Marie Jacquard. In his moral tales, Smiles pointed out that through hard work, education, perseverance, and due caution, the benefits of the market were open to anybody to succeed (Hart, 2004; Smiles, 1859). That was important for the middle class because it meant the possibility of further social advancement based on self-improvement (Eliot, 2007).

Isabella Beeton — better known as Mrs Beeton — was published, initially as a monthly supplement to "The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine" (1859-61), and then in 1861 as a single volume, *The Book of Household Management*. This became one of the most important and influential women's instructional manuals, with advice on fashion, health, science, religion, industrialism, childcare, organisation and management of servants, animal breeding and the like. It also had a 900-page cooking section with recipes (Eliot, 2007). It began with John Milton's motto: "Nothing lovelier can be found in Woman, than to study household good" (Beeton, 1861). In *Women's education in early modern Europe: a history, 1500-1800*, Stacey Shimizu wrote in the chapter titled "The Pattern of Perfect Womanhood. Feminine Virtue, Pattern Books and the Fiction of the Cloth-working Woman" the following:

“Pattern books sought not only to educate women in a domestic craft, but also to craft them into the cultural image of the ideal woman, and the value of cloth-working, according to these and other

texts, lay not so much in the production of textiles as in its role in the production of feminine women and good wives pattern books, in teaching this most feminine skill, also inculcated in women the cultural definition of femininity. Essentially wordless, these books nonetheless were meant to edify women morally, to install in them such qualities as industriousness, obedience, silence, and chastity” (Shimizu, 1999, p.76-77).

Smiles’ and Beeton’s were examples of very influential pattern books for the British middle class. These writings were utterly new mechanisms for establishing and identifying a social class during the transformation of the class system from early industrial Britain onwards. The demand for material objects and built structures as attributes of class status and values was to enable, maintain, and express a typical pattern of middle-class gentility principles, behaviours, and beliefs. According to Bourdieu, class-based tastes and preferences in the perception and consumption of art determined the production of cultural objects and the manifestation of society's cultural practices. In these processes, Bourdieu observed a common trend of the middle class aspiring to the tastes of the upper classes, although lacking resources and cultural refinement to match them (Webster, 2011). An example is Josiah Wedgwood, who met the middle-class market's requirements. By applying Greek Revival designs and ornamentations, he provided the market with fashionable objects d'art for those who could not afford to purchase ancient original artefacts. Characteristic shapes, ornamentation and colours used by the Wedgwood factory made the products collectable in many middle-class households, turning Wedgwood patterns into class attributes.

“In growing economies, rich commoners sought to emulate the standards and practices of the court and so spread what Elias calls *civilité* (Elias 1978). It was an elite culture, requiring possession of not only the correct appurtenances, but also the correct internalised character, learned through childhood education. As more and more people came to desire the comforts and pleasures of *civilité*, they sought to adopt its standards for themselves through self-education

based on observation and imitation and of advice books published to meet their need” (Young, 2003, p.16).

Among the literary genres, professional and socially-oriented literature, such as treatises, pattern books, manuals, and specialist writings — popular books, journals, and magazines — was explicitly responsible for the spread of ideologies that shaped Europe and its colonial practices and theories in the nineteenth century — and that was their primary purpose. Consequently, printed patterns played a strategic role in the socio-political challenges of Britain and its colonies in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Patterns were reciprocally related to social evolutions and transitions in 1750–1901 Britain. Pattern books were attractive to the practical but ambitious middle class from the start. The middle class particularly valued culture, morality, and cultural capital as factors leading to establishing social status. Economic status replaced birthright as the middle-class trait. The significance of culture and its connection to specifically interpreted 'cultivated' nature in building middle-class identity had, according to Bourdieu, multiple filiations, including the legitimisation of class privileges (Bourdieu, 1984; and 1993).

“By symbolically shifting the essence of what sets them apart from other classes from the economic field to that of culture... the privileged members of bourgeois society replace the difference between two cultures, historic product of social condition, by the essential difference between two natures, a naturally cultivated nature and a naturally natural nature” (Bourdieu, 1993, p.236).

The middle class considered itself a mental power behind Britain, the "spine" of the British empire, contributing to its perception as significantly distinct from the lower and higher classes (labourers and the aristocracy). That led to a sense of greater political and moral responsibilities, and justified a high social status expressed in material forms (James, 2006).

#### *1.1.1.2 Education in social class organisation*

In Bourdieu's theory of cultural reproduction, the education system in industrialised societies functioned to legitimise class inequalities. The possession of cultural capital assisted the success of such education by the higher classes. The lower classes, lacking the education and knowledge accessible to the higher classes, could not have participated in building cultural capital. This explained class inequalities in education. Furthermore, according to Bourdieu, the upper classes assumed the leading role in social structure by controlling education and using educational credentials, which reproduced and legitimised social division. In the theory of cultural reproduction, the dominant culture — the language, cultural expertise, and knowledge of the culture — is transmittable only by family upbringing. Therefore, processes of cultural reproduction reproduced educational advantage (Bourdieu, 2006; Sullivan, 2002).

As noted earlier, given Panofsky's iconology, perceptions or intentional interpretations of architecture were partly conditioned by the social and educational background of the observer (Panofsky, 1972; and 1955). According to Bourdieu, the observers' ability to produce and decode architecture came from education or was socially constructed to maintain social hierarchies (Webster, 2011). This discriminatory educational system was controlled by those in power and operated in support of this power, rendering the lower classes culturally incompetent and insignificant (Reid, 1995; Ursell & Blyton, 1988; Webster, 2011). Foucault stated that educational institutions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries determined the politics and practices of their times by monopolising claims and interpretations in the name of knowledge (Foucault, 1972). The development of literacy and education resulted in middle-class competency in cultural production and led to the control of knowledge that maintained social hierarchies and social order in the interest of the ruling classes.

In *The Order of Things* (1971) and *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972), Foucault observed this class-related characteristic, which restricted access to certain types of knowledge, while those in power controlled education and the distribution of knowledge. In industrial Britain, regulations over the circulation of knowledge allocated the role of the middle class to being guardians, managers, and educators of the lower classes (Foucault, 1972; Fontana-Giusti, 2013; Gillard, 2018; Reid, 1995).

Educational provisions remained class-based, where children of each class were assigned to very different teaching requirements; the great public schools, such as Eaton, Harrow, and Westminster, served sons of "the aristocracy and the squirearchy" (Williams, 1961, p.134); boys of the landed gentry were educated either at home or in households of neighbouring esquires (Coward, 1980), while the middle class of professionals attended grammar schools. Most children who could study were sent to a parish or a privately-funded school (Williams, 1961). "(...) illiteracy persisted among the labouring poor, farmers, skilled craftsmen, and most women" (Coward, 1980, p.61). The strict control of education and the spread of knowledge at the beginning of the eighteenth century was driven by the assumption that learning beyond basic literacy was not "needed for moral and religious conformity" (Webster, 1975, p.245) and could be "a dangerous thing in the hands of the lower social orders" (O'Day, 1982, p.196).

Following the aftermath of the French Revolution, literacy had been considered a dangerous possession for most labourers and the poor; their access to knowledge was purposefully limited (Cook-Gumperz, 1986). The followers of the utilitarian philosophy of Jeremy Bentham, to prevent any social upheavals similar to the French Revolution in Britain, "called for monitorial schools for the poor, the reform of secondary education, a middle-class university for London, mechanics' institutes, and for cheap informative literature and untaxed newspapers. In their view, the different social classes should be educated for their particular roles in society" (Gillard, 2018: Ch. 5). The under-informed poor were to work under the informed middle classes' supervision (Lawson and Silver, 1973).

However, the basic learnings taught in the charity schools resulted in overall growth in literacy amongst the poor. In England and Wales, literacy levels rose from 60% amongst males and 45% amongst females in 1800 to 94% and 93% respectively in 1891. The upper and middle classes could read by 1800. At the same time, the literacy levels of the lower classes were higher in urban than in rural areas, while the population of England, Wales, and Scotland went from 10 million in 1801 to 33 million in 1891 (Eliot, 2007; Mitchell, 1988).

### *1.1.1.3 Hegemony*

The simplistic British class division existed in duality: the "respectable" — the ruling minority, and the "roughs" — the ruled majority. The social separation helped keep the empire running. The division of wealth, however unequal, was sustained for the supposed greater good — the benefit of the populace and the country's prosperity. It was maintained with a large and complex apparatus of control over those who could have rebelled, as the memories of monstrosities of the French Revolution were still fresh. As a result of these associations, the dominant class used all available means and strategies to defend or exclude all opposing or differing voices and ideologies. This created and secured public consent for the hegemonic, unified social structure.

The introduction of the police (Metropolitan Police Act of 1829) was a strategic move to keep order, while the Church's role was to maintain social division; the middle and upper classes wanted to ensure their position was unshakable. The ruling classes in industrial Britain applied social relations to manage and control the populace, a dualistic dependence of the owner-manager versus the labourer. This was characteristic of the industry claiming its role as a guardian and educator over a subjugated majority. Securing this position resulted in hegemonic power relations within the British social structure during 1750–1901 (Reid, 1995; Ursell & Blyton, 1988).

“To be independent is to be governed only by one's own will — in other words, to have the power as an individual to make choices and to be governed by those choices alone. By contrast, to be dependent is to be governed by the will of others - either to have others choose for one, or to be oneself the choice of others. (...) to be independent of others is to achieve the apex of civil society, and to have the greatest power to order society hierarchically” (Handler & Segal, 1985, p.692-3).

Further, this simplified dual-class division was also translated into an economic division in the building market and, consequently, property ownership. One class owned and inherited their residential and commercial properties. They also owned rental properties, both residential and commercial, whose tenants needed more finances to acquire property. This class division was fundamental for hegemonic practices and social control in urban planning and practical solutions to design working-class estates in Britain.

## 1.2 Architectural Patterns

In general, architectural patterns, architecture, and the building industry played a role in cultural hegemony practices, as theorized by Antonio Gramsci. Cultural hegemony refers to the domination of one social class over a culturally diverse and class-divided society. According to Gramsci, cultural hegemony arises from the consent given by the masses to the direction imposed on social life by the dominant group, which is supported by its prestige and position in the world of production (Gramsci, 1971). In nineteenth-century Britain, cultural hegemony involved establishing religious, civic, political, and government institutions, practices, and beliefs that were presented as universal values but only benefited a fraction of society. This created a relationship between meaning and power, where cultural symbols played a role in clarifying and reinforcing political functions (Lears, 1985). I hypothesize that urban planning, architecture, architectural patterns, and illustrated pattern books acted as cultural symbols and mechanisms of domination in this context.

Architecture and urban planning in Britain between 1750 and 1901 manifested social power relations and cultural hegemony. As Kim Dovey notes, displays of power were visual and observable, evident in human behaviours and the use of specific architectural and urban settings. The built environment became an unquestioned structure of control, granting architecture ideological significance in the discourse of power (Dovey, 1999). Weinstein also argues that power relations are reflected in the organization of the built environment, either encouraging or restraining the majority's actions in relation to the interests of the ruling minority (Weinstein, 2017).

This can be seen in urban planning practices of the time, which involved implementing visual and physical separation and segregation of social classes, thereby maintaining the distinction between the ruled and the ruling. Such practices were also extended to the British Empire. In Britain, urban planning included the development and modernization of cities, such as widening streets and introducing public parks, squares, and tree-lined boulevards. Worker housing was strategically located near factories to enhance efficiency. Planning strategies aimed at creating ghettos for the poor, with the intention of controlling and containing them to prevent the spread of disease or

social unrest. Town planning in Britain ensured the strategic segregation and separation of urban society (Garner, 1992; Knox, 1994; Morris, 2014). This segregation was also replicated in British India and settlements like the Swan Settlement in Western Australia.

The blueprint for new industrial cities in Britain became the model for towns in the colonies, leading to the physical separation of the British colonizers from the indigenous population. The colonizers had limited contact with and understanding of local culture and customs, residing in enclaves that were physically separated from the housing of the indigenous populace.

### 1.2.1 Urban Planning as an Architectural Pattern

The process of rapid industrialization in Britain between 1750 and 1901 necessitated the modernization of existing cities like London and Liverpool, as well as the creation of new ones such as Leeds, Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, and others. In this context, architecture and urban planning played a crucial role in maintaining social stability and control. A primary objective of urban planning was to divide cities into middle-class sectors and working-class areas, with limited or no physical contact between the two. Working-class sectors were developed with factories, workhouses, housing estates, and educational facilities, functioning as relatively independent urban units (Knox, 1994; 1982).

Housing for the working class typically consisted of single- or two-storey terraced dwellings. The internal layout of these homes often reflected conservative views and concerns of the middle class regarding morality among the lower classes, resulting in the separation of adults from children and siblings from each other (Kent, 1775). The construction of townhouses transformed the built environment of country towns and working-class suburbs in Britain during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These areas were organized in a manner that aimed to guard against potential troublemakers, leading to a ghetto-like organization of underprivileged suburbs (Hollis, 1973). Radical social management plans even included initiatives for birth control among the working classes and the poor (James, 2006).



The development of Manchester serves as an illustrative example of typical planning practices that reflected class divisions and concerns in new industrial towns in Britain. In the late eighteenth century, Manchester was a large market town that experienced organic growth without being divided into specialized sectors based on function, such as residential, trade, workshops, and early factories. However, as time went on, distinct city-centre locations began to emerge for retail trade, professional services, textile warehouses, and offices, with living quarters integrated into business accommodations. Between 1750 and 1800, Manchester doubled in size and began to exhibit noticeable socio-economic segregation (Rodgers, 1962).

Businesses secured preferred locations by relocating the poorer population away from these areas. The upper-middle class shifted their residences from the city centre to the outskirts, where desirable country-like areas were connected to the city by a network of roads. The population of Manchester grew from 88,000 to 400,000 during the first half of the nineteenth century (Rodgers, 1962). This resulted in the middle class moving away from the city's business centre. Industrial areas expanded with coal and lime workings, as well as mills. The complete separation of the wealthy from artisans and workers further reinforced social segregation. Settlement patterns within suburbs also emerged, with villas surrounded by gardens on one side and modest terrace houses lining the streets on the other (Gaskell, 1996; Kidd & Roberts, 1985).

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the working class in Greater Manchester primarily resided in the congested city center and their rapidly growing numbers posed a threat to the character and integrity of the adjacent middle-class suburbs. To address this issue, measures were taken to protect the suburbs, such as the introduction of fences with toll bars. This practice began in 1837 with the establishment of Victoria Park as a fenced-off suburban area. The subsequent significant growth of Manchester was closely linked to the advent of railways, which connected distant suburbs to the city center, facilitating transportation and communication (Turner, 1995; Rodgers, 1962).

Manchester served as a model manufacturing town, with the central city being surrounded by smaller towns that were economically and logistically dependent on Manchester for conducting business. These satellite towns benefited from the industrialization and trade centered in

Manchester, and their growth was interconnected with the development of the city itself (Turner, 1995; Rodgers, 1962). Friedrich Engels wrote in 1845:

“Bolton, Preston, Wigan, Bury, Rochdale, Middleton, Heywood, Oldham, Ashton, Stalybridge, Stockport, etc., though nearly all towns of thirty, fifty, seventy to ninety thousand inhabitants, are almost wholly working-people’s districts, interspersed only with factories, a few thoroughfares lined with shops, and a few lanes along which the gardens and houses of the manufacturers are scattered like villas” (Engels, 1845, p.60).

Friedrich Engels, during his time in Manchester, extensively documented the appalling living conditions of the working class, particularly in the suburbs and satellite towns. He highlighted the overcrowding, lack of sanitation, and deteriorating state of the housing in these areas. Engels observed that every available space, including gaps between houses and cellars, was utilized as living quarters by the working class, often in unsanitary and squalid conditions.

The rapid population growth and the high value of space in industrial cities like Manchester led to the proliferation of these cramped living spaces. The middle class, who were more affluent and had a significant commercial presence in the city, often remained unaware of the dire living conditions in the suburbs and satellite towns where the working class resided.

Engels' writings, particularly in his book "The Condition of the Working Class in England," shed light on the stark disparities between the living conditions of the working class and the more privileged classes during the industrialization period. His observations and criticisms played a significant role in raising awareness of the plight of the working class and advocating for social and housing reforms. In support of this claim, Engels quoted the following letter printed in "Manchester Guardian" in 1844:

“MR. EDITOR,— For some time past our main streets are haunted by swarms of beggars, who try to awaken the pity of the passers-by in a most shameless and annoying manner, by exposing their tattered clothing, sickly aspect, and disgusting wounds and deformities. I

should think that when one not only pays the poor-rate, but also contributes largely to the charitable institutions, one had done enough to earn a right to be spared such disagreeable and impertinent molestations. And why else do we pay such high rates for the maintenance of the municipal police, if they do not even protect us so far as to make it possible to go to or out of town in peace? I hope the publication of these lines in your widely-circulated paper may induce the authorities to remove this nuisance; and I remain,—Your obedient servant, “A LADY” (Quoted in: Engels, 1845, p.264).

the pattern of industrial cities and urban planning influenced by the interests of the politically and culturally dominant minority in Britain had a significant impact beyond its borders. It was widely adopted and replicated in British-established settler colonies such as the United States of America, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

The cultural dynamics of values, ethics, institutions, and social organization played a crucial role in shaping the built environment. According to King, understanding the built environment required an understanding of the cultural context that produced it. This perspective applies not only to industrial Europe but also to European colonial cities, where the urban forms of colonizing powers were imposed on culturally diverse pre-industrial societies.

In countries like India, the built environment exhibited a unique structure resulting from the juxtaposition of different cultures. The colonial urban development integrated various social organizations into a single, heterogeneous physical and spatial arrangement. This arrangement reflected the power dynamics between the colonizers and the colonized and their respective cultural traditions. The distribution of power in the colonies was radical, with the colonizers exerting total domination over the indigenous populace and their traditional modes of governance, consequently transforming the urban environment (King, 1976).

## 1.2.2 Building Type as an Architectural Pattern

The class division between the ruling and the ruled led to applying mechanisms of domination and control into the discourse of power relations in Britain, 1750–1901, through imposed stratification and separation. Governmental institutions of all levels played a vital role in the British socio-political system. The architecture and architectural patterns for prison, asylum, hospital, Church, and school institutions were meant to appear evident to their purpose without additional commentary (Foucault, 1977; 1978; and 1980; Middleton, 1998). Foucault saw institutionalised architecture embedded in social-cultural codes as fundamental in exercising power and subjugating the ruled in struggles of negotiating power relations. Disciplinary mechanisms in eighteenth and nineteenth-century British society were triggered by new means of production and the migration of the populace to industrial cities (Fontana-Giusti, 2013).

Common types of buildings, such as hospitals, prisons, schools and offices, were determined by the occupations and institutions they housed. Changes in building types came from broader developments in society and technology, the nature of activities carried on within businesses and institutions, and perceptions of the functional failures or success of the built type. The new requirements triggered some types, others continued their existence in new, updated forms (for example, church buildings), and the outdated ones declined and disappeared as redundant (Steadman, 2014). These building types represented different facets of social control and power in British society during the specified period. They were shaped by societal changes, advancements in technology, and the dominant ideologies of the ruling class. The following building types are listed in alphabetical order.

### *1.2.2.1 Banks*

The first purpose-built in the British Isles was the Bank of England in London (Figure 1.1.1-4). The first architect, George Sampson, built it in a simple geometric and symmetric form, in the classicistic style, with the rusticated ground floor and giant order spanning two storeys above. The main entrance consisted of a three-column middle section protruding from the front elevation of the building. Sampson was succeeded by Robert Tylor, who added wings with top lighting on both sides of the main building and a centrally located rotunda. The wings contained new banking halls

with no openings on the outer walls. The wings were rectangular, with elevations marked with evenly spaced-out arches and pilasters and protruding porches topped with pediments at each end of each wing. From 1788 to 1834, John Soane added more halls and courtyards to the further extended building. The domed hall in classicistic style became standard for British bank buildings (Booker, 1990).

The Bank of England's architectural evolution reflects the changing needs and expansions of the institution over time. It also exemplifies the classical architectural influences that were prevalent in British buildings during the specified period.

#### *1.2.2.2 Bridges and railway bridges*

During the Industrial Revolution, advancements in bridge-building technology revolutionized the construction of bridges. Traditional materials like stone and timber were gradually replaced by iron and steel, which offered greater strength and durability. This led to the development of iconic iron and steel bridges that transformed the British landscape.

The first notable example of an iron bridge is the Iron Bridge at Coalbrookdale, constructed in 1779 (Figure 1.2.1). Designed by Abraham Darby III, it spans the River Severn in Shropshire, England. The Iron Bridge is considered a pioneering structure and a symbol of the Industrial Revolution.

Another significant bridge innovation was the suspension bridge. The Menai Bridge, completed in 1826 (Figure 1.2.2), is one of the earliest large-scale suspension bridges in Britain. Designed by Thomas Telford, it connects the island of Anglesey to the mainland of Wales, spanning the Menai Strait.

In the late nineteenth century, steel became the primary material for bridge construction. The Forth Railway Bridge, built between 1886 and 1889 near Edinburgh, Scotland (Figure 1.2.3-4), is a remarkable example of a main steel bridge. Designed by Sir John Fowler and Sir Benjamin Baker, it is an impressive cantilever bridge. The Forth Railway Bridge was an engineering marvel of its time and remains an iconic landmark.

These bridge-building advancements not only facilitated transportation and connectivity but also showcased the technological achievements of the Industrial Revolution. The Iron Bridge, Menai Bridge, and Forth Railway Bridge are significant examples of British engineering prowess and have had a lasting impact on the development of bridge design and construction (Blockley, 2012).

#### *1.2.2.3 Deaneries and bishops' palaces*

During the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, deaneries, which housed the deans of churches, and bishops' palaces were significant building types associated with the clergy in Britain. Cathedrals, in particular, often had both a bishop's palace and a deanery.

The bishop's palace served as the residence for the bishop of a cathedral, providing a place for the bishop to live and carry out their administrative duties. These palaces were typically grand and imposing structures, reflecting the status and authority of the bishop within the church hierarchy. On the other hand, the deanery accommodated the dean of the church, who held an important position in the cathedral's administration. The deanery was traditionally a residence for the dean and their family, as well as a place for administrative functions and meetings.

In the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a shift in architectural style can be observed in the design of deaneries. They took on the form of bungalows, which are typically single-story houses with a low, horizontal profile. This architectural choice may have been influenced by changing tastes and a desire for more informal and comfortable living spaces for the clergy.

It is worth noting that these architectural features and trends may vary across different regions and specific examples. Architectural historian Nikolaus Pevsner's works, such as "The Buildings of England" series, provide valuable insights into the architectural history of Britain, including the development of deaneries and bishops' palaces (Pevsner, 1976).

#### *1.2.2.4 Factories*

During the period of industrialization, factory buildings underwent significant developments in Britain. The use of iron-frame brick structures emerged as an alternative to the earlier timber

buildings, which were susceptible to fire damage. Textile factories were among the early adopters of these iron-frame structures, marking a shift towards more durable and fire-resistant construction.

As industrial processes became mechanized, large-scale commercial and industrial buildings began to shape the British urban landscape. These buildings, characterized by their tall chimneys, served both functional and aesthetic purposes, often referred to as "palaces of industry." The extended, high elevations along the streets allowed for a grand display of architectural style, showcasing the power and prosperity of industrialization.

One remarkable example of industrial architecture is the flux mill in Leeds (Figure 1.3), built in 1843, which adopted an Egyptian Revival style with a temple-like design inspired by the Temple of Horus at Edfu. This demonstrates the willingness to experiment with architectural forms and draw inspiration from diverse cultural references (such as ancient Egypt) during this period (Pevsner, 1976; Giles & Goodall, 1992).

In contrast, the process of industrialization in British India was limited and focused primarily on the cotton and jute mills, with only a few coal mines established. British colonial rule in India aimed to maintain the Indian market as a source of raw materials for British industries while limiting India's industrial development. India was encouraged to export its raw materials freely and import finished products from Britain, reinforcing economic dependency. As a result, factory buildings in India did not achieve the same prominence as their counterparts in Britain. The industrialization efforts in India were limited and primarily driven by the interests of the British colonial administration, rather than the development of a self-sufficient industrial economy (Clingsmith & Williamson, 2008; Ray, 2011; Richards, 2012).

#### *1.2.2.5 Hospitals*

At the end of the seventeenth century, mercantilism dictated the economic theories in which human power was the source of national wealth. The side effect of capitalism's rapid growth was the workers' increased death levels. The interest rested on raising the birth rate and reducing mortality among labourers. Subsequently, the former hospitals that served to dispense charity to the poor

with very little or no medical help available were turned into places of the practice of medical knowledge and to train doctors who would help the poor through home visits paid from public funds. The growth of voluntary hospitals in Britain in the eighteenth century was caused by the private subscribers, who administered them, hired the medical staff and supervised the admission of patients. The reasoning for such investment varied: from philanthropy, the desire to increase medical knowledge and educate doctors in their profession, to the social prestige of the hospital governor's position and thus patronage in the local community by nominating patients. Since the high class primarily ran the subscriptions, the middle-class subscribers had their names associated with the aristocracy, which was significant for their social status (Forty, 1980).

The voluntary hospitals remedied the poor by providing care regardless of the Poor Law Act of 1723. Under the Act, the parish should aid the poor with food or money. When people experiencing poverty moved to the cities, they lost this help. The hospital cut down the cost of care by treating many patients in one location, providing food and services, but not money, and admissions were monitored to the deserving people, which decreased abuse of the help system, and by doing so, lowered the expenses of the subscribers (Forty, 1980).

Voluntary hospitals were built in towns and cities. Initially, their locations did not correspond with later urbanisation processes of rapidly growing industrial cities of the latter times. They usually occupied large sites, remote from the centres, producing undesirable atmospheric pollution for the sick. Depending on the available funds, they were functional rather than ornamental, with size and nature – purposefully built as hospitals or adapted from other dwellings. Adrian Forty noticed that eighteenth-century hospital buildings often took forms from Palladian designs for palaces, with the variation of extensive use of corridors and equally sized floors, which in the case of hospitals, each served the same purpose. All the representative elements of the palaces that distinguished the formal (for the owners and their guests) from the functional spaces used by the servants were rebuilt according to the purpose of their use by the patients, nurses, medical staff, apothecary, governors and others (Forty, 1980).

The publication of the “Observations of Diseases of the Army in Camp and Garrison,” 1752, by Sir John Pringle regarding the correlation between the health and ventilation of the building reformed the design of medical institutions after 1850 in Britain. Meanwhile, crucial changes to



existing hospitals were implemented by separating patients according to their different conditions, introducing smaller wards to prevent cross-infections, and outpatient consultations and briefings. Increasingly the observations and suggestions done by medical professionals had a more significant influence over the transformations and designs of health buildings than these of hospitals' governors. Additionally, patients admitted to the hospital were obliged to submit to medical authorities and follow the directions of the staff under the threat of punishment if disturbing the established order. Penalties ranged from food deprivation to imprisonment (Forty, 1980).

Following Florence Nightingale's suggestions, since the mid-nineteenth century, the hospital buildings have taken forms of U, E, H and X shapes with pavilion-like wards principally for natural ventilation and wholly sun- and day-lit (Steadman, 2014). (Figure 1.4 - Henry Currey, St Thomas's Hospital, 1868).

In the nineteenth century, the idea prevailed that buildings housing such institutions as hospitals, lunatic asylums, schools, and prisons should be designed principally considering their function, and their architectural form ought to represent the value behind their purpose (Forty, 1980).

The establishment and growth of voluntary hospitals in Britain during the eighteenth century were driven by private subscriptions and aimed to provide medical care to the poor. These hospitals not only served as centres for medical knowledge and training but also remedied the limitations of the Poor Law Act by offering care to impoverished individuals who had lost access to parish assistance.

#### *1.2.2.6 Law courts*

In the early nineteenth century, law courts in Britain began to emerge as separate buildings, distinct from town halls or gaols. These new court buildings were designed to accommodate the specific needs of the judicial system. Courtrooms were equipped with permanent furnishings, while judges were provided with separate chambers, and jury rooms were also included. To complete the functionality of the building type, an assembly room was often added.

The expansion of industrial cities and the increasing complexity of urban populations prompted the enactment of the Municipal Corporation Act of 1835. This legislation standardized and regulated the administration of justice, leading to the establishment of additional minor courts and dedicated spaces for the judiciary, advocates, witnesses, and custody visits. As a result, law court buildings became more elaborate and intricate compared to earlier types.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the design of significant law court buildings in industrial cities became the subject of architectural competitions. These competitions were often publicized in architectural periodicals like “The Builder,” allowing the public to view and appreciate the proposed designs (Figure 1.5.1.6).

The evolution of law court buildings in Britain during this period reflected the changing needs of the judicial system and the desire for functional and architecturally impressive spaces to administer justice. These buildings played a vital role in establishing a sense of authority, formality, and order within the urban landscape (Pevsner, 1976).

#### *1.2.2.7 The lunatic asylums*

In the late eighteenth century, the old, paternalistic social order dominated by rank based on birthright ceased and was replaced by a society based on economically determined class order, changing subjugation between superordinate and subordinate classes. The changes in the mode of production left only wages as support for the workers, without any further engagement in their subsistence. Fluctuation of the economy at times put the lowest classes in great hardship, adversely affecting resources. The institutionalisation of problems of the dependent, such as the elderly, children, sick and mentally ill, was perceived as a solution to impecuniousness. The institutions of workhouses, hospitals, and the like, permitted to keep the admitted under surveillance, increase productivity and correct behaviours. The low classes were divided into employable and unemployable. Among the latter, the insane were insusceptible to discipline and punishment. Therefore, they threatened the order and, for the benefit of others, were separated from the rest of the society in the lunatic state-supported asylums, which replaced private mental establishments, solitudes in gaols, and institutes supporting the poor (Scull, 1980).

Andrew Scull introduced the rise of the lunatic asylums as part of the amendment in social practices through newly reinforced moral boundaries and social control during 1750-1850. Before this, the mentally disturbed were either cared for by their families or communities. In extreme cases, they were isolated in special cells in the area's gaols. In the mid-eighteenth century, insanity was studied as a diagnosable condition treatable by experts. The asylums were built for segregation and confinement as an authorised reaction to the issue of mental illness. The lunatic asylums were constructed on large-scale accommodating problems of relocation of a large population to towns and cities due to the Industrial Revolution and rapid urbanisation. The trust in the institutionalised solutions for mental issues was equally supported in urban and rural areas of Britain (Scull, 1980).

Scully connected the maturing capitalism of the late eighteenth century with the commercialisation of existence in the urban environment to prompt the institutionalised initiative for coping with the underprivileged, the difficult and the misbehaving while abandoning the traditional methods of the duty of care by the families, parish, or local community's endeavours (Scull, 1980).

The physical necessities of their use foremost dictated the designs of the lunatic asylums. Scull distinguished the three basic types of them. Firstly, there was a conglomerate of different, already existing buildings converted from other uses to asylum requirements by internal remodelling and external annexes. The other was the purpose-built asylums, symmetrical in structure, which later were enlarged to accommodate more patients. Their interiors were ancillary to the system of corridors with rooms on one or both sides. The central segment of the building housed the administration, contained space for exercises when weather conditions prevented them from being outside, and the main entrance to the institute. In the 1860s, the third type of structure appeared, consisting of three parallel blocks. The two external ones were used separately for female and male patients. The middle one was destined for administration, staff, and the chapel. Other designs were usually varieties or combinations of the presented examples (Figure 1.6.1-3) (Scull, 1980).

#### *1.2.2.8 Mints*

In 1788, the introduction of steam-driven screw presses revolutionized coin manufacturing in Britain. Mathew Boulton established a mint as part of his industrial plant in Birmingham, equipped with eight such presses capable of striking 70 to 84 coins per minute. The East India Company

was among the clients of Boulton's mint, and it also supplied blank coins to the United States Mint in Philadelphia. This mechanical mass production of coins allowed for standardization in terms of dimensions, weight, and roundness, which was not achievable with hand-minted currencies. In 1797, Boulton was contracted by the Royal Mint, further establishing the use of the new technology. Private mints also adopted this innovative coin production method, with companies like Taylor and Challen supplying complete press room equipment to national mints throughout the British Empire (Rodgers, 2009; Symons, 2009).

The purpose-built mint buildings typically featured an enclosed rectangular courtyard and a symmetrical formal front elevation with the main entrance. The height of the structure varied depending on the scale of production requirements. These buildings housed the mint's machinery and provided quarters for mint officers and staff members. Since Britain was a major colonial power, the Royal Mint in London (Figure 1.7) established satellite branches in significant colonial cities. These branches played a crucial role in the minting and distribution of coins within the British Empire (Challis, 1992; Craig, 2011; Michael & others, 2016).

#### *1.2.2.9 Post offices*

The purpose-built urban British post office building resulted from the increase in population, development of industrial cities, rising literacy, the spread of railways and the introduction in 1840 of adhesive stamps. Industrial Revolution improved the machinery and infrastructure of the postal system. The first post offices were large buildings with spacious, well-lit rooms for sorting in the city's central location. Robert Smirke, commissioned for the new headquarters of the General Post Office, 1824-1829 (Figure 1.8.1), designed a large two-storey rectangular building with internal open space. The main entrance consisted of five Ionic columns in giant order in the middle section protruding from the front elevation, topped with a pediment, and with protruding colonnaded (also in giant order) porches in Ionic style at each corner of the building. The walls between the protruding sections were in the Renaissance Revival style. In mid-1840, the building was extended to include a new central sorting room framed with cast-iron trusses supporting the side galleries. The Head Post Office in Liverpool, 1839 (Figure 1.8.2) was compared to a posh banking house with a spacious doorway, large vestibule, and long mahogany counter for business and inquiries.

With the emergence of Crown Offices (1858-1900), post offices were intentionally built or occupied pre-existed premises rented or leased for that purpose. The editor of “The Builder,” Henry Heathcote Statham, questioned in 1898 the quality of post office architecture, yet the designs and constructions were conditioned by economic efficiency and functionality. The requirements included provisions for the public, postmen’s changerooms and cloak storage, stock room, toilets, kitchen, sorting offices, telephone and telegraph instruments and messenger rooms. Iron, steel and concrete allowed for well-lit, fire-resistant, flexibly shaped buildings (Lewins, 1864; Hill, 1880; Simmons, 2000).

The use of iron, steel, and concrete in construction during this period allowed for the creation of well-lit and fire-resistant buildings that could be flexibly shaped to accommodate the needs of the postal service. These materials and design considerations were crucial in ensuring the efficiency and practicality of post office buildings.

#### *1.2.2.10 Prisons*

The growth of the populace in the eighteenth century also increased the number of punishable criminal offences in Britain. The old places of temporary confinement became insufficient, and the loss of the American colonies in the 1770s ended the overseas offloading of convicts from Britain. The end of the eighteenth century triggered the development of prison reform (Penitentiary Act 1779). The old prison system prompted addressing harsh conditions of imprisonment, private, unlawful use of the prisoners’ labour by the management, and corruption among the administrators of houses of correction, and particularly among the wardens, who extorted fees for extra food and alcohol, which they supply, and raped female prisoners (Tomlinson, 1980; Steadman, 2014). With the help of his brother Samuel, Jeremy Bentham invented a new type of building for a prison, a circular structure with cells surrounding a central part from which an inspector, guard and/or governor could watch the inmates at all times. In 1791 Willey Reveley, in several architectural drawings, visualised Bentham’s revised concept of a Panopticon prison (Lewi, 2003). The original idea of a Panopticon was impractical. Cage-like cells were lit from the outside for the convicts to be observable, rendering the centre to be in complete darkness and insufficient to house all functions required by the prison, such as governor’s, guards’ offices, kitchen, stores, chapel and so forth, which in turn would block the views of the cells. At the same time, the objective of the

one-way vision (from the inside out) proved impossible to achieve (Steadman, 2014). Michel Foucault summarised Bentham's idea as a cage system, in which each prisoner is alone, individualised and constantly visible (Foucault, 1977).

The reformers opted mainly for deterrence to be the program's primary aim. They also considered other ways proposed by Quakers and evangelicals, including prayers to convert sinners or through the discipline of honest work in the self-sustaining industrial institution, as suggested by Jeremy Bentham. The designs of the prison buildings were created independently from the ideology of the prison reforms and concentrated firstly on issues of ventilation and sanitation. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, following the end of the war with France, the new Gaol Act of 1823 introduced such innovations as the classification and segregation of prisoners based on the nature of their crimes (mainly felons and debtors), sex and adults from children, which was supposed to reduce corruption and abuses among them. Effectively this resulted in numerous smaller self-contained prisons within one prison building. Classification and segregation were to prevent the spread of contagious diseases and moral depravation. This required provisions for the wards, workrooms, dayrooms, exercise yards and prison cells. This system, however, was too complex to implement and allowed for many deficiencies. In 1776 in the book *Solitude in Imprisonment*, Jonas Hanway proposed large, properly heated secluded cells with space to sleep and work. In 1835 the Prison Discipline Society came in favour of a new method of correction: the separation scheme. It started with appointing prison inspectors and rebuilding every old prison in Britain while the new ones were constructed on the new rules. The crucial requirement was to improve discipline by principles of the separation scheme, such as isolating suspected and untried detainees from the convicted offenders, preventing the exchange of criminal ideas, deterrence, and reformation. The new building type for the prison was planned in detail, including its location, size of various enclosures, the thickness of walls, placement of fixed windows, doors, and types of locks, bolts, and hinges. The construction of the model prison served to prevent any communication between the prisoners by building soundproof cells with an innovative approach to building services and techniques, such as double doors, arched ceilings, and thick concrete floors. The size of the cells should have been sufficient for sleeping, eating and working without triggering mental disorders in the inmates, with appropriate plumbing and linen for hygiene. The lighting of the cells was supported by gas. One of the most severe problems was adequate ventilation and heating of the

cells. Many tested solutions for complex pipe arrangements failed for several reasons. Finally, the cell doors were opened to allow heating and ventilation. The prisoners were institutionalised as humanly as possible under the circumstances of the imprisonment, isolated, and with some provisions to maintain their health, vitality and sanity. The prison was arranged as several long multi-level wings radiating from a central hall tower (Figure 1.9). Most wings were cell blocks; one contained the chapel and the schoolroom (Tomlinson, 1980; Steadman, 2014).

The cells were placed on both sides of the open corridors on the ground floor. The upper floors' cells opened into iron galleries located over the corridors. End windows and the roof's skylights lit multi-level cell blocks. The wings met at the central point, from where the whole prison was surveyed. The idea of rationalisation of administration of the prison and construction that allowed wardens constant observation of the cell's doors from the central location came from experiments by Jeremy Bentham (Tomlinson, 1980).

The chapel and the school were partitioned, and the prisoners were separated by stalls and high doors opening to rows, which ascended steeply in tiers for each inmate to be visible. The schoolroom was similarly divided. Religion and education were crucial in moral and educational enlightenment and subsequent reformation (Tomlinson, 1980).

High boundary walls surrounded the prison complex. The main gates were often massive gateways of medieval castles, with the main entrance flanked by turrets and narrow defensive windows above. Outside the prison's wall, on the sides of the main gateway, were houses for the governor and the chaplain (Tomlinson, 1980).

The design of prison buildings during this period focused on achieving better discipline, surveillance, and separation of prisoners, with considerations for hygiene, lighting, and functionality.

#### *1.2.2.11 Railway stations*

The earliest railway station, from 1830, is Crown Street Station (Figure 1.10.1), a passenger railway terminal station on Crown Street, Liverpool. It is an example of a construction type consisting of a modest building along the line, with a platform and timber roof over the rails.

Another variation two blocks along and on both sides of the rail line. The third and most popular type was the terminal across the lines with wings connected to its sides. Although the station functionality was not changing, the stylistic appearance of the side buildings followed the chronology of contemporary stylistic revivals. Iron frames and brackets supported the roof span over the train shed, the largest being St Pancras Station in London (1868-1876). St Pancras Railway Station (Figure 1.10.2 (a-b)) comprises two functional units: the train shed for the Midland Railway was designed by the engineer William Henry Barlow, while the Midland Hotel, by the architect George Gilbert Scott (Pevsner, 1976).

In India, railway development was crucial for British commercial interests. Although initiated in 1832, it was in 1844 that private businesses were authorised to start a railway system there. Indian workers supervised by British engineers built the railways. They connected the main port cities of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta with the inland by rail network that developed from almost 1350 km in 1860 to nearly 25500 km in 1880. The building of the railways adversely affected the local population because the trading system they created increased the grain prices for the local famine-stricken population of inland provinces and aided the spread of epidemic diseases across the subcontinent (Thorner, 1955; McApline, 1979; Klein, 1984; Hendrick, 1990; Dutt, 2017).

#### *1.2.2.12 Schools*

During the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the state began to assume greater responsibility for education, leading to the establishment of schools that were supported by government grants. In order to receive these grants, schools had to submit building plans along with the name of the designer. The Education Acts of 1870 and 1872 further reinforced the importance of education by making it compulsory for all children.

The predominant architectural styles used for school buildings during this period were medieval revivals. These styles drew inspiration from historical architectural forms, particularly those from the medieval era. School buildings varied in size and complexity, ranging from simple one-room structures that could be expanded with additional classrooms when needed, to more elaborate and symmetrical designs following a fishbone plan. A fishbone plan refers to a layout where classrooms are arranged along a central corridor.



Several publications focused on school building designs during this time. "Schools and School Houses: A Series of Views, Plans and Details for Rural Parishes" by Joseph Clarke, published in 1852, provided visual representations, plans, and details of rural school buildings. Another notable publication was "School Architecture" by E. R. Robson, released in 1874 (Figure 1.11.1-2), which likely offered insights into school design principles and examples. "The Builder," from 1843 to 1883, also featured numerous plans for schools, further disseminating architectural ideas and designs for educational institutions (Seaborne & Lowe, 1971; Steadman, 2014).

These publications and resources contributed to the evolution of school architecture during the period, providing guidance and inspiration for designers and builders. They reflected the growing importance placed on education by society and the state, as well as the desire to create suitable and functional learning environments for students.

### *1.2.2.13 Shops*

During the sixteenth century, towns began to feature permanent shops that were situated along markets and main streets. These shops often had living quarters for the shopkeepers located above or behind the retail space. As time progressed into the eighteenth century, shop windows underwent changes in their design and construction. Initially, shop windows were glazed with small panes of glass set within a grid of glazing bars. However, by the mid-nineteenth century, advancements in glass manufacturing allowed for the use of large sheet glass in shop windows, providing an unobstructed view of the displayed merchandise. This shift was made possible through the introduction of concealed iron brackets that provided support for the masonry above, enabling the creation of fully glazed ground floors (Pevsner, 1976; Cox, 2016).

In India, the early nineteenth century saw the establishment of specialized shops catering to the needs of colonizers in British cities. Influenced by retail practices in Europe and America, prominent companies like Hall and Anderson, Simpsons & Co. of Madras, and Whiteaway, Laidlaw & Co. of Calcutta opened branches in various parts of India. Some British companies even tailored their products specifically for the Indian market, conducting research during business trips to understand the interests and preferences of Indian customers. As British rule in India

progressed, the demand for European garments, fabrics, periodicals, and other imported goods increased significantly. This influx of foreign goods had a notable impact on local fashion, lifestyle, and diet, shaping the cultural landscape of the region (Simmonds, 1905; Supple, 1992).

#### *1.2.2.14 Town halls*

Town halls in the new industrial cities of Britain during the Greek and Roman revivals were often designed to resemble ancient temples, incorporating elements such as rusticated ground floors and modifications to their architectural structure. The specific temple variations used depended on whether the town hall was situated on a separate site (peripteral) or between other buildings (pseudoperipteral), requiring access from the front, sides, and rear. Examples of these town halls include Birmingham (1832), Leeds (1853-1858, featuring a tower), and the first town hall in Manchester (1822-1825). The architectural design for the second town hall in Manchester was chosen through a competition in 1868 (Figure 1.12.1-4) (Pevsner, 1976; Parkinson-Bailey, 2000; Bowler & Brinblecombe, 2000).

Not all British building types were replicated in the British colonies. Institutions such as Parliament, ministries, or their branches were represented in the colonies by satellite institutions that were subservient to and aligned with their London headquarters. When relevant to the colonial context of the thesis, these satellite institutions will be discussed. The design and construction of churches varied depending on the branch of Christianity they belonged to. Concurrently, advancements in industrial technologies allowed for the emergence of new architectural forms both in Britain and its colonies.

### 1.2.3 Building Form and Architectural Styles as Architectural Patterns

In “A Text-book of the History of Architecture,” Talbot Hamlin connected architectural styles with their place and origin in the intellectual, ethical, religious, social, and political contexts. Styles were based on principles of civilisation that created them, developed to the pick of that civilisation, and declined with its decay. In due course, the new styles replaced the old ones succeeding each other deriving from past experiences or completely replacing the old, following contact with higher

civilisation. Styles were an area of the history of civilisation. Buildings that show only utilitarian considerations, lacking stylistic input, were works of trade (Hamlin, 1896). Architectural forms were connected to the shaping of architectural types based on architectural styles, which choice dependent on building function, the clients' ideological beliefs as in the Battle of Styles case, fashions and ideas taken from printed pattern sources.

Some architectural patterns in the building forms and styles used in Britain and its empire during 1750–1901 were drawn from the past, while some were contemporary creations. For over 2000 years, Europe followed several stylistic developments. Greek, Roman, Romanesque, Byzantine, Gothic, Renaissance, and Baroque architectural styles followed each other consecutively, with some overlap during transitional periods. The Late Baroque period, at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, had got divided into two different aesthetical trends: a theatrical and ornamental mode of Baroque and classical academic traditions. Classicism came from the architectural books by Palladio and his followers and discoveries in the excavated ruins of Herculaneum and Pompeii. It was then that the era of revivals of the past styles and the eclecticism in architecture commenced. The communication media for architectural patterns used by architects since ancient times were related to specific forms of architectural thinking, and this resulted in the establishment of various architectural patterns in British culture from 1750 to 1901.

The Baroque style in arts, which followed the early phase of Neo-Palladianism, was introduced in Britain after the English Civil Wars, 1642–51. Many Royalists took refuge during the Civil Wars or followed Charles II into exile. There they came into contact with the Italian, French, and Dutch architecture. As a result, after Charles's restoration to the throne in 1660, they reclaimed their properties back in England and rebuilt their houses according to the contemporary trends of continental Europe. In seventeenth-century England, Baroque, the style of Louis XIV of France, symbolised a reinstatement and an expression of absolutism and royal authority. To support this new trend, London publishers printed translations of foreign architectural books, such as Roland Fréart de Chambray's "A parallel of the ancient architecture with the modern..." (1664)<sup>1</sup>,

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<sup>1</sup> Fréart, Roland. 1664. "A parallel of the antient architecture with the modern in a collection of ten principal authors who have written upon the five orders ... : the three Greek orders, Dorique, Ionique, and Corinthian, comprise the first part of this treatise, and the two Latine, Tuscan and Composita, the latter." London: Printed by Tho. Roycroft for John Place.

Vitruvius's "A new treatise of architecture, according to Vitruvius..." (1669)<sup>2</sup>, Pierre Le Muet's "The art of fair building represented in the figures of several uprights of houses ..." (1670)<sup>3</sup>, Claude Perrault's "Proposals for engraving, and printing, in folio, A treatise of the five orders..." (1707)<sup>4</sup>, and Andrea Pozzo's "Rules and examples of perspective proper for painters and architects..." (1707)<sup>5</sup> (Wittkower, 1974). Neither of the great architects of the English Baroque period, Christopher Wren, Sir John Vanbrugh, nor Nicholas Hawksmoor, developed coherent architectural theories of their own (Wittkower, 1974).

Wren, during his forty years of employment as Surveyor General, as a designer, co-designer, or architect in charge of the Office of Works, was responsible for the rebuilding of over fifty city churches, including St Paul's Cathedral (1710), three palaces, and two hospitals destroyed in the Great Fire of London in 1666. Wren wrote four "Tracts" and a "Discourse on Architecture", regarded as preliminary studies to a more extensive architectural publication. In the first "Tract" on the design and aesthetics, he stated that architecture has its political application: public buildings are "the Ornament of a Country", and the architecture "establishes a Nation, draws People and Commerce" (Wren, 1750, p. 351-3). In "Discourse on Architecture", he further reflected on the political and cultural aspects of architecture in remarks such as "Great Monarchs are ambitious enough to leave great Monuments behind them" (p. 345) or that an architect has "to accommodate his Designs to the gust of the Age he lives in" (p. 341) (text of Wren's "Discourse on Architecture" in: Phillimore 1881: 341-9).

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<sup>2</sup> Mauclerc, Julien, and Robert Pricke. 1669."A new treatise of architecture, according to Vitruvius wherein is discoursed of the five orders of columns, viz. : the Tuscan, Dorick, Ionick, Corinthian, and Composite : divided into seven chapters : vvhich declare their different proportions, measures, and proper names, according to the practice of the antient architects, both Greeks and Romans : as also of all their parts general and particular necessary in ... the beautifying of buildings in cities, as for necessary fortifications of them." London: Printed by J. Darby, and are to be sold by Robert Pricke.

<sup>3</sup> Le Muet, Pierre. 1670."The art of fair building represented in the figures of several uprights of houses, with their ground-plots, fitting for persons of several qualities : wherein is divided each room and office according to their most convenient occasion, with their heights, depths, lengths, and breadths according to proportion : with rules and directions for the placing of the doors, vvindows, chimnies, beds, stairs, and other conveniencies ... : also a description of the names and proportions of the members belonging to the framing of the timber-work, with directions and examples for the placing of them." London: Printed for Robert Pricke.

<sup>4</sup> Perrault, Claude. 1707."Proposals for engraving, and printing, in folio, A treatise of the five orders of columns in architecture ... Written in French by Claude Perrault ... Subscriptions are taken by John Sturt."

<sup>5</sup> Pozzo, Andrea. 1707."Rules and examples of perspective proper for painters and architects, etc. In English and Latin: containing a most easie and expeditious method to delineate in perspective all designs relating to architecture, After a New Manner, Wholly free from the Confusion of Occult Lines: by that Great Master Thereof, Andrea Pozzo, Socjes. Engraven in 105 ample folio plates, and adorn'd with 200 initial letters to the Explanatory Discourses: Printed from Copper-Plates on Ye best Paper by John Sturt. Done into English from the original printed at Rome 1693 in Lat. and Ital. By Mr. John James of Greenwich." London: Printed by Benj. Motte, MDCCVII. Sold by John Sturt in Golden-Lion-Court in Aldersgate-Street.

Lydia Soo, in “Wren's 'Tracts' on Architecture and Other Writings,” noted that he “was able to create an architecture that accommodated (...) the multiple and often contradictory forces of nature and society” (Soo, 1998, p.230). In his architectural practice, Wren advocated using models to visually communicate among the architect, the client, and the builders/craftsmen (Wilton-Ely, 1977).

Architectural models have been known and used in architecture since ancient times. Models were recommended, for example, by Sir Henry Wotton in his “Elements of Architecture” to be used to avoid costly alterations (Wotton, 1624). Models were fundamental in designs, where the organisation of space and formal composition were an issue. They also allowed architects to address a variety of structural problems. Architectural models served as a guide to successive designers, a visual aid for laymen, a guide for the patron, and instructions for workers. “By isolating problems of contemporary architecture in miniature, it provided a means for the solution through the resources of craftsmanship” (Wilton Ely, 1968, p.250).

Christopher Wren developed the full creative potential of the model. For Wren, “the model offered an ideal medium for adjusting (...) design to structural solutions with visually satisfying results. (...) Wren was enabled to control the entire undertaking from the early stages of design to the detailed execution of ornaments and fittings in the actual building” (Wilton Ely, 1968, p.252).

Nicholas Hawksmoor, who worked alongside Christopher Wren, contributed to the designs of such prominent buildings as St Paul’s Cathedral, Greenwich Hospital, Blenheim Palace, and Castle Howard, with garden buildings and monuments, also opted for the use of architectural models in design stages of architectural projects. According to Wilton-Ely, Nicholas Hawksmoor’s “designs involved singular effects of space, texture and lighting, which could only have been fully developed through models” (Wilton Ely, 1968, p.254).

The mid-eighteenth century witnessed a transition from Baroque to Classicism. Although the process was gradual, and many buildings of the period combined both styles (including those by James Gibbs, Figure 1.13.1-4), the complex, decorative forms of Baroque were quickly replaced by simpler designs rooted in Greek, Roman, and modern Italian traditions.

1715–1783 are known in British history as the “Whig Oligarchy” period. It started with the reign of George I of Hanover in 1714, and the subsequent failure by Tory rebels in the Jacobite uprising in 1715. It concluded in 1783, with the Treaty of Paris and the end of the American War of Independence. The Whigs originated in a constitutional monarchy, which politically opposed the absolute rule of the Stuarts (Holmes & Szechi, 2014), to which Baroque was linked. Having the choice, the Whigs quickly adapted to new Classical trends in art and architecture.

Further, with Britain growing into a colonial power in the eighteenth century, the Neo-Classical style was applied as a reference to the Roman Empire — a blueprint for modern European imperialism and colonialism. Consequently, the whole extent of the British territorial possessions and protectorates from the early stages of colonialism marked the spread of British imperial Neo-Classical architectural patterns and architectural publications worldwide. Britain needed architecture to express this new-found status as a great colonial power. The years 1730s to 1740s were considered pivotal for the appearance of British national identity. After the Acts of Union 1707, between the English Parliament and the Scottish Parliament to form the Parliament of Great Britain, the conflicts in the formation of the British market in the British Atlantic world that followed created the Union flag, “God save the King”, “Rule, Britannia”, as well as the rules of cricket, the symbols of British nationalism. Coincidentally the year 1740 has been seen as the irreversible and significant change in communication and cooperation around the British Atlantic, resulting in the American War for Independence (Thomson, 1740; Breen, 1997; Linebaugh, 1992).

In eighteenth-century Britain, the printing industry was prosperous. Architectural publications of 1715–55 developed mainly around Neo-Palladianism, late Baroque, Antiquity and Neo-Classicism. These trends were paralleled, however, with publications relating to other, not classically-based styles, such as Chinois and Gothic Revival (Wittkower, 1974).

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, a second phase of English Palladianism emerged (Neo-Palladianism) and Classicism. Neo-Palladianism was boosted by the political parallel of ideas of the republican oligarchy of Britain and the republicanism of the Republic of Venice, where Palladio had functioned and prospered (Kruft, 1994). Wilton-Ely considered the “autocratic Palladian Revival” a “conscious reaction to the foreign-based expression (...) of Wren’s followers” (Wilton-Ely, 1977, p.187), the Baroque style enthusiasts.

Two significant architectural publications initiated the new period in professional architectural writing in Britain: Giacomo Leoni's edition of "The Architecture of A. Palladio, in Four Books" (1716–20), and Colin Campbell's "Vitruvius Britannicus" (1715–25). Leoni, born in Venice, came to England via Cologne and Düsseldorf, where he worked for the local courts while writing a treatise on elementary mathematics for engineers. In England, he set up a good collaboration with the well-established London engineer and architect — an Englishman with a French background — Nicholas Dubois. Dubois provided an English and French translation to Leoni's Italian version of Palladio's text so that the first edition appeared in all three languages. Additionally, Leoni claimed that the engravings of the plates were made "(...) in Holland by the famous Monsieur Picart, one of the best masters of that art in Europe" (Wittkower, 1974, p.95).

"Only a few plates in the richly illustrated work are signed by the master himself; (...) far the largest number of plates was provided by three engravers of limited virtuosity domiciled in London: Michiel van der Gucht, John Harris and James Cole. Picart was expensive; the London engravers were relatively cheap — but clearly the extra investment that Picart's name required paid dividends" (Wittkower, 1974, p.80).

Leoni's "The Architecture of A. Palladio, in Four Books," was considered the essential publication to secure Palladianism's success and market popularity in Britain. Despite the author's changes and inaccuracies, it became the most influential Palladian pattern book for British designers (Brownell, 2008; Curl, 2002).

From 1719, Richard Boyle, the third Earl of Burlington (and fourth Earl of Cork), became a significant figure in the Neo-Palladian movement in England.

"During the first half of the eighteenth century Burlington's personal example, his patronage and political influence over the Office of Works, spread the orthodoxy of Palladian rules throughout the nation from mansions like Holkham Hall down to the modest terrace houses of London, Bath and almost every provincial centre" (Wilton-Ely, 1977, p.188).

For some time, Burlington was in close contact with Leoni. Later, however, he formulated a view that a certain amount of individual freedom, propagated by Leoni, had nothing to do with the dogmatic Neo-Palladianism he stood for. Burlington accused Leoni of modifying “Quattro Libri” (“the Bible of the movement”), altering Palladio’s designs and being “proud of it” (Wittkower, 1974, p.84-5) and consequently rejected this edition of Palladio.

“Whereas Burlington's theoretical concerns were obviously shared by few (...) the majority preferred the fashionable, modernised idiom, associated directly with the royal court. It was this idiom, rooted in Leoni's publication, developed and refined by Campbell, which finally became 'naturalised' by James Gibbs in *A Book of Architecture* (1728). Gibbs's 'anglicised' rendition, which amplified the associations of the neo-Palladian idiom with the English Crown, was destined to achieve worldwide hegemony as the quintessential style of the colonial elites of the British Empire, from India to North America” (Arciszewska, 2004, p.22).

Burlington’s advocacy of purity in Neo-Palladianism, and adherence to Palladio’s original architectural forms, were perceived as protecting the established powers of authoritarian cultural domination and the traditional social order. In Britain, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Palladianism equalled repetitiveness and homogenising formalism (Arciszewska, 2004). Carol Watts further noted that the success of Palladianism was dual: firstly, architecture as an ideological guarantor of the supremacy of order and virtue, a visualisation of those values in planning and designing of public areas; secondly, as *Translatio Imperii* popularised in the historical stories in the Middle Ages, a legitimisation of power of the British empire. As Watts claimed, the value of Palladianism was a creation of a language that defined and constituted social space, and the observer within it (Watts, 2004).

“(...) usefulness [of public architecture] extends beyond the immediate testimony of the buildings into a wider public rhetoric shaped by opinion, rumour, aspiration and routine through which people are brought to identify with the values and energies of an imperial culture” (Watts, 2004, p.120).



Burlington became a motivating force behind the new edition of Palladio, entrusted to be written by Colin Campbell. Campbell's three-volume publication included designs of Palladio, John Vanbrugh (Castle Howard, Seaton Delaval Hall in Northumberland), and Campbell's own, who — in this manner — introduced the practice of architectural advertising to Britain. Various reasons might be given for the fabulous success of this publication on the market. Wittkower saw them as follows:

“(…) the growing literacy of the masses, the democratic or para-democratic character of the style, its rationalism and teachability and — what is perhaps more significant — the native tradition which existed for this kind of publication. For this class of book grew out of the earlier surveyors' manuals. Much of the miscellaneous material they contain stems directly from surveyors' treatises, but the emphasis has shifted to architecture and distinct bias towards the current classical vocabulary” (Wittkower, 1974, p.105).

Between the 1720s and 1760s, numerous reprints of Palladio were available on the British market, with the book of orders (Palladio's “First Book”) being the most frequently published. There were also those books that, despite having Palladio's name in the title as a trademark, did not have any, or at best, a very loose connection to Palladio's actual treatise. William Salmon's “Palladio Londinensis,” published eight times between 1734 and 1773, is representative of this trend, as is Abraham Swan's “British Architect” (1745), where the author combined Palladian architecture with Rococo interiors (Wittkower, 1974).

According to John Summerson, books were the singular factor that established the domination of Palladianism across the European building trade. Among the many subscribers to the first volume of Colin Campbell's “Vitruvius Britannicus” were masons, carpenters, and joiners. Ten years after the publication of Campbell's and Leoni's version of Palladio's treatise, “an avalanche had begun of books compiled by craftsmen, and exclusively for craftsmen, intending to instruct them in that self-improvement which would see them on the right side of the fence” (Summerson, 1993, p.72-73). Summerson considered architectural books to be a key influence in founding the architectural profession in England in 1715 –1760.

“The ability of the craftsman to better himself by becoming an architect or a quasi-architect provided a strong inducement to self-education, even to the more commercially-minded man, for he could not afford to be behind in questions of taste. Self-education meant getting a hold on the artistic needs of the centres of fashion. It meant the desertion of traditional craftsmanship and the adoption of certain academic formulas. Competition made it necessary (...)” (Summerson, 1993, p.72).

Following Campbell’s example, James Gibbs published his designs in “A Book of Architecture” (printed in 1728, and again in 1739). Gibbs, a student of Carlo Fontana, a Catholic, and a Tory, was the last of Britain’s great Baroque architects. His designs combined Baroque and Classical elements (Figure 1.13.1-4). Two of his projects for a London church, St Martin-in-the-Fields (1724, Figures 1.13.2(a-c) from his book, provided the British World with the most popular church model prototypes (Summerson, 1993), with the late-Baroque steeple placed centrally behind the main Classical portico. The application of this architectural pattern is examined further in the second part of this thesis.

Publications of Leoni’s, Campbell’s, and Gibbs’s treatises and pattern books were paralleled by several smaller and cheaper illustrated architectural books associated with private, lower-budget housing. They were readily available to ordinary builders, carpenters and masons, who were responsible for most construction works in Britain. In 1741, Batty Langley started the introduction to the volume titled “The city and country builder's and workman's treasury of designs; or the art of drawing and working the ornamental parts of architecture” as follows:

“The great Pleasure that Builders and Workmaen of all kinds have of late years taken in the Study of Architecture; and the great Advantages that have accrued to those, for whom they have been employed; by having their works executed in a much neater and more magnificent Manner than was ever done in this Kingdom before; has been the real Motive that induced me, to the compiling of this work, for their further Improvement” (Langley, 1741, Introduction).

This statement of Langley, as Summerson claimed, observed practices that were long-standing in British architectural education. Many architectural writers actively participated in the educational processes of the gentry and the trade. Among the authors listed by Summerson were: William Halfpenny, Batty Langley, Francis Price, William Pain, Abraham Swan, William Salmon, John Crunden, and Peter Nicholson. Batty Langley and William Halfpenny were responsible for forty books appearing around the mid-eighteenth century and introducing Chinese and Gothic forms to British dwelling designs of the 1740s and 50s. Langley's books were portable and practical, addressed to builders, examples being "The City and Country Builders and Workman's Treasury of Design," 1740, and "The Builder's Jewel," 1741. In 1742, Langley published his Gothic Architecture improved by Rules and Proportions, an attempt to systematise Gothic along the lines of the five orders (Summerson, 1993).

Books for tradesmen were cheaper than the more prominent, more academic publications. They provided good business for booksellers: the subscription list for Langley's "The builder's director, or bench-mate: being a pocket-treasury of the Grecian, Roman and Gothic orders of architecture," published in 1751, contained over 300 names, the majority of which were tradesmen's (Summerson, 1993). Batty Langley's designs for his books clarified design principles and simplified the applied rules for craftsmen and apprentices alike. His goal was to provide "useful knowledge," as stated in his introduction: "It is useful Knowledge only, that makes one Man more valuable than another..." (Langley, 1741, Introduction).

William D. Halfpenny was one of the first to popularise manuals for craftsmen in England in the 1720s. His "Practical Architecture" (1724)<sup>6</sup> provided a straightforward system, supported by illustrations, for calculating proportions and was reprinted frequently during the following forty years, evidence of its enduring influence (Long, 2000). In publications such as "A New and Compleat System of Architecture" (1749)<sup>7</sup> and "Twelve Beautiful designs for Farmhouses"

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<sup>6</sup> Halfpenny, William. 1724. "Practical architecture, or, A sure guide to the true working according to the rules of that science: representing the five orders, with their several doors & windows, taken from Inigo Jones & other celebrated architects : to each plate tables containing the exact proportions of the several parts are likewise fitted : very usefull to all true lovers of architecture but particularly so to those who are engaged in ye noble art of building." [London]: Printed & sold by Tho. Bowles ... and John Bowles ....

<sup>7</sup> Halfpenny, William. 1749. "A new and compleat system of architecture delineated, in a variety of plans and elevations of designs for convenient and decorated houses: together with offices and out-buildings proportioned thereto, and appropriated to the several uses and situations required ; as also an estimate of each by the great square ; prefix'd to these are ten different sorts of piers, with gates of various compositions suitable to the same ; intended for the entrances to courts, gardens, & c ; as also new architectonic rules for drawing the members, in all kinds and proportions of the orders ; and to them are also added a perspective view of the sinking pier of Westminster-Bridge, with the two adjoining arches ; and a method proposed by trusses &c. to take off 1/4 of the weight, or abutment and pressure now on the pier, and discharge it as set forth on the plate." London: Printed for John Brindley, Bookseller to his Royal Highness The Prince of Wales, in New Bond-Street.

(1750),<sup>8</sup> Halfpenny presented ideas for farm and townhouses, and their architectural details. In “Chinese and Gothic Architecture, Properly Ornamented” (1752)<sup>9</sup>, and “The country gentleman's pocket companion, and builder's assistant for rural decorative architecture, containing, thirty-two new designs, plans and elevations ... In the Augustine, Gothick and Chinese taste, with proper directions annexed” (1753)<sup>10</sup>, he and co-author John Halfpenny introduced architectural ornamentation in Chinoiserie — a style fashionable in eighteenth-century Europe.

William Pain, a British carpenter, first published his books in the 1790s in London and then in America. His instructions offered considerably developed construction data, including such items as a price list for materials and labour, detailing of the interiors, and floor plans. Apart from residential designs, he added greenhouses, shop fronts, bridges, and stables (Long, 2000).

Many smaller publications of Chinese and Gothic designs entered the trade market then; however, they were not yet a serious challenge to Neo-Palladianism. Other contemporary architectural writers followed Halfpenny in disseminating Chinese taste: for example, E. Edwards, Matthew Daryl (1754), and Charles Over (1758)<sup>11</sup>. However, Sir William Chambers brought the most accurate account of Chinese architecture from China and published it in 1757 as “Designs of Chinese Buildings.” Between 1756 and 1768, six editions of Isaac Ware’s “Complete Body of Architecture” marked a short-lived return to traditional Italian-style treatise (Long, 2000).

Britain played a leading role in forming the Gothic Revival as a separate stylistic trend. Disconnected physically from the Continent, Britain preserved its architectural distinctiveness, and the Gothic manner was trendy there. Even while Palladian and Classical fashion dominated, the

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<sup>8</sup> Halfpenny, William. 1750. “Twelve beautiful designs for farm-houses: with their proper offices and estimates of the whole and every distinct building separate : with the measurement and value of each particular article adapted to the customary measurements of most part of England, but more particularly for the following counties, viz., Middlesex, Surry, Essex, Kent, Sussex, Hampshire, Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Somersetshire, &c”. London: Printed for R. Sayer, printseller ... and sold by J. Brindley, bookseller ... [and 3 others].

<sup>9</sup> Halfpenny, William, and John Halfpenny. 1752. “Chinese and Gothic architecture: properly ornamented. Being twenty new plans and elevations, on twelve copper-plates: ... Correctly engraved from the designs of William and John Halfpenny ... Published according to Act of Parliament, April 24, 1752”. London: printed for, and sold by Robert Sayer.

<sup>10</sup> Halfpenny, William, and John Halfpenny. 1753. “The country gentleman's pocket companion, and builder's assistant for rural decorative architecture. Containing, thirty-two new designs, plans and elevations ... In the Augustine, Gothick and Chinese taste, with proper directions annexed. ... Correctly engraved on twenty-five copper plates,” Royal Institute of British Architects rare books collection, section 1, reel 1, no. 13. London: Printed for, and sold by Robert Sayer.

<sup>11</sup> Over, Charles. 1758. “Ornamental architecture in the Gothic, Chinese and modern taste: being above fifty intire new designs of plans, sections, elevations, &c. (many of which may be executed with roots of trees) for gardens, parks, forests, ...” London: printed for Robert Sayer.

British occasionally built Gothic structures: for churches, private houses, hospitals, and universities, Gothic became an official style (Summerson, 1993; Long, 2000).

Christopher Wren rebuilt many London churches in the Gothic style after the fire of 1666. In 1723, Westminster Abbey had its towers built by Nicholas Hawksmoor in a Gothic manner. In 1742, Batty Langley published “Gothic Architecture, improved by Rules and Proportions,” combining Gothic pillars with Greek architraves. But it was a middle-class fashion for touring their own country, their appreciation of English architecture, and the war that cut off a whole generation of architects from their traditional links to Rome and Greece that popularised English Gothic through the Isles<sup>12</sup>. For many eighteenth and nineteenth-century intellectuals, Gothic objects were testimonies of the national past (Long, 2000).

The Gothic Revival started in the mid-eighteenth century, with the proto-Romantic movements and the picturesque ideal. Interest in the mediaeval past was one of many intellectual propositions, modes, and trends in a culture fascinated by Romantic naturalism, exotics, and aesthetics of ruins.

Gothic was popularised through literature. In 1764, Horace Walpole published his Gothic novel, “The Castle of Otranto,” which, together with books of Ann Radcliffe (e.g. “The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne: A Highland Story,” 1789), opened a new period in the Romantic interest in the Middle Ages. Walpole not only revived Gothic in literature but also surrounded himself with Gothic forms and structures. Between 1750 and 1753, he worked with architect Richard Bentley to convert his Strawberry Hill mansion, giving it both invented and actual Gothic forms of various origins. The composition was meant to evoke certain sensations and associations in the literary context of “The Castle of Otranto” (Summerson, 1993).

The eighteenth century brought its first monographic publications of individual Gothic structures and chosen style characteristics. They marked the commencement of significant restitution works

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<sup>12</sup> From the correspondence between Gandy and Soane (1816): ‘The road from York to Lancaster through Wensleydale is picturesque, and not without old castles and churches in the towns, which the eye of the architect ought not to miss nothing, if he collects for the future’ (Quoted in: Worsley 1991: 13).

of mediaeval buildings, spread knowledge about the Gothic style, and introduced a transition from Romantic to picturesque into a more proper and rigorous stylistic formula.

Additionally, during the first half of the eighteenth century, a new perception of antiquity developed, and with it a new architectural trend: scientifically-based Greek and Roman Revivals. This approach to antiquity was archaeological, scholarly and imitative, propelled by excavations in southern Italy and Greece and the research into ancient arts and cultures. Travelling architects measured and drew monuments, ruins, and archaeological sites of the Mediterranean to establish the rules of ancient architecture and produce new pattern sources for Neo-Classicism<sup>13</sup>.

Antoine Desgodetz's "Les edifices antique de Rome" (1682) contained a more precise and detailed record of the Pantheon than Palladio's. Desgodetz established in his documentation of Rome a methodology of architectural archaeology. It was controversial at first because it completely changed the long-established accounts of Roman architecture, but in due course, it became a popular source for Roman archaeology in Europe (Jenkyns, 1992). In 1740, the new pontiff Benedict XIV started the restoration of the Colosseum and initiated the many excavations in and around Rome (Amery & Curran, 2002). The interest in ancient history and civilisations grew.

Europe was overtaken by fashion for antiquity and by amateur research. Results of findings were distributed in the form of books and prints— in Italy and outside, by Italian and non-Italian researchers and publishers. The outcome was impressive. One of the earliest titles appeared in London (Pierre Danet's "A Complete Dictionary of the Greek and Roman Antiquities"), and in Paris (Francis Raguenet's "Les Monuments de Rome") in 1701, both to be re-printed in Amsterdam (Trzeciak 1988).<sup>14</sup> However, the discoveries of Herculaneum (1711), and Pompeii

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<sup>13</sup> "The use of an Architect who travels," declared Gandy, "is to pick with judgment and taste from those places he sees the best flowers (to speak in allegory) from every garden the Ancients have left us, and to select them in the mind that they may always be as a mould either to improve upon or follow" (Worsley 1991: 10-1).

<sup>14</sup> But obviously the number of publications on antiquity coming from Italy prevailed. The key publications included: Pietro Santi Bartoli, « Gli antichi sepolcri ovvero mausolei romani et etruschi travati in Roma et in altri luoghi celebri nelli quali si contengono molte erudite memorie » (1697, re-published in 1704 and 1727; Latin version 1728 in Leida); Famiano Nardini, « Roma antica » (1704); Michel Ange de la Chausse, « Le grand cabinet romain, ou, Requeil d'antiquitez romaines, qui consistent en bas reliefs, statues des dieux & des hommes, instruments sacerdotaux, lampes, urnes, seaux, brasselets, clefs, anneaux, & phioles lacrimales, que l'on trouve à Rome » (1706, Amsterdam; 1707 – translation published in Rome; re-published in 1746); Bonaventura van Overbeke, « Reliquiae antiquae urbis Romae » (1708, Amsterdam; 1709 - French version; 1710 – English version); and Giovanni Poleni, « Utriusque thesauri antiquitatum romanarum graecarumque nova supplementa » (1737, Venice, five-volume-edition). There were also publications on the chosen fields of antique structures, such as amphitheatres, aqueducts, tracks and harbours. The most significant were: Sextus Julius Frontinus's "Sexti Iulii Frontini de aquaeductibus urbis Romae libellum" (1722; firstly published in 1543); Nicolas Bergier's "Histoire des grands chemins de l'Empire romain" (1728, Brussels; re-print 1736; from seventeenth-century version); and Francesco Scipione's (marquis di Maffei) "A Compleat History of the Ancient Amphitheatres and in particular that of Verona" (4 vols., firstly published 1728, Verona; 1730 and 1735 – English translations). Also original ancient texts were in particular demand. Second century's

(1748), particularly the illustrated literature that documented them, changed the perception of antiquity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In 1732, the Society of Dilettanti was founded in Britain to introduce Roman and Greek architecture<sup>15</sup>. The society had a strong group of members interested in classical archaeology and topography. Among them were James and George Gray, well known for their part in the discoveries at Herculaneum and propagation of the latter in England, and Sir William Hamilton, a scholar, antiquary and diplomat, who studied Pompeii and made several findings in Sicily (Amery & Curran, 2002). His collection greatly influenced a generation of designers, including Robert Adam and Josiah Wedgwood.

“In many ways the history of the Dilettanti Society is the history of Neo-Classicism in England. First was Roman. Then it was Greek. Then it was Graeco-Roman. And in all three phrases its success was based on the labours of learned amateurs” (Crook, 1972, p.4).

Promoting archaeology and the control of taste was the society's primary and most expanded activity during the second half of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Among their most popular publications were “Ionian antiquities,” 1769–97; “Specimens of ancient sculpture, Aegyptian, Etruscan, Greek and Roman,” 1809; “The unedited antiquities of Attica; comprising the architectural remains of Eleusis, Rhamnus, Sunium, and Thoricus,” 1817; and “An investigation of the principles of Athenian architecture, or, The results of a recent survey conducted chiefly with reference to the optical refinements exhibited in the construction of the ancient buildings at Athens,” 1851.

In 1748, in Naples, James Stuart and Nicholas Revett began to organise a big expedition to Greece that later resulted in a two-volume publication, “Antiquities of Athens and Other Monuments of Greece.”<sup>16</sup> The “Proposal” for “Antiquities of Athens” had been published four times before the

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“Description of Greece” by Pausanias become popular from 1731. By the end of the century it had many re-prints and eleven editions in few languages. Pausanias writings became a vital link between Classical literature and modern archaeology (Trzeciak 1988: 53-4).

<sup>15</sup> “In Britain (...) the Dilettanti presided over a cultural revolution, a veritable second Renaissance. The first Renaissance sprang from the rediscovery of ancient Rome, the second stemmed from the rediscovery of ancient Greece. And that second Renaissance produced, among other things, the architecture of the Greek Revival” (Crook 1972: 61-2).

<sup>16</sup> They also wrote two books about Roman architecture: “Palmyra” was published in 1753, “Baalbek” followed in 1757.

book was published<sup>17</sup>. “Antiquities of Athens,” a design sourcebook, was a successful publication meant to serve various purposes and address a broad audience<sup>18</sup>: archaeological documentation and an architectural treatise, a reference book for scholars and a handbook for amateurs of the Grecian gusto. Initially aimed at wealthy patrons —Greek taste was expensive — the book gradually became common architectural knowledge.

“Soane was forced to alter his design for the new law courts after work had begun because of attacks in Parliament and the press. Style was increasingly controversial, with the Greek Revival first coming to prominence with two highly publicised buildings, Downing College and Smirke's Covent Garden Theatre, although Thomas Harrison's work at Chester predates both. The Greek Revival, with its austere air of grandeur seemed an appropriate style for public buildings, as Bum showed at the Custom House and Excise Office at Greenock” (Worsley, 1991, p.37).

“The Antiquities of Athens,” Wood & Dawkins’s “The ruins of Palmyra” (1753) and “The ruins of Baalbek” (1757), Robert Adam’s “Ruins of the palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia” (1765), and William Hamilton’s “Catalogue of Etruscan, Greek and Roman Antiquities” (1767, in four volumes) were considered the most influential and popular sources of ancient European architectural patterns in Britain (Curl, 2002). They not only enlarged the vocabulary of Neo-Classicism, but also embodied the knowledge of antiquity and its application in contemporary architecture. The architects of ancient revivals provided the link between imagination, discovery, fashion, and scholarly research of the time. They also legitimised the Empire by alluding to its imperial Roman ancestry and democratic values as initiated in ancient Greece, which had been used in the discourse on architectural styles and cultural associations of the time.

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<sup>17</sup> In this prospectus Stuart and Revett stated their intention of recording systematically what yet remained of the ancient monuments of Greece in the same way that ‘Rome, who borrowed her Arts, and frequently her Artificers, from Greece, has by means of Serlio, Palladio, Santo Bartoli, and other Ingenious men, preserved the memory of the most Excellent Sculptures, and Magnificent Edifices, which once adorned her,’ and doubted not ‘but a Work so much wanted will meet with the Approbation of all those Gentlemen who are lovers of Antiquity, or have a taste for what is excellent in these Arts, as we are assured that those Artists who aim at perfection must be infinitely more pleased, and better instructed, the nearer they can draw their examples from the fountain-head’ (Lawrence 1938: 128).

<sup>18</sup> Stephen Riou dedicated his work “Grecian Orders” (1768) to Stuart, ‘(...) who three centuries after the revival of letters was the first to explore among the ruins of Athens and to publish to the world the genuine forms of Grecian architecture (...) thus rescuing [them] from that oblivion into which the ceaseless insults of barbarians would soon have plunged them’ (Quoted in: Crook 1972: 17).



According to Summerson, one of the main occurrences during the years 1763–93 was the emergence of the architectural profession in the modern sense. Both William Chambers and Robert Adam were specialists in their field, not merely acting architects as had been the norm earlier. The architectural profession was separated from the surveyors, craftsmen, and tradesmen “with a rule-of-thumb capacity for design” (Summerson, 1993, p.134).

Although Palladianism was still present in Britain, practised by such architects as Robert Taylor and James Paine, Chambers and Adam represented a more decorative post-Palladian approach towards Classical styles. In 1759, in “Treatise on Civil Architecture,” Chambers combined Ware’s theory with his architectural designs. Chambers’s influences came from his studies in France and Italy, and of modern Italian and French architecture, as much as from his trips to China. At the same time, Adam was influenced by his Italian studies of modern and antique buildings and their interior decorations (Summerson, 1993). Mark Reinberger considered Adam a leader of the new phase of Classical revival in England and Scotland, primarily through replacing timber carved interior ornamentation with mouldable resin, characteristic of the “Adam Style” (Reinberger, 2003: 9).

At the end of the eighteenth century, British architects started to publish illustrated architectural books that advertised their buildings and ideas. They replaced old treatises and contained personal, often radical, authors’ views in the preface. For example, James Paine’s “Plans, Elevations and Sections of Noblemen and Gentlemen’s Houses” (1767), and Robert and James Adam’s “Works in Architecture” (1773). Architects like James Lewis, William Thomas, and Sir John Soane produced similar publications. These books, particularly those by the Adam brothers, took British Classicism from a level suitable for architects to a scale manageable by builders and amateurs (Summerson 1993).

The book publishing business developed considerably during the eighteenth century. It witnessed the emergence of the book trade, allowing a wide range of businesses, such as printers, publishers, and booksellers, to advance. Andrew Piper stated that the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century "witnessed a remarkable social investment in books, materially and imaginatively" (Piper, 2009, p.4).

Reading has grown among the emerging middle class since the early eighteenth century. The interest of this social class in architecture prompted publications of informative periodicals, journals, and magazines. This is when, for example, “The Gentlemen Magazine” first appeared in 1733 (Figure 1.11). According to figures quoted by Paul Langford, in the 1740s, it was already selling 15,000 copies a month (Langford 1992).

The architecture of the Regency period of 1790–1837 successfully contested the Classical notion of decorum obsessed with symmetry, proposing instead the Picturesque (‘like in a picture’): less formal, asymmetrical, closer to nature, and focused on visual qualities. It started with the death of a generation of architects who had dominated British architecture since the mid-eighteenth century —Taylor, Paine, Adam, and Chambers — and ended with the accession to the throne of Queen Victoria and the subsequent royal charter to the (Royal) Institute of British Architects<sup>19</sup>, and the publication of Pugin’s “Contrasts” (Wilton-Ely, 1977).

At the end of the eighteenth century, Gothic Revival challenged the supremacy of Classicism in its exclusiveness of good taste. Classicism had been the dominant style in Britain since Inigo Jones, and until Robert Adam and James Wyatt. In its early stages, the Gothic Revival was a consequence of fashion for Romantic picturesque, an example being Wyatt's Fonthill Abbey, 1796–1812. By the 1820s, however, Gothic was very popular in Britain. Specialising in building Gothic structures, offices were established in Oxford and Cambridge (Wilton-Ely, 1977).

August Charles Pugin set the foundations for rules on the correct Gothic style. He edited and published two main Gothic Revival manuals that became fundamental reference books for generations of European architects, helping them to emulate the Gothic style, and hence spawned a movement in architecture and design known as Victorian Gothic: “Examples of Gothic architecture selected from various antient edifices in England: consisting of plans, elevations, sections, and parts at large ... accompanied by historical and descriptive accounts” (1821–38, published in five volumes; 22 editions), and “Specimen of Gothic architecture selected from various antient edifices in England: consisting of plans, elevations, sections, and parts at large ...

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<sup>19</sup> “Royal” had been added in 1866 (Wilton-Ely 1977: 193).

accompanied by historical and descriptive accounts” (1821–3, followed by 33 reprints) (Wilton-Ely, 1977).

Victorian Gothic started with the 1836 publication of Augustus Pugin's “Contrasts, or A parallel between the noble edifices of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and similar buildings of the present day,” in which Pugin formalised decorative Gothic by applying Classical design theories. He reminded architects of their social responsibility and active commitment to a design philosophy (Wilton-Ely, 1977).

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, history studies caused a reverence for the national past, awareness of history and its role in understanding reality, and a sense of own responsibility and function in the history-making process. Mediaeval castles and Gothic cathedrals were statements of power and authority of the local traditions instead of ancient Roman culture. History became a fast-developing science with widening fields of interest and significant improvements in research methods. In architecture, the period of reviving past styles that coexisted concurrently was determined by the social, religious and political situation. Research and cognition supplemented by a re-creation of physical reality from the past or its conceptualisation forced architects to work closely with the rules, which addressed and regulated aesthetic problems, supplied structural solutions, and provided architectural detail. Ideologies were supplemented and justified by legendary, mythical and often purposefully invented stories (e.g. James Macpherson’s *Ossian*, 1762).

In 1801–16 John Britton wrote the first systematic compendium of British mediaeval monuments, containing 300 views of various residences, castles and Gothic abbeys and a collection of architectural details (Britton et al., 1801–1816). He was an eager advocate of the preservation of national monuments. He attended a few projects and popularised his ideas in periodicals, such as “The Gentleman’s Magazine” (Long, 2002).

Between 1814 and 1835, Britton published a series of monographs on English cathedrals in London. The series, called “The history and antiquities of the English cathedral churches, printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown [etc.],” was popular (with a few re-prints), and reflected the market’s demands. It covered not only architectural issues but also cultural and social

aspects surrounding and/or influencing the designs of cathedral churches. Britton's publications covered several structures, such as cathedrals in Canterbury (1814), Norwich (1816), Winchester (1816), York (1819), Lichfield (1820), Oxford (1821), Wales (1824), Exeter (1826), Peterborough (1828), Gloucester (1829), Bristol (1830), Hereford (1831) and Worcester (1835); or Houses of Parliament ("History of the Palace and Houses of Parliament at Westminster," 1834-6). His books attracted a broad audience by addressing cultural and architectural issues related to buildings. They were also popular abroad, becoming a desirable pattern source for future architects (Long, 2002).

The Church Building Commission was formed in 1818, aiming to coordinate all religious investments in Britain; a massive population increase generated an explosion in church building. This institutionalised patronage, administering a sum of a million pounds, built a few hundred new churches around the country over the following twenty years. Designs were to be cheap, easy to construct, and highly functional (Parsons, 1988).

Following the Church Building Act, the nineteenth century officially introduced the Gothic Revival to British ecclesiastical architecture as the most appropriate for church buildings. Church Building Commissioners were entrusted with managing the budget allocated by Parliament for the expenditure of churches and found that building Gothic churches and chapels was cheaper than Classical ones. The Commission continued to function as an independent organisation until 1856, when it became a part of the Ecclesiastical Commission (Parsons, 1988; Port, 2006).

According to Long, villa and cottage pattern book writing and publishing flourished in the 1820s and 1830s. Such books were addressed to newly wealthy industrialists, an example being Robert Lugar's "Villa Architecture, A Collection of Views with Plans of Buildings" (1828), with designs for cottage orné stylised on the rustic and picturesque vernacular British architecture and castellated Gothic mansions. Howard Colvin notes Lugar "was a skilful practitioner of the picturesque, exploiting the fashion for cottages ornés and castellated Gothic mansions in the manner of John Nash. His two Dunbartonshire castles were among the first to introduce the picturesque formula into Scotland" (Colvin, 2008, p.661-663). "Lugar's castellated style, with its chunky, coarse detailing, and loose planning, according to Henry-Russell Hitchcock, looks forward to the Victorian period" (Long, 2002, p.26).

Another prominent figure in the building market of the early nineteenth century was Peter Frederick Robinson, a founder member and the first vice-president of the Institute. Robinson introduced the Swiss chalet design to English architecture and incorporated Old English vernacular style into his projects published in six books entitled “Rural Architecture; a Series of Designs for Ornamental Cottages” in 1823:

“Sales of the book proved ‘very extensive’, and it ran to a fifth edition in 1850, with the 1836 edition stating that ‘as many of the plates were newly worn out, they have been redrawn at considerable expense’. Robinson’s books were (...) remarkable also for their lithographs printed by Hullmandel, the medium’s constant improvement alluded to in the 1836 edition, thus, ‘the art of lithography has considerably improved since the publication of the original work’. Each design in the book was represented by several illustrations, pen and ink-style lithographs of front and side elevations, plans, and scenic view in chalk-style lithography” (Long, 2002, p.28).

Robinson was also an author of other popular books with designs in various architectural styles. The titles included “Designs for Ornamental Villas” (1827), “Designs for Farm Buildings” (1830), and “Village Architecture, Being a Series of Designs” (1830). Thomas Hunt, the architect and writer contemporary to Robinson, wrote in 1830 the first study of Tudor architecture called “Exemplars of Tudor Architecture, Adapted to Modern Habitations” (Long, 2002).

In his book “Architectural drawings of the Regency period,” Giles Worsley itemised the critical publications used for architectural training and as a design aid. His list included the following:

- James Stuart and Nicholas Revett’s “The antiquities of Athens” (five volumes, 1762 [vol. 1 and 2], 1789 [vol. 3], 1795 [vol. 4], and 1816 vol. 5])
- William Chambers’s “Treatise on the decorative Part of Civil Architecture,” 1791
- Peter Nicholson’s “An architectural dictionary, containing a correct nomenclature and derivation of the terms employed by architects, builders, and workmen ... and the lives of the principal architects: the whole forming a complete guide to the science of architecture

and the art of building ...” (three volumes), 1819; and Idem’s “The carpenter's new guide: being a complete book of lines for carpentry and joinery. Treating fully on practical geometry, soffits, brick and plaister groins, niches of every description, sky-lights, lines for roofs and domes; with a great variety of designs for roofs, trussed girders, floors, domes, bridges, &c.; staircases and hand-rails of various constructions; angle bars for shop fronts, &c.; and raking mouldings; with many other things entirely new. The whole founded on true geometrical principles; the theory and practice well explained and fully exemplified on seventy-eight copper-plates, correctly engraved by the author. Including some observations and calculations on the strength of timber,” 1801

- Brook Taylor’s “Principles of Linear Perspective,” 1835 (new edition)
- Batty Langley’s “Gothic architecture, improved by rules and proportions: in many grand designs of columns, doors, windows, chimney-pieces, arcades, colonades, porticos, umbrellas, temples and pavillions &c.: with plans, elevations and profiles,” 1747
- William Wright’s “Grotesque architecture, or Rural amusement consisting of plans, elevations, and sections, for huts, retreats, summer and winter hermitages, terminaries, Chinese, Gothic, and natural grottos, cascades, baths, mosques, Moresque pavilions, grotesque and rustic seats, green-houses, &c” 1790; and numerous budget editions of Alberti’s and Palladio’s treatises (Worsley, 1991).

The Regency introduced watercolour and beautiful perspectives into architectural draughtsmanship and aquatint into printing. Joseph M. Gandy used this graphic technique in his book published in 1805, “Designs for cottages, farm houses, and other rural buildings, including entrance gates and lodges,” and watercolour as a draughtsman by Sir John Soane, for sets of Soane’s designs. Some of the watercolours were the works of artists employed by architects to capture architecture in a pictographic and pleasing manner, examples being entries to a competition to build the new Houses of Parliament after the 1834 fire (Figure 1.14.1-3).

The aesthetics of the Picturesque in the Regency period introduced idyllic, pastoral landscapes with buildings in the countryside as another way of showing architecture. Figure 1.15 shows a graphic from John P. Neale’s richly illustrated five-volume publication, “Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland” (1818), depicting Dale Park,

a gentry seat, in its rural, quaint surroundings — a typical approach to a romantic landscape of the early nineteenth century.

One of Britain's most successful architectural pattern books of the Regency period was “Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture,” 1833, written by John Claudius Loudon, a Scottish landscape gardener, architect, and journalist. It contained designs for villas, cottages, farmhouses, and a practical guide to internal and external house treatments and gardening. Helen Long stated that Loudon’s publication incorporated the contributions of over 50 specialists, including Robinson and Hunt. This large book (with over 1300 pages, and over 2000 illustrations) was relatively cheap — to ensure wide circulation (Long, 2002). Its application was documented not only in Britain, but also in the USA and Australia. It had numerous reprints throughout the nineteenth century.

“Loudon’s “Encyclopaedia” was extremely popular as a pattern book for builders and the public alike, running to 14 editions or impressions over the next 40 years, and is arguably one of the most influential publications on design in the nineteenth century (...) Much of its mass appeal was due to its practical, instructive approach, emphasising fitness, convenience and comfort and domestic ideals of the time. This approach was vital in the formation of attitudes to design in the Victorian period, (...) at the same time accepting eclecticism in design” (Long, 2002, p.37).

The Victorian times, 1837–1901, significantly developed British architecture. The building world was in a transitional state of becoming an increasingly specialised and diversified field, with the support of mechanisation and transportation. Building material sources shifted from local suppliers and components made on-site to building merchandising of ready-made and fast-delivered building requisites, sales of which were boosted with trade catalogues (Long, 2002).

In 1837, the newly crowned Queen Victoria awarded the royal charter to the Institute of British Architects. The Institute was “funded for facilitating the acquirement of architectural knowledge, for the promotion of the different branches of science connected with it, and for establishing uniformity and respectability of practice in the profession” (Wilton-Ely, 1977, p.193).

Architectural drawings became highly specialised as they addressed different phases and aspects of the building operations. Following the Industrial Revolution, they also aided the development of the industry, such as new building types (railway stations, specialised hospitals, offices, factories, and shops), structural techniques, more complex services (heating, lighting, and drainage), new materials, and unaccustomed ornamentation affected by the “Battle of Styles”, Historicism, and Eclecticism of the nineteenth century (Wilton-Ely, 1977).

In nineteenth-century Britain, there was a lively debate regarding the choice of contemporary architectural styles. In the disputes about the right style, arguments and counterarguments included the traditional values held against the progressive proposals, commercialism against idealistic sentiments, and national identity against the universality of humanism. Factors and components that related directly to the concept of style included construction, materials, as well as the relation to tradition and/or religion as ideologically driven values of aesthetics. One of the outcomes of these deliberations was the Battle of Styles. The participating supporters and opponents born around the turn of the century lived through Romanticism, which promoted escape from conventional order and cultural norms of Classicism, Greek and Roman Revivals in post-Baroque Europe into the surrounding world of the local: the legendary history and the medieval past that responded to emotions and sentiments. The two contesting styles in the Battle were Gothic and Classicism, represented respectively by Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin and Decimus Burton. At the same time, both were educated and trained in John Nash’s studio. Decimus Burton was the son of Nash’s friend James Burton, while Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin was the son of Nash’s French draughtsman, Augustus Charles Pugin (Williams, 1990).

The Battle of Styles was an ideological discourse between supporters of two different appropriateness forms. The argument over decorum referred to the crisis of identity and faith, and the consequent searches for visual attributes that would address these issues in the changing social and political circumstances. The primary debate played out between the classicists and the medievalists, between the enlightened rationalism and the national romanticism of the nineteenth century. Both sides of the argument were represented in Britain by numerous stylistic connotations:

“Suburbs all over the England and Wales reflected early Victorian stylistic variety, houses divided along broadly Gothic or Classic



lines, inspired by the eighteenth-century challenge to the idea of Classical authority, and the aesthetic of the Picturesque and Sublime” (Long, 2002, p.5).

The years 1830–50 sparked a discussion on the national character of Gothicism in Britain. The discourse was accompanied by the construction of the new Parliament House alongside the Thames bank in London, after a fire in 1834 destroyed the old building. The competition for the new design was announced in 1835, and the Gothic style was suggested as preferable, lifting its status to the national style. The winning project of Charles Barry (Figure 1.14.3) was chosen from 97 designs. The building process, spanning over ten years, was tied with animated arguments in the papers. Professional polemic among architects and specialists turned into the general debate on the shape of English architecture in the first half of the nineteenth century. It was also a contentious issue between the supporters and the opponents of Classicism and Romantic Gothic styles, and followers of various forms of the Gothic Revival in Britain (Long 2002).

Pugin and John Ruskin claimed that Gothic architecture had the power to forge identities, while manual work could save people from the evils of capitalism. According to Ruskin, Gothic could impose Englishness on the British labouring classes, the Irish and other British colonial subjects. In his view, Gothic was the English national identity (Jayewardene-Pillai, 2007).

Large competitions for public buildings proved influential and became the focus of public comments and professional disputes in the daily press, journals, and architectural periodicals. Redevelopment of the Government Building of Whitehall to house the Foreign Office, India Office, Home Office, Colonial Office, and the Law Courts (Figures 1.5.1-6) garnered much interest. Popular education and the rise of professional journalism reflected public interest in architectural matters.

“In particular, ‘The Builder,’ subtitled ‘An illustrated weekly magazine for the Drawing-room, the Studio, the Office, the Workshop, and the Cottage,’ since 1842 onwards, registered every wave of taste from the Late Picturesque to Art Nouveau” (Wilton-Ely, 1977, p.196-197).

The nineteenth century was also an era of Historicism, an intellectual formation, in which the civilisation referred to its past. This awareness of history was the basis for the perception of reality. Historical sciences developed considerably, and a need for references to the past to strengthen one's position in the ever-changing reality meant that art turned to past styles and artefacts to an unparalleled extent. History, to which comparison was constantly drawn, was not merely a source of knowledge and wisdom; the past had become an exciting, mysterious, mythological narration as well as a field of scientific and scholarly reconstruction. It was also a catalogue of forms and subjects to serve unrestricted creativity.

The continuous comparison of the contemporary to the art of the past begged the question that haunted artists, thinkers, and art historians of the time — who was right? Was it Johann Joachim Winckelmann, with his admiration for the unsurpassable Greco-Roman ideal (1765, “Reflections on the painting and sculpture of the Greeks: with instructions for the connoisseur, and an essay on grace in works of art”), or Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder, who said that the Great Creator would appreciate any temple, regardless of whether it was Greek or Gothic in style (1797, “Outpourings of an art-loving friar”)? The controversy lasted long and was not restricted to the discourses between Classicists and Romanticists. So different from one another, both polarities sprang from a fascination with the past, as well as the inability to break free of it. Classicism was timeless and without national connections, so it was perfect as an official style in Europe and North America. However, the end of the eighteenth century marked a quest for national identity, distinction, and a national style. In 1841, Pugin appointed the Gothic style as the only valid form of expression in “The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture,” despite his concerns about planning, structure, and material of dwelling designs (Long, 2002).

In the 1860s, when Victorian Eclecticism started, it was distinguishable from the earlier Historicism by a conscious and free combination of different architectural styles. Its introduction also raised questions about the future of architectural styles (Long, 2002). In the 1870s, as a reaction to eclecticism, the fashion for country houses moved towards Queen Anne and the Old English vernacular styles.

“The 1870s and 1880s sees the move towards the Queen Anne and Arts and Crafts styles, in reaction to eclecticism and the diminishing size of country houses. Architects like R.N. Shaw adopted a smaller

scale Old English vernacular style, and became involved in the designing of small Queen Anne style houses as models for suburban housing at Bedford Park, London. Builders rapidly adopted the Queen Anne style and also the Arts and Crafts look that followed in the 1890s” (Long, 1993, p.82-3).

The technological advancement in printing processes from 1750–1901 turned this period into “the age of books” (Briggs, 1990: 217). The cost of publication was significantly reduced: by introducing steam power, the mechanisation of typesetting and setting, the mechanisation of paper production, the invention of cloth binding in 1823, and finally, the introduction and modifications of the Imperial arming press in the 1830s, allowed for gold-blocking of the spine, and both front and back covers. In “Life and Labour of the People in London,” first published in 1895, Charles Booth observed that:

“The great reductions in the price of paper and other materials used in the production of books, and the numerous inventions that have facilitated this production, have greatly increased the output and brought books within the reach of all classes just when, by the spread of education, there has begun to be a general demand for them. The movement towards cheapness has compelled the binder to seek by all means to reduce the cost of binding also, and in this he has succeeded, for a book that would have cost 2s to cover ten years ago can now be done for 9d, but the work is not so good, and the increase of such work is turning the mechanic more and more into a machine-minder” (Booth, 1903, p.243).

Publications were essential for design, building legislation, construction techniques, and cost guidance, especially when no architect was involved in the building processes. Long judges that the long-running nature of many publications addressed to diverse audiences of professionals and amateurs alike indicates their popularity (Long, 2002). Some old books still in use during the Victorian times contained outdated information, which, according to Summerson, explained, for example, the conservative application of Regency designs in the 1880s (Summerson, 1990). Pattern sources consisted of features that could be copied or adapted to suit particular needs and

requirements with or without professional assistance. In 1839, Samuel H. Brooks remarked on the issue in the preface of his book, “Designs for Villa and Cottage Architecture:”

“The efforts of architects in all ages have hitherto been generally directed to public buildings, and to the mansions of noblemen; and those who may be considered as composing the middling orders of society have been for the most part left to become their own architects. Hence the tardiness with which the improvements made in the accommodation, arrangement, and exterior beauty of the mansions of the wealthy have found their way to the dwellings of the middling classes. It is therefore one of the chief objects of the present work, to point out by appropriate designs, how the residence of the man of wealth, and the dwellings of a more humble grade, may in a degree, be equalised as far as regards essential comfort, convenience and beauty. A series of published designs cannot but prove of great benefit, not only to the experienced, but also to the amateur architect ... In rural architecture, particularly, the only means of accomplishing that end, is the study of published designs, for no local builder can be supposed to have had either leisure or opportunity to inspect the different improvements which have gradually or immediately taken place in his own country, or which may be the result of foreign talent. Without recourse to a book of designs, the builder must in his own plans be necessarily tame and uniform, his edifices will but be a copy of each other” (Brooks, 1839, p.10).

Victorian houses broadly followed styles ordinarily reserved for large country mansions. Downscaled and appropriately altered forms were built in the styles from architectural pattern books of the time. New post-Regency styles included Italianate (asymmetrical villas), Tutor, Elizabethan and Jacobean, Scotch Baronial and English, French and Italian Gothic, French Renaissance, and Northern Mannerism (Long, 2002). Such a variety of historical styles present on the British architectural market during the nineteenth century propelled the production of pattern

books showing a variety of stylistic solutions. Thomas Hopper, a leading English architect of the late Regency and early Victorian era, said: “(...) it is an architect’s business to understand all styles, and to be prejudiced in favour of none” (Eck, 1995: 85).

According to Long, two of the most influential architectural writers of the early Victorian times were Peter F. Robinson and Peter Nicholson. In 1837, in addition to republishing earlier works, Robinson printed “Domestic Architecture in the Tutor Style,” and Nicholson, “A Treatise on Projection, with a Complete System of Isometric Drawing.” Both authors were published until the mid-nineteenth century — Nicholson until the 1850s, and Robinson until a decade later (Long, 2002).

Among other books printed in 1837, Long mentioned C. J. Richardson’s “Observations,” relating to the late Tutor and early Jacobean architecture; A. W. N. Pugin’s “Details of Ancient Timber Houses,” about the true Gothic style; and J. Collis’s “The Builders’ Portfolio of Street Architecture,” regarding terrace houses (Long, 2002). The 1860s marked the beginning of Victorian eclecticism, while the 1870s showed a growing interest in English vernacular architecture, which gave way to Arts and Crafts Movement. Lang also noted that suburbs were created during the 1815–1939 period in response to a great demand for smaller dwellings on the outskirts of overcrowded cities:

“The availability of ready-made components, and of a large skilled and unskilled workforce for all the necessary trades, along with written advice for builders and others, and the increasing middle classes and standard of living by the end of the Victorian period, resulted in vast numbers of small- to medium-sized detached, semi-detached and terraced houses, resulting at once in homogeneity yet numerous varied combinations of details” (Long, 2002, p.4).

Some architectural pattern books of the 1850s and 1860s were addressed more directly to builders than to the public, emphasising, for example, planning as an essential factor of a successful design. Many also gave information related to specifications and prices. Such books focused on designs for the middle class, such as villas, small terraced and semi-detached dwellings. An example of such a publication was “The Builder’s Practical Director, or Buildings for all Classes, Enabling

Every Freeholder to be His Own Surveyor and Builder: Containing Plans, Sections and Elevations for the Erection of Cottages, Villas, Farm Buildings, Dispensaries, Public Schools etc. With Detailed Estimates, Quantities, Prices etc.," 1855, edited by Edward L. Tarbuck. According to Tarbuck, this book was intended to "lay before our readers a Handbook of Building, a reference to which will be of use to the initiated as well as those about to purchase plots of ground or build houses" (1855: iii). The book was a collation of articles about architectural details, site, drainage, and buildings laws, combined with plans and elevations. The chromolithography technique was used for the colour illustrations. Therefore, the book, although published in London, was printed in Germany (Leipzig and Dresden).

Robert Kerr's book, "The English Gentleman's Country House," published in 1864 (reprint from "The Gentleman's House, or How to Plan English Residences, From the Parsonage to the Palace; with Tables of Accommodation and Cost, and a Series and Selected Plans"), illustrated with lithographs of floor plans Kerr's designs or designs taken from "The Builder," and "The Building News." Apart from the short history of styles, it contained chapters on choosing and employing builders and architects, building economically, and dealing with exterior design. According to Long, this valuable and comprehensive advice made it a successful publication, second only to Loudon's "Encyclopaedia" (Long, 2002).

During the last few decades of the nineteenth century, the role of architectural pattern sources was increasingly replaced by architectural journals and trade catalogues. "The Architectural Magazine," a monthly periodical based on Loudon's "Encyclopaedia," was replaced in 1841 by "The Builder", which competed on the publishing market with "The Building News" (1855), "The Architect" (1874), "The Illustrated Carpenter and Builder" (1877), "Building World", and "The Architectural Review" (the latter two since 1895) (Long, 2002). This boosted both specialised journalisms, and the fast-developing building trade:

"The Victorian period is very much the age of the trade catalogue and the building journal. Over the course of the nineteenth century we see an increase in their importance, particularly in the final quarter of the century, and by 1900 these types of publications had overtaken some conventional modes of transmitting information. Such a shift reflected vast changes occurring in the building industry

in response to the demand for housing and ornamentation generally. Journals provided the same type of information as books, patterns, prices, and instruction, but also trade news and correspondence and information was regularly updated. Firms increasingly advertised their wares in journals, and indeed in manuals and price books, made easier after tax on advertising was dropped in 1853. In their effort to compete in supplying the building trades with ready-made materials and components, firms developed a large apparatus of publicity, including extensive and profusely illustrated catalogues. This was made possible by cheap printing methods and new modes of illustration, and large companies issued various catalogues for different markets” (Long, 2002, p.97).

The range of architectural patterns that emerged and developed during the period of 1750-1901 in Britain played a significant role in shaping the built environment and reflecting socio-political changes of the time. These architectural patterns not only served as practical means of communication but also carried ideological meanings that were deeply embedded in British culture.

Representative architectural styles, building types, and urban planning emerged as a result of the development of architectural patterns during this period. These styles and forms became symbolic representations of social, cultural, and political values. They conveyed messages about power, authority, and identity, both within Britain and across the British Empire in colonial contexts.

The ideological meaning of the British built environment and its stylistic expressions became crucial in shaping socio-political change. Architecture became a tool through which ideological discourses of power were conveyed and contested. Different architectural styles and forms were associated with specific social and political perspectives, generating architectural meanings that reflected the values and aspirations of British society during this period.

This phenomenon was not limited to Britain alone but extended to the diverse colonial contexts of the British Empire. The construction of ideological interpretations of architectural patterns through social and political perspectives occurred in these colonial settings as well. The British culture of 1750-1901, with its architectural patterns and expressions, had a profound impact on the colonies, shaping their built environments and generating specific architectural meanings within those contexts.



FIGURES 1.1-1.15



London Printed for Bowles & Carter, No. 63 St. Pauls Church Yard.

A View of the BANK of ENGLAND, Threadneedle Street, London.

The Centre erected 1733. G. Sampson, Architect. Published by J. & J. Roberts, Sir Robert Taylor, Bart., Architect of the Works.



DIVIDEND DAY AT THE BANK, 1770. (See page 471.)

Figure 1.1: Banks - **The Bank of England, London, 1734, by John Soane**

1. *A view of the Bank of England, Threadneedle Street, London, 1797*
2. Thornbury, Walter. 1878. "The Bank of England, in Old and New London: Vol".  
1. London: Cassell, Petter & Galpin, pp. 481.

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Press Ctrl + Click to follow link:

<https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O685079/designs-for-public-and-private-print-sir-john-soane/>

**BOTTOM**

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Press Ctrl + Click to follow link:

<https://socks-studio.com/img/blog/soane-bank-of-england-04.jpg>

Figure 1.1: Banks - **The Bank of England, London, 1734, by John Soane**

3. *Bank of England*, a plate from John Soane's *Designs for Public and Private Buildings*, engraving, printed by C. Ingrej, ca. 1832
4. Axonometric projection

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<https://comestepbackintime.files.wordpress.com/2013/04/5-iron-bridge-william-williams-painting.jpg>

Figure 1.2: Bridges and railway bridges

**1. The Cast Iron Bridge over the River Severn at Coalbrookdale, Shropshire, England, 1781, by John Wilkinson**

*A view of The Iron Bridge*, 1780, William Williams, oil on canvas



Figure 1.2: Bridges and railway bridges

**2. The Menai Bridge, Wales, 1826, by Thomas Telford**

*The Menai Bridge from the Anglesey side from: Gastineau, Henry. 1830. Wales illustrated, in a series of views, comprising the picturesque scenery, towns, castles, seats of the nobility & gentry, antiquities, &c. London: Jones & Co., p. 170.*

**TOP**

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<https://www.networkrail.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/history-of-forth-bridge-1024x679.png>

**BOTTOM**

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Press Ctrl + Click to follow link:

<https://www.theforthbridges.org/media/woxnopm3/forth-bridge-drawing-cropped.jpg?width=1920&quality=90&format=webp>

Figure 1.2: Bridges and railway bridges

3. **The Forth Railway Bridge near Edinburgh, Scotland, 1883, by John Fowler and Benjamin Baker**

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Drawing

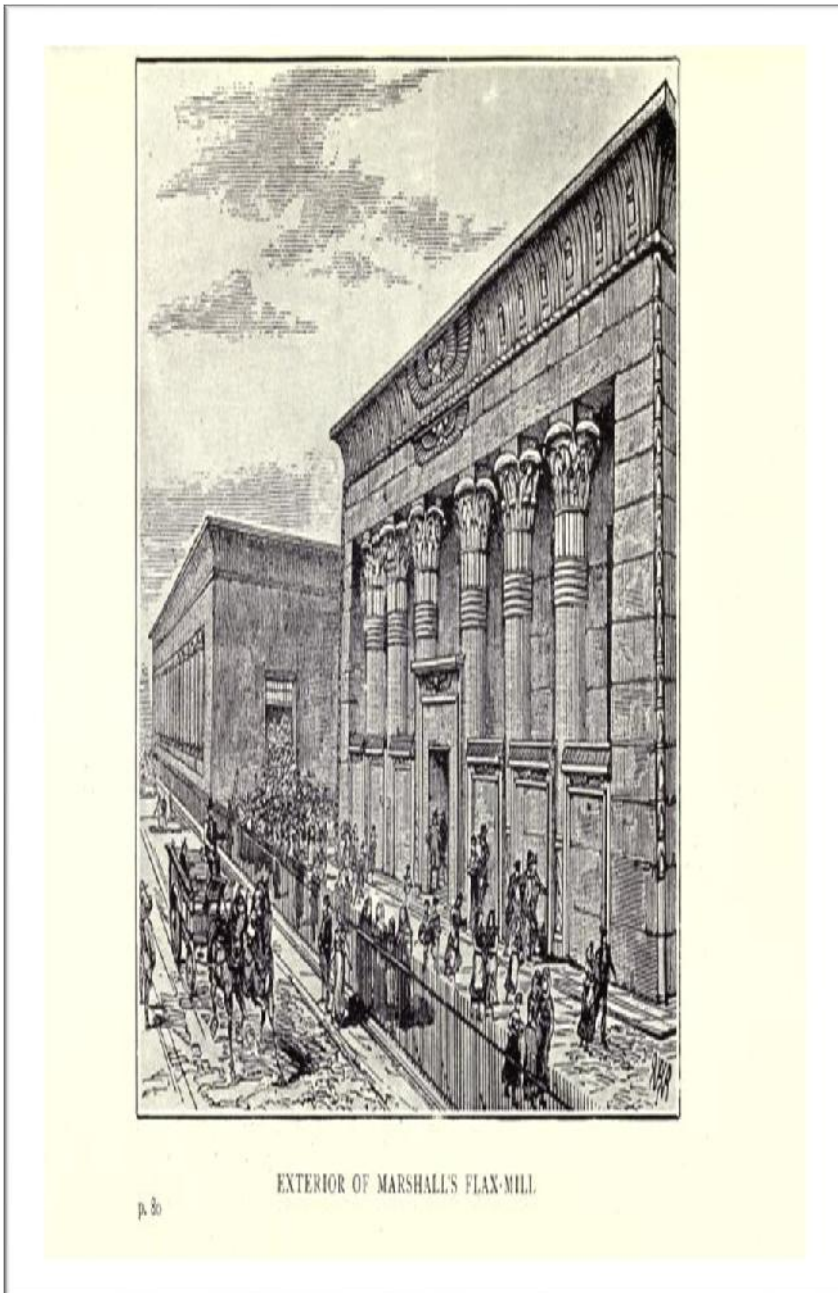


Figure 1.3: Factories - **Marshall's flax-mill, Holbeck, Leeds, West Yorkshire, England, 1843, by Joseph Bonomi the Younger**

Fletcher, Joseph Smith. 1919. *The Story of the English Towns: Leeds*. London Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, p. 80.

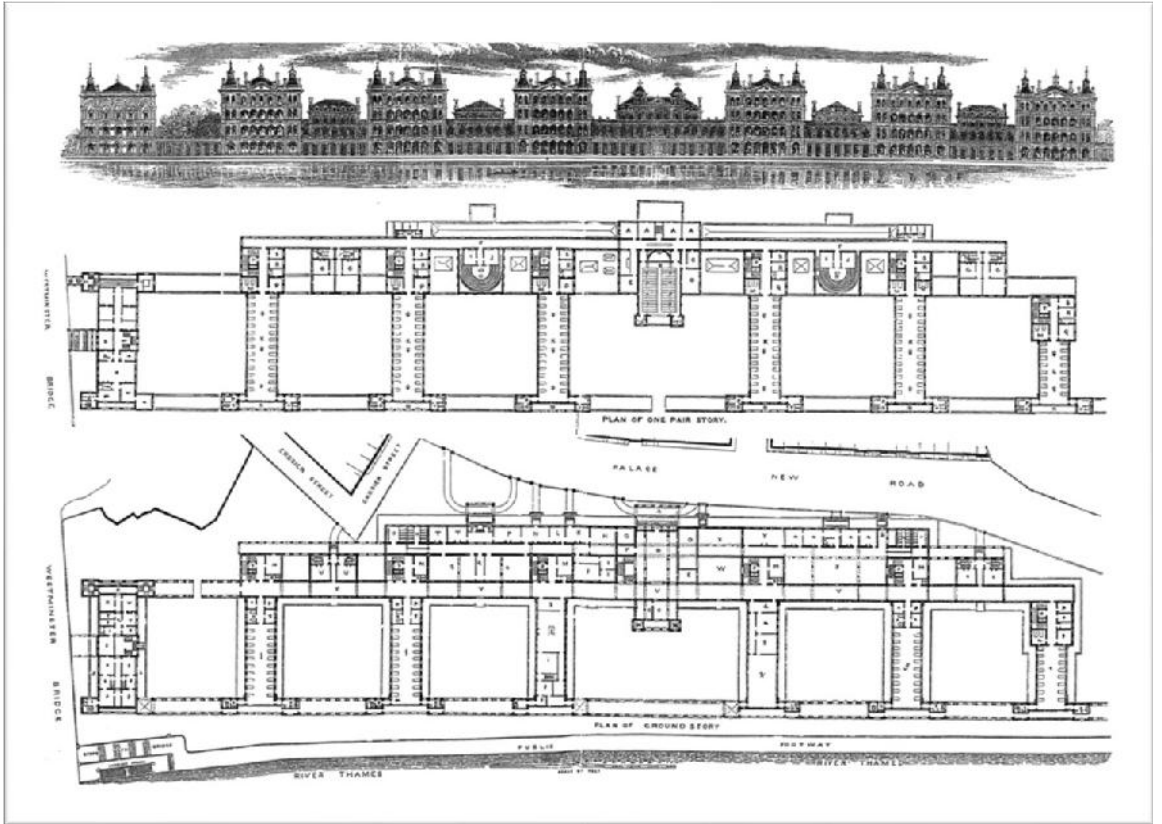


Figure 1.4: Hospitals - **St Thomas's Hospital, London, 1868,**  
**by Henry Currey**

*The Builder* 1865 (23), p. 556.





Figure 1.5: Law Courts – **Law Courts, London, competition entries**

1. *The Builder* 1867 (25), p. 151



Figure 1.5: Law Courts – Law Courts, London, competition entries

2. *The Builder* 1867 (25), p. 191



Figure 1.5: Law Courts – Law Courts, London, competition entries

3. *The Builder* 1867 (25), p. 209



Figure 1.5: Law Courts – Law Courts, London, competition entries

4. *The Builder* 1867 (25), p. 225

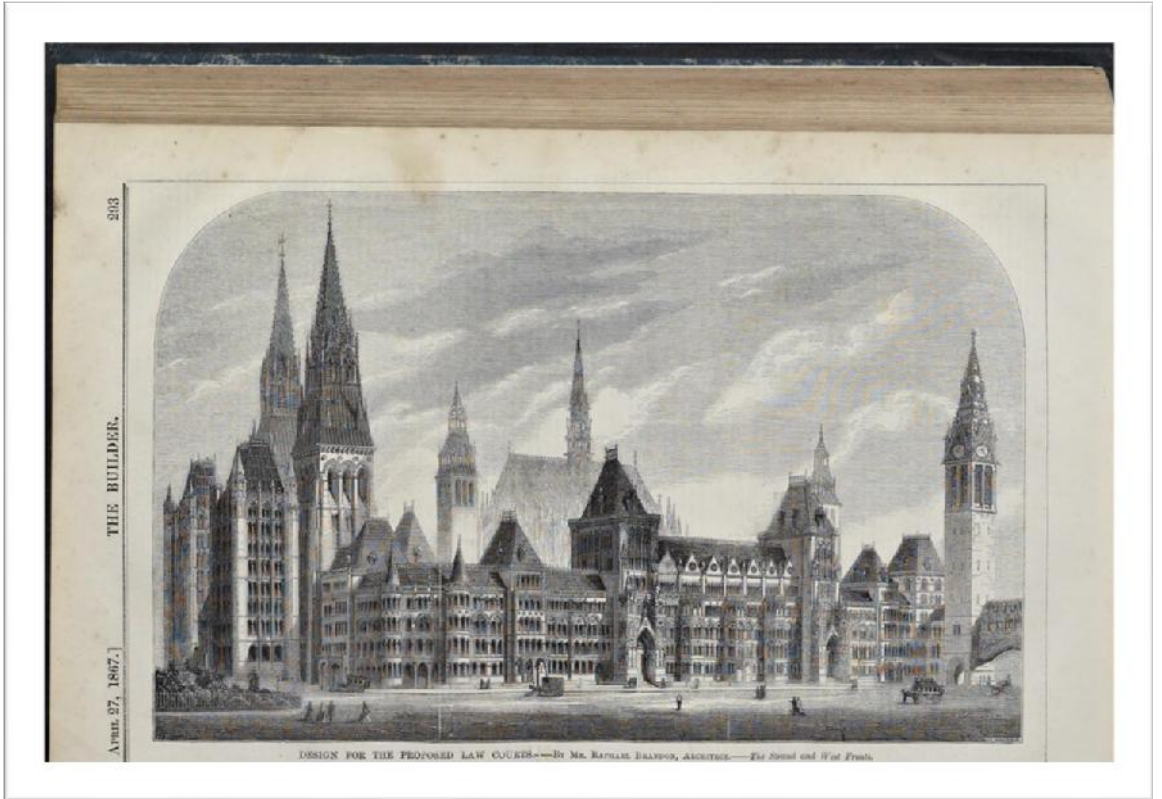


Figure 1.5: Law Courts – Law Courts, London, competition entries

5. *The Builder* 1867 (25), p. 293

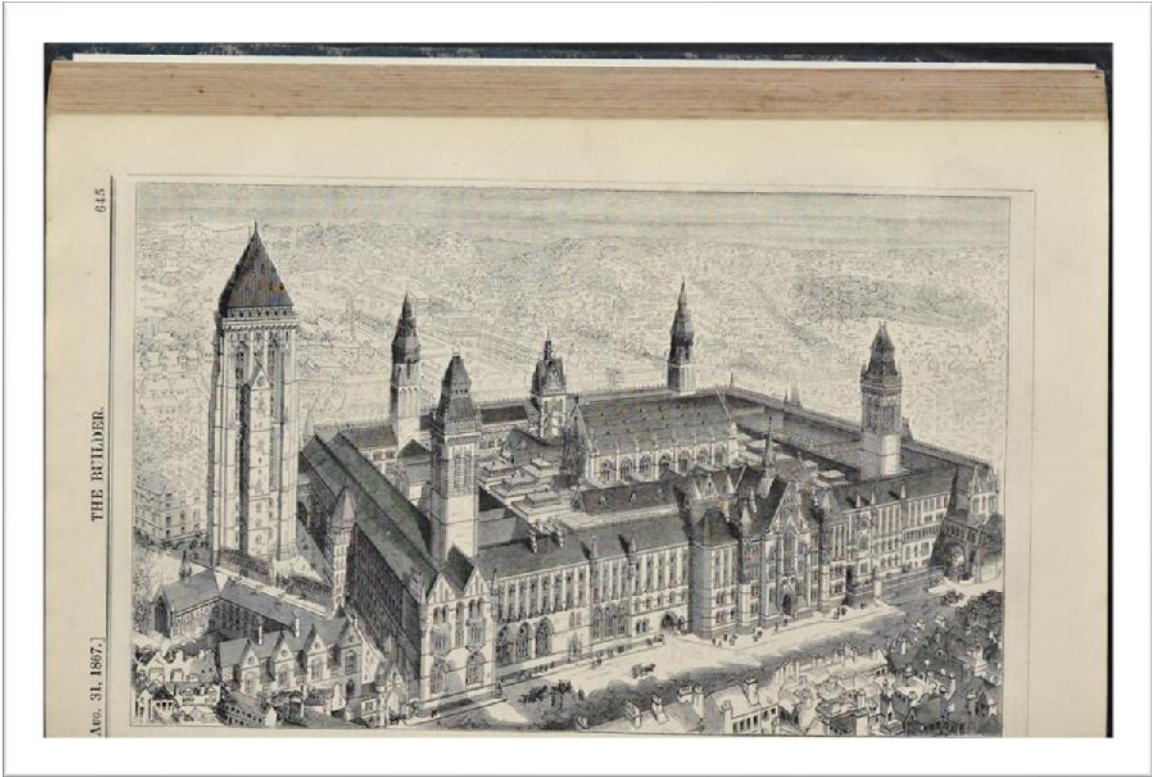


Figure 1.5: Law Courts – Law Courts, London, competition entries

6. *The Builder* 1867 (25), p. 311

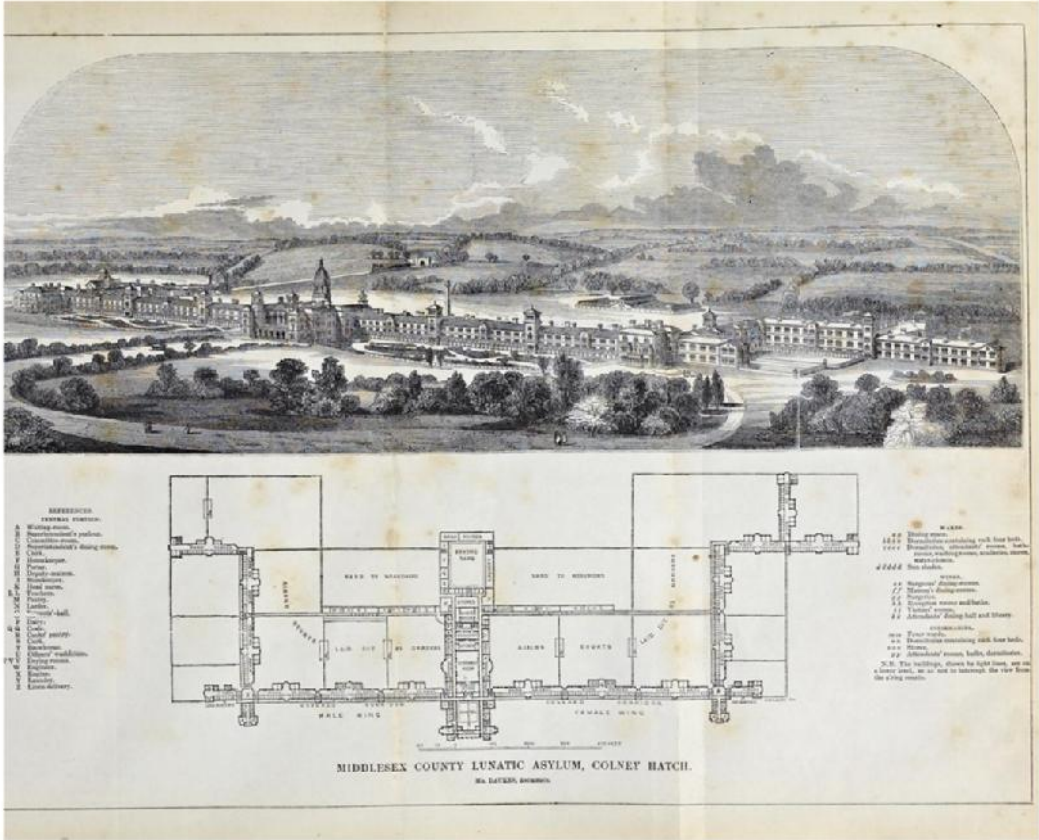


Figure 1.6: Lunatic asylums – examples

**1. Middlesex County Lunatic Asylum, by Coley Hatch**  
*The Builder* 1851 (9), p. 420-421

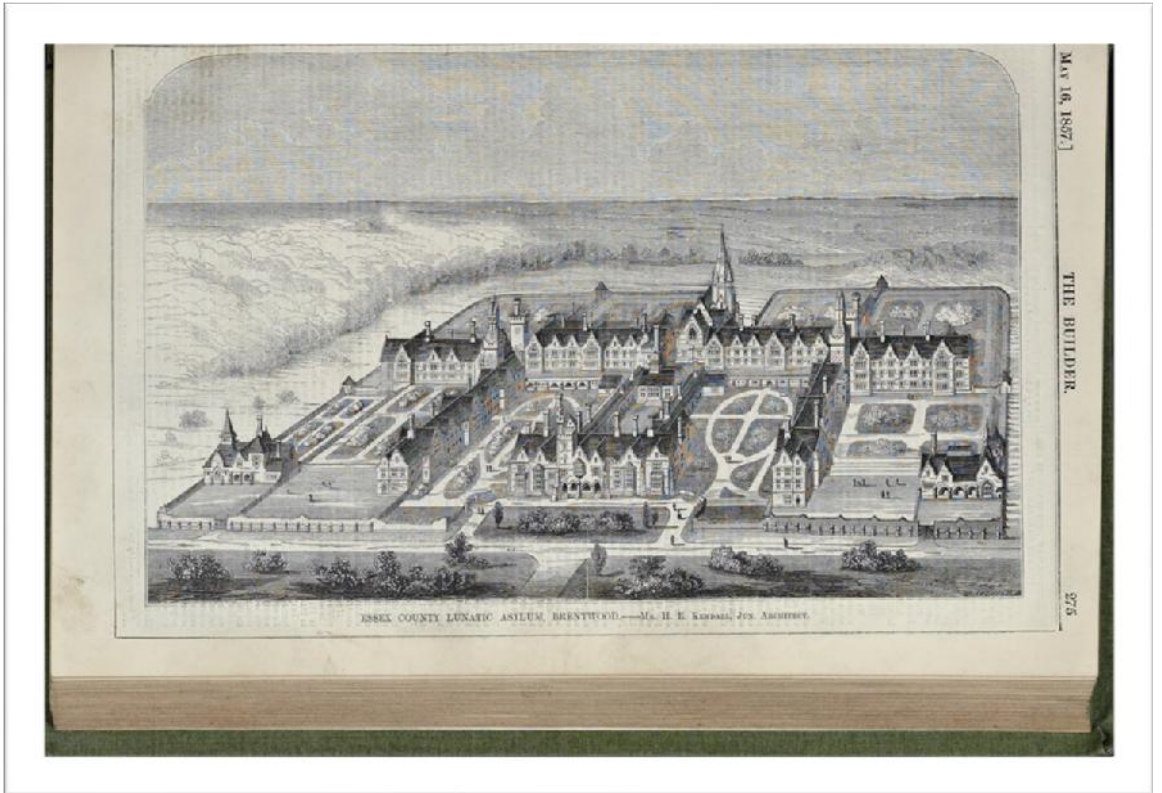


Figure 1.6: Lunatic asylums – examples

**2. Essex County Lunatic Asylum, Brentwood, by H. E. Kendall**  
*The Builder* 1857 (15), p. 275



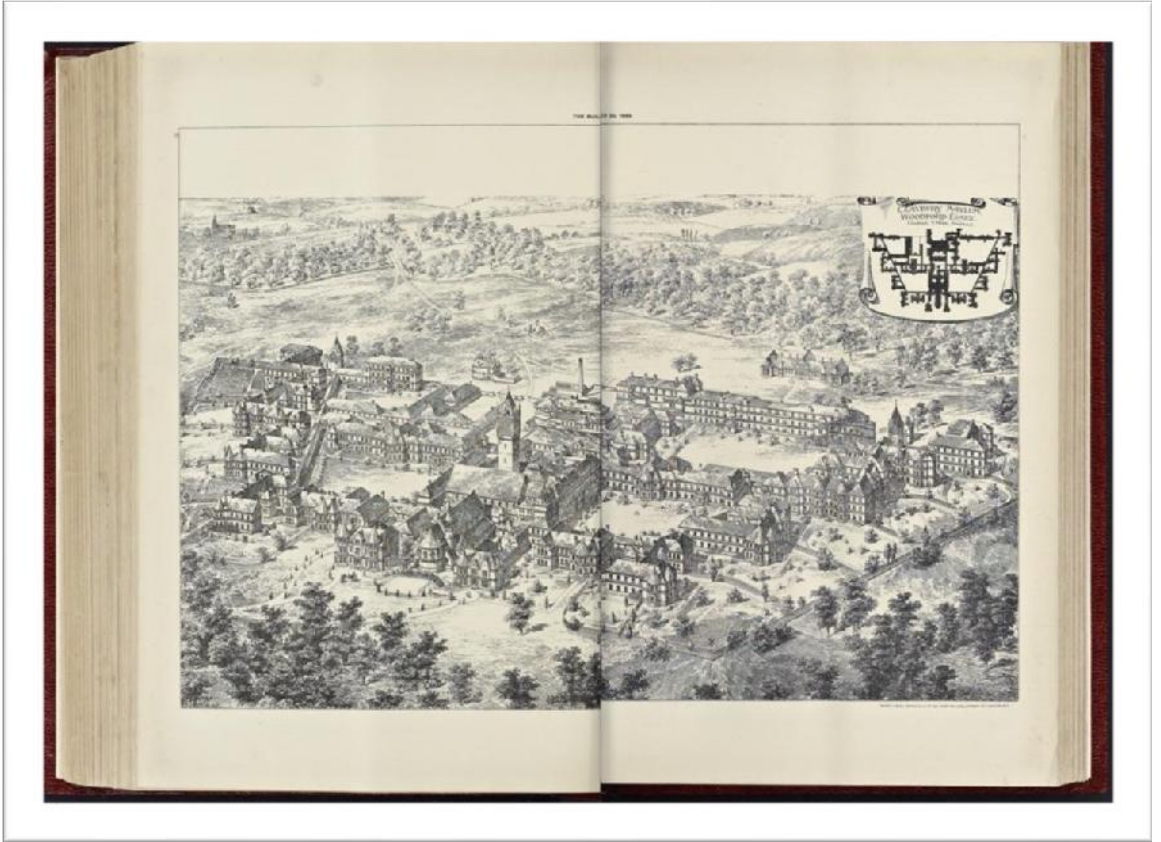


Figure 1.6: Lunatic asylums – examples

3. Claybury Asylum, Woodford Essex, by George Thomas Hine  
*The Builder* 1889 (57), p. 367-368

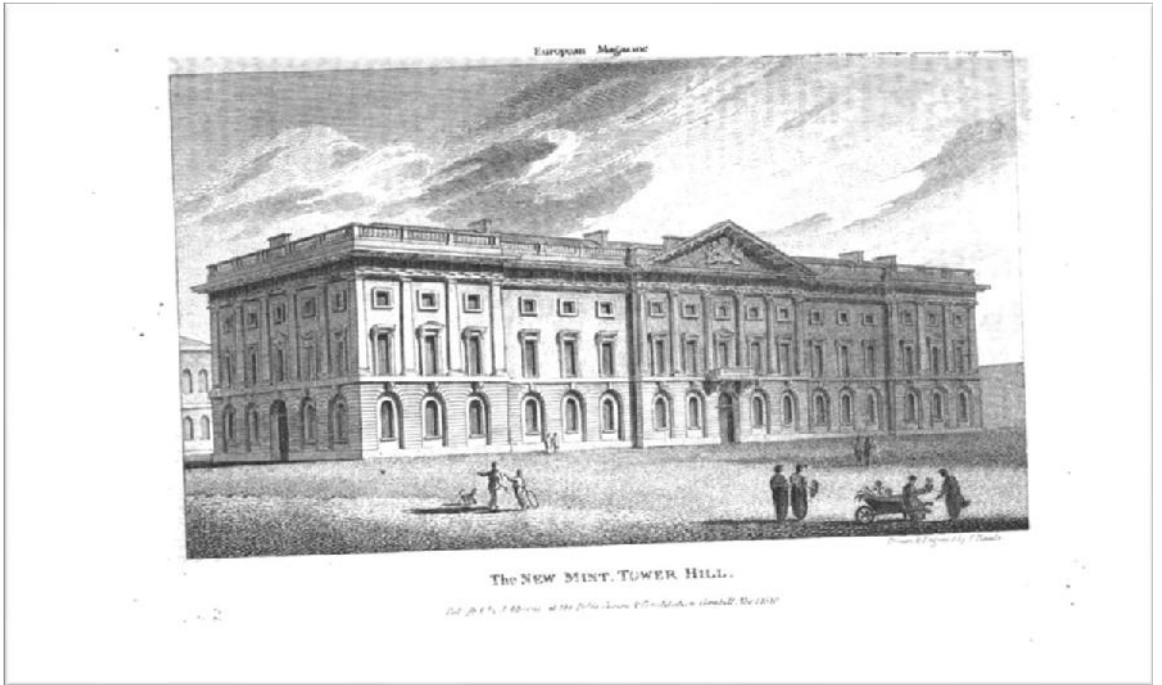


Figure. 17: Mints - **The Royal Mint, London, 1805-1809,**  
**by Robert Smirke**

*The European Magazine, and London Review* 1810 (58), p. 248-249



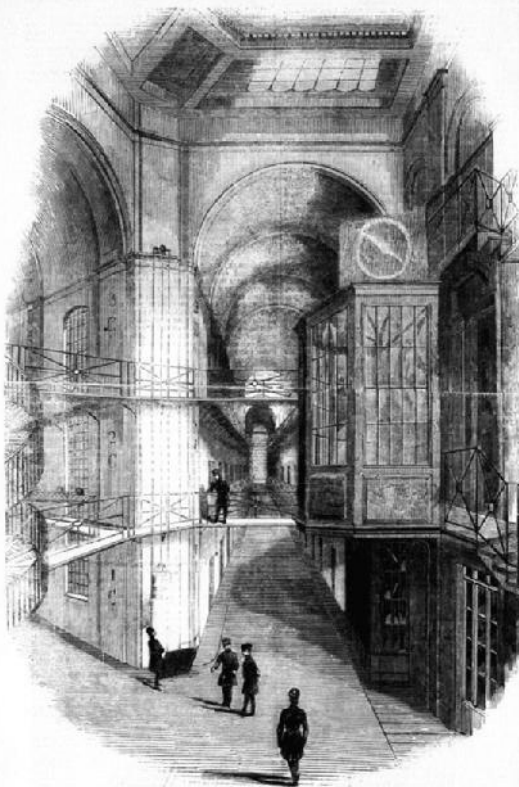
Figure 1.8: Post offices

- 1. The New General Post Office, London, 1829, by Robert Smirke**  
James Pollard, 1829 Aquatint, hand-coloured



Figure 1.8: Post offices

**2. The Head Post Office and Customs House, Liverpool, 1839, by John Foster**  
Pigot, James. 1842. *A Pocket Topography and Gazetteer of England. ... Illustrated  
by Maps of the English Counties and Vignettes of Cathedrals Etc.* vol. 2. London:  
Pigot & Co. ..., p. 139



THE PENTONVILLE PRISON.

About midway, to the right of the Chalk-road, which leads from the line of Pentonville Hill to Holloway, for two years and a half past, has been in progress the most remarkable building of which the engineering art ever presented a partial view. Its general appearance is that of a prison-structure, upon an elevated site, which lofty "boundary walls," enclosing, in the form of an irregular polygon, an area of 100 acres, holds a lower outer, or curtilage wall, with massive bastions at the two points of entrance in the principal front, and surrounding a terrace-walk on the other side of the central plan. Such is the Pentonville Prison, which, from its possessing several new principles of construction, proposed to be extended to the several central gaols in the kingdom, has been termed "The Model Prison, on the Report System," or the proposed separation of the prisoners from each other. The plan appears to have been submitted by the Department of Prisons to Lord John Russell, when Secretary of State for the Home Department, and also, to Earl Russell, on May 5, 1840, and it is to be the opinion of the Engineers and the Government, that "the separate system would be highly and highly beneficial, both to the prisoners and the public." The first course of this new prison was laid by the Marquis of Northampton in the April of the above year, and its erection has cost the large sum of £100,000. It presents before us an architectural triumph in the plan of the building, and the construction of the exterior walls, which are of brick, with an exterior prospect gallery, a glass-roofed, of timber frame, with stone and brick openings, the being the entrance of the governor, and the other that of the warden of the prison, and both within the boundary wall. The door of the entrance building opens into an enclosed court, in which the air goes, through which provisions, &c., are

to be taken to the kitchen and offices, without interfering with the buildings more immediately devoted to officers and prisoners. The entrance to the prison is by a flight of steps and through a low doorway, placed between two massive columns, through the broad passage, on each side of which are the officers' rooms, and thence to the inspection or central hall, a, on reaching which the warden, for the first time, becomes aware of the parallel palisades of construction of the prison. This hall is open from the floor to the roof, and will be the point of distribution of the officers. It is shown in the above engraving. Around it are two galleries, in which the warden, in which will be seated the deputy-governor, who, from this central point, will command the entire range of the several courts, and the officers on duty there. Opposite the door of the inspection hall is a large door, communicating with a gallery leading to the chapel on the first floor of the entrance building. Returning to the hall, opposite the door to the left, is shown the machinery by which the provisions are raised in trays through a trap-door from the basement, where are the kitchen and apparatus for cooking, and for warming and ventilating the entrance building. The Prison Wings or Cell Buildings radiate from this hall as from a common centre, and, in plan, present themselves as a pair of wings, two wings stretching on the right and left of this apartment, in a direct line with each other, and the remaining two wings diverging in a fan-like form. An open passage or corridor runs longitudinally through the centre of each wing, into which open the prison-cells or cells, ranged in three stories; the lower range opening on the floor of the corridor, and the upper ranges open narrow galleries attached to the wall, which are continued round the central hall, as already explained. As the further extremity of each wing a flight of steps, covered by a trap-door, leads to the punishment cells, which are placed in the basement. In the centre of each wing a circular iron staircase communicates with the

cellular and is continued into the store-rooms below, and the provisions being drawn up from the basement of the hall, are conveyed along the corridors in wooden waggon-ways wheels, running upon the gallery track as upon a railway. The wings are lit by lofty windows at the ends and sides and from the roof. At night a powerful flood-light will illuminate the central hall from the ceiling, and gas-lights will branch from the gallery fronts. The entire length of the wings, right and left, and that of the intervening hall, is 600 feet; and the number of cells upon each floor is included in the ground plan, the whole calculated for 250 prisoners. The wings are lettered A, B, C, D, and the ranges of cells numbered in each wing, 1, 2, 3. One wing has been set apart for female prisoners, and is usually separated from the rest of the prison, the object of it being from a side door in the entrance building, which will be in charge of the warden.



The cells are each 13 feet long, by 7 feet broad, and six feet six inches in height over the bed. The pane or partition between them are 18 inches thick, and are worked with close joints, so as to exclude as much as possible the transmission of sound. The ceiling is covered with a mixture of plaster and wood, and is covered with strong glass, of similar form to the back wall, and covered by a wrought-iron bar, in the direction of its length, so as to divide it into two portions, of about 4 inches each. The engraving shows the interior of a cell; on the left is a stone water-closet pan, with a cast-iron trap, sitting on a hinge 18 inches from the wall. Next is a metal basin, supplied with water, to prevent the waste of water, the quantity is limited to one cubic foot, or about 6 gallons; the service-pipe from the water-works being bent in the form of a trap, to prevent the transmission of sound. Opposite these conveniences is a strong three-legged stool, and a small table, with a shaded gas burner above it. Across the cell is a shelf from iron angles in the wall the prisoners' hammock, with mattress and blanket, which are folded up and placed upon a shelf to the left of the door in the day-time. Here also is a hand-writing commode, consisting with a bell, which when pulled causes a small iron wheel, attached with the hammer of the bell in the engraving, to project from the wall, so that the officer on duty in the gallery may be apprised of the prisoner's cell when he is required. Each cell is warmed by air, through perforated iron plates in the floor, supplied through flues, communicating with furnace-chimneys in the basement of the wing. The fresh air is carried off, and admission of atmosphere maintained by means of perforated iron plates above the door of the cell, which communicates with an immense shaft

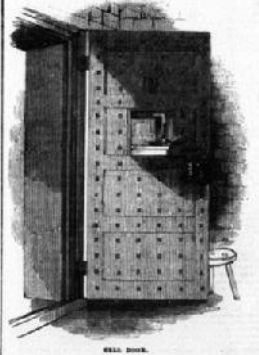


Figure 1.9: Prisons - Pentonville Model Prison, 1842, by Joshua Jebb

a) Illustrated London News 1843, 2 (35-36), p. 4-5

placed about the centre of the roof of each wing. The means of supplying fresh air and the withdrawal of foul air, as at present the superiority of communication between prisoners in adjacent cells, are the least objectionable of the Inspectors of Prisons and Messrs. Hahn, of Tottenham, and are remarkable for simplicity and efficiency.

The door of the Cell is shown in the above engraving. The frame is of oak. The door is two inches thick, of steel, framed back on both sides; the edges covered with felt, to prevent noise and the transmission of sound, and there is a strong iron fitting on the side next the cell, riveted through; the fastening is a spring lock and bolt. In the upper part is a small circular fitted with glass and window, through which the prisoner either may look from the outside, unseen by the prisoner in the cell; this lock being a safe iron construction. In the panel beneath is a square trap-door, let down by a spring, through which meals, &c., may be conveyed to the prisoner.

The general plan of the prison, however, will be best understood by the annexed ground-plan.

- |                          |                           |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. S. S. Entrance gate.  | 1. S. S. Officers' room.  |
| 2. S. S. Entrance gate.  | 2. S. S. Officers' room.  |
| 3. S. S. Entrance gate.  | 3. S. S. Officers' room.  |
| 4. S. S. Entrance gate.  | 4. S. S. Officers' room.  |
| 5. S. S. Entrance gate.  | 5. S. S. Officers' room.  |
| 6. S. S. Entrance gate.  | 6. S. S. Officers' room.  |
| 7. S. S. Entrance gate.  | 7. S. S. Officers' room.  |
| 8. S. S. Entrance gate.  | 8. S. S. Officers' room.  |
| 9. S. S. Entrance gate.  | 9. S. S. Officers' room.  |
| 10. S. S. Entrance gate. | 10. S. S. Officers' room. |
| 11. S. S. Entrance gate. | 11. S. S. Officers' room. |
| 12. S. S. Entrance gate. | 12. S. S. Officers' room. |
| 13. S. S. Entrance gate. | 13. S. S. Officers' room. |
| 14. S. S. Entrance gate. | 14. S. S. Officers' room. |
| 15. S. S. Entrance gate. | 15. S. S. Officers' room. |
| 16. S. S. Entrance gate. | 16. S. S. Officers' room. |
| 17. S. S. Entrance gate. | 17. S. S. Officers' room. |
| 18. S. S. Entrance gate. | 18. S. S. Officers' room. |
| 19. S. S. Entrance gate. | 19. S. S. Officers' room. |
| 20. S. S. Entrance gate. | 20. S. S. Officers' room. |

The last engraving shows a portion of the interior of the Chapel, fitted up with square seats or benches, the side rows of which radiate upon the pulpit at the other end of the chapel, so that each prisoner can see and be seen by the chaplain. The back of each row of seats is of such a height as to intercept the communication between the rows when the prisoners are standing up, and yet are not so high as to prevent them when sitting down. A double passage is made down the centre of the chapel, communicating with the central hall, and a staircase leads up from the gallery to a door, which is on a recessed level for entering the upper row of seats, from whence a succession of steps arranged in pairs communicate downwards with each row in front; and, as the officers will be seated in galleries on the floor of the opposite end of the chapel, they will have the entire surveillance of the prisoners. The steps by which the side row pulpit descends the very steep, is oak and crimson.

The prisoners' funds remain to be described. There are no shops by the plan, as upon the existing principle, the advantage of which is, that an officer stationed in the centre may watch the prisoners, not only of each of whom will be admitted at a time into the spaces formed by the division walls, or floor in the plan, around the central part, in a dark passage, which renders it impossible that the prisoner can be aware the officer is watching him. The walls have open cellings, with each cell, and they are arranged so as to prevent any two prisoners from seeing the other; the division walls are made, so as to afford shelter when necessary. The ventilation is in front of the prisoners, communicated upon the same principle as those between the walls, except that they are of different form, with semicircular ends, instead of being entirely straight.

There are the principal departments of the prison. Beside each wing are 12 chambers, each with its own entrance for the prisoners. As yet, no infirmary has been provided, and in case of illness, the prisoners must be medically treated in their respective cells. The roadway now forms some idea of the completeness with which the system of ventilation will be carried out in this new prison. The convicts will be supplied with work during their confinement so as to prevent idleness, and each will work in his cell, where he will only be let out for exercise or paper; and, on these occasions, it is intended that each prisoner will be required to wear over his face a mask, or hood, to be removed when he reaches the space between the walls, and to be worn again in ascending to his cell; by which means the prisoners will be prevented from seeing one another, and, in addition, will be all cross material, they will be effectually separated as though they were miles apart. Banks, on the exterior of the chapels, will be supplied with each cell, and the prisoners will be required to attend divine service daily. Instructions in various trades, among which may be mentioned stone making and weaving, will be given daily by schoolmasters, of whom one will be appointed for every 100 prisoners. Each prisoner will be visited hourly during the day by a keeper, he will also be visited daily by the deputy-governor and chief officer, and especially by the medical officer and schoolmaster twice every week. The principal teachers must report to the governor and not to the inferior officers employed by the prisoners, who will be permitted to see the visiting commissioners, the governor, chaplain, or medical officer, upon application through the principal teacher; and the prisoners will be allowed to communicate with their friends in writing four times a week. They will be required to wear a dark suit of coarse cloth, with the letters P. E. (Pentonsville Prison) worked in red on the collar. The "watchmen," who will inspect the benches in each wing, will wear a blue uniform and regulation caps, as shown in the large engraving. It is understood that convicts sentenced at the Epsom sessions will be the first removed to the new prison. The interior has been fitted, but has not been completed beyond the prison walls.

CHANGES ON THE HALL OF COMMERCE.—This beautiful building, of which we gave two sketches in this paper some weeks back, was on Monday last thrown open to the public, when numbers of 800 gentlemen connected with the trade and City of London partook of a dinner, arranged, provided by the proprietors for the occasion. The Lord Mayor, who presided, was accompanied by Mr. J. Esdaile, Mr. H. D. W. Harvey, Mr. C. Wind, Mr. Dykes Corbett, Mr. Deputy Mayor, Mr. C. J. Solihull, Mr. Sheriff Hooper, Mr. Mayor, Mr. C. G. M. Alderman Robinson, Mr. C. G. Alderman Ficker, Mr. T. H. M. Carter, &c. Lord John Russell arrived at about half-past twelve. Upon the bench of the "City members" being given, Lord J. Russell said, as Mr. Mayor had been obliged to leave the Hall in consequence of urgent business, they had decided upon him of returning thanks for the representatives of the City, for the honour which had been done them on this occasion (cheers). He was sure that all present would cordially concur in a feeling of admiration of the great and splendid Hall. All likewise would concur in wishing the future and most complete success to this great undertaking (loud cheers)—a success which would be delightful to the Mayor as regarded himself, but from which he was separated. Mr. Mayor would move with greater delight, because that success would have the effect of promoting the commerce and forwarding the prosperity of this great City (cheers). As the Lord Mayor had truly said, the general was not so anxious on which to include in any political allusion (loud cheers). He trusted that none of all parties would be found anxious to promote the prosperity of that City and the country in which they all belonged; the prosperity of which was so bound up with the prosperity of the City of London, that the City could not prosper without the country participating in the benefits to be derived from it. He would, therefore, propose (Mr. Mayor) desiring the objects of the building at considerable length. The first principal rooms are galleries and lobby, and are admirably suited for the purposes of business transactions. As about half-past three, the party separated. It opened an undertaking by a single individual deserve success.

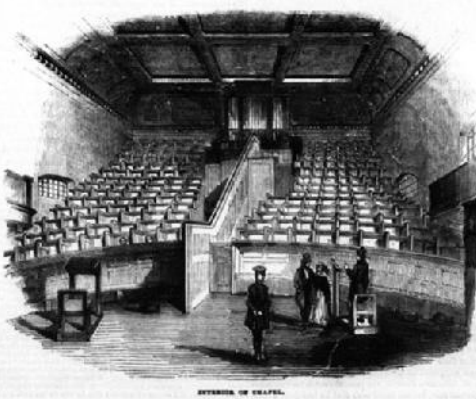
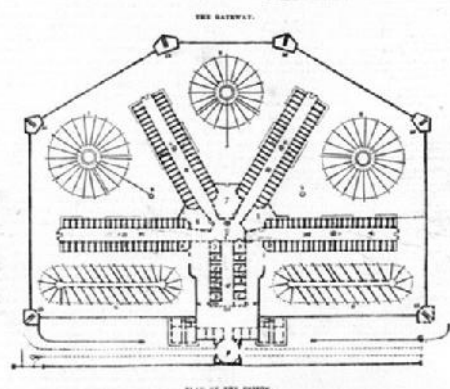


Figure 1.9: Prisons - Pentonville Model Prison, 1842, by Joshua Jebb

b) Illustrated London News 1843, 2 (35-36), p. 4-5

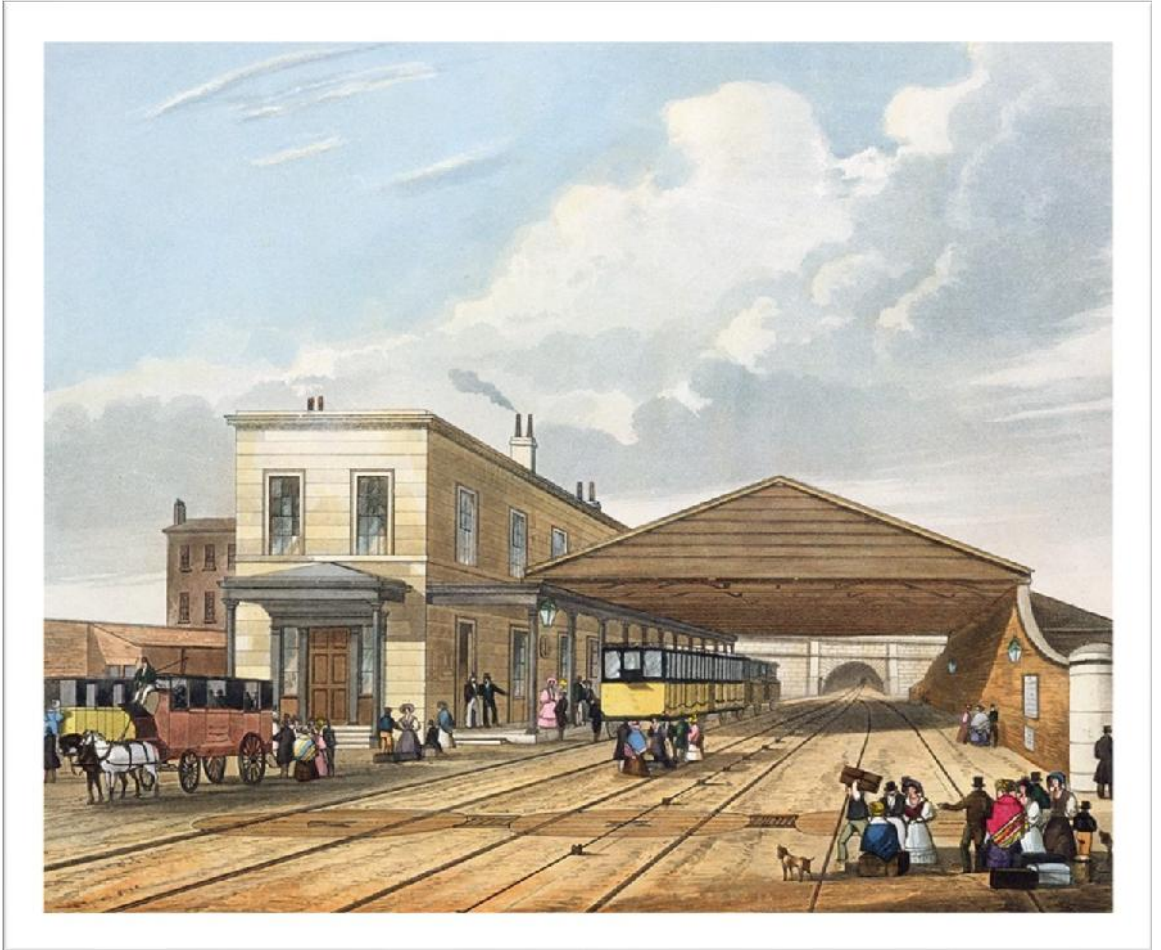


Figure 1.10: Railway stations

**1. Railway Office, Liverpool, 1831, by George Stephenson**

Bury, Thomas Talbot. 1831. *Coloured views on the Liverpool and Manchester railway: with plates of the coaches, machines, &c. : with descriptive particulars, serving as a guide to travellers on the railway*. London: Ackermann & Co, plate 8

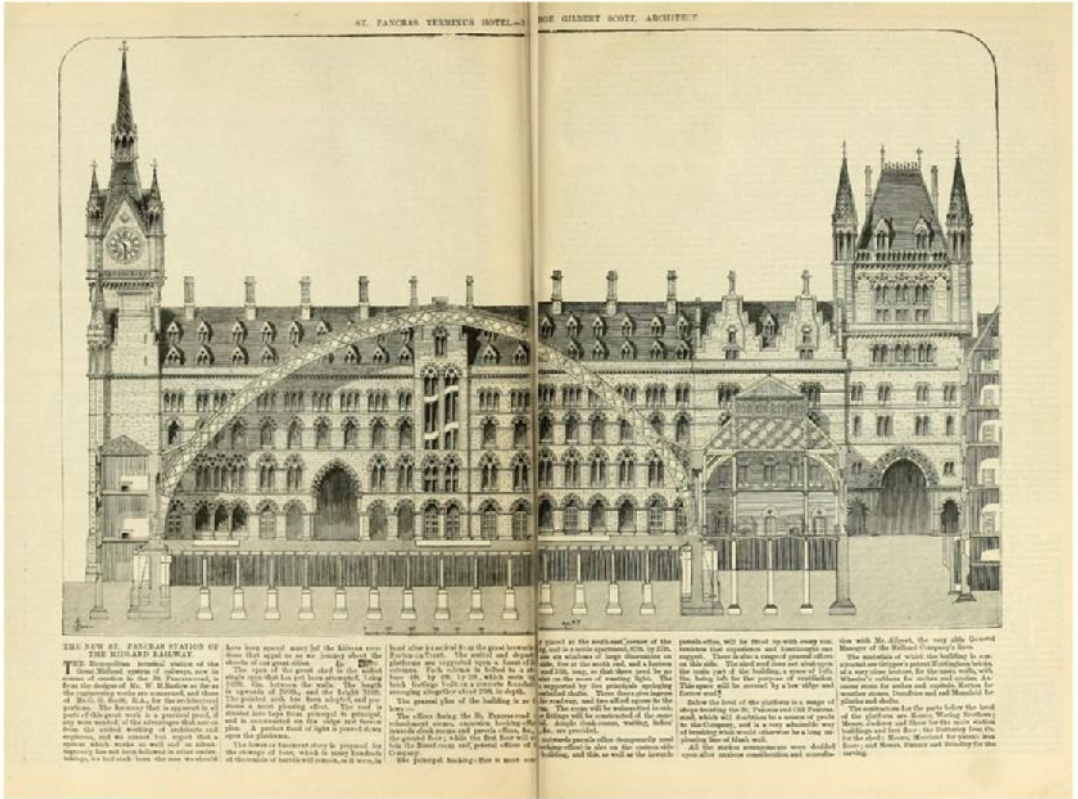


Figure 1.10: Railway stations

**2. St Pancras railway station (hotel), London, 1873, by George Gilbert Scott**  
*a) Building News and Engineering Journal 1869 (16), p. 136 & 141*





Figure 1.10: Railway stations

2. **St Pancras railway station (hotel), London, 1873, by George Gilbert Scott**
  - b) Walford, Edward. 1878. *Old and New London: A Narrative of its History, its People and its Places. Illustrated with Numerous Engravings from the Most Authentic Sources*, vol. 5. London: Cassell, Petter, Galpin & co, p. 367



Figure 1.11: Schools - examples

1. a) Clarke, Joseph. 1852. *Schools and school houses: a series of views, plans and details for rural parishes*. London: Joseph Masters, plates 1

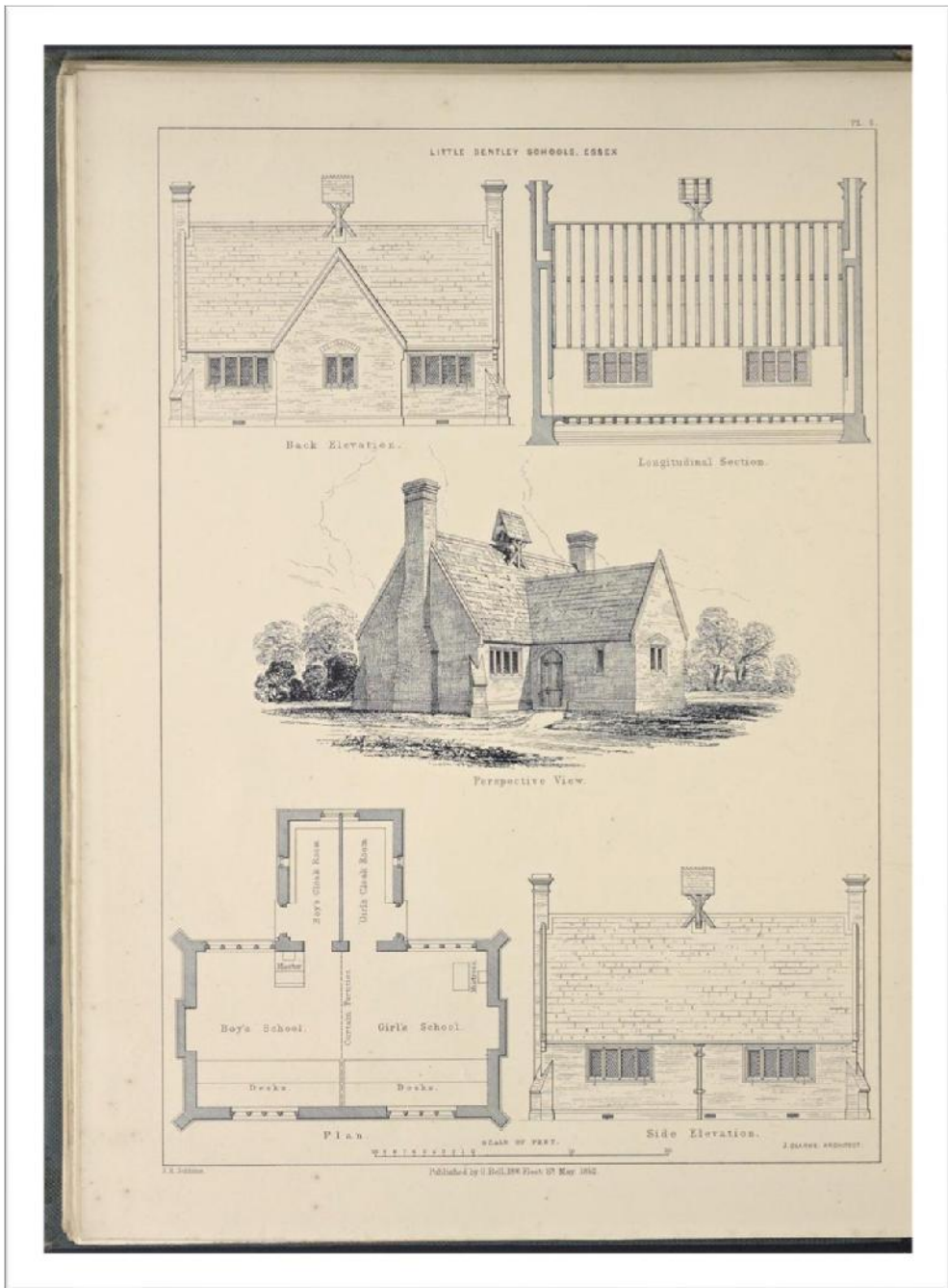


Figure 1.11: Schools - examples

1. b) Clarke, Joseph. 1852. *Schools and school houses: a series of views, plans and details for rural parishes*. London: Joseph Masters, plates 5

steps one behind the other. It then approaches the gallery principle.

The work of the Education Department in reality dates from the year 1839, when an Order in Council created the "Committee of Council on Education," although the various educational establishments of the Government were not finally united under the new name until a second order in 1856. Their efforts have been so directed to the economy of school planning that an excellent foundation has been laid for the labour of School Boards and their architects. It is to them we owe official sanction to the pupil-teacher system, and also to the principle of arranging school desks *on one side only* of the school-room. The accompanying plan, taken from the well-known "Rules," is a sufficient reminder of the kind of school alluded to. The wide schools of the Lancasterian and British type are abandoned, equally with the class subdivision of Germany.

Evidently the object has been to combine in one system the good points of several, and not to lose the use of the pupil-teacher working under supervision. The "sympathy of numbers" is not lost sight of, while separation of the classes is partly obtained by curtains. Economy of plan

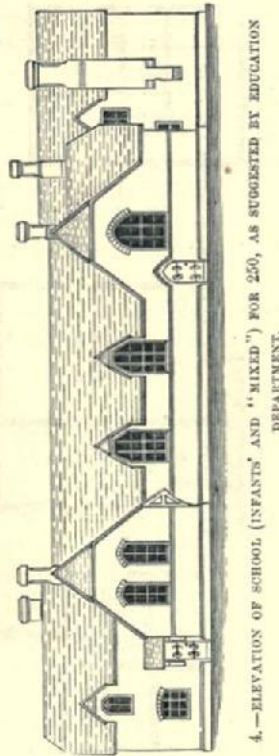
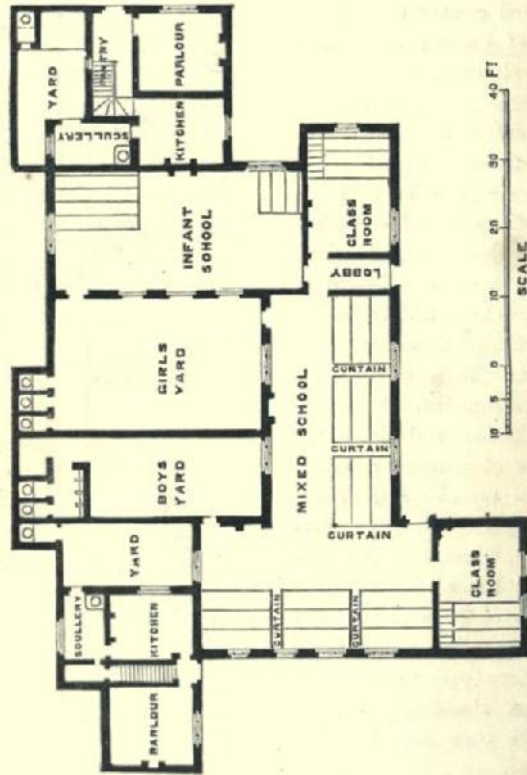


Figure 1.11: Schools - examples

2. a) Robson, Edward Robert. 1874. *School architecture: being practical remarks on the planning, designing, building, and furnishing of school-houses*. London: J. Murray, p. 15

is insisted on, and no greater width of schoolroom allowed beyond what is strictly necessary to draw out the class in front of the groups of desks. To allow supervision on the part of the teacher,



5.—INFANTS' AND "MIXED" SCHOOL FOR 250, AS SUGGESTED BY EDUCATION DEPARTMENT.

the use of long desks necessitated a space to be left between each row, and the number of rows was therefore limited (though not absolutely) to three. It is only now, however, that, by an immense improvement in the shape and mechanism of desks

Figure 1.11: Schools - examples

2. a) Robson, Edward Robert. 1874. *School architecture: being practical remarks on the planning, designing, building, and furnishing of school-houses*. London: J. Murray, p. 16

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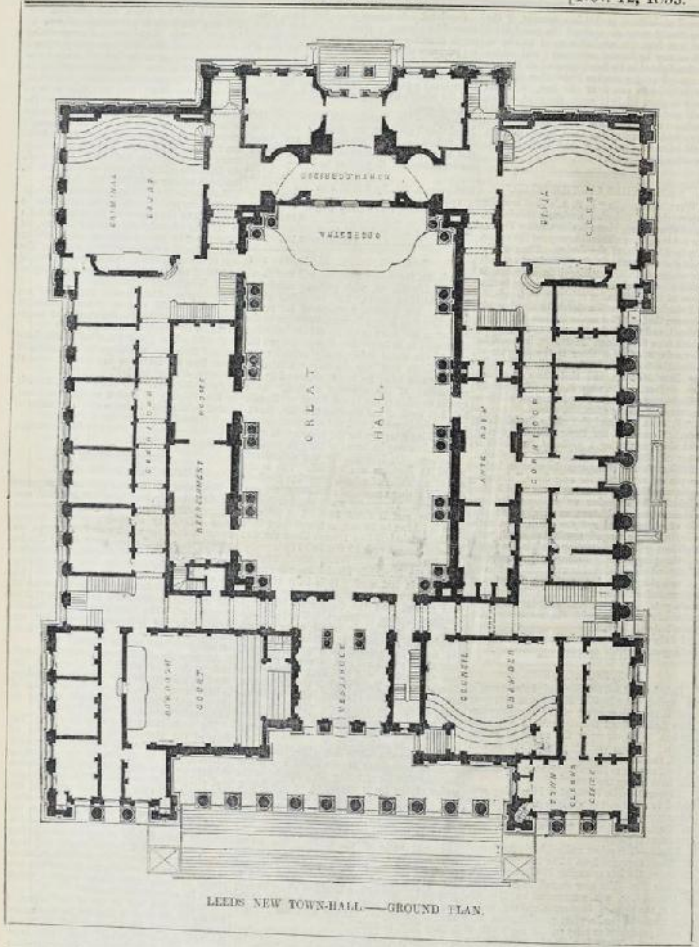
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<https://www.architectsjournal.co.uk/news/artists-vision-of-birmingham-town-hall-on-display>

Figure 1.12: Town halls

**1. Birmingham Town Hall, 1834, by Joseph Hansom and Edward Welch**

Artist's vision of Birmingham Town Hall (competition entry), by W. Harris, 1831,  
watercolour



LEEDS NEW TOWN-HALL.—GROUND PLAN.

ing-room, sitting-room, &c. The kitchen establishment connected with this portion of the building is on the basement floor. There are also here three large law courts and a spacious council-room for the meetings of the corporation. The two law courts, intended for civil and criminal business when the sessions for the West Riding shall be held in Leeds, are at the north end of the building, the size of each being 80 feet long by 47 feet wide, and 45 feet high. The borough court and council room are at the south end of the building, the former being 43 feet long by 33 feet wide and 40 feet high. There are separate entrances to the different departments, and the whole building is connected by a corridor 10 feet wide, which runs round the large hall. How this is to be lighted does not appear. The plan is exceedingly good; the whole design highly creditable to Mr. Brodrick. A public subscription has been opened for strengthening the walls, so as to carry the tower, if it should be determined to build it at a future time. It has been brought before the town-council twice, and will be brought again before them. The expense is the main obstacle. Some have objected that the tower would be of "no use." The same argument, carried out, would reduce the building to four bare walls and a roof. A noble building is it; one and the same time a symbol and an instance; an evidence of the importance and intelligence of the community erecting it, and an inducement to every member of the community to maintain that importance and exhibit that intelligence in his own proper place.

Figure 1.12: Town halls

2. a) Leeds Town Hall, 1853-1858, by Cuthbert Brodrick  
*The Builder* 1856 (14), p. 690



Figure 1.12: Town halls

**2. b) Leeds Town Hall, 1853-1858, by Cuthbert Brodrick**  
*The Builder* 1856 (14), p. 691



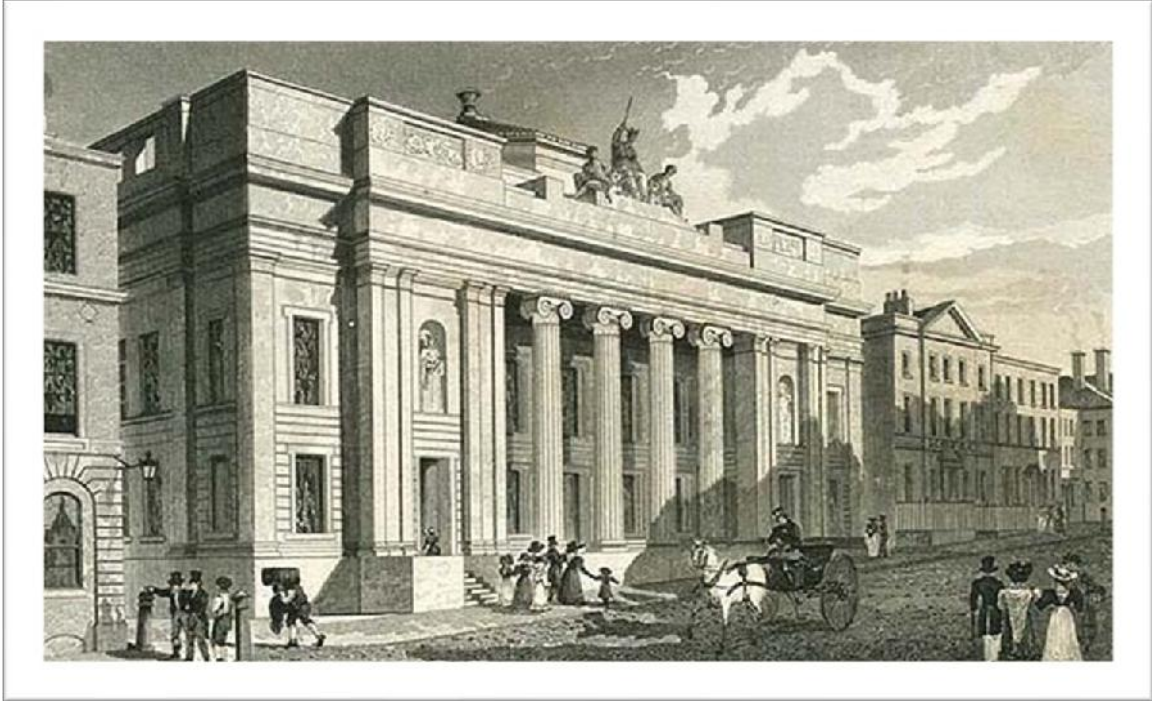


Figure 1.12: Town halls

**3. Manchester Old Town Hall, 1822-1825, by Francis Goodwin**

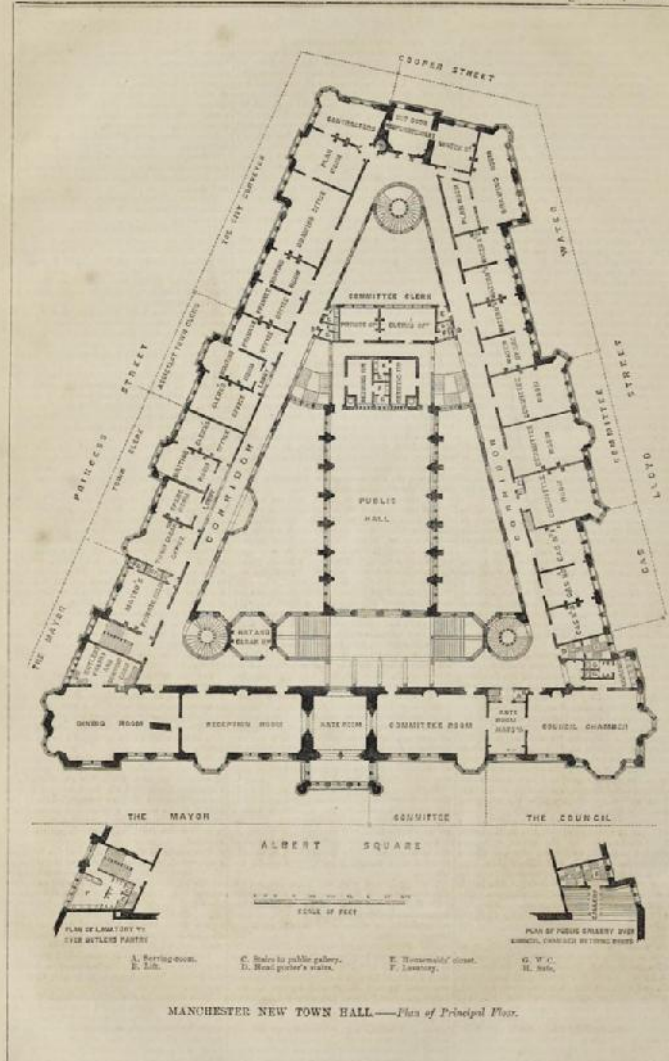


Figure 1.12: Town halls

4. a) Manchester Town Hall, 1868-1877, by Alfred Waterhouse  
*The Builder* 1868 (26), p. 318



MANCHESTER NEW TOWN HALL: SELECTED DESIGN.—MR. ALFRED WATERHOUSE, ARCHITECT.

Figure 1.12: Town halls

**4. b) Manchester Town Hall, 1868-1877, by Alfred Waterhouse**  
*The Builder* 1868 (26), p. 319



Figure 1.13: James Gibbs

**a) St Mary le Strand, 1714–1724, London**

James Gibbs. 1728. *A Book of Architecture, Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments*. London, (Plates XV-XIX)

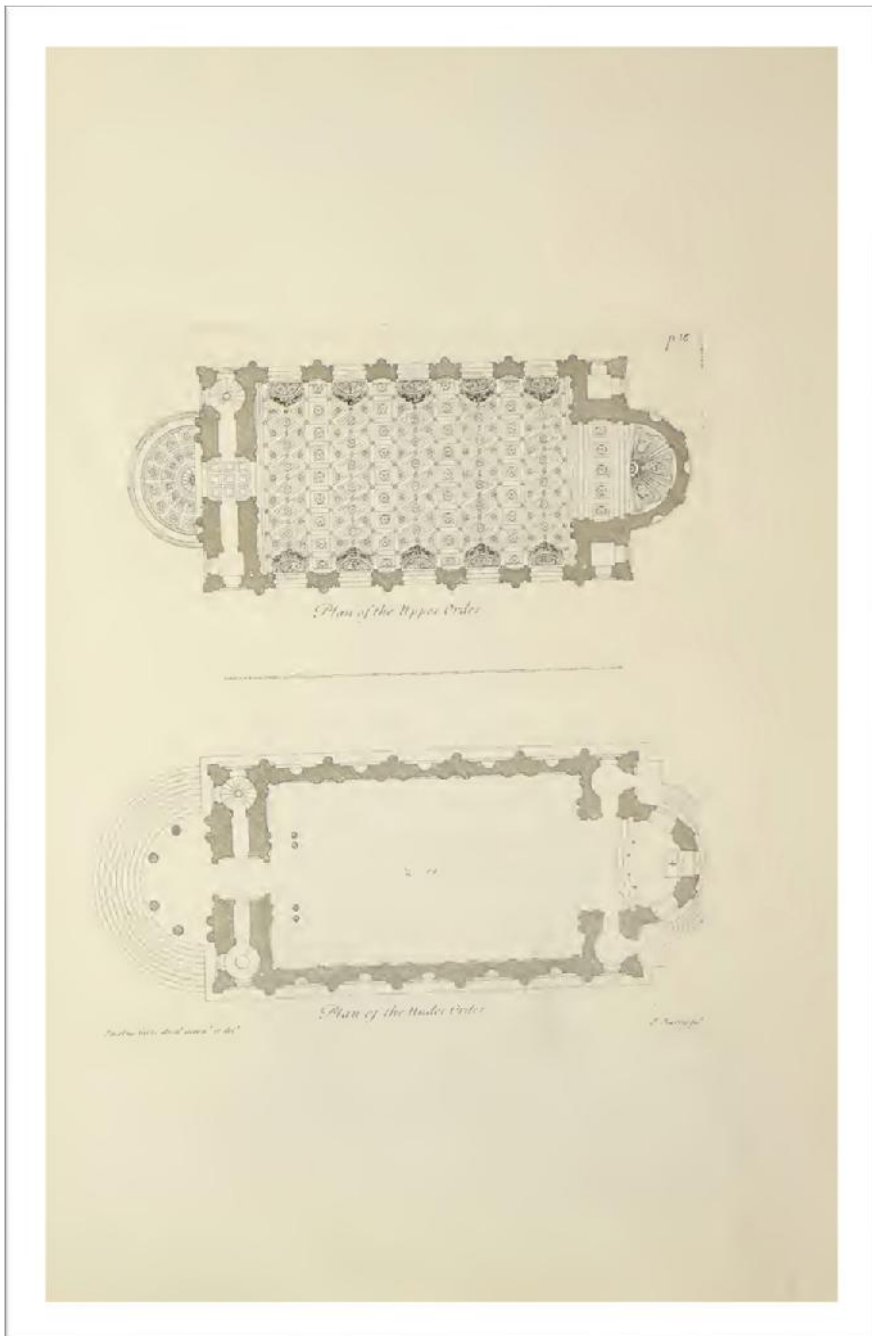


Figure 1.13: **James Gibbs**

**b) St Mary le Strand, 1714–1724, London**

James Gibbs. 1728. *A Book of Architecture, Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments*. London, (Plates XV-XIX)



Figure 1.13: **James Gibbs**

**c) St Mary le Strand, 1714–1724, London**

James Gibbs. 1728. *A Book of Architecture, Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments*. London, (Plates XV-XIX)



Figure 1.13: **James Gibbs**

**d) St Mary le Strand, 1714–1724, London**

James Gibbs. 1728. *A Book of Architecture, Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments*. London, (Plates XV-XIX)



Figure 1.13: James Gibbs

**a) Saint Martin in the Fields, 1721–1726, London**

James Gibbs. 1728. *A Book of Architecture, Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments*. London, (Plates I – VII)



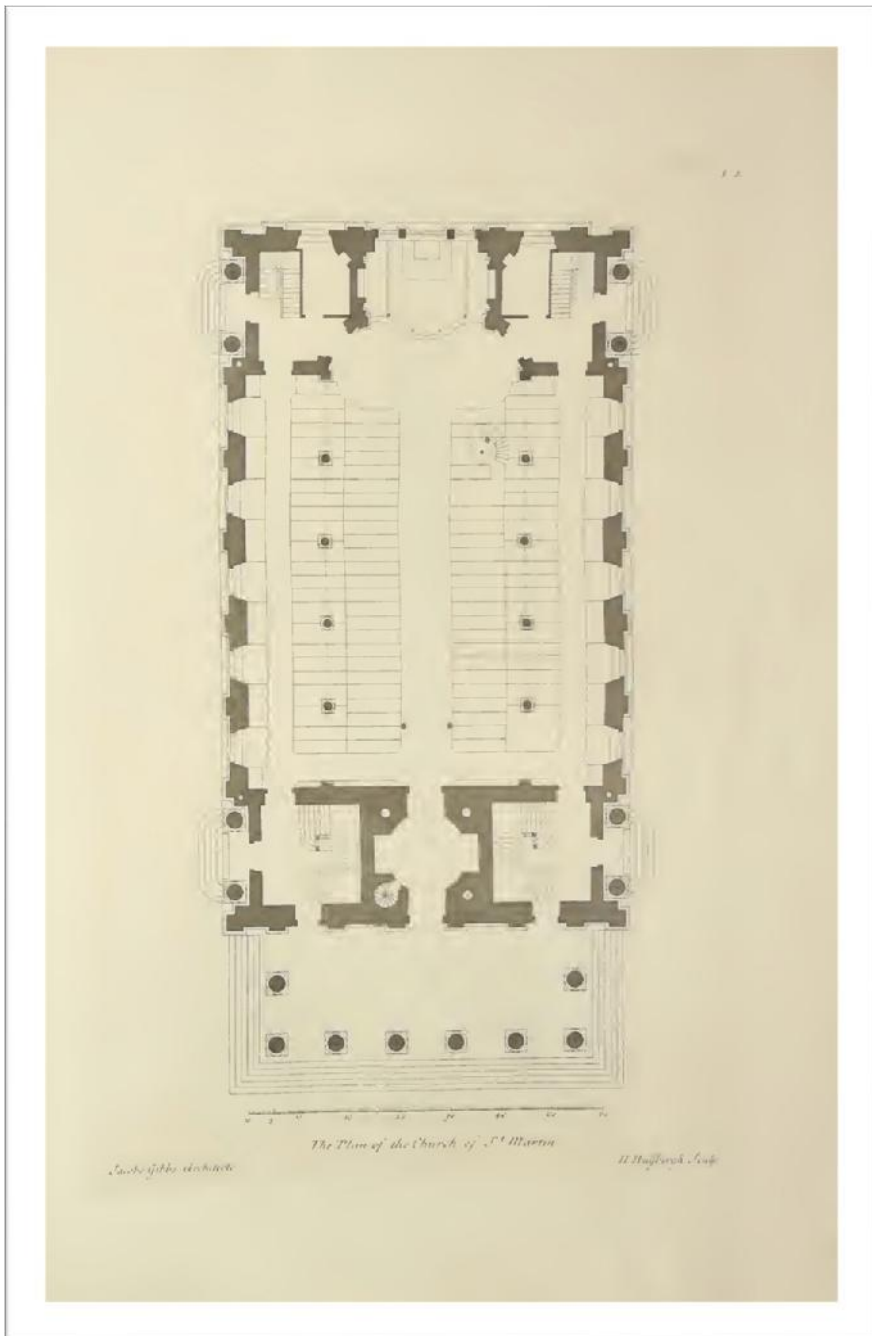


Figure 1.13: **James Gibbs**

**b) Saint Martin in the Fields, 1721–1726, London**

James Gibbs. 1728. *A Book of Architecture, Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments*. London, (Plates I – VII)

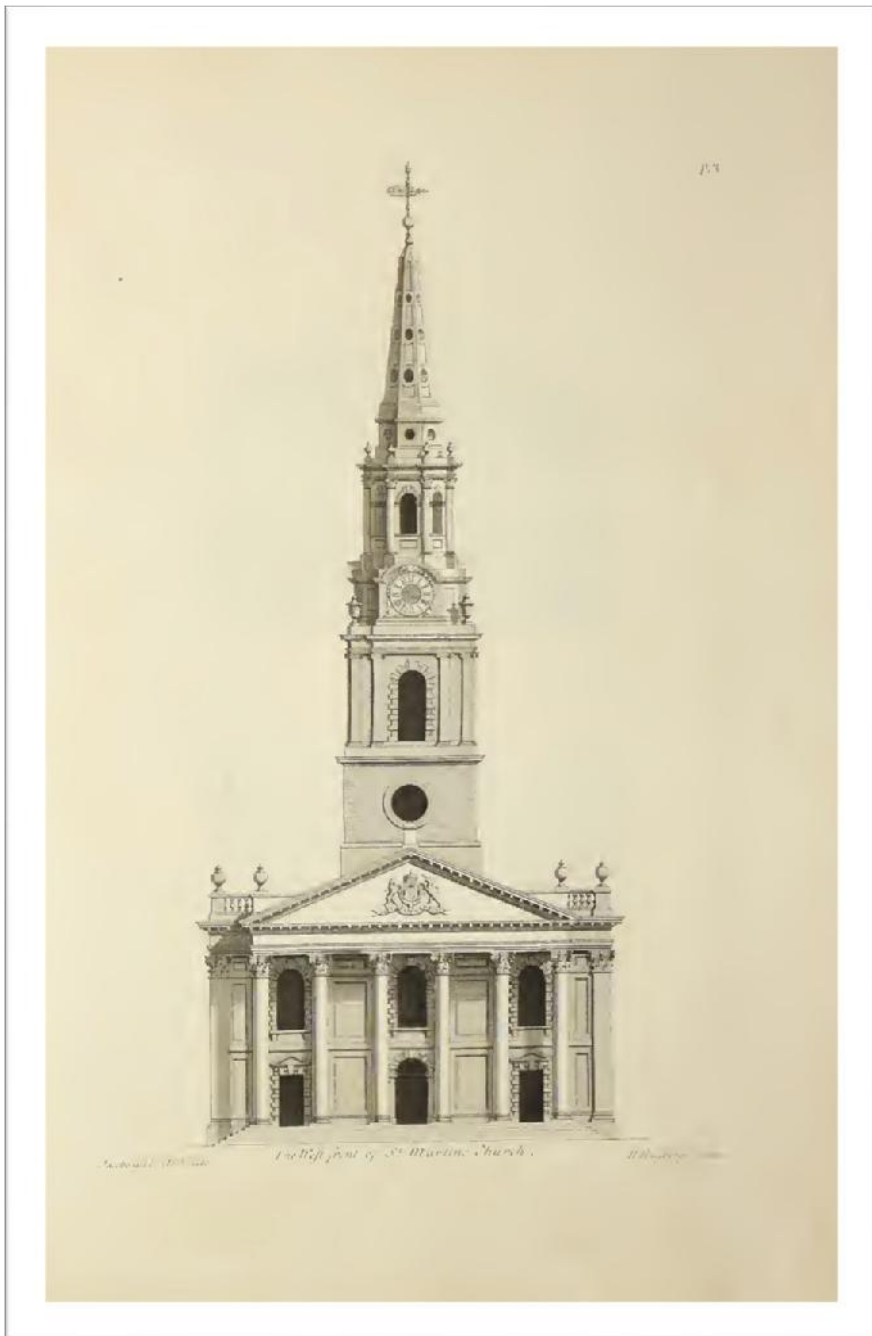


Figure 1.13: **James Gibbs**

**c) Saint Martin in the Fields, 1721–1726, London**

James Gibbs. 1728. *A Book of Architecture, Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments*. London, (Plates I – VII)

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Figure 1.13: **James Gibbs**

**a) St Peter's Church, 1722, London**  
Henry Hulsberg, engraving, 1722-1730

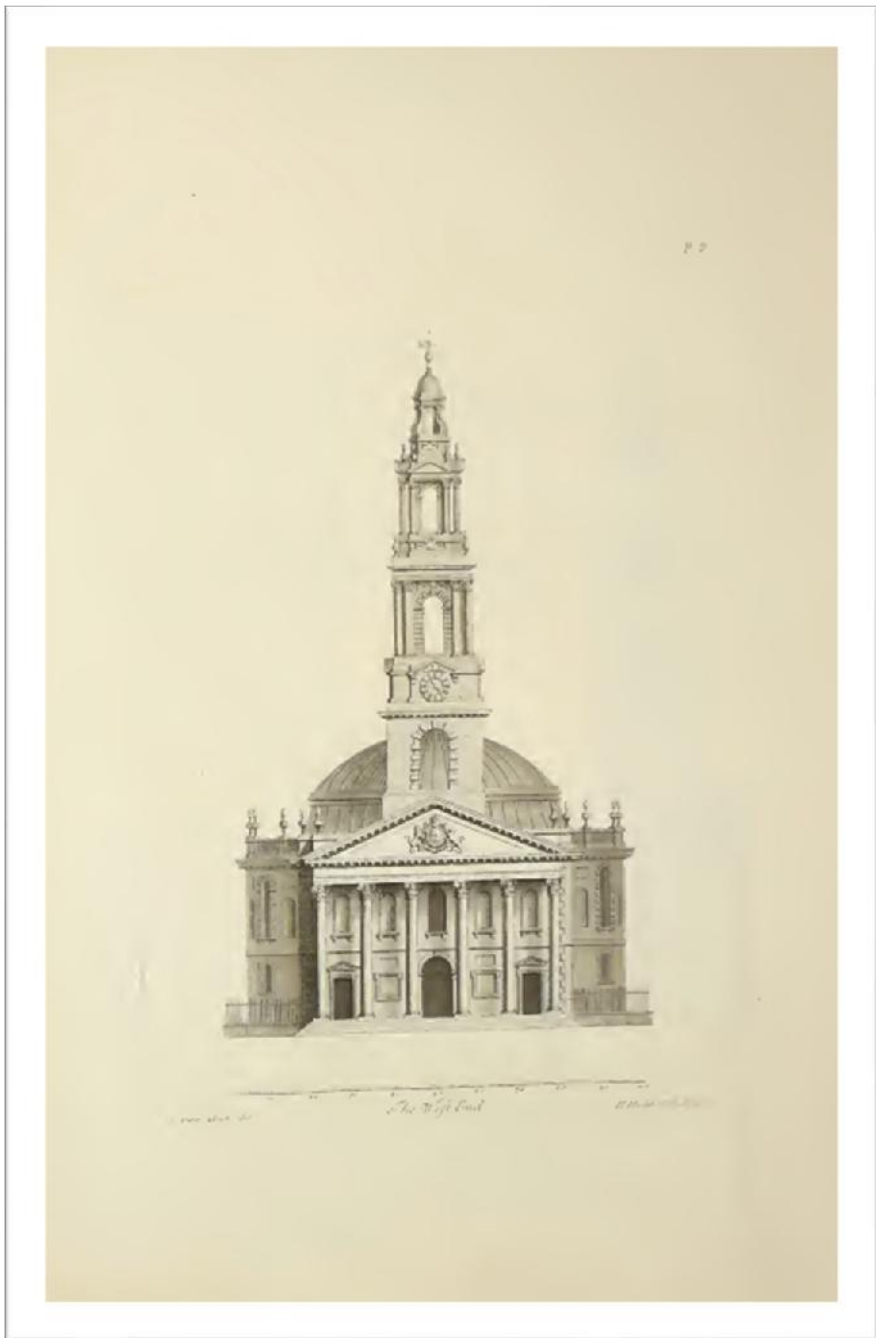
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Figure 1.13: **James Gibbs**

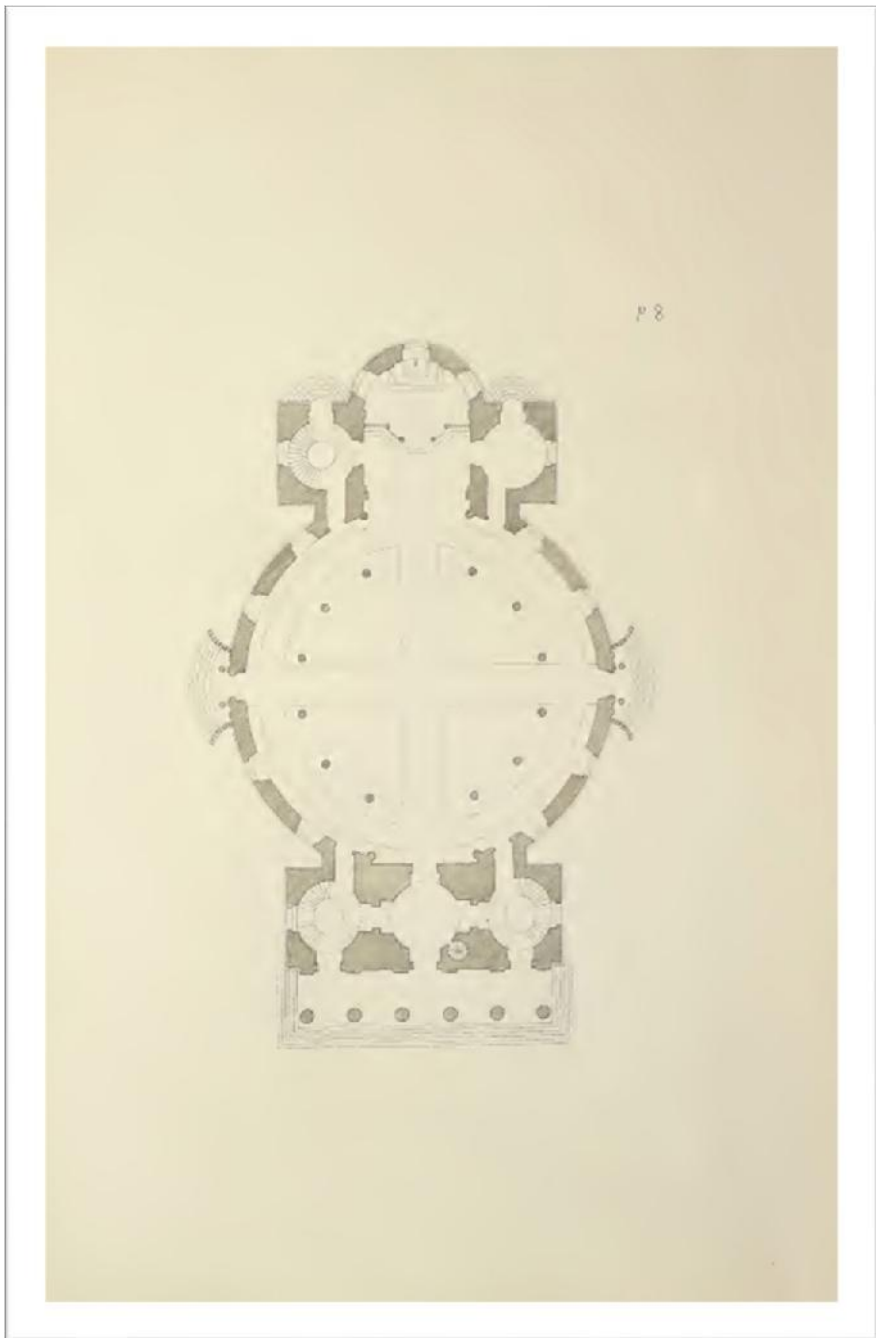
**b) St Peter's Church, 1722, London**  
Henry Hulsberg, engraving, 1722-1730



**Figure 1.13: James Gibbs**

a) Round body church buildings

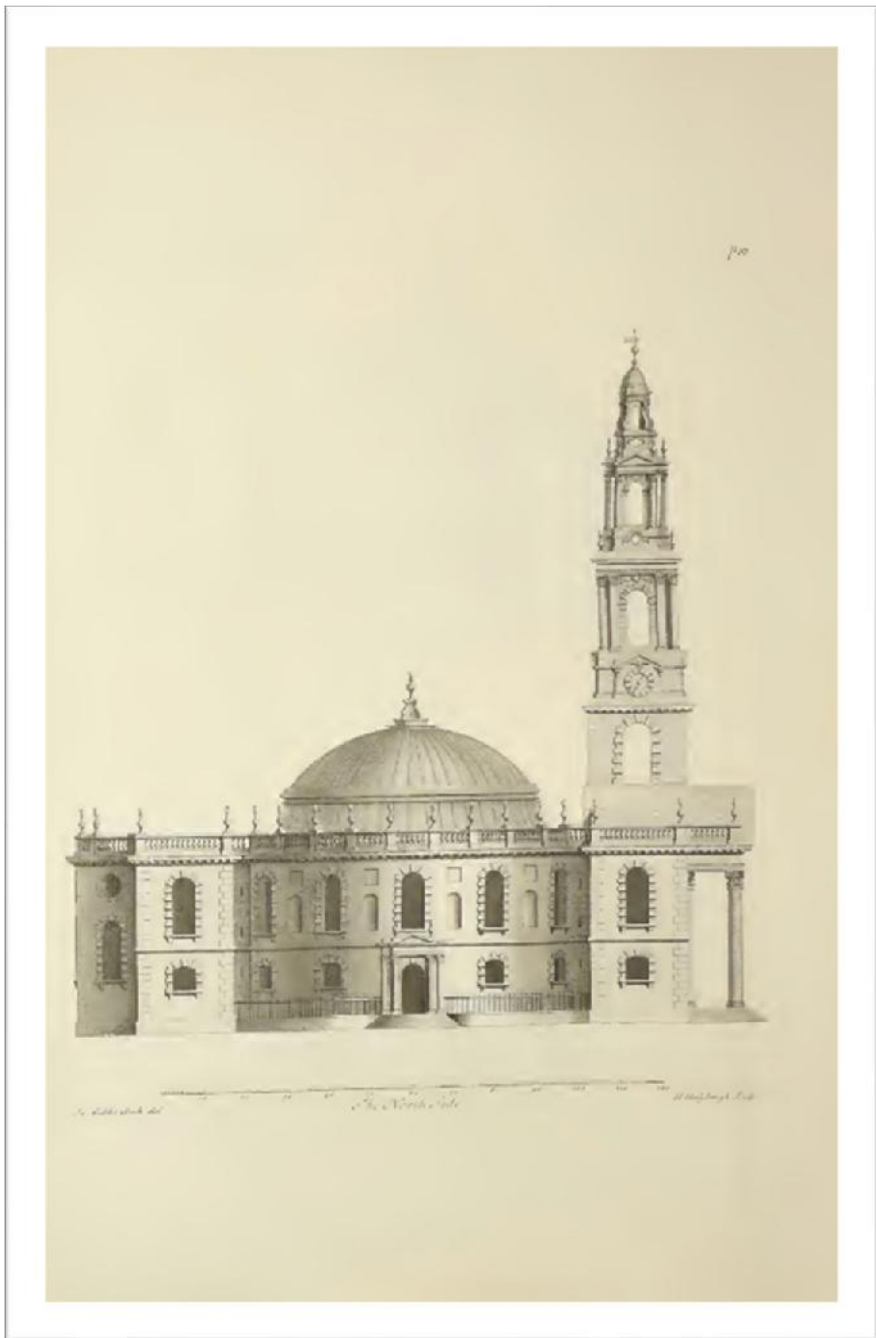
James Gibbs. 1728. *A Book of Architecture, Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments*. London, (Plates VIII-XIV)



**Figure 1.13: James Gibbs**

b) Round body church buildings

James Gibbs. 1728. *A Book of Architecture, Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments*. London, (Plates VIII-XIV)



**Figure 1.13: James Gibbs**

c) Round body church buildings

James Gibbs. 1728. *A Book of Architecture, Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments*. London, (Plates VIII-XIV)



Figure 1.14: **Houses of Parliament, London – competitions entries**

1. Thomas Hopper





Figure 1.14: **Houses of Parliament, London – competitions entries**

2. John Tertius Fairbank

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[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/9/9f/Houses\\_of\\_Parliament\\_in\\_2022.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/9/9f/Houses_of_Parliament_in_2022.jpg)

Figure 1.14: **Houses of Parliament, London – competitions entries**

3. Charles Barry and Augustus Welby Pugin



**Figure 1.15: Dale Park**

John P. Neale's richly illustrated five-volume publication, *Views of the Seats of Noblemen and Gentlemen in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland* (1818)

## PART TWO: Colonial mechanisms of British imperialism, 1750-1901

One of the most significant ways to assess the formal spatial and cultural expression of the British Empire was through its built environment, characterized by distinct patterns and norms. Architecture played a crucial role in visually transforming colonized lands and asserting territorial claims. The following colonial perspectives exemplify the typical methods employed to control the ideological and experiential outcomes of British colonial architecture overseas. This experience was instrumental in translating British colonial political domination and cultural hegemony, clearly demarcating the distinction between the colonized and the colonizers. The socio-political control exerted by the British rulers over the built environment and the colonized population was an expression of hegemonic practices evident in mainland Britain, as discussed earlier. These practices were adapted to meet the specific requirements of the British colonial empire between 1750 and 1901, enabling the expression of British cultural dominance in geographically distant and culturally diverse locations, with specific examples from three British Protectorates in India and a settler colony in Australia.

British culture, the socio-political aspirations of the dominant class, and architectural patterns that supported the country's administration, social control, and cultural identity were disseminated across the British commercial empire through the utilization of a strong navy and skilful diplomacy. These enabled the empire to function according to contemporary British standards. The British colonized sparsely populated lands to address issues such as overpopulation and unemployment in industrial cities and towns, as well as the scarcity of agricultural land in Britain. Conversely, acquiring highly civilized, resource-rich, and densely populated countries directly benefited Britain and brought wealth to the British individuals who worked there. In the former case, the British-built environment became the only permanent feature, while in the latter case, British architectural patterns challenged local historical and traditional architectural environments. In both instances, architecture served as a marker of British colonial presence and rule. The consistent use of architectural forms, styles, and ornamentation contributed to a visually cohesive British colonial-built environment.

Furthermore, the complexity of designing for socially diverse clients in different locations with climates and cultures distinct from Britain resulted in architectural adaptations rooted in British norms and patterns. The exported and imposed architectural styles in the colonies were recognizable as British by emigrants, traders, and merchants. They played a crucial role in conveying specific ideological meanings associated with British dominion. In this sense, these architectural patterns served as instruments of power, facilitating the subjugation of ethnic groups while simultaneously advancing the cultural expansion of Great Britain.

“Architecture has a noble and lofty office to perform (...) Besides ministering to our comforts and satisfying our material wants – besides pleasing the eye and embellishing our cities – architecture has to raise up monuments which may tell to future ages of our habits of thought, of our governing or prompting ideas, and of our state of civilization. It is the duty of our architecture to translate our character into stone” *Building News*, IV, 1858: 617 (Quoted in: Olsen, 1979, p. 17).

Imperialism and colonialism have long been associated with the dissemination of architectural patterns, building types, and town planning, a tradition that can be traced in Europe, back to ancient Greece and Rome.

The ancient Greeks, in their pursuit of trade markets in the Mediterranean, competed with Phoenicians for trade markets in the Mediterranean Sea's basin. On the gained locations, they implemented colonizing strategies that involved replicating the political organization of the city-state (polis), adopting characteristic grid-based town planning, and constructing architectural forms that delineated private, public, and religious spaces within city walls. These new cities were populated by individuals seeking refuge from foreign invasion, as well as merchants who facilitated trade and contributed to the prosperity of their home city (Austin, 2008; Boardman, 1980; Clanchy, 2008).

Similarly, the Romans expanded their dominion by establishing colonies. Initially, Roman citizens secured conquered territories by forming coastguard communities, while settlers retained political

rights in Rome and could elect their own magistrates with limited powers. Julius Caesar later shifted the authority for founding colonies from Roman citizens to emperors and established military settlements in the provinces. These provincial colonies supported themselves through taxation and contributed to the population and wealth of Rome (Millar, 1981; Salmon, 1986; Sherwin-White, 1973). The Roman Empire extended its influence to the British Isles, and Britannia became a Roman colony in 43 BCE. Permanently stationed legions governed Roman provinces, and the empire constructed a network of stone-paved roads, walls, and aqueducts throughout its territories. Roman colonies were administered through organizational regulations based on common law and administrative principles, with the imposition of Roman customs and traditions (Davies, 1996).

The British Empire, which emerged in the second half of the eighteenth century with the establishment of British India, encompassed vast territories across Asia, Australasia, Africa, and Canada. It was often referred to as the "second empire" in comparison to the earlier British Atlantic colonial empire, from which the American colonies in North America gained independence following the success of the American Revolution. The British Empire comprised diverse territories with varying climates, geological features, and cultural levels, ranging from ancient civilizations to tribes with different languages, religions, and population densities. The primary objective of the British Empire was to control and exploit commercial interests while preventing other European colonizing powers from acquiring the same territories. London served as the imperial centre of this vast empire.

The process of establishing a colonial state typically involved the geographical exploration of a territory, its acquisition, political administration, and efforts to culturally assimilate or "civilize" it (Bremner & Lung 2003). This process aimed to secure commercial profit and extend political control while imposing British norms and values on the colonized populations.

## 2.1 Justification for modern colonialism

The justification of colonialism and colonial practices beyond commercial gains encountered a problem when considering the ethical approach towards non-European populations with vastly different cultures and customs. The European ideals of universalism and equality propagated in political theories, contradicted colonialism and imperialism as the "civilising mission." This mission was seen as a temporary dependence of the colonized on the guidance of the colonizers, deemed necessary to advance the "uncivilized" societies and enable them to eventually govern and develop themselves through imposed institutional structures. Christianity played a significant role in colonial practices and policies, as the spread of the religion was seen as a valid point. However, the guidelines of the Church allowed for the use of force against the colonized if they acted against the natural law defined by the colonizers. Unfortunately, this provision was often abused, as any action or allegation that deviated from European and Christian conduct, such as nudity, was considered a failure to recognize and abide by the natural law and was consequently punished.

While European colonial conquest was generally believed to have benefited native populations through the "civilising mission," the extension of control and the methods used in these practices were heavily questioned and contested. European scholars either applauded or opposed them, and philosophers and political analysts engaged in debates regarding the justification of European conquests. One of the early proponents of the new colonial system was Thomas Hobbes, whose political treatise "Leviathan or the Matter, Forme, & Power of a Commonwealth Ecclesiastical and Civil" discussed the foundations of society and the legitimization of governmental power. Hobbes advocated for a strong central authority within an imperial structure to prevent political conflicts, human interactions, and civil wars. According to his vision of peace, individuals would surrender their willpower to an absolute sovereign (Hobbes, 1651: chapter XXIV).

John Locke, the author of the "Fundamental Constitution of Carolinas," was actively engaged in discussions on social relations and strategies. He disagreed with Hobbes's model of absolute monarchy, which placed the sovereign and its subjects in a grater state of nature, granting independence and equal rights to all subjects with obligations only towards the law of God and the agreed social contract. Locke rejected the notion of absolute sovereignty as a guarantee of peace and order. Instead, he proposed a political model inspired by ancient Greece, later adopted by the Roman Republic and Empire, which emphasized the existence of multiple political centers with

separate and independent powers and responsibilities in the executive, legislative, and judicial sectors (Armitage, 2004; Arneil, 1996; Locke, 1670 and 1690; Milton, 1993 and 2007).

During the American War of Independence, Thomas Paine, in his influential works "Common Sense" (1776) and the "American Crisis Papers" (1776-1783), presented several reasons why Britain should grant economic and political independence to the American colonies. His arguments ranged from the cultural potential of non-British European populations to the central government's misinformation, misunderstanding, and misconceptions about the colonial reality in America. Paine believed that independence would provide America with a better chance for independent economic development rather than remaining subordinate to Britain and its trade network, where the gains were collected and managed overseas, in London (Dickey, 1996; Paine, 1776 and 1776-1783; Solinger, 2010).

Britain also embraced a popular theory known as the four-stage thesis, associated with the Scottish Enlightenment. Key figures such as Henry Home Kames, Adam Smith, and Adam Ferguson supported this theory, which posited that societies naturally progress from hunting, herding, and farming to commerce, accompanied by cultural shifts from savagery to barbarism and then to civilization (Barnard, 2004; Dalrymple, 1758; Ferguson, 1767; Kames, 1761; Meek, 2013; Smith, 1776). This theory justified the material improvement and moral progress of societies at home and abroad through the development of wealth and commerce practised by the Europeans (Kohn & O'Neill, 2006). Smith, while condemning the mistreatment of subjugated peoples, acknowledged the cultural advancement of native populations and recognized the differences between the challenges faced by British colonizing strategies in America and Asia:

“The savage injustice of the Europeans rendered an event, which ought to have been beneficial to all, ruinous and destructive to several of those unfortunate countries. (...) The discovery of a passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, (...) opened perhaps a still more extensive range to foreign commerce, than even that of America, notwithstanding the greater distance. There were but two nations in America, in any respect, superior to the savages, and these were destroyed almost as soon as discovered. The rest



were mere savages. But the empires of China, Indostan, Japan, as well as several others in the East Indies, without having richer mines of gold and silver, were, in every other respect, much richer, better cultivated, and more advanced in all arts and manufactures, than either Mexico or Peru, ..." (Smith, 1776, p. 260).

Immanuel Kant, Denis Diderot, and John Hobson challenged the notion of the European "civilising mission" in colonial discourse, particularly in Asia. Kant viewed Europeans as intruders who violated the laws of hospitality. Diderot, in his work "Histoire des deux Indes" (vol. 8, 1781), argued that Europeans relaxed their moral and ethical norms while away from their home countries, resulting in inclinations towards violence and brutality in colonial enterprises (Muthu, 2003). He further asserted that European traders were "dangerous as guests" in fully inhabited lands because the more complex forms of societal and political organization they promoted were not necessarily superior to the existing ones, and non-European societies were not necessarily primitive (Muthu, 2003). Hobson also questioned whether Britain was truly "civilising" India and whether the outcomes of these processes were beneficial for the native population, aside from serving the interests of the colonizers (Hobson, 1902, part 2, chapter 5).

John Stuart Mill saw imperialism not as a form of exploitation and dominance, but rather as a paternalistic practice aimed at improving the lives of the native population. Mill regarded Britain as the cultural model to be followed, stating that "England had a right to rule despotically because it brought the benefits of higher civilization" (Mill, 1861). He also believed that any separation from their colonies would significantly diminish England's prestige, which he considered a great asset for mankind in the present state of the world (Mill, 1861). Having been employed by the British East India Company for many years, Mill was acquainted with the reality of Anglo-Indian coexistence in India. In his work "Considerations on Representative Government," he warned that overseas-based government could lead to injustice and exploitation due to a lack of understanding of local realities driving public policies, cultural and religious differences, linguistic barriers leading to prejudice against native peoples, bias towards familiar cultures in disputes, and the potential for wealth accumulation rather than the development of colonies. He also pointed out

that the House of Commons and its electorate residing in Britain and being accountable there would prioritize material gain over proper governance and economic development of colonial territories (Mill, 1861; Sullivan, 1998; Robson, 1968).

Karl Marx understood the tendencies of capitalism to expand markets in a hegemonic manner. Although he never fully developed his theory on colonialism, he saw it as a means of creating new markets to address capitalistic overproduction and the under-consumption of local populations. By establishing colonies with European populations in resource-rich countries, imperialism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries created overseas markets for industrial production and sources of raw materials for the home economy. In the 1850s edition of the "New-York Daily Tribune," Marx discussed the impact of the British presence in India as follows:

"The profound hypocrisy and inherent barbarism of bourgeois civilization lies unveiled before our eyes, turning from its home, where it assumes respectable forms, to the colonies, where it goes naked. Did they not, in India, to borrow an expression of that great robber, Lord Clive himself, resort to atrocious extortion, when simple corruption could not keep pace with their rapacity? While they prated in Europe about the inviolable sanctity of the national debt, did they not confiscate in India the dividends of the rajahs, who had invested their private savings in the Company's own funds? While they combated the French revolution under the pretext of defending "our holy religion," did they not forbid, at the same time, Christianity to be propagated in India, and did they not, in order to make money out of the pilgrims streaming to the temples of Orissa and Bengal, take up the trade in the murder and prostitution perpetrated in the temple of the Juggernaut? These are the men of "Property, Order, Family, and Religion" (Marx, 1853).

While acknowledging the challenges that accompanied transitional periods from feudalism to industrialism, Marx considered these changes to be necessary, progressive, and ultimately

beneficial for the future of India and its economy. Despite recognizing the greed and cruelty associated with British rule in India, Marx viewed it as an overall agent of progress and economic modernization that broke down India's old social order and introduced capitalism into the region.

## 2.2 Colonising patterns

European colonialism employed two primary forms of colonization: exploitation-occupation and settler patterns.

In exploitation colonies like India, a minority British ruling class held political power and military control over the native majority to oversee the exploitation of local resources. Profits primarily flowed back to the metropolitan state and benefited agents, administrators, and stockholders. For example, in India, revenues were generated through the export of opium to China and later through the export of tea to Britain (Maudlin, 2016). In exploitation-occupation colonies, the British stayed there temporarily and rather tended to return home once their tasks were completed or financial goals were achieved. They often sent their children back to Britain for education, enrolling them in boarding schools and universities.

In settler colonies, the intention was for settlers to permanently inhabit the land and seize resources from the indigenous population, often through displacement or marginalization. State paternalism was exercised towards the indigenous population in settler colonies. However, this practice was less prevalent in India due to the complexity of the caste system (Fenna, 2012). In regions such as Australia and North America, settlers eventually overwhelmed and suppressed the indigenous population through sheer numbers (Ford, 2008). Settlers aimed to recreate a familiar cultural environment similar to their mother country, providing a sense of safety and familiarity in social, political, and material aspects. The British settler colonies essentially became replicas of Britain overseas.

Another significant distinction between these colonization patterns relates to the nature of colonial activities. Exploitation-occupation colonies primarily focused on trade, administration, and

governance of the indigenous population. In India, for instance, the indigenous population was governed, taxed, and held accountable to the East India Company's laws. Settler colonies, on the other hand, emphasized large-scale settlements, plantations, and farming, often resulting in the displacement of the indigenous population (Maudlin, 2016).

New colonists-built forts in a new land to defend their presence from other colonising powers, pirates, or native populations. Forts played a crucial role in colonialism as symbols of colonial rule and as defensive structures against potential threats. British forts were among the earliest built forms in colonies, serving to assert British authority and signify their overseas possessions. These forts were designed in response to developments in warfare during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, featuring high walls made of masonry and following geometric plans with protruding bastions.

Once a territory was conquered and made compliant, urban planning efforts would commence, including the construction of civic infrastructure such as roads, harbours, and railways. British administrative and cultural centres would feature public architecture such as statehouses, government offices, law courts, town halls, churches, and official residences (Maudlin, 2016). Residential buildings in the colonies varied from townhouses and farmhouses to grand country houses, reflecting the diverse social relations within the colonizing population and their British cultural heritage.

The process of colonization involved changing the built environment of the colony to reflect the culture, values, and national identity of the colonizers. This transformation also resulted in the redefinition of social identities, driven by social advancement and acquired wealth (Colley, 2009). Simultaneously, these architectural changes served to delineate the cultural differences between the colonizers and the colonized, emphasizing the power dynamics and cultural hierarchy between the two groups.

### 2.3 Church

In the 1840s, Anglicanism and Scottish Presbyterianism played significant roles in the British empire, becoming central arguments for the Christian mission to serve as a crucial institution for civilizing British colonies. They also served as a connecting factor between religion, national identity, and the imperial responsibility of the colonizers. The colonization process emphasized that Christianisation in the colonies was just as important as commercial ventures. However, within the religious landscape of Britain, the Church of England held dominant influence in shaping Britain's position as an imperial power.

The convergence of the political role of the State and the civil function of the Church in the colonies resulted in the notion of British national identity. The colonies were divided into dioceses overseen by appointed bishops, whom numerous clergymen supported. The consecration of the first colonial bishops took place in 1842 at Westminster Abbey, a site traditionally associated with royal coronations and funerals (Bremner, 2013).

Missionary activities aimed to influence and transform the consciousness of native populations by employing education and conversion as means to make them more amenable and supportive of political and cultural hegemony (Bremner, 2013). Christianisation primarily targeted polytheistic faiths, while Islam and Muslims were generally considered "more civilized" compared to the beliefs and customs of Hinduists and tribal native Australians, for instance.

Colonial churches followed several primary architectural forms and patterns. The most popular style featured a building with a classical main body and a late-baroque steeple. This architectural pattern, in various forms, gained popularity through James Gibbs's "A Book of Architecture" (1728). Military engineers and architects constructed variations of this style that were widely embraced across the British Empire. Gothic Revival churches, although more intricate to build, also existed, but in relatively fewer numbers among colonial churches. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, there was an introduction of other architectural styles' revivals and eclectic approaches in sacred architecture, as discussed in the sections relating to colonial locations.

## 2.4 Colonial practices

Jayewardene-Pillai acknowledges that genuine interest in India from Europe existed from the early sixteenth century until 1750. During this period, there was a mutual exchange of culture, literary works, and cooperation among scholars, built on mutual respect and intellectual curiosity. Europeans were actively learning Asian languages, while westernized Indians with Persian backgrounds, traveling to Britain alongside their British patrons, wrote accounts of their journeys and the fascinating things they encountered. Indians were also learning European languages and reading European publications. Indian sailors and merchants visited European port cities (Jayewardene-Pillai, 2007).

The British perception of India was expressed through various non-fiction writings of the time. John Fryer, a doctor appointed by the East India Company in 1672, published his observations and reflections in a report titled "Abstract with Some Reflections on a New Account of East-India and Persia" (1697) and a book called "A New Account of East-India and Persia." Fryer was captivated by his experiences and the novelty of India. He acknowledged its vastness, uniqueness, and mysteries from the perspective of an outsider to its traditions and cultures (Nayar, 2012, p. 2). By the mid-eighteenth century, there were already shared experiences of cultural coexistence between India and Europe (Jayewardene-Pillai, 2007: 4). Europeans in the eighteenth century were particularly impressed by the richness and sophistication of Indian arts, architecture, and the high traditions of Hindu and Muslim cultures. For instance, Sir William Jones, the founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784, and the French Orientalist Abraham-Hyacinthe Anquetil du Perron independently considered the remnants of Hindu culture to be significant manifestations of antiquity, on par with those of ancient Greece and Rome (Prasad, 1980).

The belief in European cultural superiority and the "civilizing mission" began with the colonial conquest and the destruction of Inca and Aztec civilizations in South America and the southern part of North America in the first half of the sixteenth century. Mill's "The History of British India" (1817) exemplifies this trend. Accusations of superstition and barbarism were often based on specific local customs (Bayly, 1990). The British introduced the notion of a divinely ordained ("God's purpose") rule over the "less-fortunate" natives. British colonists frequently referred to

the colonized as "savages," which eventually served as a linguistic justification for European control over "uncivilized" countries through cultural domination.

“While the covert purpose is to exploit the colony’s natural resources (...) through the various imperialist material practices, the overt aim, as articulated by colonialist discourse, is to civilise the savage, to introduce him to all the benefits of Western cultures. Yet the fact that the overt aim, embedded as an assumption in all colonist literature, is accompanied in colonialist texts by a more vociferous insistence, indeed by a fixation, upon the savagery and the evilness of the native should alert us to the real function of these texts: to justify imperial occupation and exploitation” (JanMohamed, 1985, p. 62).

The post-colonial perspective offers a reevaluation of European colonialism through the lenses of sociology, politics, cultural practices, and production. It examines the influence of imperial ideologies on both the colonizers and the colonized, as well as the intricate ways in which these ideologies, directly and indirectly, impacted diverse societies and regions. Within this discourse, architecture and the construction of historical narratives are among the focal points of analysis. The objective was to reassess colonial history by taking into account the experiences and perspectives of the cultural majority that was subjugated during the colonial period (Bremner & Lung, 2003).

Franz Fanon, a prominent political philosopher of the twentieth century, viewed colonialism as a complex system of relations that united the colonizers while oppressing and opposing the colonized. This inequality was maintained through intimidation and oppression. In some colonies, a feudal system was established that perpetuated division and control, creating a class of "native bourgeoisie." In other colonies, there existed a simultaneous dynamic of "settlers and the exploited." Colonialism reinforced and exacerbated the social stratification among the colonized peoples (Sartre, 1963, p. 10-11).

In terms of racial discrimination and colonial practices, non-white individuals were relegated to a hierarchical position as the "Others," against whom white Europeans defined themselves. Non-white people were deemed inferior due to the imposed racial identity, and racism became a foundational aspect of European-style imperialism. Fanon observed that even within European languages, there were subconscious cultural connotations where whiteness was associated with purity and goodness, while blackness was equated with malevolence and badness. These subconscious meanings embedded in European languages were inescapable for the non-white population in European colonies (Fanon, 1963).

Regarding settler colonies, Fanon highlighted the contradiction inherent in claiming the native land while simultaneously denying the humanity of the native population. Native people were often subjected to abuse, malnourishment, sickness, and fear, leading to perceptions of their laziness and thieving behaviours, which were then used to justify violence against them. However, the need for exploitation prevented outright massacres, as that would result in losing control over the native population. Instead, mistreatment was applied in order to eradicate or suppress the perceived "evil" within them, ultimately perpetuating their supposed inherent characteristics if this treatment persisted for three generations. Fanon referred to this process as savagery. The absolute power held by settlers over other people dehumanized them and resulted in the "domestication of the 'inferior races'," leading to trauma, resentment, and retaliation rather than the intended submission (Sartre, 1963, p. 16-17).

While exploring class conflict and cultural hegemony in creating national consciousness, Fanon felt this needed to be emphasised.

“The natives’ challenge to the colonial world is not a rational confrontation of points of view. It is not a treatise on the universal, but the untidy affirmation of an original idea propounded as an absolute. The colonial world is a Manichean world. It is not enough for the settler to delimit physically, that is to say with the help of the army and the police force, the place of the native. As if to show the totalitarian character of colonial exploitation the settler paints the native as a sort of quintessence of evil. Native society is not simply



described as a society lacking in values. It is not enough for the colonist to affirm that those values have disappeared from, or still better never existed in, the colonial world. The native is declared insensible to ethics; he represents not only the absence of values, but also the negation of values” (Fanon, 1963, p. 41).

In their article "Confessional Subjects and Conducts of Non-Truth: Foucault, Fanon, and the Making of the Subject" (2018), Danielle Lorenzini and Martina Tazzioli acknowledge the shared perspectives of Michel Foucault and Franz Fanon regarding the justification of political practices of subjectivity and the mechanisms of discourses of truth. Both authors emphasize the political significance of biased power relations and how they give rise to resistance and contestation against the power that imposes a specific identity and prescribes methods of conduct for the subordinated individuals (Lorenzini & Tazzioli, 2018).

In this context, the notion of "stated truth" refers to the truth that serves to govern an individual within a particular mechanism of power, while the "assumed truth" is objectively accepted as a scientific observation. The stated truth becomes subject to interpretation by entities other than its author, and this process of interpretation, whether of the stated or assumed truth, is seen as an effect of power and domination, as described by Foucault and Fanon (Lorenzini & Tazzioli, 2018).

Fanon observes that in the colonial reality, the colonized were subjugated, viewed as dishonest, pre-classified, labelled, and deemed corrupt in the eyes of the colonizers. They were accused of attempting to defy imposed generalizations, categorizations, and negative linguistic descriptions (Fanon, 2008). The production of "truth" within the colonial space involved a discourse on the power of knowledge that detached itself completely from actual truth. The power disparity in colonial relations led to a discrepancy in the discourse, where the statements of the colonized were deemed false because they did not align with the assumed "truth" and were dismissed as incompatible with the interpretations and perceptions of the colonizers (Lorenzini & Tazzioli, 2018). The subjugation of the colonized aimed to identify, classify, and confine them to their

designated place, serving the objectives of economic exploitation and discouraging challenges to the imposed limitations of conduct (Fanon, 2008).

The simplified discourse of the British empire during colonialism revolved around the relationship between the dominator and the dominated. The Enlightenment period introduced a system of control from above, leading to a discourse of power that justified the division of labour, control of production, and social divisions through knowledge and power. This was particularly evident during the Industrial Revolution in the modern capitalist world. The dominance of the middle class was seen as a necessary means of establishing order rather than solely for financial gain. Submission to this system allowed for its reproduction. The danger was that the subjugated subaltern majority of the population would rebel against the power domination and the control of the ruling minority, including their ideological practices in the field of cultural production, which encompassed architectural patterns and architecture as significant expressions in the cultural industry.

Gramsci was one of the first to understand that the entire population, regardless of social or cultural relations, contributed to the production and reproduction of reality. Similarly, Foucault recognized that social practices could become instruments and weapons in the discourse of power. Subordination to institutional positions, scientific theories, and the division between intellectual and manual labour led to discipline through the imposition of specific conduct. Foucault argued that the interpretation of meaning, such as in textual analysis, was always an intellectually practiced activity historically determined by the inclusion or exclusion of knowledge in the exercise of power. Gramsci analysed society as an integral aspect of the state, where theories were collectively shared opinions and ideas manifested through organized and ideologically driven practices. The perception of the world was influenced by publications, education, cultural, religious, and non-religious beliefs and convictions. Thus, according to Gramsci and Foucault, power relations encompassed multiple fields. Foucault's concept of governmentality emphasized hegemony through power practices, discipline enforced through conformity to norms or punished deviations, and various forms of violence, oppression, and policing that differed from the law and state power (Gramsci, 1971; Foucault, 1978; Demirović, n.d.; Steedman, 2004; Rachar, 2016).

Gramsci's notion of cultural hegemony, as discussed by Edward Said, played a crucial role in understanding the culture of industrial Europe and its construction of Orientalism (Said, 2003). Gramsci argued that the domination of the ruling class over the ruled was maintained through the mechanism of ideology, creating consent to such rule. This concept became a significant factor in ongoing British imperial practices.

Abdul R. JanMohamed further observed that European colonialism could be distinguished in two primary phases, characterized by changes in colonial practices. The first phase, known as the dominant phase, began with the earliest European conquests and ended when colonies achieved independence. During this phase, Europeans, through bureaucratic and military force, exploited pre-existing power relations of hierarchy, subordination, and subjugation within native societies. Technological superiority of European military forces played a crucial role in the efficacy of colonialist material practices. The second phase, referred to as the hegemonic phase, commenced when native populations were compelled to adopt European forms of parliamentary government within their social, cultural, and political realms. This phase involved the acceptance of the colonizers' entire system of values, attitudes, morality, institutions, and, most importantly, mode of production. The threat of military coercion always lingered in the background (JanMohamed, 1985).

Edward Said's concept of "Orientalism" has been instrumental in understanding European perceptions of societies in the Middle East, North Africa, and Asia, and its significance in the discourse on European imperialism, political power, and hegemony. According to Said, the Orient, particularly for Britain and France, represented a source of lucrative and ancient colonies, cultural adversaries, and the "deepest and most recurring images of the Other." (Said, 2003, p. 1). The Orient served as a contrast to Europe's self-perception.

Said conceptualized Orientalism as a discourse, drawing on Michel Foucault's ideas as outlined in "The Archaeology of Knowledge" and "Discipline and Punish." He argued that understanding Orientalism necessitated analysing it as a Foucauldian discourse, through which post-Enlightenment European culture constructed the Orient to justify political, ideological, governmental, social, and perceptual experiences and purposes. Said further posited that the Orient

was an entity defined and dependent on the "whole network of interests" (Said, 2003, p. 3), originating outside the regions encompassed by the concept. For the purpose of this research, Said's observations extending beyond the European colonial experiences of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries will be omitted.

Said acknowledged that in the European perception of the Orient, the notion of Orientalism had its own history, tradition, theories, images, and vocabulary, all of which were understood and produced by Europeans. It was not merely an idea detached from corresponding reality. Europe and the Orient, despite their geographical and cultural distance, mutually shaped and reflected perceptions of each other based on observations and their interpretations of those observations (rather than objective "truths"), as well as the dynamics of power, domination, and the complexities of hegemony. Said argued that Orientalism symbolized Europe's power over the Orient, with the discourse becoming an institutionalized structure intertwined with socio-economic, political, and governmental interests. Drawing on Gramsci's concept of hegemony, Said asserted that European cultural hegemony reinforced and sustained Orientalism, fostering a perceived superiority over all non-European peoples and traditions, influencing relationships with the "Others," and informing European doctrines such as imperialism and racism (Said, 2003).

Said highlighted various British authors who expressed imperialist and racist views in their writings, thereby demonstrating the awareness of Britain's imperial character during that period. Some of these authors include John Stuart Mill, who, despite his advocacy for liberty, considered Indians culturally and racially inferior in works such as "On Liberty" and "Representative Government." Matthew Arnold's anti-Semitic religious writings were also noted by Said, as well as Thomas Carlyle's derogatory caricatures of black people in his "Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question." Additionally, Thomas Babington Macaulay patronizingly ridiculed Indians and their cultural traditions, advocating for British imperial supervision in his "Minute On Indian Education" in 1835 (Said, 2003).

Said agreed with Michel Foucault's analysis in "The Archaeology of Knowledge" regarding the mechanisms of control over access to and distribution of knowledge. He recognized the exchange between writers, the collective cultural apparatus, and the larger political (imperial) contexts of

authority within which these writings were produced. In other words, Said explored how perspectives transmitted and reproduced Orientalism through various means such as language, literature, political theories, and science. He examined the cultural phenomenon of Orientalism within its historical context, emphasizing the association between cultural production, political interests, and specific aspects of domination. This resulted in the manifestation of imperially motivated Orientalism and European authority over this concept in the British colonial realm.

Said connected the fields of image, prejudice, and imperialism in the colonial perspective within the Foucauldian discourse of power. He saw them as interrelated and deterministic constraints that shaped and reinforced Orientalist discourses (Chuaqui, 2005).

Since culture uses symbols to express itself, language is one of its main tools, which connects culture to the physical world, such as objects, fine arts, institutions, and society. In the use of language, the main difference is between the representation (interpretation) and the statement of fact. The language of power in the discourse of power assumes the expression of power, while its receiver is not of the same status as its producer. At the same time, the representation and/or statement of fact may not be distinguishable (Chuaqui, 2005).

In the analysis of British colonial writings, Lin Ling-yu identified Edward Morgan Forster's novel "A Passage to India" (1924) as representative of British colonial literature and an exemplification of Orientalism as conceptualized by Edward Said. According to Ling-yu, the novel reflected the colonial ideology and anti-colonial humanism prevalent at the time. Forster depicted the divided views among the British regarding their relationship with Indians, with some perceiving Indians as inferior to the superior British rulers, while others sympathized with Indians who resisted colonialist hegemony. This division correlated with Said's discourse on Orientalism and hegemony. In the novel, India is presented as the antithesis of Britain, reminiscent of Said's observation in "Orientalism" where the West defined itself against the Orient. Ling-yu also acknowledged the binary opposition between "Us" (the British) and the "Others" (non-Europeans with constructed stereotypical characteristics), a concept shared in post-colonial discourses by writers such as Fanon, JanMohamed, and Said. Forster emphasized this binary by asserting the superiority of the British over Indians, except for a few Indian royals who were deemed equals.

The "Otherness" and perceived inferiority of India and its cultures are central to Forster's novel. While Britain saw the Orient as backward, British hegemony, knowledge, and power in colonial practices, as expressed by John Stuart Mill, were considered beneficial by the British (Ling-yu, 2019; Said 2003; Forster, 1924).

The forced Anglicization of India was evident in attempts to eliminate Indian identity expressed through diversity, traditions, and customs. Indians were restricted in their employment within the Indian Civil Service and were excluded from higher ranks in juridical and taxation offices. The British bureaucratic authority of imperialism generated resentment among Indians, subjecting them to prolonged repression as "inferior" subjects of the empire. Forster criticized such attitudes and viewed them as weaknesses within the British governing system, which fuelled anger among the Indian population (Singh & Kumar, 2013).

Forster incorporated a historical event, the Jallianwala Bagh or Amritsar massacre, into his fictional narrative. This event, which took place on April 13, 1919, involved the British Indian Army under Brigadier R. E. H. Dyer opening fire on peaceful protesters, resulting in hundreds of deaths and injuries. The brutality of the massacre and the lack of accountability further intensified the anger among Indians (Punjab disturbances, April 1919: 8-14; Committee on Disturbances 1920: XX-XXI, 44-45, 116-7; Bipan. 1989; Metcalf & Metcalf, 2006; Collett, 2006). Forster portrayed the fears of retaliation that haunted the isolated British community, their dependence on the army for safety, and their attempts to send British families to hill stations for security. This event deepened the subjugation of Indians and made it challenging for the British to demand respect for their rule (Singh & Kumar, 2013).

"A Passage to India" is considered a significant work within the post-colonial discourse, exemplifying Said's concept of the Orient depicted in Western literature and applying Foucauldian discursive approaches to power and knowledge (Ling-yu, 2019; Singh & Kumar, 2013).

Apart from literature and non-fiction, also paintings and drawings depicted cultural encounters in the colonies, colonial ideologies, and social, economic, and political practices of specific and

dynamic cultural contexts and discourses, which were never homogenous across European colonial realms.

In her book "Picturing Imperial Power: Colonial Subjects in Eighteenth-century British Painting" (1999), Beth Tobin examines the depiction of cultural encounters, colonial ideologies, and social, economic, and political practices in paintings and drawings from the British colonies. The paintings she analyses mainly consist of private, personal, or family portraits, showcasing British families in exotic settings, cross-dressed colonizers, and native people subjected to colonial rule. These artworks serve as visual representations of British imperial power and the individual accomplishments of the colonizers. Tobin's focus lies on the strategies of domination, appropriation, resistance, and accommodation depicted in these artworks. To incorporate the colonies into the British-centred economic and political framework and accommodate their diverse local contexts, the reality of these contexts had to be considered. Tobin specifically examines paintings from India, where she concludes that the British approach toward India ranged from appreciation, fascination, and relishing the privilege of being there to asserting their own superiority and viewing India as superstitious and inferior (Tobin, 1999).

Cross-dressing was a phenomenon observed in both the colonized and colonizer communities in India. For the subjugated, it could serve as a means of empowerment, while for the British, it demonstrated their ability to engage with the unfamiliar and exotic. It represented their authority over the local population and the incorporation of foreign elements into their own culture. British individuals, by adopting costumes resembling Indian aristocracy and the Mughal nobility, displayed their self-perception abroad as well as their engagement with the local culture. Many portraits of Britons and their families living in India include Indian individuals, particularly servants and musicians, as well as traditional objects and landscapes, serving as documentation of their experiences in India (Tobin, 1999).

Tobin also discusses the racial estrangement experienced by the mixed-race population resulting from relationships between British colonizers and Indian women. Racially mixed individuals were excluded from holding high government and military positions in the colonial government in India due to British racial policies. The East India Company, during its reign, sought to separate the

British from indigenous communities in order to protect the former from what they considered "barbaric" and "immoral" Indian influences. The corruption of the East India Company was often blamed on Indians by British officials. Mixed-race relationships were condemned, and children born from these unions faced discrimination. As a solution, British women were sent to India as wives suitable for military, civil, and Church officials. This cultural separation is reflected in several family portraits, which eliminate any details that might associate them with Indian influences. These portraits depict the families in European-style houses with colonnaded interiors, surrounded by European artifacts, and wearing European costumes (Tobin, 1999).

Overall, Tobin's analysis of British paintings in India reveals the complex dynamics of power, race, and cultural assimilation during the colonial period.

In India, the British colonialists not only maintained segregation from the Indian population but also enforced strict separation among themselves. The majority of British individuals who accumulated wealth in India belonged to the middle class. Within this class, social status was primarily determined by financial standing, and one could achieve social advancement by accumulating greater wealth. However, even within the British middle class in India, sub-class distinctions were reinforced.

British individuals in India did not typically socialize with their fellow countrymen from other parts of India or with employees of different government and military institutions. They also kept their distance from Britons who were not associated with British administration in India. Social hierarchy within the British society in India placed the bureaucracy above tradesmen and business owners. Only the viceroys and a few governors descended from the British aristocracy. Since the traditional British social strata were not fully present in India, the middle class acted as if they were the British upper class when interacting with Indians.

This social segregation and the reinforcement of class distinctions among the British in India illustrate the complex dynamics of social hierarchy and the preservation of social status within the colonial context.



Matthew Edney's examination of the construction and visualization of India in maps highlights how they served to justify colonial administration and authority. The British's ability to create a rational and systematic geographic image of India was instrumental in establishing a comprehensive knowledge base of the country and its people. This served as an efficient mechanism for political influence and control. The act of making maps and conducting land surveys was an integral part of British India's history, as it facilitated the transformation of the seemingly incomprehensible landscape into a domain of knowledge and understanding. The East India Company, through its cartographic endeavours, constructed a solid framework that firmly placed India and its inhabitants as British colonial possessions. The maps themselves became records of British progress and resourcefulness. Furthermore, maps played a crucial role in justifying military interventions aimed at ensuring British success in the region. They were also treated as legitimate scientific evidence, serving as a technology of possession and a means of asserting territorial control. The maps produced by the Company naturalized the subcontinent and conflated it with India as a geographically unified entity, a politically homogeneous state with a culturally uniform nation that the British aimed to rule. Drawing on Foucault's theory of state surveillance, Edney argues that British maps of India functioned as disciplinary mechanisms, serving as instrumental tools of state power. The cartography of India was a construct of the Orient in the sense theorized by Edward Said, shaped by and for the British and reflecting their perceptions and governance of the region. As representations and reproductions of global geography from a British colonial perspective, these maps contributed to the exercise of cultural hegemony in India (Edney, 1997).

Additionally, the process of colonial settlement, such as the Swan Colony, necessitated prior mapping as part of a cartographic rationalization. The mapping of these settlements allowed for the emergence of a sense of locality within the already mapped spaces. Through the use of maps, images depicting colonial life and architecture, and the imposition of European naming conventions, places and concepts were fixed in the collective imagination. These practices shaped the ways in which the British public perceived the commercial empire, cultivating a particular view that justified the conquest and maintenance of colonial territories in Britain, serving the interests of imperial politics and economics.

In the British colonies, all populations, regardless of their ethnicity or nationality, were considered "subjects" of the British monarchy and, consequently, subject to British justice and administration. However, this subjugation often meant unequal treatment and obedience rather than fairness and justice. British colonial laws, although intended to prevent crime, were open to discriminatory interpretations and highly interventionist practices by the colonial government, leading to injustice and exclusionary practices against the colonized populations. There were political and cultural inequalities between British and non-British colonial residents, and urban planning reflected racially motivated inclusive and exclusive spaces (Bremner & Lung, 2003).

The concept of "Us" versus "Others," rooted in long-established preconceptions of non-European societies and cultures, guided the planning and management of urban spaces in colonial cities. This led to the development of hegemonic cultures and the creation of segregated urban environments, as discussed by Kay Anderson (1988). The built environment played a significant role in shaping the colonial experience, and architectural patterns were employed as a critical aspect of colonial practice (Anderson, 1988).

The architectural coherence of the British empire's built environment was characterized by a sense of sameness and shared language, regardless of geographical location. Buildings constructed by the British in Canada, India, and the Caribbean represented a cultural continuity and were recognizable as British. This architectural consistency was universally adopted by architects, engineers, builders, and property holders associated with the British empire (Upton 1998). However, those who had extensive experience traveling abroad, such as soldiers, sailors, politicians, and merchants, had a broader perspective of the British world and recognized this architectural coherence. On the other hand, settlers' experience was more localized, and their display of social and cultural affiliations through architecture served to communicate their identity to their neighbours and the native population.

Architectural patterns had significant cultural symbolism and conveyed specific social standards, values, education, ethics, and ideas of modern governance in the colonial context. While these architectural patterns held meaning for educated colonizers, they were often incomprehensible to the indigenous populations and diverse cultures of the colonies. This created a dynamic where

architectural patterns, drawing on Bourdieu's theories, maintained certain hierarchies while serving as spatial and cultural tools for inclusion or exclusion. They could evoke feelings of fear, hegemony, and oppression among the dominated and subjugated subjects of the empire.

## 2.5 Study location: British India (Calcutta, Bombay, Madras)

Trade was a significant driving force behind European exploration and the search for an independent sea route to India. The demand for valuable Indian spices in European markets, including pepper, cinnamon, nutmeg, ginger, cloves, and galangal, motivated explorers and traders to seek direct access to the source of these commodities.

During the fifteenth century, the Ottoman Empire expanded its control over the Middle East and gained dominance over the caravan trade routes to Asia. This led to increased prices for imported goods, as the Ottoman Empire collaborated with Italian city-states such as Venice and Genoa to deliver spices and other merchandise to Europe. Venice and Genoa held a virtual monopoly on trade with Turkish merchants until the mid-fifteenth century.

To overcome the Ottoman-controlled land routes and secure direct access to the lucrative spice trade, European explorers and traders sought alternative sea routes. The development of shipbuilding techniques and the redesign of ships played a crucial role in enabling long-distance oceanic travel. Once the Strait of Gibraltar was secured by the Christian kings of the Iberian Peninsula, commercial voyages could increase in frequency and number.

Shipbuilders learned from various sailing craft styles across Europe's Atlantic and Mediterranean coastlines, incorporating the best features into their own designs. Pattern books and manuals served as important sources of shipbuilding knowledge and solutions. The resulting changes in ship design revolutionized maritime travel and facilitated the growth of long-distance commerce and exploration. Dutch and British East Indiamen were notable examples of vessels specifically designed for long-distance trade and the transportation of goods. While they also carried passengers, their primary purpose was to secure and transport large cargoes more efficiently than previous vessels (Phillips & Phillips, 1992; Lukin, 1882; Hervey, 1779). Additionally, the introduction of heavy-cast cannons, used by Portuguese sailors for the first time, provided European ships with greater firepower and freedom of movement, effectively ending the Turco-Italian trade monopoly with Asia (Levine, 1996).

The exploration and expansion of sea trade routes to India had a profound impact on global commerce and marked a significant shift in European dominance in international trade. It opened up new avenues for economic growth, cultural exchange, and colonial expansion in the centuries that followed.

Since the mid-fifteenth century, the Portuguese had led the way for Europe into Asia. They also dominated the lucrative spice traffic and other trade routes in the Indian Ocean for most of the sixteenth century. In 1510, Portugal conquered Goa and established themselves through the next fifty years, by creating settlements and factories in Goa, Bombay, Daman, Calicut, Cochin, and Bijapur in India, not to mention Jaffa and Colombo in Ceylon. Portugal provided a blueprint for the future colonial trade practices, principally concerning the control of specific strategic routes to the colonies, by using factories and warehouses there that would help them to secure and store goods throughout the entire year, and by forming subsidiary alliances to gain the cooperation of the native rulers. In the seventeenth century, the rising Dutch, French and British colonial empires had suppressed Portuguese domination in the region. Between 1605 and 1663, the Dutch gradually eliminated Portugal from the spice trade in Asia and captured most Portuguese settlements by concentrating on the East Indies. In due course, the Dutch took control over South-East Asia, leaving India to the Anglo-French contest. Internal political and religious instability, as well as personal interests and coalitions of various regional rulers, led to a vulnerability towards external interventions. The collapse of the Mughal Empire in India, through invasion from Central Asia in the sixteenth century, caused a power vacuum, which the British and the French East India Companies tried to fill in. In 1612, British traders battled the Portuguese at Swally and won. In doing so, the British gained the favour of the Mughal emperor Jahangir, who, in gratitude, allowed the Company to build trading posts in India, and import goods from Europe. The first trading posts were established in Bombay, which became an English possession as a part of the dowry of the Queen consort of England, Catherine of Braganza from Portugal, in 1662. In the eighteenth century, Madras became the main centre for British trade, replaced by Calcutta in 1777, which had better trade communication with the provinces of Northern India (Chrimes 2015).

By the year 1670, Charles II granted the British East India Company extensive rights, including the ability to acquire territories, govern them, raise an army, and even mint their own currency.

Meanwhile, the French established their first factory of the Oriental Indies Company in Surat in 1668, followed by a colony at Pondicherry in 1683, located south of Madras. The French East India Company, by assimilating the resources of the Oriental Indies Company, controlled significantly larger territories in India compared to the actual land area of France itself. This made France the primary rival of Britain in the imperial race, and their competition extended to India between 1740 and 1763. The key figures in this Anglo-French rivalry were Joseph Francois Dupleix, the Governor General of the French East India Company, and Robert Clive, the military commander of the English East India Company. Despite being vastly outnumbered by Indian militaries, both European forces were able to challenge and oppose them through local alliances and the use of Indian sepoys—trained and armed Indian soldiers who served alongside the Company's armies. In the end, the British emerged victorious in the Anglo-French competition. The British East India Company achieved its first protectorate with the capture of Bengal in 1757, following a successful military operation. The Company continued to expand its territorial possessions through direct annexation, military conquest, or agreements on power-sharing with local rulers (Kopf, 1969).

These developments laid the groundwork for British colonial rule in India, as the British East India Company steadily gained control and influence over large parts of the subcontinent.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the British East India Company was among several European representatives in India, including the Dutch United, Danish, Swedish, and Portuguese East India Companies. Colonial spheres of influence had changed, with the English trading ventures gaining governmental powers in Madras in 1639 and Bombay in 1661. By the end of the seventeenth century, the British East India Company controlled and ruled three main locations of India: Bengal with Calcutta in eastern India, Bombay to the west, and Madras in the south. Forts were built in Madras (Fort St. George, Figure 2.1) in 1640, Bombay – in 1684 (Figure 2.3), and Calcutta (Fort William, Figure 2.2) – in 1690. All three cities became the Presidency towns of British rule, administered from the headquarters in Calcutta by an appointed British Governor-General. The British government did not become directly involved in India until the Regulating Act of 1773, and even then, the East India Company remained largely in control of the Indian colonies until Crown rule was imposed in 1858 (Bose & Jalal, 2017). After 1858, British India

was governed from Calcutta by Queen Victoria's designated Viceroy for a five-year term and was controlled from London by the Foreign and India Office. The establishment of the post of the Governor-General and then the Viceroy in India were the first steps in gaining political and economic control over the whole subcontinent, and, as a result, proclaimed India to be a part of the British empire after the transition of the governing body from the Company to the Crown in 1858 (Lawson, 2014). In 1877, Queen Victoria became the Empress of India.

British India was not established as a colonial state by the consent of the Indians but by political malpractices and military conquest. Ranajit Guha said it was "a 190-year-long foreign occupation" (Guha, 2011, p. 291). As an autocracy, India was an ideological measure of the achievement of British imperial policy. Ultimately, the country's occupation, exploitation and subjugation were exposed, triggering anti-imperialist struggles and anti-colonial movements. The core of British rule was the anxiety and fear they applied to the colonised population. To survive and last, the Raj pursued the advocacy of the Indian elite for the foreign regime. British officials used ideology and bribes to lure Indian nobility into backing their rule. In the Indian context, the domination and subordination, the unequal power relations, were multilevel constructs, which, apart from the colonised and the coloniser introduced by the British, were historically engraved into the local traditions of the class, caste, gender, and other already existing hierarchies (Guha, 2011).

British colonialism was based not on the ideas and idealistic justifications of the European theories on the subject. Still, it was narrowed to the political and economic self-interests of the colonisers. The interference of the colonial government in the local structures of power in India drew Indian elites into the British colonial processes there. Using education in the British educational institutions in India, these elites competed and collaborated with the British for limited opportunities for power and privileges for self-rule. It was not a struggle for freedom but a rivalry between the Indian elite members in a contest for limited available power standings in the imperial realm (Chakrabarty, 2000). The relationship between power and knowledge was inextricably related, as understood by Foucault. It is a discourse when the rules of power are considered a priori and legitimise the knowledge and the truth. And all relations are based on the power of hierarchies of government and institutions (Foucault, 1978). The educational constructs of the Indian elite gave them not enough knowledge to independently rule their country but sufficient to be in the position of power over the people subjugated to them. And for them to exercise any power they

needed to agree to the aims of this power and not be outsiders relative to the British rule, whether as willing or reluctant participants concerning the dominant foreign power.

Following the establishment of the colonial state and control over its resources, British historians of the nineteenth century constructed ideological control over India by introducing new “knowledge” to justify British presence and colonialism as natural and the best outcome for India. Guha observed that between the publication of James Mill’s *History of British India* in 1812 and William Wilson Hunter’s *Indian Empire* in 1881, not only did the history of India become a part of the history of Britain, but the combination of the two allowed for binary opposition of cultures and peoples. The division was expressed on many levels. Politically, they were the ruled versus the rulers; ethnically – white versus non-white; culturally – more versus less civilised; religiously – Christians versus superstitious barbarians (Guha, 1997), especially of other faiths than Islam. As Said stated: the West identified itself as a contrast to the Orient (Said, 2003). However, in Said’s concept of the Orient, the notions of “Us” and “Others” were also used by the colonised to circumscribe their own identity (Guha, 1997). Dualism of the British colonial norms significantly altered dominant expressions of political practice in India. Political authority in India was structured as an autocracy, where the configuration of power was founded on the inequality of rights between the colonisers and the colonised, or as Guha called them, “Dominance” and “Subordination.” He further analysed the mechanisms of “Dominance” as “Coercion” and “Persuasion” as shared determinants, while Subordination relied on either “Collaboration” or “Resistance” (Guha, 1997, p. 20-21). According to the Foucauldian mode of power, the ultimate authority, the sovereign power of domination and control, was exercised based on knowledge (or, in the case of India, the assumption of understanding the relevant fields of Indian culture) of how to discipline Indian society through rewards and/or intimidations and force into subordination (Lynch, 2010). Guha also understood the mechanism of European power in India as a discursive formation of factors, their combinations, circumstances, and structure. Although these factors were not the same in each aspect of the configurations of dominance and subordination, they determined their compositions of conditional requirements (Guha, 1997).

Historically, the eighteenth century marked a significant shift in India's political and economic landscape with the growing influence of the British East India Company. The company gradually



gained control over various regions of southern India, disrupting the existing power structures of native sovereigns.

The British East India Company, acting as an instrument of British colonialism, not only exerted its economic dominance but also expanded its territorial control through the use of its army. By the end of the 18th century, the company's army had achieved significant territorial gains, which were dependent on foreign control.

The presence of the British East India Company and its army had a profound impact on the built environment of India. Soldier-engineers played a crucial role in constructing infrastructure and fortifications, funded by the company. This led to the creation of an extended built environment, which reflected the influence of British architectural styles and planning principles.

As the British and Indian cultures interacted, there emerged an exchange of architectural ideas between the two. This exchange influenced the architectural development in India during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, resulting in a blending of Indo-British architectural cultures (Jayewardene-Pillai, 2007)

### 2.5.1 The East India Company

Diwani was traditionally a revenue administration, while Nizamat was a civil administration in Bengal during the Mughal rule. The two officers running these institutions were appointed personally by the emperor. Diwani was responsible for sending collected revenue to the government and operated autonomously from Nizamat. The annexation of the rule over India started in 1765 when the East India Company commandeered Diwani. Initially, Diwani operations were established on the local knowledge about the inheritance provisions in the noble families and what constituted the power relations it had assumed over time. A bias toward that order happened when the British took it. They had been the same as the British law and societal doctrines of that time (Guha, 1997). Various debates within the Company were focused on the appropriation of the relationship between the property and the government, with particular legal and administrative provisions for the rule of India “as a rule of property” (Guha, 1997, p. 2).

From the mid-eighteenth century onwards, the Company divided India into small rivalling regions, introduced taxation and banking, and thus was able to buy parliamentary seats and gained the support of the British Parliament to use state power against the French East India Company to secure India for Britain. Influence in the Parliament through bribery of the MPs and ministers initially resulted in subverting legislation favouring the Company's interests. Later, however, the Company's Governor was jailed, and its President was penalised for corruption. And yet owing to its independent trading, not all Company's capital was confiscated due to the Government's legal actions. The vast territorial possessions in India belonged to the Company, not Britain. The practices to redeem losses by ruthlessly collecting taxes included recapturing Bengal's treasury and exploiting the population already stricken by the war that was followed by the famine of 1769. The retake of Bengal from its Mughal ruler, also called the Treaty of Allahabad, was almost a formality, without negotiations appropriate for such a significant political move: Shah Alam accepted terms dictated by Robert Clive (an upstart office clerk of the Company promoted to the Governor of Bengal Presidency) and presented to him by the British. Established Company rule in Bengal in 1757 meant that most of the east coast of India and several strategic locations on the west side of the subcontinent were governed by a few British businessmen. The East India Company depended on India's wealth to such an extent that when it could not pay taxes to the Crown at one stage, it bankrupted several European banks and caused a trade crisis there (Dalrymple, 2019).

The role of the East India Company changed from a trading corporation to a ruler of Mughal provinces as a colonising power, with 250 clerks and 20000 soldiers. By 1803 the Company and its army of 200000 successfully conquered large territories in India and captured Delhi, the Mughal capital. Consequently, it replaced the Mughal rule with its own. The Company's ruthless power based on corruption, disorder, violence and pillage of India was labelled Anarchy. The local population and outside visitors acknowledged its reality during the period. The East India Company was then a private venture benefiting its investors while acting independently from the British government, and its activities were of no legal or other consequences to the perpetrators of criminal acts in India (Dalrymple, 2019).

The Company was also involved in trafficking opium to China, participated in the Opium Wars and seized Hong Kong for the independent trade of opium right on the Chinese doorstep. Another leading trade venture of the Company was to export tea from China to America. Fear that the British Parliament could introduce the East India Company to America's colonies, which had similar consequences of ruthless exploitation as was known in India, was one of the primary triggers of the American War of Independence (Dalrymple, 2019).

By 1773 the East India Company had a monopoly for trading in India. A significant loss to Company's income came with the loss of American markets for tea sales. The Company owed money to the government, the Bank of England. On top of financial problems, a large surplus of tea was perishing in Company's warehouses in Britain, with more still being on the way there. The Tea Act of 1773 was to help to survive the financially struggling Company. In 1773 Lord North introduced the Regulating Act to move toward governmental control over India. India was of national importance, and leaving it in the hands of people who were neither trained nor otherwise prepared to govern would have disastrous consequences for the British colonial endeavours (Muir, 1917). The Regulating Act was accepted despite protests from the Company's shareholders. The Act limited Company's governing powers in India, favouring parliamentary control. In Calcutta, the post of Governor-General of Bengal with control over Madras and Bombay, as well as the Supreme Court (1774), were established. Further, in 1784, Pitt's Indian Act (The East India Company Act) was an official document of the Parliament, which finally brought the Company's rule in India under the control of the British Government as a joint government under the Crown's ultimate authority (Dalrymple, 2019).

The consequences of the Uprising of 1857 were one of the goriest episodes in British colonialism: thousands of people suspected of rebellion were slaughtered. In the end, the Parliament removed the Company from rule in India, nationalised Company's territorial possessions there, and proclaimed Queen Victoria the head of the Indian state (Dalrymple, 2019).

## 2.5.2 British Empire

Changes in governing India by the British were noticed with the withdrawal of the East India Company from India, with its predatory, greedy, and economic mercantilist mode of rule. That transitioned Britain's occupation of India from the Company's anarchy into a British imperial venture. Consistently, the domination, which until then relied mainly on the military powers, was generating consensus and subordination by institutionalised and ideological mechanisms. On one side, British autocracy exercised its power through the army, police force and complex penal structure. On the other, with an order of bureaucratic colonial rule and ideology. Following the Uprising of 1857, the law-enforcement agencies were involved in urban development, health, education, labour, justice, and securing the personal safety of the colonisers. The local landowners were obliged to provide workforce and services for travelling government officials, celebrities and civilians by carrying their luggage, as well as for preparing resting camps and for use in public works such as the construction of roads, bridges and building dwellings, and private jobs in plantations. Those services often were not paid for. While already abolished in Europe, forced labour, a feudal practice, was taken over by the British colonial authority from the local native rulers and sanctioned by the central government and its regional representatives (Vinod Kumar & Verma, 2009; Guha, 1997).

During the 1860s, India was divided into Provinces run by district administration. The core of the British rule was formed by the offices of the District Magistrate and Collector, Superintendent of Police and the Courts, which worked closely to ensure strict control over the native population. Thomas Babington Macaulay, apart from his infamous report on education in India, was also involved in the writing of "The Indian Penal Code" in 1860 (Vinod Kumar & Verma, 2009; Said, 2003). This particular code was implemented in 1862, according to Vinod Kumar & Verma, and Skuy was an example of legalising hegemony in India. By implanting this and other legal regulations, the rulers prevented resistance to foreign rule and assured compliance with forced foreign legal protocols (Vinod Kumar & Verma, 2009; Skuy, 1998).

### 2.5.3 The Colonised and the Colonisers

British cultural and architectural patterns were employed to emphasise the cultural differentiation between the colonisers (the "Us") and the colonised (the "Others"), as well as to stress the political status of the Empire's representatives, and as a kind of social promotion of the fortune-builders.

In constructing inter-colonial relations, establishing the new roles of the “Others” versus the colonisers was crucial for the colony, for applying political strategies and for the development of the entire British empire. In British colonial practices in India, the main political changes in British-Indian relations occurred after the Indian Uprising of 1857, and the main social ones – with the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. During the time of the East India Company, close relationships between British and Indian subjects were encouraged in the colonial realm, specifically as the long and uncomfortable journey from Britain prevented British women from joining their men or finding husbands among the British in India. Men organised for themselves companions from among the natives. The uprising of sepoys, who accounted for 80% of the total of British East India Company's army, exposed certain unbridgeable differences in the British and the Indian cultures and the perceptions of one another. The British-Indian dependence was decisively sealed in 1877 through the proclamation of Queen Victoria - the Empress of India. The opening of the Suez Canal shorted the trip from Britain to India. This encouraged single women as well as entire families to seek their fortunes there. That, in turn, changed the dynamics of the earlier relations between the Indians and the British. From then on, interracial relationships were considered to be morally dubious. The large migration of British women reduced the number of single men, which finally led to the physical separation of British families and Indians into different enclaves with their own customs, as well as political, economic, social and religious formations (Scriver, 2006; 2001).

Europeans analysed the “Other” in terms of similarity or difference. Admitting the perception of difference as a primary factor, the British turned to the security and familiarity of their own cultural background. From the colonisers' point of view, Britain was an example to be followed, copied and adjusted to the new colonial realities. Architectural patterns were a part of the mechanism of this transformation. British colonial situation, ensured by military superiority, provided an ideal context to fulfil the desire to impose on, and be recognised by the “Other” as the dominating power. It led to a complex cultural reliance within the colonies by gaining desired recognition through subjugating “Others” (Gordimer, 2005); the colonisers depended on their position as the masters, the governors, as well as the providers of the patterns of their culture. In this context, colonial architecture was employed in the discourse of adaptive strategies that relied on the changing policies of colonial rule. In the Manichean world of European dependencies, the distance between

the Master and the “Other” tended to be absolute and qualitative, with a total disregard towards the development of cultural relations, notions of ultimate and fixed differences on one side, and privileged ownership of knowledge, experience, and practice on the other (Bakhtin, 1981). The “barbaric otherness,” stressed and emphasised in colonial writings, had constituted the conviction of moral “superiority”, as claimed by JanMohamed:

“The ideological functions of colonialist fiction (...) must be understood (...) in terms of the exigencies of domestic – that is, European and colonialist - politics and culture; and the function of racial difference, of the fixation on and fetishization of native savagery and evil, must be mapped in terms of these exigencies and ideological imperatives” (JanMohamed, 1985, p. 62-3).

Overall, the British colonial project in India utilized cultural and architectural elements to reinforce power dynamics, establish dominance, and create a sense of cultural superiority.

The number of British in India increased from 41,000 in the 1830s to 166,428 in 1891 (Sanderson, 1903). Alison Blunt noted that the necessity of preserving the British race and British rule in India for its social, moral and domestic values, brought up also cultural exclusiveness that racially antagonised the Indian and the British coexistence (Blunt, 1999).

“From 1886 to 1925, the publication and popularity of household guides reflected the increased number of British women travelling to India, the consolidation of imperial domesticity 30 years after uprising, and British confidence in imperial rule and its reproduction on a household scale. (...) At a time of political ferment, household guides sought to maintain imperial rule on a domestic scale by concentrating on the unequal relationships between British women and their Indian servants” (Blunt, 1999, p. 422-423).

British cultural hegemony in India was reinforced through various publications, including household guides, periodicals, and novels, which permeated society from the lowest levels upwards. Establishing a home in India was not only about domestic duties but also about fulfilling

imperial roles and responsibilities within racially segregated compounds and bungalows. British authors like Steel and Gardiner emphasized the need to understand the management of households in India, as Indian servants were expected to be trained, domesticated, and supervised differently from their British counterparts (Steel & Gardiner, 1890; Wilson, 1904).

The perception of "Otherness" in the colonial context was often infantilized, requiring paternalistic strategies and custodial control over Indian subjects. The British considered Indian servants to have an "acute sense of justice" but believed they needed to be treated like children, kindly yet firmly, due to their supposedly underdeveloped brains and differing perspectives wrote in 1901 Mrs. C. Lang in her compendium "'Chota Mem' The English bride in India: hints on Indian housekeeping." Maintaining control over the Indian population necessitated the British maintaining positions of power and authority.

Surveillance, control, and the maintenance of colonial rule and the criminal justice system heavily relied on the police and military forces, predominantly composed of Indian personnel. The colonial system imposed on the colonized through ideological, political, economic, and educational mechanisms and practices. The hegemonic methods employed by the British in the colonies were adapted from techniques developed during the European Industrial Revolution and tailored to suit colonial requirements.

According to the theories of Foucault's discipline, control and punishment and Gramsci's concept of hegemony, the colonial criminal justice system used force, intimidation and consent in the administration and dealings with the populace. In Gramsci's notion of hegemony, domination was secured by force on the side of the rulers and by consensus to submission on the side of the ruled. The state apparatus was manipulated in such a way as to secure the interests and domination of the rulers (Gramsci, 1971). In the case of India, the authority was exercised, but not limited to, the control of land production and trade. In India, the British were always outnumbered; therefore, only the "civilising" of the Indians could sustain British colonialism by thrusting the British-originated institutions and exercising their institutional powers (Vinod Kumar & Verma, 2009). Thomas Babington Macaulay, in "Minute On Indian Education" (1835), as acknowledged by Said in "Orientalism" (Said, 2003), contempt Indian traditions and languages as inadequate to translate

to them any valuable information. He further opted for educating interpreters from among the native population to communicate with the Indians. The main requirement for the educated Indian was to be European in views, standards and brainpower to convey knowledge to others and interpret Western nomenclature to meanings understandable to the Indians (Macaulay, 1972).

British cultural hegemony in India was sustained through publications, social practices, and institutional mechanisms that aimed to assert and maintain British power and authority while promoting a sense of superiority and control over the Indian population.

The mechanisms used by the criminal justice administration and in institutional governing in India were explained in Foucault's theory of discipline and governmentality: the control was based on observation of individuals, confining them in designated and protected spaces for preventing undesirable behaviours, regulating activities, as well as to advantage the processes of production. Spaces created in such a manner were "architectural, functional and hierarchical" (Foucault, 1977, p. 148). Maintained physical and institutional separation characterised the British planning of the new colonial cities in India, reinforcing the hierarchical and functional aspects of control.

#### 2.5.4 Urbanism as the cultural construction of space

This passage examines the urban planning of the British Empire in India, focusing on the representation and configuration of the colonial city and its relationship to power dynamics and spatial discrimination. Drawing from the perspectives of scholars such as Edward Said, Michel Foucault, and Antonio Gramsci, it explores how the built environment of colonial cities reflected the control and legal framework imposed by the colonial rulers. Urban planning was used as a tool for control and segregation, dividing cities along social or racial divisions.

When colonial cities were the ground of the discourse between the society, race and the colonial state, the whole built environment of public buildings' form, style, and settings displayed the extent of control and legal framework imposed by the rulers over the ruled and negotiated from the subjugated parties. Urban planning was applied for control and segregation. In Britain and India at that time, the industrial cities were dual in nature of planning: split up along social divisions, an



example being Manchester presented in the previous part of this thesis, or along racial and imperial divisions in India, as noted by Anthony D. King (King, 1976). Social power relationships and colonial power relationships in their inequality were relevant to the theory of cultural hegemony of Antonio Gramsci, while governmentality, as well as power and knowledge, to the views of Michel Foucault, consequently influencing, among others, Edward Said's notion of 'orientalism' and subaltern studies.

Home and King noted that colonial cities were the objects of transformation during the colonial period (Home & King, 2016). Similar to European industrial cities, colonial cities underwent transformations during the colonial period. They experienced changes in building types, architectural styles, and population growth, which influenced ongoing urban planning strategies. The growth and migration of the native populations in the colonial environment added complexity to the understanding and interpretation of the built environment within diverse intellectual, political, linguistic, and cultural settings. The transformations of colonial cities prioritized and secured the military and political dominance of the colonial rulers, and Foucault's genealogical theory helps in understanding the power dynamics and knowledge manipulation involved in colonial urban management. These, advocated by the institutions and experts in Britain, provided the standardised designs for barracks, hospitals, housing, and the like, as presented earlier in this thesis. Consequently, at the beginning of the British colonial venture in India, military engineers were planning defensive forts, while later, the civil engineers added infrastructure beyond the fortified areas, such as ports, railways, and other public works.

Colonial urban development consisted of two distinct cities: the modern and foreign industrial city transplanted into the traditional pre-industrial local environment. The colonial towns had their own symbolism and distinctive behaviours of the colonizing community, separate from their origins. These transplanted cities required institutionalized infrastructure to meet social, administrative, and political needs and communication systems to liaise with London. They were planned to promote segregation between the colonizers and the colonized. In densely populated India, colonial urbanization often marginalized the indigenous inhabitants of the areas occupied by the colonizers. The impact of colonialism on British urban developments in India was influenced by

the capitalist mode of production and political domination, establishing and subordinating the ruling power in the colonial context (King, 1976).

According to Scriver, Bremner and Lung, the formation of the urban environment in colonies was significant for shaping British identity. Urban planning, in terms of its forms and spaces, aimed to express self-perception and construct a colonizing identity through the racial character of the immediate surroundings. The built environment became a reflection of power relations, cultural hegemony, and the imposition of colonial authority (Scriver, 2006; 2001; Bremner & Lung, 2003).

In comparing the built environment in cities in India, as products of two different cultures, Hindu-Muslim and British, King considered them creations of colonialism. The distinctions were expressed in languages, religions, institutions, values, ideas, and perceptions of the world and economies (pre-industrial, feudal on one side and industrial on the other). He also identified four essential criteria to study this binary opposition of the cultural realm. The first consideration was the different products of English and Indian cultures. Then modern industrial colonialism was expressed in diverse political and economic systems. Thirdly industrial technology was based on specific sources of energy. And finally, all of these related to the complex society it was a part of (Scriver & Prakash, 2007; King, 1980).

In both British and colonial cities, the division of urban space along social or ethnic lines was a common practice. This division aimed to create spaces of inclusion for the dominant group ('Us') and spaces of exclusion for the marginalized group ('Others'). The physical and spatial separation of the minority from the majority served to maintain cultural hegemony and exert control over the subjugated group. Segregation was justified based on perceived irreconcilable cultural differences, concerns about health, safety, conflicts, criminal activities, politics, and the economy. This demographic disintegration led to the monopoly of governing bodies over land allocations, reinforcing their control over the urban landscape (King, 1976).

The intentional production, control, and representation of spaces and areas in a particular manner is a concept rooted in cultural geography. This intentional structuring of social and racial relations was observed both in British cities at home and abroad. James Duncan highlighted how this shared

method reinforced group identity while simplifying and categorizing the complex construct of 'Others,' making them easier to control (Duncan, 1993).

The built environment and spatial organization in British and colonial cities reflected the power dynamics, social divisions, and cultural hegemony imposed by colonialism. It was a deliberate process aimed at maintaining control and reinforcing the dominance of the ruling group while marginalizing and segregating the 'Others.'

#### *2.5.4.1 Calcutta*

Calcutta was the headquarters of the British administration in India and a second city of the British empire. Economica administration focused on British commerce (import of textiles and export of foodgrains and raw materials trade), shipping, transport, finances, and investments in India. British monopolised the Bengal economy by controlling the tea plantations, coal mines and jute mills incorporated in commerce and railways. According to the census of 1901, the “White Town” – a predominantly British part of the city had less than 10000 inhabitants, with a total population of less than 580000 (Sumit, 1997).

The Dalhousie Square (Tank Square) was the Bengal Presidency's principal administrative and business centre. Commercial companies, banks and government buildings were located there. To the south of the Square, the development of the Esplanade consisted of formal elevations of European types of shops and enormous Classicistic public buildings, and the High Court and New Market in Gothic Revival built in the 1870s. Further south was the European residential area adjoined to some extent to the new Indian middle-class district. Civic expenditure and enhancements were applied mainly in the White Town, with comparatively little funding allocated to the non-British districts. In Sumit Sarkar's words, the Dalhousie Square “served as an effective symbol of the proximity and interdependence of imperial grandeur, power and profit” (Sarkar, 1997, p. 164). Despite the diversity of economic activities of the non-British population of Calcutta, the White Town remained the dominant representation of the city (Sumit, 1997).

Fort Williams, a defensive artillery station, was located southwest of the Maidan – an open area created on the premises of the demolished former Indian settlement (Sumit, 1997).

The Indian sector covered almost 70% of the city area bounded by Circular Road and inhabited by 80% of the city's population. The main economic activities, such as cloth merchandise and money lending, were concentrated in Great Market, north of the Tank Square, adjacent to the river. Retailing and wholesaling employed many labourers for handling and transporting the merchandise, particularly jute. Another significant commercial area, located between the native and the British sectors, identified the intermediate economic functions of Anglo-Indians, Europeans mainly from Portugal and Greece, Armenians, Jews and Chinese. The introduction of railways increased the volume of exports, the number of factories, jute mills, and, consequently, the number of employees there (Kosambi & Brush, 1988).

The Indian middle class was formed, and British formal education made upward mobility possible. The most educated populace consisted of high-caste Hindu men, a few women, and a few lower-caste and Muslim men. Together they formed a colonial educational-professional network. The new kinds of schools and colleges were pivotal to entry into modern professions: printing and publishing employment and clerical jobs in government and business offices, with significantly lower salaries than British employees. British education was a prominent instrument of colonial hegemony, causing complex discourses between modern technology of foreign culture and political influence, Christian religious propaganda and specifically interpreted rationalism of post-Enlightenment character. The British-educated Indians were alienated and teased from lacking this education peers. Those who attempted to imitate them were, in turn, subjects of severe ridicule. Limited access to education caused a gap between the literate and the illiterate parts of the native population. As per Foucault's notion of knowledge, the relevant information regarding many aspects of proficiency in daily existence came in the way of writing, giving educated people an advantage in exercising certain powers over the uneducated ones in the culturally Indian context as well as in the British economic structure in India (Sumit, 1997).

The colonial introduction of print allowed for the spread of knowledge other than deriving from English education. Vernacular print established communication in a language between the high culture and the spoken dialect, consequently developing the concept of national identity in India and constituting a print-cultural network. By reducing the role of oral tradition in cultural production, the written versions of Indian "classicals," the religiously and culturally significant stories and rituals, were consolidated and unified, as well as restricted by disciplinary ways of

printing. Apart from recording Indian culture, printing in vernacular languages was also an instrument of British subjugation, administrative restrictions, and Christianisation. Periodicals and newspapers influenced public opinion on controversial matters as justification for administrative and political decisions of the colonial government, labelling them as public discussions (Sumit, 1997).

In the nineteenth century, Calcutta became a metropolis of opportunity for education, jobs, printed culture, and new cultural experiences for economically upwardly mobile Indians. However, the British monopolised the higher administrative and governmental positions, and even the most successful Indians in their profession and/or commercial achievements were objects of racial insults, humiliation, and discrimination (Sumit, 1997; Kosambi & Brush, 1988).

#### *2.5.4.2. Bombay*

Bombay was originally a group of islands. Large areas were often submerged at high tide and during the rains. The islands were gradually merged by drying and filling marshes between them. In 1661, port Tangier and the archipelago of seven islands of Bombay became British possession as part of the dowry of Portugues Infanta, Catherine of Braganza, who married the King of England, Scotland and Ireland, Charles II. The place proved to be the best natural harbour in India and soon was turned into the main East India Company's naval base in South and South-East Asia, "with the only dry dock where ships could be safely refitted during the monsoon" (Dalrymple, 2019, p. 22). In 1685, the Company's government transferred from Surat to Bombay. One of the oldest defensive structures in Bombay was the Bombay Castle—the sixteenth-century Portuguese Manor House built of local stone. Since in the hands of the Company, the British built a fortified structure around the mansion (1685-1695). The main building within the castle became the Presidency's first Governor's House (1669-1677) (Partha, 1986; Pusalkar & Dighe, 1949).

During the first thirty years, British Bombay had 60000 colonists, numerous factories, law courts, a church and a residential area around the fort and further extended down the Malabar Hill to the new Government House (1771) located in Parel on the seafront. The military garrison consisted of 300 English soldiers and 900 native militia. According to William Dalrymple, by the 1680s, for a short time, Bombay achieved superiority over Madras as the main centre of British colonial power

and trade in India (Dalrymple, 2019). Still, it was not until the opening of the Suez Canal that Bombay really began to grow. In the 1860s, when cotton import from American plantations to England ceased, Bombay experienced an economic boom as a major cotton supplier of the British empire. The growth of trade in cotton, with the establishment of textile mills since 1854, and opium, attracted large communities of traders, bankers, artisans and shopkeepers who settled in Bombay. Also, the port and junction of two major railways encouraged even higher migration to the city. In the early stage, Bombay's urban development happened without planning, with colonial residential located around the Fort. Although the East India Company spent some funds on fortifications in Bombay, by building in 1715, for example, a fortified wall around the town with a large bastion and sixteen cannons, Fort George was built only in 1769, when Sir Archibald Campbell, the Chief Engineer in Bengal, was sent to Bombay to fortify the colonial settlement (Eastwick, 1859). In 1862, the British fort in Bombay was demolished.

Preeti Chopra argues that British Bombay was an intentional cooperation of the colonial rulers, as much as the indigenous and European merchants and industrialists, to fulfil their diverse interests and requirements - the constructed urban infrastructure was advantageous to the colonial state and its commercial elites. British and Indian engineers and Indian workers and craftsmen contributed to shaping distinctive Bombay's built environment (Chopra, 2011). The proclamation of building rules in 1748, and the allotment of new areas for building purposes outside the Fort in 1746, allowed for public thoroughfares while both Europeans and Natives were encouraged to build and settle there. The Fort remained the centre of business and urban life, with docks, warehouses, shops, charity schools, Courts of Justice, a Mint and a Church. Parts of Malabar Hill were given to the native inhabitants of this new town. Large areas were turned into farming lands. In the 1770s, the native population's dwellings were demolished between Church Gate and Bazar Gate, and only Europeans were allowed to settle south of Church Street. The Esplanade was levelled, extended, and cleared of all buildings. Barracks, officers' quarters and a correction house were built on Old Woman's Island. The old Mazagaon estate was divided into plots, rented to several parties for fourteen years (Dutt, 2017).

Abraham Parson, in *Travels in Asia and Africa*, wrote:

“The town of Bombay is near a mile in length from Apollo Gate to that of the Bazar, and about a quarter of a mile broad in the broadest part from the Bunda (Bandar) across the Green to Church Gate, which is nearly in the centre as you walk round the walls between Apollo and Bazar Gates. There are likewise two marine gates, with a commodious wharf and cranes built out from each gate, beside a landing-place for passengers only. Between the two marine gates is the castle, properly called Bombay Castle, a very large and strong fortification which commands the bay (...). Here is a spacious Green, capable of containing several regiments exercising at the same time. The streets are well laid out and the buildings so numerous and handsome as to make it an elegant town. The soil is a sand, mixed with small gravel, which makes it always so clean, even in the rainy season, that a man may walk all over the town within half an hour after a heavy shower without dirtying his shoes. The Esplanade is very extensive and as smooth and even as a bowling-green, which makes either walking or riding round the Town very pleasant” (Parson, 1808, p. 216).

This was written before the great fire of 1803, which claimed, among others, 471 residential dwellings of the then rapidly expanding town. The Bombay Government, through compensations, encouraged the native merchants to settle outside of the Fort on less valuable plots. The Fort became less cluttered, its street widened, and the town rebuilt. In 1805, the Company completed the first causeway: Sion Causeway, which connects Sion in Bombay with Kurla in Salsette. The land outside of the Fort was gradually growing, reclaiming west grounds, along Back Bay and northward to Byculla, so that by 1835 necessitated the new communications routes. The earliest was the great main road, constructed by and named after Sir Robert Grand during his Governorship (1835-38). Many magnificent dwellings were built by the wealthy native merchants at Girgaum, Byculla, Chinchpugli and other places, while the Esplanade was taken exclusively by the Europeans. The leading roads of the native residential and commercial areas of Byculla, Mazagaon, Kamathipura, Dhobi Talao, Girgaum, Chaupati and Khetwadi were watered and lit.

Meanwhile, Sion, Sewri and Mahim's population remained the same as at the beginning of the nineteenth century. At the same time, Matunga, with the English military station, became mostly deserted by 1835, with an exemption of a few villages occupied by Indian aid to the British garrison (Dutt, 2017; Pusalkar & Dighe, 1949).

The drought of 1824 caused the urgent building of tanks and wells. The well sunk on the Esplanade at the beginning of the water shortage proved inadequate for the town's needs. The committee of tanks and wells appointed by the Government, composed of the Revenue Collector, the Chief Engineer, and the Medical Board, prepared plans and estimated costs for repairing and improving the existing wells and sinking new wells in locations where the water supply was most required. Many of the large tanks in Bombay and Mahin were widened and deepened. With the influx of population affected by drought, the need for preserving natural resources, more spaces for building developments and improvement of the narrow, dusty streets to the native town became apparent. In 1850, the Fort was cluttered. Lord Elphinstone, the pioneer of the urban upgrading of Bombay, cleared away the oldest part of Fort's defences. The new spaces of the town extension were identified and pointed out to the Government by native communities in Colaba, Girgaum, Dhobi Talao and Breach Candy. The birth of the modern city became a joint venture of the Government, the Municipality, private companies, and European and native citizens. Overcrowding, sanitary shortfalls of the imperfect drains, which were often blocked and inadequate for the monsoon's stormwater, and lack of any building regulations, such as proper ventilation, caused high death rate in the 1860s and 1870s, particularly in the native quarters of the poorer communities. The Municipality had reclaimed additional land by drying swamps for gardens and building activities. In 1872 the tramway started to operate and has expanded ever since. By the 1880s, the roads were widened, new ones were constructed, the lightning of the city significantly improved, new burial grounds and public parks were established, and drainage works were undertaken to diver sewage to a safe place (Pusalkar & Dighe, 1949; Macnabb, 1909).

#### *2.5.4.3 Madras*

In the sixteenth century, Portuguese missionaries from Goa arrived in Madras seeking the tomb of St Thomas the Apostle. First, they built the shrine over it, and then in 1523, the new church building was consecrated. In 1606 the church was made a cathedral by the edict of Pope Paul V



with the Diocese of St Thomas of Malypore. The church was accompanied by a few Portuguese settlements there. In the seventeenth century, British merchants signed a trade agreement with a small group of Telugu lords to secure the right to form a small settlement. They rented a parcel of land with a stretch of beach and already established four villages. In this location, they built an enclosed colony and pursued their trade. With the subsequent land acquisition during the next two centuries, the British Madras gradually developed into a presidency city of British India (Jayewardene-Pillai, 2007).

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Madras had a port without a harbour, so the passengers arrived on the shore by boat. Fort St George (1639, the initial White Town) was south of the Black Town, garrisoned and equipped with heavy cannons and contemporary modern weapons. During the Anglo-French wars, the smaller forts in Madras were destroyed, while Fort St George was deliberately enlarged to its current size and purposefully rebuilt. In addition to the military function, within the fortress's walls were a church, colonial administrative buildings with a governor's seat and base of East India Company, some residential dwellings, and a shop. Due to land shortage, the Company housed its soldiers in various locations in the city. Since 1822, the military quarters were located at Palaveram, less than five kilometres from the Fort, with the artillery troops housed nearby at St Thomas' Mount (Neild, 1979).

Further south was a walled compound of the Chepak Palace, surrounded by smaller walled enclosures of temples and villages. Since the late eighteenth century, the Chepak was a residence of Muslim rulers, the Carnatic Nawabs, who applied Muslim law to the local populace of Madras (Jayewardene-Pillai 2007: 19). At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Madras was diverse spatially and culturally, with a pluralistic population and with culturally defined multiple political powers. The varieties of structures represented these in the overall built environment of the city. However, the configuration of political influence started to shift. In 1801, the British disarmed indigenous rulers and population and finally took control of Madras, turning it into a British Presidency under British political and military power. The Company's army regularly defused potential rebellions and opposition (Jayewardene-Pillai, 2007).

Compared to other Presidency capitals of Calcutta and Bombay, Madras was the only one with a native ruler in residence who treated the East India Company as his subordinate. Although his

powers became somewhat more figurative than real, the Nawab of Madras was respected as a king in London and distinguished by his portrait hanging in the headquarters of the Company. In Madras, though, the relationships between the Company's officials and the Nawab were unstable and unregulated. Until 1855, when the Chepauk Palace was taken from the Indian ruler, it was an architectural statement of dual authority, being located between the British administration offices, Government House and Fort St George (Jayewardene-Pillai, 2007). The new areas were acquired by dispossession of the ancestral estates of the local nobility and royal dynasties and interception of their assets, confiscation, and annexation of land from the other native occupants. In addition, the city's spatial organisation was altered significantly to accommodate the new British administrative area for Madras Presidency. During the first half of the nineteenth century, Fort St George turned from military into administrative functions. The Black Town housed banking, insurance, and wholesale trade. Along the road, a secondary commercial district formed south of the Cooum River, up to St Thomas Mount. The southwest became the prime British residential sector. The city's urban scheme took outer villages. The native population resided near Black Town and Triplicane. There were also bazaars selling local products. Also, wealthy and influential non-European elites preferred to settle nearby. After the East India Company, the administrative centre of the Presidency proliferated beyond the Fort with new buildings along the Esplanade or near new port areas. Custom house, the high court, the main post office, banks, municipal offices, and newspapers were located there. At the end of the nineteenth century, railroads connected Madras to the interiors of the subcontinent, facilitating overseas trade and allowing for passenger traffic (Kosambi & Brush, 1988).

All the discussed British Presidencies in India had a distinctive pattern of urban planning. The existence of the European types of forts, business and administrative districts, open esplanades, segregation of the residential and commercial areas between British and native populations, and peripheral location of military and manufactural zones. Development and distribution of these was different in each city, with various settlement types shaped by local terrains, pre-existing Indian towns and hamlets, and their subsequent colonial alterations. The densely populated native sectors had mixed commercial and residential uses, while the adjoining British business districts were scarcely populated. The colonial rule projected a particular spatial pattern there. These colonial port cities were central in greater colonial and economic networks than the earlier towns in India.

They were of foreign origin in coastal locations and stood for British control of the commercial colonial system. Diverse ethnically and culturally, they reinforced and maintained dual social, racial, cultural and spatial structures. Local and colonial influences dictated their development and transformations, accommodating continual interactions and inevitable tensions and conflicts into highly complex built environments.

### 2.5.5 Architecture as the most dominant construction of space

This section deals with critical relations between the British architectural pattern of building form and style, the British imperial authority, and the imperial idea in India. The analysed examples from Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras present the perceived ability of architecture to express and represent the ideas connected with concepts such as the British national and imperial identities and state control in the colonial realm and convey the idea of the imperial rule and symbolise the imperial ideology. These relationships were integral to and instigated tensions between the rulers and the ruled on religious, cultural, and racial grounds.

Particular building types were directly connected to India's imperial state, governance, and dominance. Among them were administrative buildings, for example, government houses, town halls, and mints, legal buildings, such as court houses, police stations and prisons; trade buildings of customs, docks, and warehouses, as well as memorials of individuals or war memorials that stood for colonial conflicts. As Thomas Metcalf pointed out, the built form had its political effect (Metcalf, 1989).

#### *2.5.5.1 Designers and constructors*

According to Michael Chrimes, India's colonial building market contexts triggered greater engagement of military engineers than architects in architecture design processes. This was also a reason to rely on the building expertise of the Indian builders. Many building types were clearly defined in the British market and, therefore, more straightforward in design. That group included barracks, post offices, courts, gaols, railway buildings, schools, and hospitals, as analysed earlier in the thesis. One of the primary considerations for the Company's directors was cost efficiency, and the employment of engineers at hand, instead of looking for architects, was more suitable. For example, the first project for the Post Office in Calcutta was commissioned in London in 1859.

The design by Matthew Digby Wyatt was so costly that the Public Works Department entrusted that task to William Clark, Calcutta's municipal engineer. The affordable plan was approved in the 1860s (Chrimes, 2015).

In India, at the time of the Company's rule, were more top-educated engineers from Britain and Ireland than architects—proper engineering training made for a multi-skilled workforce. In the eighteenth century, public buildings were the domain of the military staff. From the 1820s until the 1840s, all three presidencies had public works departments staffed by military engineers delegated to civil works there. In the 1850s, the growing demands for building works caused the presidencies' governments to appoint civil architects. However, their impact was minimal due to the Indian Rebellion of 1857. Simultaneously, the private railway companies employed their architects for major works. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, many public buildings, secular and sacral, often structurally innovative, were erected by military engineers. Following European patterns, they were usually poorly suited to Indian climatic conditions. Since the mid-nineteenth century, the increased number of civil engineers boosted the railway network construction there and aided other public works (Chrimes, 2015).

The European appearance of the built environment in the presidencies at the end of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was produced by using architectural treatises and pattern books available locally. The most influential architectural pattern sources in India were: Colin Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1725), James Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* (for the designs of St. Martin in the Fields), James Paine's *Plans, Elevations and Sections of Noblemen's Houses* (for the designs for Calcutta's Government House), John Wood the Younger's *Plans of Cottages* (1781), and John Soane's *Plans for Buildings* (1788). The works of Gibbs, Chambers, Stuart and Revett, and the Adam Brothers were available in Calcutta and Madras libraries, together with several French and Italian pattern books (Chrimes, 2015). In the nineteenth century, ever developing architectural publications, journals, and periodicals, such as *The Builder* triggered the public's interests in architecture and architectural competitions (Chopra, 2011).

The professional environment, which developed and flourished in the 1860s, made engineering an attractive profession for the middle classes. The way to become an engineer then was through the traineeship, often supplemented by university courses. The profession of an architect was well

established by then, with the Royal Institute of British Architects being created in 1834. However, civil engineers were nonetheless entrusted with building designs, while some architects turned engineers to secure paid work. In India, military engineers held senior positions in the Public Works Departments and designed public buildings through the nineteenth century. Civil engineers were employed in irrigation and railway projects run by the Public Works Departments. Architects had limited opportunities then, and only a few stayed in India. Following the Indian Rebellion of 1857, many civil engineers and military engineers working in civil infrastructure were re-assigned to supervise the construction of military buildings and barracks, accompanied by hospitals, bakeries, privies, washhouses, and prisons. The subjects of military attention were also railway stations. Existing cantonments were enlarged, and their separation from the native population – increased (Chrimes, 2016).

The reform of barrack buildings started before the Rebellion by aborting low, narrow, unhygienic buildings and introducing two-storey structures with dormitories on both floors instead. An example was the barracks building at Fort William. Following the Rebellion, the arrangement of the two-storey buildings changed by moving the dormitories to the upper floor and the mess, library, and storage rooms to the ground floor. Both storeys had high ceilings, were well-ventilated, and well-lit. The structure was strong and fire-resistant, with masonry walls, iron-truss roofs, and corrugated iron roof cladding. The rapid, large-scale barracks development occasionally caused structural problems, as poorly trained engineers and army officers supervised their construction. These were perceived as a waste of public funds and triggered greater scrutiny of abilities by introducing direct exams that qualified for engineering jobs. In India, Indian-specific education continued in India-based engineering colleges, but promotion to higher grades was limited for the native graduates. In the mid-1860s, civil building projects resumed (Chrimes, 2016).

In British India, European and Indian engineers, designers, and artists were involved in various parts of building processes, which Indian labourers and craftsmen executed. To some extent, British architecture in India was a product of this collaboration. European architectural styles were not analysed, read and understood by the population of India in the same manner as they had been debated in architectural journals of this time. European architectural styles were different to local ones. In contrast, searching for the best style to represent the Empire was a problem concerning exclusively British architects, engineers and colonial government officials. Following Pierre

Bourdieu's notion of "Distinction," European architectural styles and colonial buildings in India were meant to maintain the physical and cultural distance between the rulers and the ruled. The colonial government created a public realm unprecedented in India's past. The introduction of secular public institutions, free from all castes, and religious and racial divisions, was new. At the same time, contradictory to this public sphere, the British maintained their separateness from the colonised through their exclusive institutions, inaccessible to non-British citizens (Chopra, 2011).

#### *2.5.5.2 Styles*

According to Giles R. Tillotson, the earliest traces of European architecture in West-North India (present-day Pakistan) can be traced back to the invasion of Alexander the Great in 330 BC. During this period, Alexander introduced ancient Greek artistic elements to the local culture. An example of this influence can be seen in the Double-Headed Eagle Stupa at Sirkap Taxila, where the elevations were adorned in the 1st century BC with motifs of Corinthian engaged columns and pilasters.

Moving forward to the sixteenth century, only Goa had a few Renaissance churches constructed by the Portuguese. During this time, early European public architecture predominantly drew inspiration from classical models, which were characteristic of European culture in the late 17th and 18th centuries. These architectural influences were evident in the early settlements established by the Portuguese, Dutch, British, and French in various trading posts across the subcontinent (Tillotson, 1989).

Prior to the nineteenth century, British colonial buildings in India were predominantly functional in nature, with only a few exceptions for churches. European builders relied on indigenous workers to construct residential dwellings, barracks, and commercial structures. Among the earliest examples of monumental secular European architecture in India was the French government house in Fort Louis at Pondicherry, built in 1755 in the French Renaissance Revival style. This building stood as a noteworthy testament to European public architecture, showcasing splendor and aesthetic qualities (Jayewardene-Pillai, 2007).

The British districts within Indian cities possessed a distinct character that reflected their perceived meaning and significance. Classicistic architectural styles were prevalent throughout the British Empire, ranging from subtle and nuanced applications to overt associations with ancient roots and the Roman Empire, which conveyed imperial undertones in public buildings. Within the Indian landscape, these architectural styles stood out as integral components of British identity and colonial dominance. The distinguished British districts played a crucial role in representing power, establishing British traditions and cultural identity, and shaping British social and cultural behaviours overseas. The Gothic Revival style also held significance in this regard. High Victorian Gothic architecture revitalized a genuinely national and Christian architectural style capable of forging British nationhood and culture, as advocated by Ruskin and Pugin. However, in the colonial context of India, Gothic churches were viewed as culturally exclusive, reinforcing racial hierarchies (Jayewardene-Pillai, 2007).

Preeti Chopra argued that discussions surrounding architectural styles that were deemed more appropriate to represent British rule, such as Indo-Saracenic architecture, which aimed to showcase a direct lineage from the Mughal Empire, were primarily rooted in aesthetic considerations. In practice, these architectural styles maintained the separation between the colonizers and the colonized, rather than promoting cultural integration. The proclaimed universal principles of Classicism or Gothic Revival were inherent to European culture and did not transcend racial, religious, and cultural diversities. Instead, the spaces embodied by these architectural styles retained their foreign character within the Indian landscape, while also reinforcing the privileged position of the British subjects separate from the native population (Chopra, 2011).

Dell Upton highlighted that interpreting the meaning conveyed by architectural designs goes beyond economic and socio-cultural strata. Instead, material culture focuses on the imaginative process through which individuals imbue their surroundings with meaningful significance (Upton, 1991, p. 158-9). The built environment, both British and local, held different meanings for the rulers and the ruled in British India, marking the division between these two groups. John Lockwood Kipling, a professor of architectural sculpture at the Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy School of Art in Bombay from 1865 to 1874, expressed his disdain for the European architecture produced by the Public Works Departments in India, considering it ugly. However, he acknowledged that

for native observers, modern infrastructure such as roads, bridges, railways, and railway stations appeared impressive, symbolizing prestige and authority. Educated Indians associated these structures with technological advancement, enlightenment, and progress (Chopra, 2011).

Before 1860, architectural styles and building forms in India primarily reflected the developments taking place in British architecture. However, in the 1860s, the British began incorporating local architectural features into their structures, following the Mughal practice. This fusion of styles became known as the Indo-Saracenic style. The Indo-Saracenic style emerged due to the influence of Islam brought by the Mughal rulers in India. The Mughals, who governed a predominantly Hindu population, blended Indian and Muslim architectural elements to create a hybrid style that consolidated both cultures. The Mughal architecture itself was heavily influenced by Persian design. One notable Indian feature in the Indo-Saracenic style is the chhatri. The Indo-Saracenic Revival, also known as Mughal-Gothic, was a movement that combined the Indo-Saracenic style with the British Gothic Revival. Opinions regarding the architectural value of the indigenous built environment varied, particularly in relation to its deterioration following the decline of the Mughal Empire, as documented in RIBA columns in “The Builder.” However, studies of Indian architectural styles brought about a deeper understanding of their significance. As a result, after 1860, some British engineers and architects in India endeavored to incorporate Indian cultural traditions into their projects, either to support the political claims of the Raj or simply out of appreciation for their potential (Chrimes, 2015).

The Indo-Saracenic style emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century and was characterized by the integration of modern technology and local artistic traditions. The use of materials like cast iron, steel, and concrete allowed for the construction of large-scale buildings with intricate details and decorations. Elements inspired by local traditions, such as minarets, bulbous domes, carved windows, arches, and vaulted roofs, were incorporated into the design. The inclusion of these features in colonial architecture served to establish a connection between the British and the Mughals, positioning the British as the continuation of the natural lineage of rule in India. The Indo-Saracenic Revival style was particularly suited for the construction of grand public buildings like offices, courts, railway stations, and museums. It was part of a broader European fascination with Oriental arts, with influences from Moorish, Ottoman, and other Islamic



traditions finding their way into Gothic Revival and Classicistic buildings in Europe and the colonies (Giese & oths, 2016; Herb & oths, 1995).

The Indo-Saracenic style originated in Madras in the 1860s, according to Jayewardene-Pillai (2007). Its emergence can be linked to the dismissal of the last Mughal emperor, Bahadur Shah II, in Delhi in 1858, as well as the British Empire's desire to align itself with the Mughal tradition as a continuation. By incorporating elements of the previous imperial rule into their own architectural style, the British sought to define their empire in locally determined terms. The Indian-Muslim architectural heritage gained cultural significance for the colonizers, and the adoption of the Indo-Saracenic style served as a political justification for British rule in India. Robert Fellowes Chisholm played a significant role in the development of the Indo-Saracenic style. He came to Madras in response to a competition for the design of the Presidency College and the Madras University Senate House. Another influential figure in the style's evolution was Samuel Swinton Jacob, who graduated from the East India Company Military College and published "The Jeypore Portfolio of Architectural Details." This twelve-volume work, originally published from 1890 to 1913, contained drawings of architectural features found in Indian buildings, organized by their functions, and served as a practical resource for students and architects (Metcalf, 1982).

During the second half of the nineteenth century, architects had the freedom to design in various styles based on their clients' preferences. However, the rapid industrialization of the era brought about the introduction of mass-produced elements into architectural projects, prioritizing engineering skills over architectural processes. This shift is evident in projects like the St. Pancras Train Shed in London, designed by engineer William Henry Barlow.

The picturesque qualities of eclecticism were also highly popular during this period and influenced the design of numerous public structures. Architect George Gilbert Scott, known for his work in both Britain and India, embraced eclecticism in his designs and architectural proposals. His projects incorporated a mix of styles, drawing inspiration from various architectural traditions.

T. Roger Smith, in his conference proceedings titled "Architectural Art in India" (1873), observed a wide range of architectural styles present in India. He noted the influence of Byzantine, Moorish,

Ottoman, Mughal, Hindu, Italian, French, English Gothic, Italian Renaissance, and Greek and Roman Revivals, among others. Smith attributed the application of multiple styles to the climatic requirements of the Indian subcontinent. He believed that English Gothic architecture needed significant modifications to suit the local climate. Challenges such as sun glare, heat, and tropical storms led to adaptations such as thicker walls in place of buttresses, flatter roofs, and smaller or sheltered windows. Smith also compared the climates of Italy, southern France, and India, noting that they were more similar to each other than to the British Isles. This further informed the design decisions made for buildings in India, taking into account the specific climatic conditions of the region (Smith, 1873).

The built environment created by the British in India was indeed distinct from the local architecture, reflecting their power, authority, and dominance. The scale and grandeur of British buildings conveyed a sense of superiority and control, aimed at intimidating the Indian population and establishing British hegemony.

Through their architecture and accompanying publicity campaigns, the British sought to legitimize their rule in India and reinforce their position as the ruling authority. This included practices of racial and religious segregation, further emphasizing the power dynamics between the colonizers and the colonized.

The colonial architecture in India served as a visual representation of empire, symbolizing British authority, control, and progress. It aimed to impose cultural hegemony and convey notions of "civilization" as defined by the British. These structures were not only significant in their contemporary context but also gained historical significance later on, becoming subjects of discourse in the study of British colonial rule in India and subaltern studies.

The buildings examined next present the idea of empire captured and expressed in the colonial architecture in India, in varieties of ways and for over 150 years, with a single desire to enforce authority and control, exercise cultural hegemony and represent progress and "civilisation" (Bremner, 2016). Their significance was meaningful in their contemporary time and caused response much later, as they became historical structures in the discourse of the British colonial

rule in India and subaltern studies. They gave insights into the intentions and ideologies of the British Empire and its impact on Indian society

### *2.5.5.3 Colonial forts and British colonial government buildings*

Two strategically positioned structures that symbolized British authority and affirmed colonial possession in each Indian colony were the massive fort and the impressive Government House. These iconic buildings marked the presence of the occupying power and underscored Britain's control.

Fortifications, characterized by extensive compounds enclosing military garrisons and settlements, were among the earliest European constructions in India. Forts were erected with the purpose of safeguarding against native populations, pirates, and rival colonizing nations. They served as formidable strongholds, deterring attacks on the inner settlements, and acted as tangible symbols of British rule, statehood, and authority. Portuguese and British fortifications in India followed utilitarian designs that adhered to common plan patterns featuring triangles, octagons, and star shapes, with high walls and projecting triangular bastions. The development of forts in the Indian presidencies showcased military structures and building techniques unparalleled in contemporary Britain, finding loose comparison only with fortified naval dockyards. To ensure security, the forts were equipped with cannons, serving as a testament to advanced military engineering (Chrimes, 2015).

In Madras, built in 1639 on a vacant site, Fort St George (Figure 2.1) was wall-enclosed with star-shaped bastions. Inside was an arsenal, government office buildings, and St Mary's Church - the first Anglican Church in India. Due to its rapid growth, a second urban area was soon developed outside the fortifications. Fort remained the presidency's government seat and the defensive spot with a garrison in residence for safety (Metcalf, 1989).

Fort William in Calcutta (Figure 2.2) was central to Bengal's trade. Smaller than the fort in Madras, the walls of the first Fort William protected only the government residences, military, and just a few civilian houses, together with warehouses and factories. Public and sacral buildings were located outside of the fort. Between 1757 and 1773, after the 1757 attack by the Nawab of Bengal,

in which Siraj-ud-Daulah significantly damaged the original fort, the new one was rebuilt in a polygonal form, with extensive defences of bastions, earthworks, and a fosse, according to the designs of Captain John Brohier (Chatterjee, 2012; Fletcher, 1996).

Fort George in Bombay (1760-1862) (Figure 2.3) was built as an extension to the fortified walls of the town to strengthen the defence of the area and store arms and ammunition. It was named in honour of King George III of England. In the nineteenth century, Bombay expanded as the city of trade and commerce, and Fort became redundant. It was demolished in 1862 by Sir Barter Fier (Fletcher, 1996).

British state architecture in India was designed to convey power and authority, while also reflecting a diverse culture with its distinct values, morality, and justice. The public architecture served as a medium to communicate power and govern, employing various elements such as architectural style, the utilization of foreign building materials, and the grand scale of structures. Government Houses, in particular, served as tangible symbols of imperial rule. These imposing edifices, located within expansive compounds, not only showcased the political might of the British but also served as the residence for their representatives in the Presidencies. Through their architectural grandeur, Government Houses exemplified the imperial power of the Raj.

The change in the East India Company's status, and its administration arrangement following the Regulating Act of 1773, triggered the erection of the East India Company building in Calcutta. Like the Company's Head Quarters in London, it was built according to the Classicistic order. The Writer's Building (1777, since 1880 the Bengal Secretariat) (Figure 2.4) was initially designed by Thomas Lyon — East India Company's Master Carpenter — with the cooperation of a civil engineer - Mr Fortman. It was housing clerks of the Company, and the College of Fort William, which trained the Company's future employees. The purpose was to consolidate trading and centralise tax operations. The building was 150m long and covered an area of over 5100 square meters. The building assumed a barrack-like form in an austere classicistic style (Chrimes 2015). It was a three-storey structure with a simple, plainly divided façade and flanked shallow central portico with Ionic columns. Due to the new requirements of the Secretariat, the building was significantly modified throughout the nineteenth century. In 1821 veranda with Ionic columns was added to the first and second floors. The roof displays symbolic figures and four allegorical groups

representing Science, Agriculture, Commerce and Justice. As shown in the illustrations, the mid-nineteenth-century architectural costume of the building was related to the Cornwell Terrace building in London, designed by Decimus Burton for one of the famous Nash Terraces in Regent's Park and popularised by the press (Davies, 1987). Later, the re-decoration of 1880 in terracotta left the building in a fashionable style of Flemish Renaissance origin, with a classicistic costume of the main entrance with a portico and decorative French mansard roofs over the side pavilions. Writer's Building was located at the Tank Square, a business centre of Calcutta with a Great Tank – a significant reservoir of natural spring water filled up from natural springs, which also marks the central area of present Calcutta:

“Illustrations of the period depict a very plain building resembling a barracks with little architectural ornament to suggest that it was the main centre of English mercantile endeavour in India. (...) building, (...) important as one of the few large ranges of classical buildings erected in India which reflect the character and form of the Georgian terraces of London built at this time by the Adam brothers<sup>16</sup> (fig. 53), although in appearance and impact it is more redolent of a stripped version of one of Nash's terraces of the 1820s in Regent's Park. (...) Dominating the north side of the main square in Calcutta (...) later (...) was embellished with low pediments. In 1880 the entire building was refronted using terracotta dressing with a Corinthian façade and a dummy portico and pediment, for use as the Bengal Secretariat” (Davies, 1987, p. 56-8).

The Writer's Building, a headquarters for the East India Company, was critical in securing British political and commercial interests in India. It was one of the first main symbols of the colonial rule there.

The Government House in Calcutta, 1799 —1803 (Figure 2.5), was built according to a project by Lieutenant Charles Wyatt of the Bengal Engineers and functioned as an official residence to the Governor-General of Bengal, as well as the Governor of Madras (both 1797 —1805), Richard Colley Wellesley, Marquis Wellesley of Norragh. Charles Wyatt, appointed as an engineer-

architect to the Presidency of Calcutta, was entrusted by Marquess Wellesley, the new Governor General of India, with the design of a new Governor's House in Calcutta, the headquarters of British India, to better represent and symbolise the British colonial rule there (Chrimes, 2015). The Government House in Calcutta was modelled on Kedleston Hall in Derbyshire, which was built initially to the designs of James Paine, who was then replaced in 1760 by Robert Adam, who finished it (Metcalf, 1989; Amery, 1986). James Paine published the design drawings for Kedleston Hall in 1767 in the first volume of his book, *Plans, Elevations, and Sections, Of Noblemen and Gentlemen's Houses*. Paine's project included a colonnaded circular portico-like structure on the garden elevation, an architectural detail that had never been seen before in Britain (Middleton et al., 1998). Kedleston Hall was designed in Palladian style "...to discourage English patrons from looking abroad to the "despicable ruins of ancient Greece," the inconsistent remains of Rome or even the villas of Palladio and other eminent (...) architects, for models which are unsuited to the English climate" (Harris & Savage, 1990, p. 346). When Robert Adam replaced Paine as an architect at Kedleston Hall in 1760, his primary role was to finish the interiors. However, he also re-designed the south elevation of the palace (Garnett, 1999; Middleton et al., 1998, Metcalf, 1989). Adam's designs for Kedleston Hall were printed for the first time in 1767, in volume four of *Vitruvius Britannicus* by John Woolfe and James Gandon (Harris & Savage, 1990; Middleton et al., 1998). The choice of Kedleston Hall as a pattern for the Government House in Calcutta came from financial considerations: lacking the inputs from a professional architect, the design was taken from an architectural pattern book, which was available in Bengal at that time, as mentioned before (Fermor-Hesketh, 1986).

The Government House in Bombay was transferred to different locations during colonial rule. The first was the Portuguese manor house built within the fortified walls of the first Fort. The British called it the Bombay Castle. By 1686, the East India Company enlarged it adding arms and ammunition magazines, quarters for soldiers and freshwater tanks. Fortifications initiated then prompted the Governor to move to the new location. The following residence was a house, Great Western Building, purchased in 1757 in the city centre, on Apollo Street. It was called a New House and the Company House. Once the city grew and became congested, the Government House moved to a late-Renaissance mansion at Parel, a former Jesuit monastery. When industrialisation and rapid population growth brought pollution and diseases, Governor Mountstuart Elphinstone

(1819–1827) constructed the first bungalow at Malabar Point, the highest point in Bombay. It was located close to the edge of a cliff, with a beautiful view. In 1828, Sir John Malcolm enlarged the residence and constructed a carriage road (Eastwick, 1859).

In Madras, a rented property initially served as the Government House (Figure 2.6). The property belonged to a wealthy Portuguese merchant, Luis de Madeiros. It was believed that the name Madras came from this family's surname. The property was rented in 1740 by Governor Thomas Saunders, and in 1753, it was sold to the East India Company. Subsequently, the main mansion was enlarged and used as an official Governor's residence. In 1895, the three-storey colonnaded verandas with balustrades were attached to the existing Government House. In 1800, John Goldingham added a Banqueting Hall (Figure 2.7) to the property's grounds. The Hall was made as a Tuscan temple built on an elevated platform, with a flight of stairs for accessing the building. Sphinxes guarded these stairs (Chaudhuri, 2006; Metcalf, 1989; Newell, 1919). Preeti Chopra pointed out that the Banqueting Hall in Madras commemorated a hero-ship and functioned as a temple for the hero worship of the British conquerors. This was part of a popular trend among the British to build private memorials, temples, churches, monuments and graveyards, which further challenged the Indian cultural landscape and antagonised the populace through ostentatious displays of British domination and rule (Chopra, 2016).

The Revenue Board Building in Madras (1871) (Figure 2.8) was designed by Robert Chisholm in Indo-Saracenic style, with significant influence of Islamic architecture. Built on a rectangular plan, the building had two arcaded floors, a tall central tower with an onion dome, and protruding balconies, according to *The Builder* ((28) 1870).

The monumental Bombay Secretariat building (1874) (Figure 2.9) was designed by Captain Henry St. Clair Wilkins in an eclectic mix of Romanesque and Venetian Gothic Revivals styles, with its arcaded verandas and massive gable over the main entrance and a tall tower containing the staircase. The porticos, covered passages, and verandas were built from a light brownish-yellow stone quarried in Gujarat. Also, blue and red coloured basalt was used there for decorative statues, carvings and the staircase (Chrimes, 2016). The Secretariat building's design demonstrated the influences of Scott's competition projects for the Foreign Office in London by applying the central tower-like element with a main staircase and — to suit India's climate — almost elevation-long

two-level arcaded verandas. Carved capitals and ornamental details were taken from the Indian cultural tradition (Davies, 1987).

Minting of money In British India had been practised since the East India Company acquired this right. In the 1820s, new building types for institutions for currency production were modelled on British prototypes. The purpose-built mint building type was described earlier in Part One of this thesis. These imposing, large Doric-style structures stood for the confidence in the British political power and hegemony. The two examples from Calcutta and Bombay were typical samples of Greek Revival in India, with forms drawn from Stuart and *Revett's Antiquities of Athens*. The Government Mint in Calcutta (1824) (Figure 2.10) also called the Silver Mint, was designed by Major Nairn Forbes. This project was based on a heavily proportioned Doric order, with the central portico being a half-size copy of the Parthenon in Athens. The Bombay Mint (1829) (Figure 2.11), constructed on the Fort rubbish dump site, was designed by John Hawkins of the Bombay Engineers. The magnificent frontage with an imposing portico hid the operative blocks (Fletcher, 1996).

#### 2.5.5.4 Churches and universities

Religion and educational practices were directly and effectively involved in transmitting the European mode of civilisation in non-European, culturally diverse regions. Churches, schools, and universities were crucial in facilitating this process. Building types, forms and styles applied to house and represented these cultural institutions were both rooted in European culture as well as adapted to their colonial context. These buildings were architectural manifestations of the purposes, meanings, and ideologies they intended to represent. Religion and education were pivotal to the British imperial quest.

Christianity, a core of the “civilising mission” of the empire, was directed mainly towards polytheistic beliefs in British colonies. Religion defined the British empire and was fundamental to the identity of British colonial society. Consequently, the church architecture was significant and symbolic of the British presence in India. Religion was partly connected to education. Bremner and Nelson noted that buildings of churches, schools and theological colleges were often in close proximity to one another (Bremner & Nelson, 2016).



The ecclesiastical architecture of British India grew together with the settlements. Gavin Stamp, in the chapter dedicated to the sacral architecture of the British empire, stated:

“Churches and chapels are (...) one of the most numerous of building types throughout the Empire. The fragmentation and division into sects, which was such a conspicuous feature of Christianity in Britain, soon transferred itself to distant parts of the world and, as soon as means were available, each congregation built its own place of worship. A typical colonial city might well have first an Anglican church, probably Classical in style, and later a cathedral, usually Gothic, a Wesleyan Methodist chapel – Greek Revival, possibly a Scottish Presbyterian chapel in crude Gothic with lancet windows, perhaps a prefabricated structure of corrugated iron. The Roman Catholic church would probably be Romanesque or Italian in style. All the buildings would look as if they had been transplanted from Britain” (Stamp, 1986, p. 149).

The first example, St Mary’s Church in Madras, 1680, (Figure 2.12) was a typical 3-aisle church, with a side tower added in the eighteenth century. Architectural styles of the structure varied – the interiors were classicistic in character, while the exteriors, with thick walls, were typical for inner-fort structures of the cannon era (Fletcher, 1996). The church was designed and built by Master Gunner William Dixon, who paid particular attention to its defensive function, protection from outside bombardments, and shelter from wind forces caused by cyclones. The timber-framed vaults of St Mary’s had been concealed under a brick cover to prevent infestation by white ants (Chrimes, 2015; Jayewardene-Pillai, 2007; Volwahren, 2004).

The most widespread church designs across the British colonial world were James Gibbs’s, published in his *A Book of Architecture* (1728) (Figure 1.13.1-4). Gibbs’s publication followed the completion of the church St Martin-in-the-Fields in London in 1726. These popular architectural patterns consisted of the rectangular or round classicistic building with a late Baroque tower with a spire located centrally behind the main portico, the signature piece of Gibbs’s designs. Clarity of the Illustrated Gibbs’s book allowed the duplication of his designs by architects and

engineers. This type of church was a significant feature in the urban landscape of the British colonial world for Anglicans and Presbyterians. They copied around the British world, arguably the most widely distributed architectural patterns in religious architecture in the British colonial realm: from Nova Scotia and South Africa to India and New South Wales (Stump, 1986; Summerson, 1993; Friedman, 1984). In India, examples of the use of this pattern were Anglican - St John Church in Calcutta (1784-87) (Figure 2.13), and St George Cathedral in Madras (1816) (Figure 2.14); Presbyterian - St Andrew Kirks in Calcutta (1818), Bombay (1819), and Madras (1818-20).

The Anglican ecclesiastical buildings were prominent in size. St John's Church in Calcutta (1784-1787) (Figure 2.13) was designed by James Agg, a stone mason who became a Captain in the Military Engineers of the Company. It was the first monumental project for an ecclesiastical building in the Presidencies based on Gibbs's pattern and the oldest church in Calcutta. Maharaja Nabo Kishen Bahadur donated the land for the church. The building materials were bricks and stone with rendering over. The stone was in low supply in Calcutta. The solution was repurposing the stone from medieval ruins in Gauda, the former Bengal capital and a centre of stately medieval architecture. The building was a large, Neo-Classical church in the Tuscan style outside and the Corinthian inside, with a Baroque steeple located centrally behind the front portico, with two additional porticoes on both sides of the building. All the porticos have entablature on top of the columns. The chancel and apse have a semi-dome ceiling. The floors were made of deep blue stone (Chrimes, 2015).

In Madras, while St Mary's Church was used mainly by the military personnel, the wealthy citizens, using state funds and private subscriptions, built a large, Neo-Classical St George Cathedral (Figure 2.14); in the Ionic style, with a Baroque steeple located centrally behind the front portico, with two additional porticoes on both sides of the building. All of the porticoes have triangular pediments above. The chancel was finished with a semi-circular apse with a semi-dome ceiling. The Chief Engineer of Madras, James Caldwell, designed St George's Cathedral. The monumental portico of the main entrance, with Ionic columns, was large enough to include a carriage drive. The building was finished with finely polished plaster. In 1816, the control over the construction was taken by Colonel Thomas de Havilland, who designed St Andrew's Kirk in

Madras (Jayewardene-Pillai, 2007). St George's Cathedral in Madras, based on Gibbs's design, is the largest church in all three Presidencies.

Presbyterian churches were moderate in size. St Andrew Presbyterian Kirks in Calcutta (1818), built by Messrs Burn, Currie and Co, and in Bombay (1819), designed by Captain Samuel Goodfellow, were based on rectangular plans with one portico with triangular pediment at the front. In Madras (1818-20) (Figure 2.15), the designer, Thomas Fiott de Havilland, used Gibbs's model with a circular nave and domed ceiling instead (Figure: 1.13.4).

In the 1840s, due to moral obligations and imperial policy, there was a major urge to promote Christianity in the colonies. At that time, the Gothic revival was recognised as the British national style as well as the Christian style preferred for British sacral architecture, as advocated by A. W. N. Pugin and John Ruskin. Although the diocese in Calcutta existed since 1814, the official Colonial Bishops' Fund was established in 1841 to sanction dioceses abroad. The new Oxford and Cambridge-educated clergymen felt responsible for spreading Gothic architecture in the colonies to stylistically and culturally unify the religious character of church architecture and categorise it as the landscape of the British empire. For the evangelisation of the indigenous population, Gothic architecture through the moral ideology of spatial division and Christian symbolism of architectural settings was meant to correct undesirable habits and attract converts. Gothic revival as an ecclesiastical style followed three main mediaeval styles: Romanesque, Byzantine and Gothic, of various European origins, either as a combination of any or all of them or application of just one. In the case of India also seismic and climatic considerations played a role in designs, examples being the application of thick walls, open arcaded attached aisles, and Mughal-inspired screens (Bremner & Nelson, 2016).

St Thomas's Cathedral in Bombay (Figure 2.16) is one of the oldest Anglican churches in India. For the city, it is also the Zero Point – all the distances in the city planning were measured from there. It was located within the Fort. The first foundation stone was laid in 1676 when Gerald Aungier was the governor of Bombay. The Neo-Classical garrison church, founded by charitable donations and built of rendered stone, was consecrated in 1718 and 1837 made a cathedral (Eastwick 1881). Before the Gothic Revival additions in the late nineteenth century, its interiors were wide, with the vaulted ceiling of the central nave supported by Tuscan columns, with the roof

structure sitting on them, and its weight was further transferred to the pilasters of the walls of the side aisles. The apse was covered with a semi-dome. The building was completed with a central tower above the entrance. A clock tower added to it in 1838 was based on the tower of St Stephen Walbrook, London, by Christopher Wren, from 1714 (Dossal, 1988). In the 1860s, the Cathedral's chancel was replaced with a larger Gothic Revival one and the tower was modified in the same style. The author of the new designs was James Trubshawe, architect of Elphinstone College in Bombay (Eastwick, 1881). It resulted in a hybrid building of two distinct parts in different styles. An anonymous journalist, *The Bombay Builder*, identified it as a complete mismatch (1865 1(2): 23-24). The British empire's missionary policy also led to the deliberate inclusion of indigenous architectural elements into European ecclesiastical architecture. Examining the Gothic additions of the building, Bremner noticed the introduction of carved motifs of the native plants in the capitals of the chancel's corbels (Bremner, 2013).

St Peter's Church in Fort William, Calcutta (1835) (Figure 2.17), with four octagonal corner towers, was another example of British Neo-Gothic architecture in India. It was designed by Captain Hutchinson in Gothic Revival, with towers drawn from King's College Chapel (Figure 2.18) and Fonthill Abbey (Figure 2.19) (Hopkins, 1836). The church was built inside the Fort wall to congregate expanding number of the East India Company's employees. Its foundation was laid in 1822; it was consecrated in 1828; however, its construction was completed only in 1835 (Dutta, 2003).

In 1847, St Paul's Cathedral in Calcutta (Figure 2.20) was completed, with the west-end window made by Sir Edward Burne-Jones of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. Its central tower collapsed in the earthquake of 1897 and was replaced in the 1930s by imitating the Bell Harry Tower at Canterbury Cathedral (Fletcher, 1996). Designed by a military engineer, Major William Nairn Forbes, with the cooperation of the city magistrate C. K. Robinson (who also designed Metcalfe Hall in Greek style), St Paul's Cathedral represented strong British influences on sacral architecture. Its tower and spire were modelled on Norwich Cathedral (Figure 2.21), a monograph of which was published by John Britton in various volumes during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The church was composed of one very wide nave, covered with a barrel vault ceiling of a large span, with metal frame arches. Since the end of the nineteenth century, two rows of ceiling fans were suspended from the arches for better ventilation (Bremner, 2013; Dutta, 2003).

St James' Church, Calcutta (Figure 2.22), was built in 1862 to replace the previous building (1829), which white ants damaged. After its roof collapsed, the renovation works were abandoned, and finally building fell into complete disrepair. The design for St James's Church in Calcutta was a subject of an architectural competition in London. Matthew Digby Wyatt and Sir George Gilbert Scott submitted their proposals; however, the chosen project, made by Scott, was too expensive for the British government of India. The task was entrusted to Christopher George Wray, a railway engineer, who built the church with the help of Walter L. B. Granville, reducing the expenses and ornamentation of Scott's Gothic Revival design (Chrimes, 2016). Scott's ideas of the form of the church with two dominating spires were retained, and the final product gained approval in an article "Exhibited Ecclesiology, 1864" in "The Ecclesiologist" (vol. 25 (1864), pp. 148-149), published in London, as adequate for worship and appropriate as a symbol of the Anglican faith. The new building was built in the style of modernised Gothic Revival with moderate decorative elements of the outer walls compared to other Gothic Revival churches in Calcutta. Twin spires flanked the front porch. The southern tower had a clock. Buttresses were solid and minimalistic. The main entrance had a carriage drive porch with pointed arches and gablet frontage. Two side two-level aisles were the same height as the central nave (Bremner, 2013; Dutta, 2003). Afterwards, Granville accepted the position of Consulting Architect to the Government of India. In his architectural office, he employed only Indians, who assisted him in projects of such significant public buildings as the Post Office (1864-68), the new High Court (1872) and the new Senate House for the University (1866-72) (Chrimes, 2016).

The Church of St John the Evangelist in Bombay, also known as the Afghan Memorial Church (Figure 2.23), commemorated the British defeat in Afghanistan and the retreat from Kabul in 1842. Considered the first example of a Gothic Revival building in India, it was consecrated in 1858, with the steeple completed in 1865. The initially approved designs were submitted in 1847 by the town's engineer Henry Conybeare. In 1850, Captain C.W. Tremenheere of the Royal Engineer replaced Conybeare as a supervising architect and modified some features of the original design while retaining its quintessentially nineteenth-century's Gothic character. The requirements of the ecclesiastical Gothic were: the exterior exposed the organisation of the interiors, and building materials were not hidden under the rendering (Bremner, 2013). The building was constructed from local materials: a light brownish-yellow basalt and limestone. With the assistance of students

from the Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy School of Art, William Butterfield designed the ceramic tiled reredos and the chancel wall. Tiles used for the geometric floor pattern, designed by Butterfield, were imported from England. The polychrome wall tiles, choir stalls, screens and pews were also produced according to his designs. The set of forty-two windows was designed in Newcastle by William Wailes, a stained-glass specialist (Bremner, 2013; Chopra, 2011). Bremner noted that the church was criticised for not considering the climatic requirements of Bombay, however, “the building (especially its interior) remains among India’s most accomplished and attractive specimens of Anglican ecclesiology” (Bremner, 2013, p. 297).

Fredrick John, the education secretary to British Government in Calcutta, proposed creating a local university patterned on London University. In 1854 Sir Charles Wood, the President of the East India Company, sent a dispatch to the Governor General of India to initiate universities in all three Presidencies and to reform education to create a class among the native population (including women) fit to work in the Company’s administration. That involved using vernacular languages in primary education, English and vernacular in secondary education, and English in high education. European education to the non-European populace was an extension of the civilising mission, imperialism, and establishing schools beyond religious institutions during the early settlement. Due to colonial developments, the growing number of students required additional buildings added to the older school buildings forming rows or yards on the school’s grounds. In India, educational institutions were initially connected to missionary ones. An example was the Bishop’s College in Calcutta (1820). A gothic building was erected on a land parcel donated by the East India Company. The College offered education to future Indian clerics and missionaries, secular teachings, and translations of Christian readings to make the proposed doctrines understandable to the indigenous converts (Bremner & Nelson, 2016).

The newly established universities served as powerful symbols of British culture and the broader European civilization. By the 1840s, these institutions had developed distinct architectural forms that emulated English models, often drawing inspiration from medieval and classical revivals. The application of eclectic medieval styles to Indian universities carried moral implications reminiscent of ecclesiastic architecture, while also representing social and cultural progress (Bremner & Nelson, 2016).

The Presidency College in Calcutta was established in 1855. The University of Calcutta was established in 1857. In 1865, the land was contributed by Maharaja Maheshwar Singh Bahadur, who was a Maharaja of Darbhanga. Its curriculum also included European classics, English literature, European and Indian philosophy and Occidental and Oriental history. The library was established in the 1870s. The University had both male and female graduates. In the beginning, the University did not have any official buildings. It rented private houses to carry out its operations. Some classes were also run in Presidency College and a room in the Writer's Building. The first examination took place in the Town Hall. The Senate Hall (1873) (Figure 2.24), designed by Walter Granville, was built in the form of a two-level Greek temple in the Ionic style and giant order, with a sizeable protruding portico with a triangular pediment at the front serving as the main entrance and fourteen Ionic columns on each side of the building. The roof of the building had solid balustrades between the posts topped with decorative carved stone urns. The building was built on a platform, with white marble stairs at the front for access. Imported wrought iron railing was used as fencing. It housed Senate meeting halls, a chamber for the vice-chancellor, the registrar's office, examination rooms and lecture halls (Banerjee, 1957). This building was demolished in 1960.

The University of Madras was also established in 1857. The Presidency College and the Senate House were designed by Robert Fellowes Chisholm, an engineer attached to the Public Works Department, who came to Madras in response to a competition for these two buildings. The Presidency College (1872) (Figure 2.25) is a prominent two-storey building, eclectic in Italian origin of used styles. The front elevation is almost 100m long, and the side ones – had the building-high, 50m long pavilions extended to the back, giving it a Palladian-like floor plan. The ground floor is rusticated with round-arched windows and arcaded openings. The upper floor has round arches over windows, with Romanesque and Palladian arcading. The main entrance is accentuated with a centrally located square tower with round arches resting on columns on its sides and a protruding rectangular round-arched arcaded covered walkway. The Indo-Saracenic dome was added in 1890 (Jayewardene-Pillai, 2007; Metcalf, 1989). According to *The Illustrated London News*, one of the values of the building lay in the use of building materials, such as brick, granite, limestone, and gneiss, also in their decorative capacity, instead of coating the building with stucco. Terracotta capitals and bases of columns were made in the local School of Arts. The interiors were

finished following the regional tradition (v.60 1872 Jan-Jun: 561). The Senate House (1874-79) (Figure 2.26) was considered one of the oldest Indo-Saracenic buildings in India. The building was shaped as a sizeable Byzantine hall, with four towers with onion domes, characteristic of Indian architecture, and openings with horseshoe arches, which came from Moorish architecture. The exterior was finished with locally made polychromatic brick and coloured tiles (Jayewardene-Pillai, 2007; Metcalf, 1989).

In India, well-known British architect George Gilbert Scott designed the University of Bombay (1869-78). Its construction was financed by wealthy Parsi businessmen (Chopra, 2011). George Gilbert Scott sent out his projects for the University of Bombay, including the Convocation Hall (Figure 2.27), the Library, and the dominating Rajabai Tower (Figure 2.28). Following his praised designs for the Foreign Office in London, he used the Eclectic style for this late Gothic and early Renaissance provenance project. The Convocation Hall (1868-74) (Figure 2.27) had some distinctly ecclesiastical features four low corner turrets, a rosette window over an arcaded porch at one end, and a semicircular apse at the other. The design is symmetrical. Tall pilasters partition the walls of the two-level building into vertical sections. Each section has one larger arched opening at the lower level, and two smaller parted with centrally placed columns at the upper floor. Both levels were joined with open circular staircases modelled on the Renaissance ones from Castles Blois and Chambord in France, as published in *The Builder* in January 1876 (vol. 34: 13). University's Library building and the Clock Tower (Figure 2.28) next to it, completed 1878, were stylistically similar to the Hall (Arnold, 1991). The Library was significantly lower than the Hall. It had two corner towers (one with an open circular staircase) at the front and a transept in a cruciform building towards the rear. The detailing of the arched openings at both levels of the Library was more elaborate, more ornamental than in the Hall. They copied arcades from the Doge's Palace in Venice. Giotto's campanile in Florence inspired the Clock Tower in Bombay. Bremner and Nelson noted that the iconography of the sculpted elements included local subjects, such as Indian flora and fauna, typology of caste, and indigenous personalities (Bremner & Nelson, 2016). Preeti Chopra observed that Scott's architecture and the university in Bombay contributed to creating a new political and economic built environment, mutually beneficial to culturally and racially diverse newly educated elites. Therefore, the architectural style of the University's campus signified modernity (Chopra, 2011).



Considerable effort was dedicated to transplanting religious institutions to the colonies, with a notable proliferation of churches. The alignment between the ideological objectives of Christianity and imperialism was striking, given their shared political dynamism and cultural adaptability. As a result, religious structures often constituted some of the earliest constructions in the colonial landscape, serving as tangible manifestations of faith and symbols of conquest. British imperialism represented a comprehensive cultural, political, and economic phenomenon, wherein religion and education played pivotal roles in disseminating European ideas and values to shape and transform the native population. The construction of buildings specifically designed for these purposes held significant importance within the colonial enterprise, serving as tangible evidence of the efficacy of British colonial policies and practices.

#### *2.5.5.5 Town halls and municipal administrative buildings*

The town hall “became one of the institutions through which the British government established its hegemony in India” (Chopra, 2016, p. 289-290). Town halls were important because meetings between the British and the Indian communities were held there. They were the middle ground for public disputes, as well as the places where the Indian bourgeois civil society had been created (Chopra, 2016). Town Halls of Calcutta and Bombay were both designed in ancient styles.

John Garstin, a civil engineer and the Chief Engineer for Bengal, completed several building commissions in India. In 1804 he won the competition for a new town hall in Calcutta, built in 1813 (Figure 2.29) (Chrimes, 2015). The use of giant order to vertically divide the elevations and a sizeable colonnaded portico, in the Tuscan style, leading to the main entrance, was characteristic of neo-Palladianism and generally of French Classicistic style in architecture. The roof of the two-storey building had balustrades between the posts, some of which were topped with sculptured features. Structural deficiencies of Garstin’s project were criticised. The inadequate foundations of the building for the site’s ground caused the portico to collapse during the construction and water to leak into the centrally located ballroom. Garstin was made to pay for remedial works; therefore, the building was finished in 1818, five years after the official opening (Chrimes, 2015).

Bombay's Town Hall (Figure 2.30), designed in 1820 by Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Cowper, in the Doric style. The stairs led to the main entrance: an eight-column portico with a pediment within

the front elevations. Two more slightly protruding four-column sections of the façade were symmetrically located on both sides of the entrance, separated by a flat wall part with two side-by-side windows. The rear elevation had two corresponding semi-circular profiles. The roof had balustrades between the posts. The Doric columns and porticoes were influenced by Greek architecture, as can be seen in Stuart and Revett's *Antiquities of Athens*. In 1830, Sir John Malcolm, Governor of Bombay, stated: "It is the most magnificent structure that taste and munificence combined have as yet erected in India" (Panda, 1993, p. 150). The Bombay Town Hall was located at the end of the first significant business development in the city: the Elphinstone Circle. The Elphinstone Circle's main features were the colonnaded verandas and balconies made of prefabricated ironwork imported directly from London. Its planning was influenced by London's Park Crescent, 1812 —1821, designed by the Royal architect John Nash (Fletcher, 1996). It included a circular assembly of colonnaded buildings: "design of the buildings was controlled [by striped elevations of arcaded terraces] to create a unified composition of Italianate façades" (Davies, 1987, p. 156).

Municipal Corporation Building in Bombay (1893) (Figure 2.31) by Frederick William Stevens, in Indo-Saracenic style. The Victoria Terminus was such a successful design that it allowed Stevens to set up his private practice and won him the commission for the new Municipal Buildings, designed by Stevens in Britain and built locally in Bombay in 1893. "The window arches are cusped, the corner towers elaborately domed, but the tour de force is the vast domed staircase tower triumphantly proclaiming British supremacy to the world at the zenith of the Empire" (Davies, 1987, p. 175).

Victoria Public Hall, also known as the Town Hall in Madras (Figure 2.32), was a genuinely eclectic two-level building with a tower. Designed by Robert Fellowes Chisholm, it was built between 1888 and 1890 by Thaticonda Namberumal Chetty, an Indian contractor, engineer, and builder (Mines, 2007). Its style was a combination of Romanesque, Byzantine and Indo-Saracenic (in the form of two kiosk-like domes of two low towers attached to the end apse), with Palladian ground floor windows (Chrimes, 2016).

Both the Municipal Corporation Building in Bombay and the Victoria Public Hall in Madras showcased a fusion of architectural influences, combining elements from different styles to create

a unique aesthetic. These buildings represented the architectural diversity and the impact of British colonial rule in India, blending Western architectural forms with Indian and regional influences.

#### *2.5.5.6 Courthouses and prisons*

Between 1834 and 1861, two sets of courts with separate jurisdictions operated in India: the Supreme Court and the Sadar Adalat. However, after the passage of the Code of Civil Procedure (1859), the Indian Penal Code (1860), and the Criminal Procedure Code (1861), the British government standardized the administration of justice. As a result, they replaced the two sets of courts with a High Court and appointed a Chief Judge.

In the High Courts located in each of the capital cities of the presidencies, English law prevailed, and the judges were appointed directly by the sovereign. These courts were responsible for upholding the rule of law, while courthouses and prisons played a crucial role in the judicial system.

Known only in its final version from the graphics, the Old Court House (Figure 2.33), pulled down in 1792, adjoined the Writers' Building. In 1762 it was enlarged by the addition of Renaissance-style verandas, two formal ballrooms for public entertainment and assembly balls, and additional rooms (Tillotson, 1989). The building was two-storey high, with horizontally divided walls and the main entrance projecting from the middle of the front elevation. Arches of the verandas were resting on piers. The protruding two-level door has the first-floor piers decorated with Ionic-order engaged columns, with balustrades between them. The roof of the building had balustrades between the posts topped with decorative carved stone urns. Before purposefully built structures, the building served, among others, as the Company's office, a town hall, an exchange, and a post office (Chrimes, 2015).

The Calcutta High Court (1872) (Figure 2.34) is the oldest in India. Designed by Walter Granville, the structure needed some expertise from the PWD engineers to deal with foundation settlement. The influence came from Scott's competition entry for the new Hamburg Rathaus (1854) (Figure 2.35) after the old one was destroyed in 1842 by a fire. Granville adopted the simplicity of a long

façade with the tall central tower – a classical formality appropriate for grand public buildings. The style of the three-storey building was an eclectic mix of Romanesque and Venetian Gothic Revivals, with each floor in one style. It was built of red brick with stucco framing. Pedestrian arcades run across the ground floor of the façade and around the courtyard, from where there was access to courts and legal departments. The various courts, libraries and the Registrar were on the first floor. The top floor was occupied by the offices of the main administrator and the Legal Remembrancer, whose duties included legal advisory to the Government and interpretation of legislative enactments, statutes, and rules. Due to foundation problems, the tower's height over the main entrance was significantly reduced from the planned one to ease its load (Chrimes, 2016).

Lieutenant-Colonel James Augustus Fuller designed the Law Courts in Bombay (Figure 2.36). The major influences for the Law Courts and the Government Offices came straight from London. However, the structures erected in India retained symmetry instead of the asymmetry of London's picturesque prototypes, derived from the Romantic fascination with medievalism (Fletcher, 1996). The new Royal Courts of Justice inspired this design in London. The Law Courts in Bombay were 172 meters long and 57 meters wide, with a 54-meter-high tower. Limestone covered with roughly dressed blue basalt was used as the building material. As Fletcher noticed, the style was an interpretation of British romantic medievalism popular at the end of the nineteenth century, which resulted in the Arts and Crafts Movement later. The two octagonal towers on either side of the western porch contained private staircases used by the judges. The front elevation facing the east has a main entrance and a staircase for the public. There was a symbolic use of carved animal themes from Aesop's fables, such as wolves and foxes wearing counsel's bands around their necks and a monkey judge. The statues of personifications of Justice and Mercy were placed over the entrance (Chrimes, 2016; Fletcher, 1996).

The High Court in Madras (1892) (Figure 2.37) was designed in Indo-Saracenic style by Chrisholm and built by J. W. Brassington, who was replaced as a supervisor by Henry Irwin, who completed it with the help of J. H. Stephens. According to "Indian Engineering," the large arches, two-level-high, richly ornamented, provided light to the massive onion dome and the main hall, and allowed for thorough ventilation. The courts and offices were accessible through small colonnades, arcaded verandas, and open stairways. The building also had several small towers with towers onion domes

and covered balconies. The central dome's upper part also served as a lighthouse for the port (Metcalf, 1989).

Mira Waits observed that British prisons in India served as modern alternatives to local forms of punishment. However, despite being influenced by European theories of reform and transformation, these institutions were deeply shaped by the colonial, social, multicultural, and environmental contexts of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They represented the evolving experiences of British colonialism.

Importing Western models of penitentiary building types was deemed impractical in India by British colonial prison officials. As a result, the architecture of prison enclaves across British India varied and inconsistent. Native labour and traditional building methods were employed in their construction. Early structures had versatile uses and were occasionally repurposed beyond their intended function of incarceration. Prisons were housed in pre-existing buildings, temporary structures, and even accidental building types. The connection between the architectural form and its function, as understood in Europe and North America, was absent in Indian prisons. In the late nineteenth century, concepts of prison design, such as radial plans, were introduced to India. However, the moral improvement aspect central to prison reform in Europe was omitted. Influenced by the perspectives of Fanon and JanMohamed, colonial prison officials perceived the native population in the colonies as inherently prone to criminal behaviour. Additionally, climatic factors such as ventilation prevented the construction of solitary cells, while cultural concepts such as caste and religion naturally sorted the prisoners. The colonial penitentiary system played a crucial role in segregation practices and reinforced the notions of British cultural dominance and superiority. Prisons were essential infrastructure in the colonial enterprise, and the East India Company constructed the earliest British jails in India (Mira, 2018).

The diverse forms and types of early jails were documented in a collection of records of Company-owned buildings in Bengal in 1823. Plans, sections, and elevations of prisons, as well as administrative and residential dwellings for staff, were prepared by John Hodgson, the surveyor general of India. The architecture of these prisons was austere, and their layout resembled forts. In the 1850s, prison reforms were initiated with a focus on addressing caste and religious diversity in

India. In 1860, the Indian Penal Code was drafted as part of a broader series of prison reforms in Britain. The management of numerous jails was consolidated under the control of the inspector general of the Presidency. Magistrates were replaced by doctors from the Indian Medical Services as inspectors and superintendents. However, by that time, the existing jails built by the Company were inadequate. They suffered from overcrowding, frequent disease outbreaks, and urgent repair needs. Financial constraints necessitated remodelling and expansions. Previously, prisoners had to cook for themselves due to caste and religious segregation and dietary restrictions. Subsequently, purpose-built kitchens, spatial divisions to house prisoners of different types of criminal activity to prevent moral contamination, separate wards for women and European prisoners, and workshops were added. However, sanitary facilities and ventilation remained problematic areas in these prisons (Mira, 2018).

The two examples used for this research are the Alipore Jail and the Presidency Jail in Calcutta, located a few kilometres from Fort William. They were two of the oldest British jails there, and both were later transformed into central prisons of the Presidency. They were part of the principal institutional district of Calcutta: near the port, a hospital, schools, a cemetery, a recreational area, and British residencies. The Alipore Jail was one of the largest in India. They were built on a U-shape plan formed by two-storey rectangular blocks containing twelve large wards, a water tank, rooms for two cooks in the courtyard, and a water reservoir in the corner of the site, enclosed by an exterior wall. In 1865 plans to rationalise jail space appeared. The modifications included additional partitions within the existing wards to accommodate no more than fifty prisoners, building new wards for females (separate for indigenous and European women), civil prisoners, and solitary cells, which, however, due to problems with ventilation, were rarely used. An external wall enclosed the new corridor. In the 1870s, further divisions were introduced to the jail's layout to accommodate a new mode of classification of the prisoners according to their age, health, viciousness, notoriety, and likeness of repeating the offence. The Presidency Jail consisted at first of the Great Jail and the House of Correction, which were consolidated in 1865. The female wards with privies, a cook room, and yards were part of the Great Jail. The sergeant's quarters on both sides of the entrance served for control and protection from male inmates. There were also separate spaces for debtors and prisoners in custody, as well as solitary confinements, all with privies and cook rooms. The Great Jail had additional wards for Europeans. The Indigenous prisoners were

held mainly in the House of Corrections. Both compounds of the Presidency Jail were walled, with one shared wall between them (Mira, 2018).

These two examples show the flexibility of the British penal system and prison as a building type to facilitate the requirements of complex Indian social and cultural reality, maintain control over a diverse population of inmates, and keep them physically separated from European prisoners. Architectural experimentation in the colonial environment was a part of the colonial experience.

#### *2.5.5.7 Railway stations and postal buildings*

Railways and postal stations were symbols of the economic and commercial prosperity of the Presidencies. The imposing splendour of these structures highlighted the supremacy of British rule, progress, and industrial and technological advancement.

Howrah Terminus in Calcutta (1862) (Figure 2.38) was preliminarily designed by Walter L. B. Granville, a Civil Engineer and Superintendent of railway station projects. He designed the terminus and supervised its construction. The Calcutta terminus covered an area of almost 600 square kilometres. Wrought iron, three spans roof covered station platforms 43 meters long. The large-scale structure was 60 meters long, 12 meters high and 12 meters wide. The foundation works were complex due to the high groundwater level. The main waiting hall with the upper part contains a series of arcaded round-arched window openings, and the lower has a rectangular round-arched arcaded covered walkway alongside the main building. The top of the main building, as well as the top of the covered walkways, were finished with balustraded railings screening the hidden roof. Walls differ in colour from architectural detailing of arches, parapets, pilasters, and balustrades (Chrimes, 2016).

The Victoria Terminus in Bombay (1887) (Figure 2.39) was designed by Federick Wiliam Stevens. It was richly decorated inside and outside in various combinations of pointed arches, painted vaulted ceilings, arcades, carved figures, and lit through stained glass in ornamental cast-iron-framed windows characteristic of Indo-Saracenic style. It had a symmetrically composed body consisting of two significant side wings and a central part crowned by a gigantic masonry dome. Most of the decorations and ornaments, such as wood carvings, tiles, iron and brass railings, balustrades, the grand staircases, and grills for the ticket offices, were designed and made locally

in the Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy School of Art by the students, in collaboration with Stevens. The C-shape plan of the station is symmetrical. Its construction demonstrates a high level of engineering in terms of the use of industrial technology merged with architectural achievement. The building consisted of a series of large enclosures with high ceilings. The dome reinforced by ribs, with the personification of Progress, is the main focal point of the building. The station has a 366-meter-long train shed and a 100-meter-long platform (Chrimes, 2016; Amery, 1986). The design resembles Scott's second-prize entry for Reichstag in the Berlin competition (Figure 2.40). The competition was launched at the end of 1871 and appeared in *The Builder* only in March 1872. Scott's project resembled his St Pancras Station, with German and French Gothic elements, numerous towers and turrets, and a central dome inspired by Cathedral in Florence (Fletcher, 1996).

The General Post Office in Calcutta (Figure 2.41) was designed in 1864 by Walter B. Grenville. It is a symmetrical, street-corner-located, monumental white building on the western side of Dalhousie Square (Chrimes, 2016). Its main body is two-storey high, with a centrally located tholobate supporting the dome and two side wings-pavilions attached to the central part. The tholobate has a series of arched windows separated from each other by double pilasters. These windows allow light penetration of the central part of the building. The two side wings of the building face the two intersecting streets. Their elevations are divided vertically by columns in giant Composite order between two rectangular turrets at each end of the side pavilions.

A similarly composed was the Telegraph Office in Calcutta (Figure 2.42). It was built in the Renaissance and Classicistic Revival combination style as a symmetrical, street-corner-located three-storey structure with a centrally positioned campanile-like tower. The building was clad in red terracotta contrasting with light-coloured stucco. Based on the designs of Walter Granville and Benjamin Clark, it was completed in 1870 by W. Barnfather (Chrimes, 2016).

These structures, including the railway and postal stations, were designed to showcase British rule, progress, industrial advancement, and the economic prosperity associated with colonial presence. They were imposing and splendid, symbolizing the supremacy of British power and serving as visual representations of knowledge and authority.



The colonization of India presented a unique challenge for Great Britain. The country was vast, densely populated, and home to a multicultural and multilingual native population divided into castes for thousands of years. Indian civilization had a rich history with numerous monumental structures that stood as testaments to its greatness. The British sought to transplant their own traditions of rule, administration, and architecture onto Indian soil, imposing a cultural hegemony upon the subjugated indigenous majority with a different cultural tradition. The colonial power's means of normalization or familiarity were perceived by the Indians as foreign interference with their own traditions.

Preeti Chopra noted that during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the main role of architecture in India was to articulate the relationship between the rulers and the ruled and to calibrate the appropriate distance between these groups (Chopra, 2016). The main buildings of British presence in India were massive in scale to match the local architecture, employing bold concepts to express domination. Certain patterns and commonalities could be observed across the region, indicating the extension of British power. Buildings directly connected to British governance, such as government houses, town halls, courthouses, prisons, and customs houses, served administrative, legislative, legal, and trade regulation functions.

The British-built infrastructure in India primarily benefited the colonizers rather than the colonized. However, British architecture served as a manifestation and representation of colonial rule, political power, supremacy, and cultural, racial, and religious disconnection from the indigenous population. It aimed to present and visualize Britain's imperial governing position, symbolizing knowledge and power.

Throughout the colonial period in India, the British employed various means to articulate their domination over the land and its people. The urbanization, architecture, and socio-spatial relationships established during this time conveyed different discourses representing the power at play. British colonial architecture became a metaphor for endorsing the occupying power, serving as an emblem of the conquest mission dedicated to the state and religion.

FIGURES 2.1-2.42

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Press Ctrl + Click to follow link:

<https://militarymaps.rct.uk/the-seven-years-war-1756-63/madras-1758-a-plan-of-fort-s-t-george-part-of-the>

Figure 2.1: **Fort St. George, Madras**

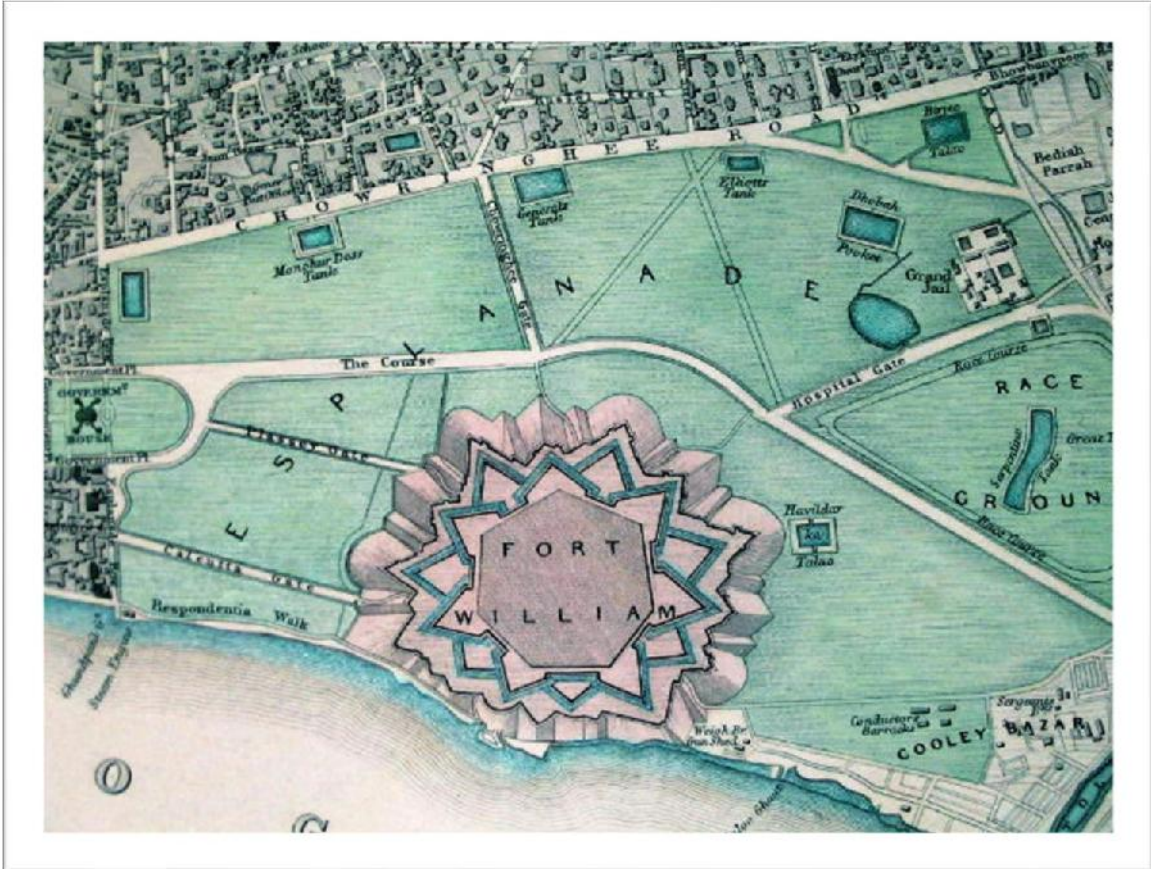


Figure 2.2: Fort William, Calcutta



14 Engels ſemtoor op Bombaïj.

Figure 2.3: Fort George, Bombay



**Figure 2.4: Writers' Building, Calcutta**

Photographed in 1885



**Figure 2.5: Government House, Calcutta**

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<https://www.rct.uk/collection/2701666/government-house-madras-prince-of-wales-tour-of-india-1875-6>

Figure 2.6: **Government House, Madras**

Photographed in 1875-76



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<https://www.prints-online.com/rajaji-hall-banqueting-hall-chennai-india-14398368.html>

**Figure 2.7: The Banqueting Hall, Madras**

Photographed in 1920s



Figure 2.8: **The Revenue Board Building, Madras**

*The Builder* 1870 (28), p. 1047

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<https://www.lookandlearn.com/history-images/M589379/Secretariat-Building-Bombay-India>

**Figure 2.9: Secretariat Building, Bombay**

Photographed – early 20th century

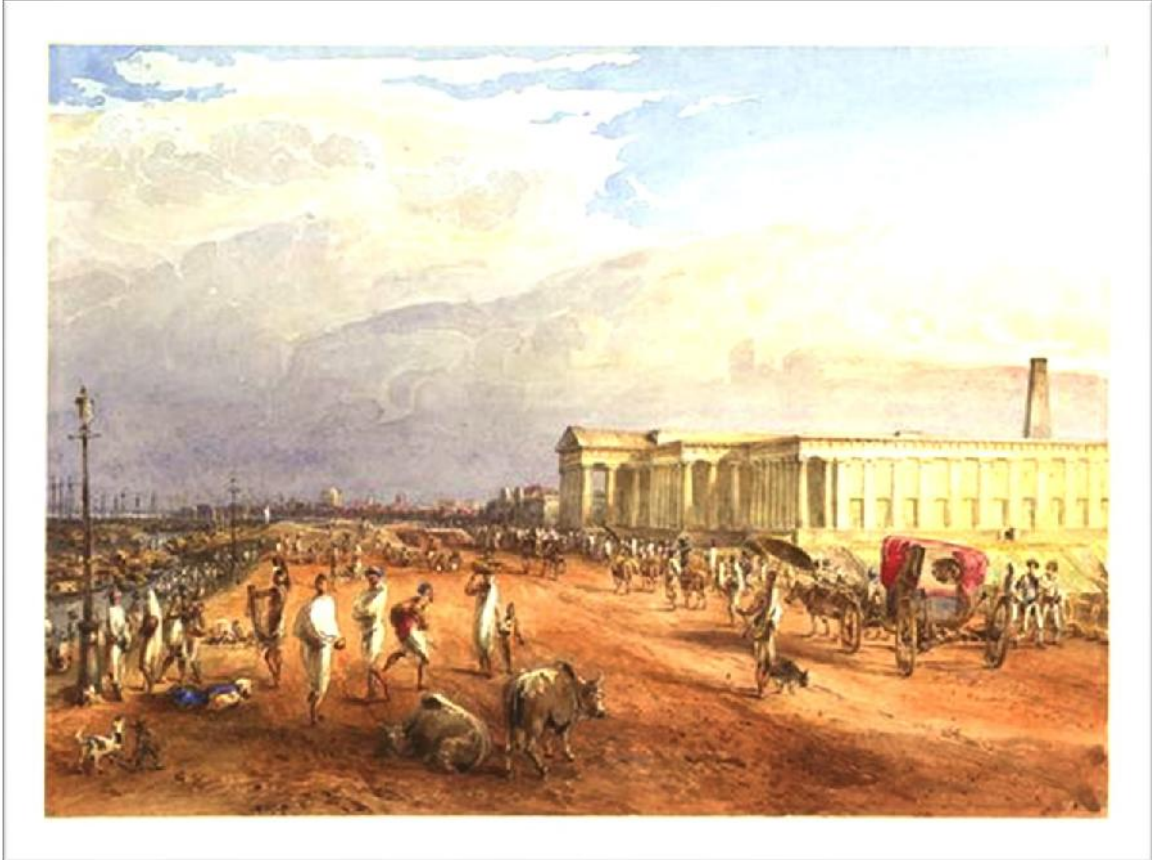


Figure 2.10: **The Government Mint, Calcutta**

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Figure 2.11: **The Bombay Mint**

Postcard

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Figure 2.12: **St Mary's Church, Madras**

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<http://2.bp.blogspot.com/-OmGytag4-Aw/T-LoAOPxHZI/AAAAAAAAALM/R0WnJ3piq-Q/s1600/St.+John's+Church+Calcutta+1850-+1870.jpg>

Figure 2.13: **St John Church, Calcutta**



**Figure 2.14: St George Cathedral, Madras**



touches them, from his high-bred sense, I presume, of low caste and high caste; while a white Englishman, on the other hand, will be instantly devoured.

We drove thence to the public park, where a regimental band was at the time performing. There one felt at home amidst the crowds who had assembled from many a scattered mansion, barrack, or official residence. The centre of attraction was the military band, which was surrounded by carriages linked to



St. Andrew's Church, Madras.

carriages, most of them stationary, others driving slowly round, with a large attendance of riders. This was the Madras Rottenrow—with its flirtations, its groups of admirers and admired, its elegant dresses, manners, and talk, with all the results, more or less artistic, of the fashionable world.

But having travelled a few hundred miles, day and night, I felt disposed for rest and an early sleep, and therefore very soon retired.

Next day we preached in the beautiful Scotch Church of St.

Figure 2.15: St Andrew's Church, Madras

Macleod, Norman. 1871. Peeps at the Far East: A Familiar Account of a Visit to India. London: Strahan & Company, p. 120

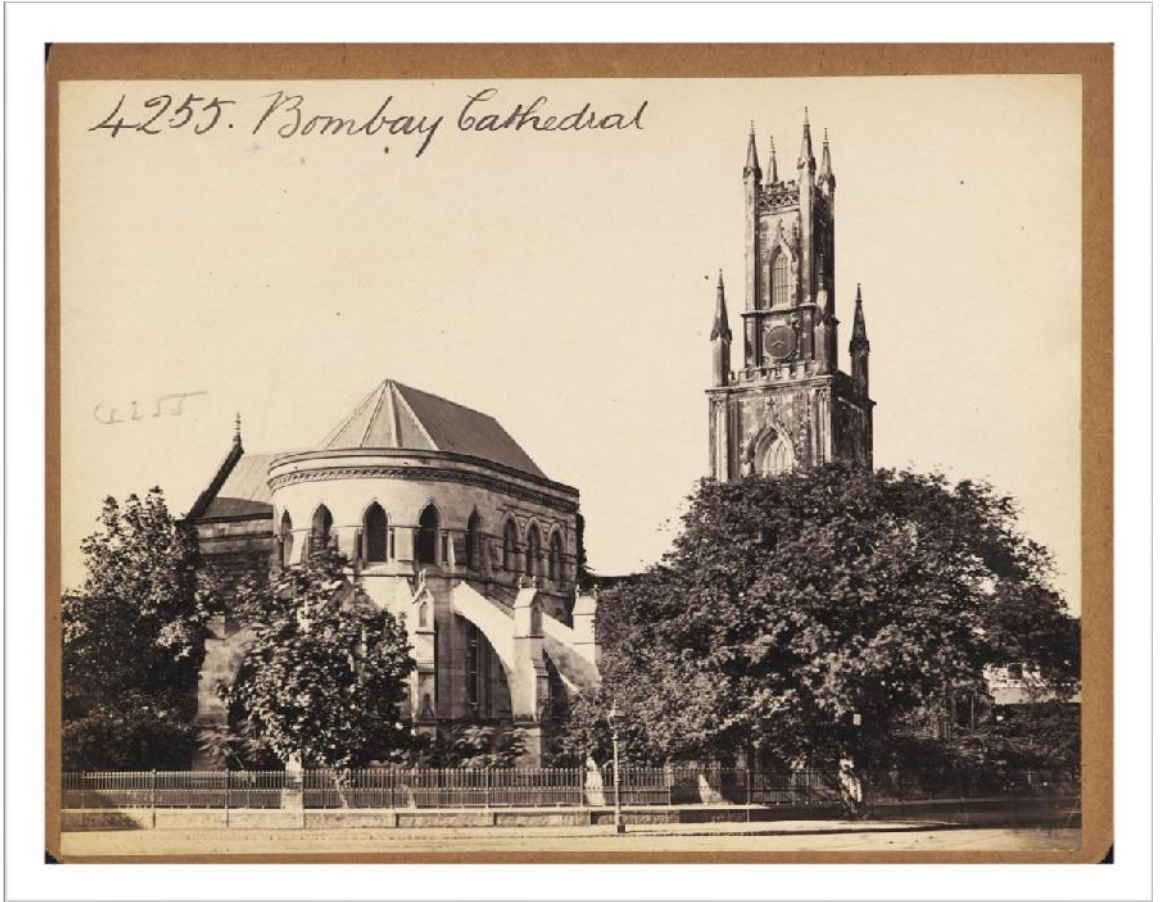


Figure 2.16: St Thomas Cathedral, Bombay



Figure 2.17: St Peter's Church, Fort William, Calcutta



Figure 2.18: King's College Chapel, Cambridge, 1443



**Figure 2.19: Fonthill Abbey, 1796-1813, by James Wyatt & William Thomas Beckford**

Rutter, John. 1823. *Delineations of Fonthill and Its Abbey*. London: The author



**Figure 2.20: St Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta**

Photographed in 1865

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Figure 2.21: **Norwich Cathedral, 1145**

David Iliff, photograph, 2014

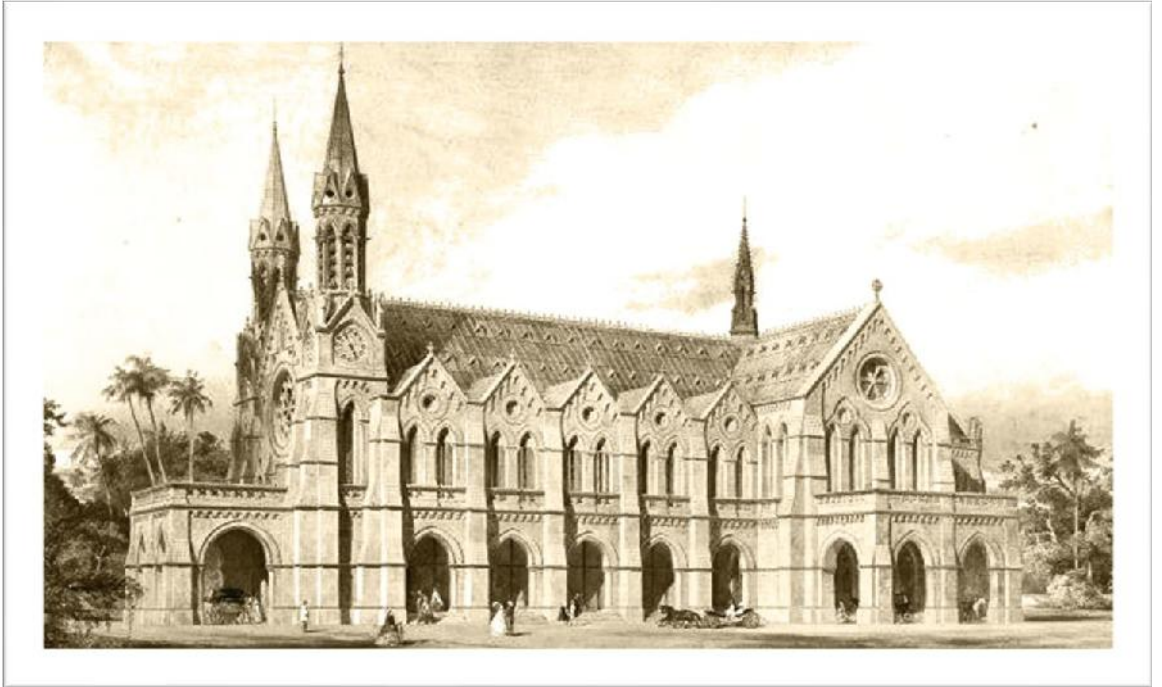


Figure 2.22: St James' Church, Calcutta



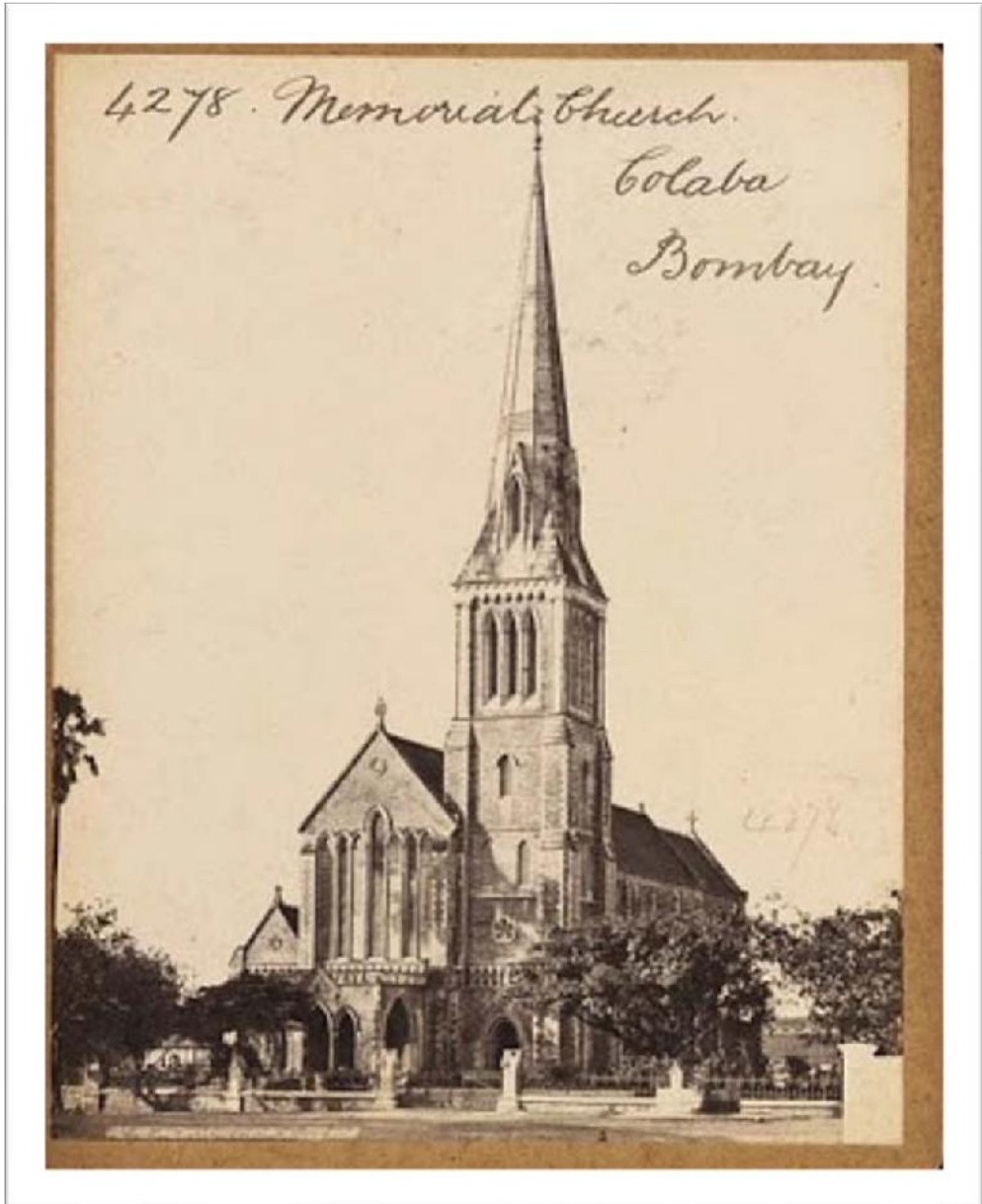


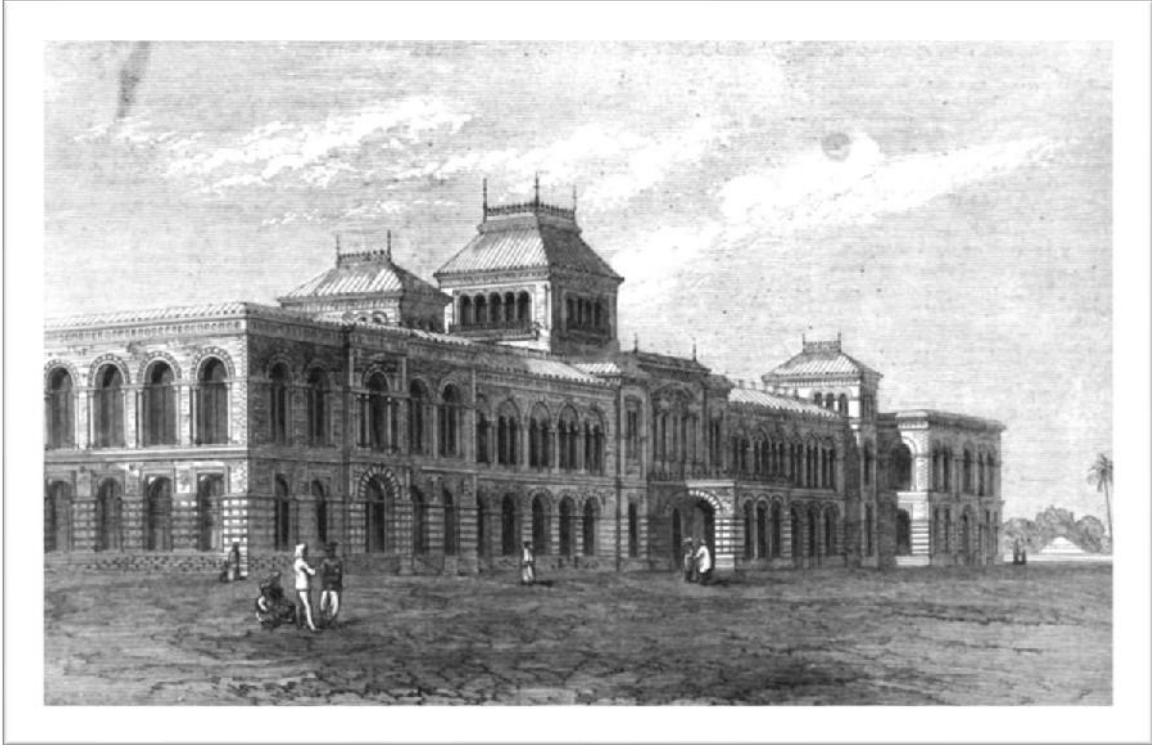
Figure 2.23: **The Church of St John the Evangelist (the Afghan Church), Bombay**



UNIVERSITY HALL, CALCUTTA.

*Photo by Johnston & Hoffmann Calcutta.*

**Figure 2.24: Senate Hall, University of Calcutta**



**Figure 2.25: The Presidency College, Madras**

*Illustrated London News* (8 June 1872: 548)

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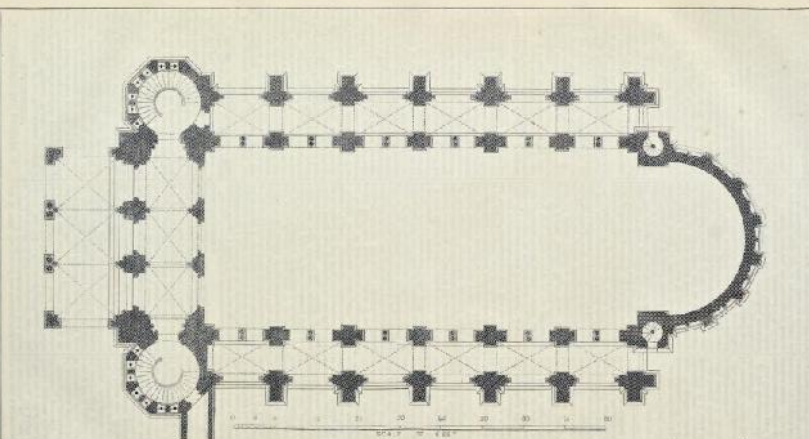
[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/3/37/The\\_Senate\\_House%2C\\_Madras.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/3/37/The_Senate_House%2C_Madras.jpg)

Figure 2.26: **The Senate House, University of Madras**

Neurofreak, photograph, 2020



THE SIR GOWRIE BUNAGLIE HALL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY.—SIR G. G. SCOTT, R.A., ARCHT.



THE HALL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY.—Plan.

Figure 2.27: Convocation Hall, University of Bombay

*The Builder* 1876 (34), p. 13



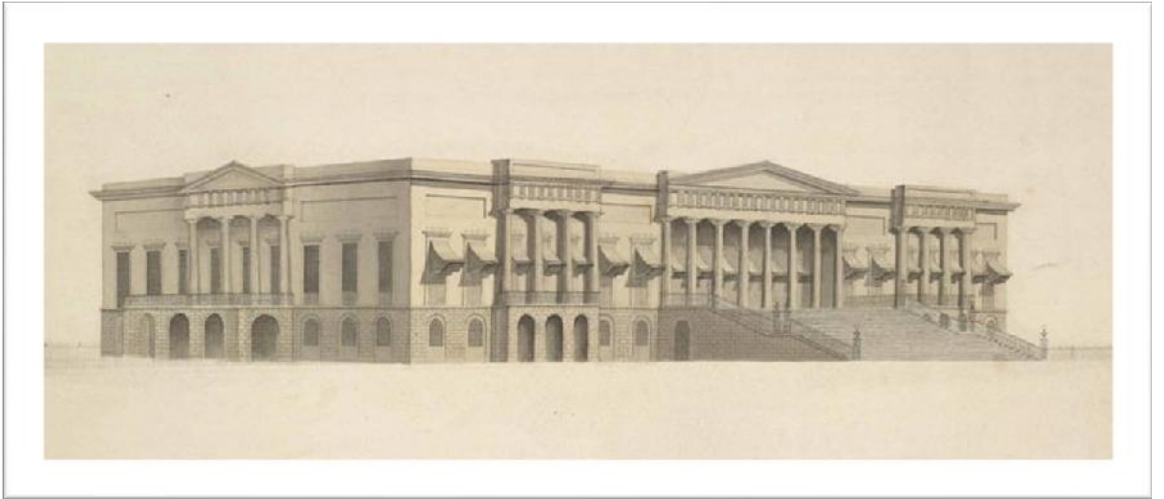
**Figure 2.28: The Library and the Clock Tower, University of Bombay**

Photo ca. 1890-1910



**Figure 2.29: The Town Hall, Calcutta**

Photographed in 1860s



**Figure 2.30: Town Hall, Bombay**

*Drawing of the future Bombay Town Hall, 1825, unknown artist*



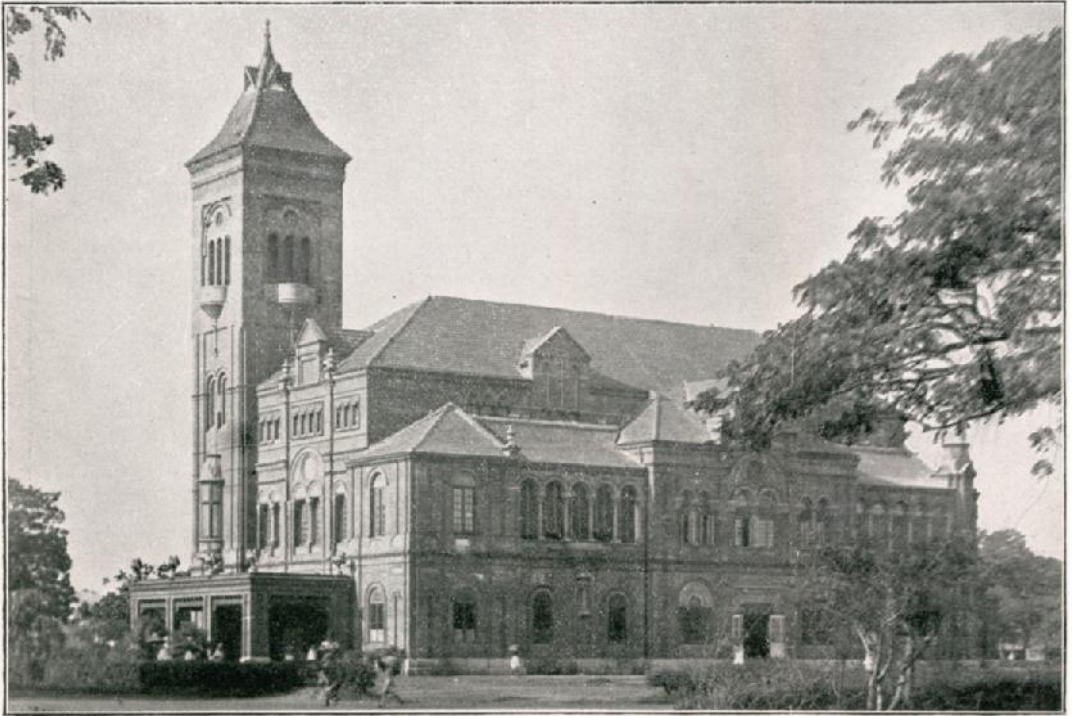
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[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/25/BMC\\_1.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/25/BMC_1.jpg)

Figure 2.31: **The Municipal Corporation Building, Bombay**

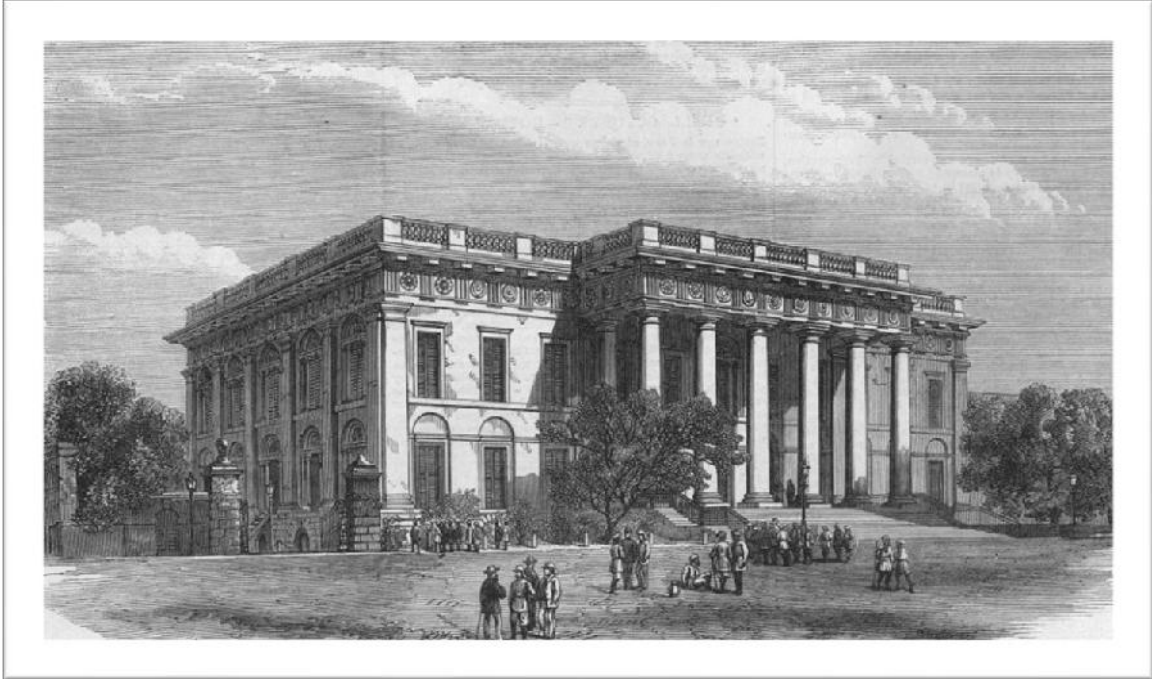
Rangan Datta, photograph, 2020



**The Victoria Public Hall.**

The Town Hall was erected in 1887 for the benefit of the public, irrespective of caste or creed.

**Figure 2.32: Victoria Public Hall, or the Town Hall, Madras**



**Figure 2.33: The Old Court House, Calcutta**

*Illustrated London News* 1871



Figure 2.34: The Calcutta High Court

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<https://www.kunstfreund.eu/Hamburg-Rathaus-Entwurf-eines-neuen-Rathhauses-fuer-Hamburg-von-Georg-Gilbert-Scott-in-London->

Figure 2.35: **George Gilbert Scott's competition entry for the new Hamburg Rathaus**

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<https://www.mutualart.com/Artwork/HIGH-COURT--BOMBAY/BF09FBDC8968A1C2>

Figure 2.36: **The High Court of Bombay**



gative by W. A. Cross.

*See Page*

THE HIGH COURT, MADRAS.

**Figure 2.37: Madras High Court**



Figure 2.38: **Howrah Terminus, Calcutta**

Photographed in 1945





Figure 2.39: The Victoria Terminus, Bombay

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<https://gilbertscott.org/design-for-reichstag/>

Figure 2.40: **George Gilbert Scott's competition entry for the Reichstag, Berlin**



**Figure 2.41: The General Post Office, Calcutta**



**Figure 2.42: Telegraph Office Calcutta**

Photographed in 1878

## 2.6 Study location: Swan River Colony, Perth Western Australia

Until the late eighteenth century, Australia, known as New Holland since 1644, was considered of no value to European trade and settlement. Its shores were hostile to naval access, with harsh vegetation, and a population primarily consisting of nomadic tribes, whose cultures were viewed as primitive and unknown. In the nineteenth century, Britain colonized Western Australia to prevent it from being claimed by other European colonial powers of the time.

The first European information about Western Australia and the vicinity of the Swan River area came from the 1619 Dutch expedition of Frederic de Houtman to Batavia. However, the steep shores prevented the Dutch from landing at that time. Prior to the arrival of the barque "Parmelia" in 1829, carrying the first group of European settlers, several European vessels reached the west coast of the continent. In 1629, the Dutch ship "Batavia" reached the Abrolhos Archipelago, located approximately 60km west of present-day Geraldton. In 1659, another Dutch fluyt, the cargo vessel "Elburgh," landed near Cape Leeuwin, the southwestern point of mainland Australia. Both expeditions encountered native Australians, who fled from them. However, the crew of the "Elburgh" collected some abandoned artifacts, which were brought back to Europe and contributed to the first documented evidence of the culture of the Noongar people. The Dutch explorers concluded that the western coast had no commercial value for European settlements and trade (Green, 1981; Appleyard & Manford, 1979).

Beginning in 1644, mainland Australia was labelled New Holland on European maps, a name first used by Dutch explorer and merchant Abel Tasman of the Dutch East India Company. In 1696, Willem de Vlamingh named an island located 18km west of Fremantle "Rottnest Island" (meaning "nest of rats") due to its population of quokkas, small native marsupials found exclusively on the island. In 1688 and 1699, English explorer William Dampier landed on the west coast and encountered the Baardi people, native Australians who lived north of present-day Broome. According to Green, Dampier's writings on his observations of coastal Western Australia shaped prejudiced opinions in Britain for over a century. Like the Dutch before him, Dampier did not see any commercial potential in the west coast, and his descriptions of the natives were ill-informed

and paternalistic. This eventually led the British to assume a civilizing role over the Aboriginals in their colonial ventures and hegemonic practices from the nineteenth century onwards (Green, 1981).

In the eighteenth century, France and Britain displayed serious interest in colonizing Western Australia. In 1738, Jean-Baptiste Charles Bouvet de Lozier, a French navigator and officer of the French East India Company, was sent from France to further explore the southwest coast, survey potential settlement sites, and secure them. However, his mission failed. Nevertheless, the British remained concerned that France would make further attempts to establish its own penal colony there (Marchant, 1987; Appleyard & Manford, 1979). The British ultimately gained domination over the entire continent by securing rights to the territories in Western Australia, thwarting French ambitions.

After the establishment of a convict colony in Port Jackson (present-day Sydney) in 1788 by the British government, it became evident that securing the southern and southwest coast of Australia was crucial. The supplies and transportation of convicts from Britain had to pass through that route (Appleyard & Manford, 1979). In 1788, a French scientific expedition led by Lieutenant Jean-François de Galaup, Earl of Lapérouse, spent six weeks in the colony while circumnavigating the globe. Their tasks included correcting old maps and creating new ones. The French expedition arrived just in time for the relocation of the first British convoy from Botany Bay to Port Jackson. In March 1788, the French sailed from Port Jackson to the southwest coast of Australia, New Caledonia, and the surrounding Pacific islands. Lapérouse, in a letter sent from Port Jackson prior to their departure, expected to be back in France by June 1789. However, none of the French party was seen again by Europeans. In September 1791, France sent a rescue mission consisting of two ships, "Recherche" and "Esperance," under the command of Rear Admiral Bruni d'Entrecasteaux. The French followed the proposed route of Lapérouse along the south and southwest coast of Australia. Tensions between France and Britain, arising from the French Revolution, led to a rumour that the British were responsible for the tragedy that occurred near their new colony (King, 1999). In December 1792, D'Entrecasteaux reached Cape Leeuwin. During his travels, he named several geographic locations, including Cape Riche, Cape Le Grand, the Recherche Archipelago, Esperance Bay, and Duke of Orleans Bay, located east of Esperance (Marchant, 1987; Appleyard

& Manford, 1979). Coincidentally, in April 1791, two British ships, the HMS "Chatham," a Royal Navy survey brig, and HMS "Discovery," the lead ship of Lieutenant George Vancouver, sailed towards Western Australia. Vancouver claimed the land and promptly established a new colony at a natural harbor, which he named King George's Sound in honour of the reigning British monarch, King George III (Godwin, 1957). When D'Entrecasteaux arrived at the location in December 1792, the land had already been claimed by the British colonial network. Between 1792 and 1826, there were numerous attempts by the French and the British to gain control of the southwestern part of Western Australia, with the British eventually prevailing (Marchant, 1987; Appleyard & Manford, 1979).

In 1826, prompted by Lord Henry Bathurst, the Secretary of State for the Colonies in the Colonial Office in London, General Sir Ralph Darling, the Governor of New South Wales from 1825 to 1831, dispatched Major Edmund Lockyer aboard the colonial government brig "Amity" to take military control of King George's Sound for the British Crown and establish a military settlement there. Lockyer's main task was to establish a garrison along the shipping route between Britain and Sydney. In 1832, Captain James Stirling, the Governor of Western Australia, declared the settlement as the town of Albany. Until the construction of a port and harbor in Fremantle at the entrance of the Swan River in 1897, King George's Sound served as the only deep-water port in Western Australia. Mail and supplies were transported from there by road or coastal ships to the Swan River Colony, while waiting for the construction of the Great Southern Railway, which opened in 1889, running between Albany and Beverley, located 133 km southeast of present-day Perth (Green, 1981).

In March 1827, Captain Stirling, aboard H.M.S. "Success," arrived at the entrance of the Swan River. Using two boats, he conducted a reconnaissance mission down the river, reaching the present-day Swan Valley (Appleyard & Manford, 1979). After returning to Britain, Stirling published a favourable report on his trip to the Swan River area, generating interest among potential migrants. However, the Imperial Colonial Office decided to shift the financial burden of the venture onto private investors. In 1829, a syndicate, with limited assistance from the British government, initiated a free settlement at Swan River. The ultimate goal was to cultivate food and raise animals to supply the region, the Royal Navy, and trade ships (Battye, 1924). James Stirling

was appointed Lieutenant-Governor in 1829 and subsequently became the Governor of the new settlement in 1831, with last-minute financial support of £1,195 provided by the Colonial Office (Calder, 1977).

The Swan River Colony held a unique position among British ventures in Australia, as it was the first established exclusively for private settlement based on a land grant system. Nathaniel Ogle, in his publication "The colony of Western Australia: a manual for emigrants," sought to promote the colony and attract potential migrants from Britain. The book, published in London in 1839, served as a comprehensive guide providing advice and information to those considering relocating to the Swan River area. Ogle presented Western Australia as a solution to various socioeconomic challenges faced by different groups in Britain. He highlighted the high unemployment among the Irish and the famine-stricken clans of Scotland, suggesting that migration to Western Australia could provide them with new opportunities. Ogle also emphasized the potential for trained professionals who struggled to find suitable work in Britain despite their social standing and education. In his publication, Ogle portrayed Western Australia as an appealing prospect for migration, specifically emphasizing that it was free from the stigma of being a penal colony. He highlighted the favourable soil for cultivation, vast expanses of available land, and diverse climatic zones that could accommodate European settlement, ranging from tropical to moderate, Mediterranean-like environments (Ogle, 1839). By presenting Western Australia as a promising and compelling destination, Ogle aimed to attract migrants to the Swan River Colony, promoting its potential for economic and social advancement.

After James Stirling proclaimed the establishment of the Swan River Colony, he named the capital "Perth" before his arrival with the first settlers in 1829 (Stirling, 1829). The name Perth was chosen in honour of Sir George Murray, Stirling's fellow Scotsman and friend, who was born in a Scottish town called Perth. Murray, who served as the Secretary for the Colonies, played a significant role in convincing the British government to authorize the Swan River Settlement (Stirling, 1926).

The initial location of the settlement was officially named Perth in accordance with Stirling's proclamation speech. However, the Swan River Colony, also known as the Swan River Settlement, remained in informal use. In 1832, when Stirling became the Governor, the colony was officially renamed the Colony of Western Australia on February 6th, 1832 (Green, 1979).



The first ship to arrive, H.M.S. "Challenger," under the command of Captain Charles Fremantle, did not carry any settlers but a detachment of marine infantrymen. Their role was to secure the chosen location and prevent it from being claimed by others, particularly the French. On April 28th, 1829, a group of men was left on Garden Island, while Captain Fremantle, a few days later, set foot on the mainland and claimed the entire west coast of New Holland (Australia) for Britain. Shortly after, around two hundred settlers arrived on the East India Company vessel, the barque "Parmelia," captained by J. H. Luscombe. They initially landed on Garden Island and resided there for three months while awaiting their allocation to the mainland (Green, 1979).

Among the notable passengers on the "Parmelia" were James and Ellen Stirling, Peter Broun (colonial secretary), John Morgan (storekeeper), Captain Mark Currie (harbourmaster), J.S. Roe (surveyor), Henry Sutherland (Roe's assistant), W. Shilton (Broun's clerk), James Drummond (horticulturalist), Charles Simmons (surgeon), Alex Fandam (cooper), William Hoking (bricklayer), Thomas Davis (smith), and James Smith (boat builder) (Hitchcock, 1929).

The "Parmelia" was soon followed by H.M.S. "Sulphur," commanded by William Townsend Dance. This ship transported a regiment of soldiers for the protection of the colony, along with mortars and heavy guns for coastal defence. The vessel also carried thirty-three family members of the soldiers, including wives and children. "Sulphur" served the colony for the next three years. In the months that followed, additional settlers arrived in the Swan River Colony. However, the local authorities faced administrative challenges due to insufficient manpower. There were few experienced builders and farmers, and the harsh conditions led many early settlers to move to the eastern states. In 1830, Stirling, then the Lieutenant-Governor of the Swan River Settlement, met with Collet Barker in Albany, the commander of King George's Sound. Stirling expressed concerns about the difficulties faced by the colonists, including high food prices, insufficient food production, and unemployment. Many colonists had already left the settlement by that time (Green, 1979).

The initial interactions between the native Australians and European settlers in the Swan River Colony were marked by cultural differences and misunderstandings. The settlers and the native Australians came from cultures with incompatible values and traditions. They had different

religious rituals, views on land ownership, work ethics, and material possessions. These differences created challenges in communication and understanding. The settlers viewed land as something to be owned, farmed for food and shelter, and a symbol of status. On the other hand, land had a spiritual meaning for the native Australians, and it served as a stage for their traditional practices. The conflicting views on land use and ownership led to misunderstandings and tensions between the two groups. The lack of a centralized leadership structure among the native Australians made negotiations and resolutions difficult. The native Australians acted based on group consensus rather than answering to a single leader. This further complicated the attempts to address the conflicts and find common ground. The conflicts began when the traditional burning practices of the native Australians, which were used for hunting wild game, destroyed the crops and pastures of the settlers. This led to accusations of theft against the native Australians and subsequent retaliation. Mistrust, hatred, and fear developed on both sides as a result. To protect the scattered settlements, the government organized small military garrisons throughout the colony in 1831. The settlers themselves formed vigilante groups to support the militia and established a communication system for quick alerts of possible attacks. The native Australians were gradually restricted from passing through the colony. Green stated that the reasons for conflicts between the early settlers and the native Australians were complex, not fully understood, and happened in a particular context for both sides (Green, 1981).

Newspapers such as the "Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal" (since 1833) and the "Swan River Guardian" (1836-1838) provided information to the settlers about the conflicts, crimes, punishments, and changing colonial policies towards the native Australians. The "Swan River Guardian" opposed the mistreatment and killings of the native Australians in the settlement of York, an attack against which the Noongar people retaliated. Reverend Louis Giustiniani emerged as a key figure defending the rights of the native Australians. His views and persona were condemned throughout the pages of the "Perth Gazette," and his attempts to defend the native Australians in a Western Australian court were ridiculed even by the presiding judge (Green, 1981).

In terms of land ownership, conflicting the colonised and the colonisers, the British Crown legally owned the land on the basis of proclamations of possession, by Vancouver in 1797, Lockyer in

1826, and Fremantle in 1829. The indigenous population had no understanding of “ownership,” and the coexistence with their land was not regulated in such a way. In 1835, communication from Lord Glenelg negated any native titles to the land: “Land ownership, he argued, would leave Aborigines open to exploitation; secondly, it would seriously challenge the crown’s rights to the land; and thirdly, the repatriation for the past, present and future acquisition of land would be prohibitive” (Green, 1981, p. 89). In Australian settler colonies, there was little desire to manage the economies of the natives. The settlers sought to control and possess the land, often at the expense of the indigenous population

The colonization process aimed to eliminate or displace the native population and take possession of their lands. Access to land was the main reason for restricting admissions by the native population (Green, 1981; Wolfe, 1994; Silverstein, 2011). Neville Green wrote:

“On the expanding frontiers of Western Australia in the nineteenth century the enemy was visible and could be confronted valiantly by the invaded tribesmen. But legislation was an intangible foe against which the concerted anger and frustration of Aborigines has no more effect than a spear thrown into the wind” (Green, 1981, p. 123).

By 1856, the majority of the colonies in Australia and New Zealand gained increasing self-governance. In 1889, Britain officially granted the Western Australian colony a title of a responsible government, and, as a result, in 1890, the office of the Premier of the State was first formed. In 1900, during the referendum, the Colony voted to join the Australian federation, and in 1901, it became part of the Commonwealth of Australia (Davison, Hirst & Macintyre, 1999).

### 2.6.1 Colonial Architecture 1829-1901

During the period from 1829 to 1901, Perth's architecture underwent significant development, reflecting the city's growth as a British settlement. The layout of Perth was influenced by the Swan River, the main waterway that traversed the city from east to west. As the city expanded, the construction of railways and land routes further shaped its urban planning, establishing a grid pattern.

The Swan River, while serving as the main thoroughfare for the colony, posed challenges for road transport. To overcome this, several bridges were constructed to facilitate connectivity and improve transportation within the city. These bridges played a crucial role in linking different parts of Perth.

The city centre emerged as the hub for government, military, and commercial activities, with key institutions and businesses located there. As a result, the construction of buildings for these important functions took priority. The city centre housed government offices, army facilities, and businesses that governed and supported the entire colony.

The architectural style of Perth during this period was influenced by the prevailing British architectural trends of the time. Public buildings often showcased grandeur and elegance, reflecting the aspirations of a growing British city. Prominent architectural features included neoclassical elements, such as columns, pediments, and symmetrical facades.

The public buildings constructed in Perth served various purposes, including administrative, cultural, and recreational functions. Government offices, courthouses, and town halls were established to support the governance of the colony. Cultural institutions, such as libraries, museums, and theatres, provided spaces for intellectual and artistic pursuits. Recreational facilities, such as parks and gardens, offered green spaces for leisure and relaxation.

Over time, Perth's architectural landscape evolved alongside the growth and development of the city. As the colony expanded and prospered, the architecture reflected the changing needs and aspirations of the community. The influence of different architectural styles and periods can be observed in the diverse range of buildings that emerged during this period.

Overall, the architecture of Perth from 1829 to 1901 reflects the city's transformation from a small British settlement to a thriving urban centre. The development of public buildings in their cultural and historical contexts serves as a testament to Perth's growth and the aspirations of its residents.

The story of British architecture in the Colony started with Henry Willey Reveley. Reveley was a civil engineer responsible for the earliest public buildings and public works in the Swan River Colony in the years 1829-1838. He was the son of Willey Reveley (1760—1799), a renowned English architect who assisted Sir William Chambers in the building of Somerset House in London, and travelled through Italy, Greece, and Egypt with the antiquary Sir Richard Worsley, which resulted in sets of ink and watercolours paintings of the cityscapes (*vedutas*), architectural ruins and details, as well as in pictorial documentation of other artefacts sourced in their travels. Upon his return to England, he established a reputation as an expert on the Greek revival (Nichols, 1815). He designed a mansion at Windmill Hill, Sussex (1796–1798), illustrated *New Vitruvius Britannicus* (1810), as well as edited and prepared the third volume of Stuart and Revett's *The Antiquities of Athens* (1794). In 1791, he also made a number of architectural drawings for Jeremy Bentham, to visualise his concept of a Panopticon prison (Lewi, 2003). Henry Reveley was not only familiar with the Greek revival, but, as a graduate from the University of Pisa in Italy, he was accustomed with Roman as well as contemporary Italian architecture. His credentials and knowledge made him a competent designer for the public buildings in Perth. He arrived to the Colony in 1829, aboard the “Parmelia,” together with James Stirling, whom he joined in Cape Town. Reveley made his return to Britain in 1838 (Pitt Morison & White, 1981).

During his stay, Reveley was commissioned to design and oversee the construction of the Round House (Figure 2.43) in 1831, the oldest building still standing, and the oldest prison of the Colony. Spatial solutions to the limited area within the prison came from Bentham’s scheme for Panopticon, and from another source - current at the time in Britain, austere utilitarian principles of penal architecture. The Round House was a twelve-sided polygon with a central courtyard onto which eight prison cells and the jailer’s quarters open. In 1834, Reveley was employed by Stirling to design the first Government House (Figure 2.44). Reveley’s dwelling was a symmetrical white two-storey house, with two single-storey wings, following the traditional plans of the Palladian palaces, finished with Greek Revival’s Doric portico. The first Government House served its purpose until 1855, but after that the then Governor, Arthur Edward Kennedy (in the office 1855—1862), decided that he would rather rent something more suitable instead. Apart from the leaking roofs, white ants in the floorboards, and porous, moisture-absorbing walls, the dwelling lacked guest rooms as well as a banqueting venue. The foundation stone for a new Government House was laid in 1859. The first Government House was demolished in 1887 (Austen, 1988).

Reveley also designed the Old Court building (Figure 2.45): a meeting hall with a Greek portico. It was a modestly-sized rectangular building with Doric portico in the front, and a side annexe, with another set of access doors. Both the first Government House and the Old Court had a common feature, which was a two-step capper located centrally over their porticos. The accomplishment of all three projects by Reveley commenced a more-formal British mode of administration and control in the Swan River Colony (Green, 1981).

One of the oldest remaining buildings of the early settlement was the Old Mill (1835), and the Miller's Cottage (1837), located at Point Belches in present South Perth (Figure 2.46). It was built by William Shenton, an engineer from Winchester, England, whose family already owned a mill there, and who, in 1829, brought to the Colony the required machinery for setting up a saw mill. He built two wind mills, one in Fremantle and one at Point Belches (present-day Mill Point), to replace the method of hand-milling the wheat by the settlers. The latter mill stopped operating in 1859. It failed to make profit, because its location was quite away from the major markets and there were inconsistent winds at Point Belches, which interrupted its operations. The building was an example of the early commercial endeavours in Perth ("Historic Thematic Framework;" "A Brief History of the Old Mill;" Crowley, 1962).

Whilst in its early stages, the Colony did not develop as fast as was planned; harshness of the environment caused the population of migrants to grow and spread very slowly, with many of them returning to Europe, like Stirling in 1837, and Reveley in 1838, or to the eastern states. Established as the first private British settlement in Australia, and the only one founded on the basis of the land grant system, the Swan River Colony was struggling to develop without the financial help from the British Foreign Office. The conditions of the initial settlement shifted the responsibilities for colonisation from the British Crown into private hands of colonial officials. Despite attracting around 2,000 new migrants in 1830 with generous terms of settlement, by 1850, there was only 5,254 colonists, while in South Australia, founded in 1836, at the same time, the population reached over 50,000 people. In 1850, the government of the Swan River Colony decided to accept convicts and financial help from Britain and became a penal colony (Statham, 1981). During the start of the gold rush in Australia in 1851, it became impractical and very costly to send convicts from Britain to Australia: "From the early 1850s, the great majority of British convicts served out

their time within their homeland's borders” (Hirst, 1998, p. 263). However, just when New South Wales and Victoria abandoned their initially penal character in 1852, the government of the Swan Colony used it as an economic boost in the form of cheap labour and additional funds from London. The years between 1850 and 1867 marked the penal-colony period in the state’s history. That caused growth of population from around 6,000 in 1850 to around 23,000 in 1869 (Gibbs, 2006 and 2001; Reece, 2006; Hirst, 1998; Hasluck, 1978). Thomas Appleyard identified the 1850s as the period when the Swan River Settlement became a penal colony, and the 1890s, when gold was discovered in Western Australia, as the two main turning points for the economy and population in Western Australian history (Haast, 2015; Appleyard, 1981). The convicts were employed to build infrastructure and public buildings.

In 1850, 75 convicts, under the command of Captain Edmund Henderson of the Royal Engineers, built a prison for themselves. Henderson was familiar with the prison reforms in Britain and a Penitentiary Act of 1779, which changed the design of the prison buildings in Britain (Ignatieff, 1989):

“After the passing of Britain's 1779 Penitentiary Act, which made imprisonment an alternative to traditional sentences, a new type of prison emerged - the penitentiary. Buildings were designed to be supervised by paid staff. They had to accommodate labour programs (which taught work habits and helped to maintain the institution), the classification of inmates by sex, age and the level of criminality, and the principle of individual cellular confinement (one inmate per cell). It was expected that penitentiaries would act as deterrents to crime” (Johnson, 2008).

Taking all this into consideration, Henderson decided to use the ideas behind London's gaol, Pentonville (1840—1842), designed by Captain Joshua Jebb of the Royal Engineers. Its views, with a single-cell system, was published in *Illustrated London News* in 1842 (Figure 1.9.a-b), as a model for the Fremantle Gaol or the Imperial Convict Establishment as it was officially called then (Figure 2.47) (Koutsoukis, 2002, p. 34). Works started progressing in 1851 with the arrival of Lieutenant Henry Wray, a Royal Engineer, who trained convicts to work with the locally extracted

limestone. The main cell block was designed to hold 1,000 prisoners. The gatehouse was of a defensive character, and it had two towers on both sides of the narrow main gate. Cottages housing prison workers and officials were located outside of the prison walls, on both sides of the gatehouse. The building of Fremantle Prison was followed by other convict-built dwellings, including building of the Knowle in 1897, a private home for Henderson and his family, later turned into a hospital, and the Lunatic Asylum (Figure 2.48), built between 1861 and 1868. Both were designed by Henderson, and located in Fremantle. In 1866—1867, George Temple Poole designed an extra ward for the Asylum. Geoffrey London confirmed the application of pattern books in the process of the design, but also acknowledged the individual input of its designers:

“These early buildings, plain and utilitarian, were well-considered in terms of local materials and conditions, using thick stone walls, small openings, window shades, and verandahs for summer heat. Although pattern-books with standard architectural details were largely used, the buildings show a confidence and skill in the manipulation of forms, the creation of major spaces, and the manner of construction” (London, 2002, p. 6-7).

The new Government house (1859—1864) (Figure 2.49) was also designed by Henderson, while being assisted by the colony’s surveyor, James Manning (Martens, 2011). It was greatly influenced by the idea of the Elizabethan Manor House, particularly Burghley House in Lincolnshire (1555—1587), designed by William Cecil (Figure 2.50). One other contemporary famous project based on this design was Donaldson’s School for the Deaf in Edinburgh, by William Playfair (Figure 2.51), inaugurated by Queen Victoria in 1851. The Government House was built of brick and stonework, with use of convict labour. The building occupied a prominent park-site between St George’s Terrace and the river, and resembled majestic residences of the nobility in Britain of late Gothic and early Renaissance period, but on a smaller scale (Pitt Morison & White, 1981).

An architect who, at that time, contributed the most to the public architecture of Swan Colony and used convict labourers consistently was Richard Roach Jewell, who migrated to Perth in 1852. Already with an established reputation, given his former employer was Charles Barry’s office in London, Jewell was responsible for the designs of a number of churches, a fort, a gaol, and a



college back in Britain. He specialised in the Gothic revival architecture, “an idiom imbued with a potent mixture of nationalism and morality” (Apperly et al., 1989, p. 15). In June of 1853, he was appointed to the position of a Superintendent of Public Works in Perth (Apperly et al., 1989). Many of his designs combined different architectural styles, such as late Gothic and Renaissance revivals, where horizontally divided walls were accompanied by tall towers, arcades and arched wall openings. Architectural details were rendered to contrast with the brick walls. His designs included the Pensioner Barracks, boys’ schools in Perth and Fremantle, Wesley Church, the oldest section of the Treasury Buildings, Perth Town Hall, and Perth Goal (Rich, 1991).

Jewell decided to design the Barracks (Figure 2.52) as a three-storeyed building, with a central entrance in a hybrid of Renaissance and late Gothic styles. The building was to house the guards for 10,000 convicts sent to the Colony between 1850 and 1868. Using the convict labour, he also built the Perth Gaol, 1854—1856 (Figure 2.53). The gaol contained a basement, a chapel, gaoler’s quarters, cells, and a prisoners’ yard, which was also used as a place for executions. The first prisoners were transferred there from the Fremantle Roundhouse (Figure 2.43), and from a small lockup existing then in Perth (Rich, 1991).

Among Jewell’s other projects for Perth was a building for Bishop Hale's Collegiate School, 1858 (Figure 2.54), an exclusive Anglican day and boarding boy's school, with claims of formal connotations to buildings of such institutions as Eton College (Figure 2.55) in Britain (Rich, 1991).

“The Cloisters' remains a responsible and refined building. Its brick walls display an orderly and regular Flemish bond pattern promising an education (...). Described variously as Tudor revival, Scottish Tudor, and Jacobean, (...) its pleasant Gothic features indicate that there were those settlers who aspired to learning and possibly to being in a developing upper class” (Rich, 1991, p. 69).

The convicts also built the Perth Town Hall in 1870 according to Jewell’s design (Figure 2.56); based on a typical European idea of combining a watch tower with a meeting hall and a market space, this asymmetric medieval revival structure was collated from various building modules that were assembled together. All of the openings were accentuated by lightly-coloured rendered

framing, which contrasted with the dark orange-coloured brickwork of the walls. Jewell was additionally responsible for the design of the Wesley Church (1870) (Figure 2.57), and of the Deanery (1859) (Figure 2.58). The Wesley Church was built in the Gothic revival style, but with characteristics adapted from Methodist principles, downplaying the decorative side of the Gothic style. Architectural details were emphasised by rendered framing against the Flemish-bond brickwork walls and a side tower with a steep spire. The Deanery was built in 1859, as an asymmetrical 2-storey cottage, with architectural details of the ground level of the facade, which indicated a revival style of the early British Renaissance. It looked like the design itself could have been influenced by the architectural pattern books for the ornamental rural cottages (Figure 2.58) (Pitt, Morison & White, 1981), however, no other source for it, aside Jewell's own ingenuity, was ever found.

The First Anglican Church of St George (1841—1848) (Figure 2.59) was built in the Classicistic style, with late Baroque influences, as represented in Britain by James Gibbs and his published designs for churches, and especially in the popular patterns of St Martin in the Fields (Figure 1.13.2), which became iconic to the British culture between the years 1750 and 1901. Characteristic features of that building were the Tuscan portico and dominant central tower topped with a tinned helmet. Until the year 1858, Perth was subordinated to the Anglican Diocese of Adelaide. Although the church was already in use in 1845, it took three years for the bishop to arrive from Adelaide in order to consecrate it. Upon the arrival of Bishop Mathew Hale to Perth in 1858, the church became a cathedral (Pitt, Morison & White, 1981).

Meanwhile, Perth Catholics obtained land near Victoria Square and built The Church of St John the Apostle and Evangelist (Figure 2.60), also known as St John's Pro-Cathedral. The Church was funded by the donations from a small population of Roman Catholics and built by mainly Irish convicts in the year 1854. Very small in scale, it had been built in a form of country chapel with Gothic-style windows and a minimal amount of architectural ornament. The growing population of Perth's Catholics soon required a larger venue for worship. In 1863, the construction works of St Mary's Cathedral, officially Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, at Victoria Square, commenced (Figure 2.61). The initial work was done by the Spanish Benedictine monks from Subiaco and New Norcia, who were better trained and more experienced masons in comparison to the convicts. The first, Benedictine period of the building process, had

finished in 1865. The author of the design, Benedictine Oblate Brother Giuseppe Ascione, made it in the austere Norman Gothic style. In 1897, the spire had been added. The subsequent, more decorative, trimmings and alterations to the building that were done over the next thirteen years, were meant to emphasise its Gothic character. While the lack of funds significantly prolonged the completion of the Cathedral, Catholic Bishop of Perth, Joseph Serra, had his residence, the Archbishop's Palace built in 1860, in close proximity to the Cathedral site. Serra was a member of the Benedict Order from a convent located in Compostella in Spain, one of the most important pilgrimage centres in Europe, and was educated in monastic colleges in Navarre and Orvieto. The Palace was designed by Serra, and built by Ascione in the Classicistic style, with giant order Ionic columns in the central parts of the front and garden elevations. This Spanish-looking building was grandiose in scale and its aesthetic expression, and was well-suited to the Mediterranean-like climate of Perth. It also contrasted with the ascetic Gothic form of the Cathedral built by the monks across the road (Burke, 1979; Perez, 1976).

This new Catholic cathedral stimulated the Anglican population to erect its own building of worship. As the fashion of the Gothic style of sacral buildings was getting reinforced in Britain through the activities of Camden Society and John Ruskin, Anglican Cathedral Church of St George (Figure 2.62) had been built in 1888, in Gothic style, and according to the plans provided by Edmund Blacket. Blacket was an English-born, self-taught architect, who became one of the leading architects of Sydney. His architectural library and the current subscription to architectural journals that were sent from London on regular basis allowed him the access to contemporary fashions in Britain. Following the letter of recommendation from the Archbishop of Canterbury, courtesy of his brother, a High Church Anglican clergyman, he was appointed the Diocesan Architect in 1847, and in this role, he designed over fifty church buildings in Australia (Herman, 1986).

Trinity Uniting Church (Figure 2.63) was designed to house a Congregation church that had been formed in Perth in 1843, by Henry Trigg, who arrived in the Swan River Colony in 1829. It was designed in 1893 by the grandson of the founder, Henry Stirling Trigg, who was also the first architect born in Perth. The modern look of the building, with red brick walls contrasted with off-white terracotta details, was done by the application of a popular in the USA version of the Romanesque style, a novelty in Perth at that time. The use of a style considered to be British-

American was also indicative of further developments of architectural patterns across the British world (Aveling, 1981).

In 1885, George Temple Poole was appointed a Superintendent of Public Works Department in the Imperial Services In Western Australia., and a Colonial Architect. Since 1896, he had been running his own practice. Poole was an Englishman, born in Italy, educated in England, and with two-year architectural experience in Ceylon. His stay in Ceylon is only mentioned in the written sources, while his activities there are not elaborated about. In Perth, the Royal Mint, the Observatory, the first part of the Hospital, Victoria Library and Museum were designed by and built under Poole's supervision ("The Salon" Vol. 2 No. 1 (1 August 1913)). He introduced Arts and Crafts type of architecture in Western Australia. The Arts and Crafts Movement was a British reaction to the industrialisation of the British culture through capitalism, and to the mass production of art, which theoretically should be hand-crafted, while machine production should be mastered before being used in fine arts. In architecture, it resulted in an idealised approach towards medieval times, treated rather as a guide, and not as a source of architectural patterns like it was evident earlier, particularly in the Gothic revival. Poole, together with engineer-in-chief Charles Yelverton O'Connor, designed many architectural structures that reflected the great economic advancements of Perth at the end of the nineteenth century (London, 2002). In 1874, he extended Richard Roch Jewell's Central Government Offices and the Old Treasury (Figure 2.64) and completed these with the Land Titles Offices in 1897 (Figure 2.65). While the Government Offices were typical for British state administrative buildings, the Title Office was more Italianate, with palazzo-like arcaded elevations. He also designed a picturesque, asymmetrical Tuscan villa-like structure, with a side tower for Perth Observatory and Government Astronomers Residence (1896, Figure 2.66), and afterwards, the Perth Mint (1899, Figure: 2.67), a symbol of prosperity of the Gold Rush. The Perth Mint building was symmetrical, in the eclectic combination of Romanesque-Renaissance styles, with heavy, rusticated limestone walls, tiled roof, and accentuated framing of doorways, windows, and ground floor arcades, together with an ornamental decorative frieze (London, 2002).

Socially, the colonisers of the times (1750—1901) were divided into the British middle class and the lower class, with subclasses within both. Their aspirations and hopes were declared in naming towns, suburbs and private properties using the names that would allude to the originals back in

Britain. With the arrival of settlers, many places within Perth's metropolitan area had been given names of various British locations or estates (for details see footnote).<sup>1</sup> The names indicated both emotional and prestigious connotations. Emotionalism appeared in naming after a place of birth or family estate, while social advancement was manifested in the use of the names of prestigious London suburbs or large gentry estates. Heather Burke's analysis of Armidale, NSW, led to a conclusion that a significant number of wealthy owners formally named their estates:

“Naming a house and an area of land creates links with the European model of landed estates and great houses, and many estates in Armidale and New England take their names directly from European places and events (e.g. Salisbury Court, Saumarez, Waterloo, Cotswold, Arran House, Tintagel)” (Burke, 1999, p. 123-4).

By naming places after their places of birth or family estates, the colonizers expressed an emotional attachment to their origins and sought to create a sense of familiarity in their new surroundings. This practice helped them maintain a connection to their homeland and provided a sense of comfort and identity in the foreign land. On the other hand, the use of names associated with prestigious London suburbs or large gentry estates demonstrated the colonizers' aspirations for social advancement. By associating their settlements and properties with these esteemed locations, they sought to project an image of status and importance. It was a way of signalling their wealth, influence, and social standing within colonial society.

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<sup>1</sup> Although not complete, the following are British origins of Perth suburbs names as listed by Western Australian Land Information Authority: Applecross - a village on the north-west coast of Scotland; Armadale – after one of two Scottish towns: west of Edinburgh or the north coast of Scotland; Attadale - a town in Scotland, not far from Applecross; Aveley - the district in county Essex, England; Bassendean – an estate in Berwickshire, England; Bayswater - London suburb; Beckenham - a town near London; Beechboro – an estate in Kent, England; Belhus – an estate in England; Belmont - an estate in England; Bicton – an estate in a village in South Devon, England; Brentwood - a town north-east of London; Burswood – misspelled name of a farm in England; Carlisle - a town in England near the Scottish border; Dalkeith - the Earl of Dalkeith's estate in Scotland; Glendalough - a Catholic centre in the County of Wicklow, Ireland; Guildford - a town in Surrey, England; Hazelmere – misspelled: Haselmere, a suburb of Guildford, Surrey, England; Highgate – a town in Kent, England; High Wycombe - a village in Buckinghamshire, England; Kelmscott – a town in Oxfordshire, England; Kensington – a prestigious London suburb; Kenwick - an estate in England; Kingsley - a village near Winchester in Hampshire, England; Kinross - a village near Perth in Scotland; Lesmurdie - Lesmurdie Cottage was a hunter lodge in Banffshire, Scotland, near Dufftown; Maddington - the outer London suburb; Maida Vale - the west London suburb; Saint James - a London park; Scarborough - a seaside town, England; Welshpool – a town in Wales; Wembley – the north-west London suburb; Westminster – central London; Woodbridge – an estate near Guildford in Surrey, England. Cambridge has been added as a name of a suburb to the map of Perth as late as 1994.

Overall, the naming of places in Perth with British references served as a means for the colonizers to express their social and cultural identities, while also striving for recognition and status within the colonial context.

The establishment and development of British settler colonies, including the Swan River Colony in Australia, drew upon the experience and history of previous British settlements, particularly in North America. In North America, the British encountered native American tribes who primarily lived in non-permanent shelters and practised nomadic lifestyles. To establish control over the land, the British restricted the native population's access to designated areas. A similar approach was applied in Australia, although with some differences. In Australia, the consent of the entire tribe was required for British requests, whereas in North America, agreement with the tribal chief was sufficient.

The acquisition and utilization of land in Australia followed a pattern akin to that in America. Initially, the native population was restricted from areas claimed by the colony on behalf of the British Crown. Subsequently, as conditions became more secure, British administrative, legal, penal, custom houses, and cultural centres were established, reflecting British governing practices (Bremner, 2016). Since there was no pre-existing contested local built environment, the British settlers were able to construct settlements, towns, and cities that resembled "little Britains." These places bore an unmistakable British character and were familiar to the British colonizers. Meanwhile, the native Australians were limited in their access to the land, which diverged from their traditional practices and had significant implications for their culture and way of life.

“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 atrophy of the reach of the British empire” (King & Willis, 2016, p. 354).

The customs and practices of the free settlement in Australia, the socio-political discourse reflected in the naming of places by the colonists, and the contestation of social classes through certain patterns were carried out in a similar manner to Britain itself, as discussed in Part One, but on a smaller scale. The early British colonial society in Australia consisted of opposing classes: the rulers and the ruled, the middle class and the lower class, with little to no contact with the native Australians. The colonization of the land was relatively easy for the colonizers, and the absence of strong building traditions among the native cultures meant that their practices were disregarded and not contested by the colonizing power, unlike in India (King & Willis, 2016).

As the Swan River Settlement evolved, more permanent public buildings began to emerge, particularly during its period as a penal colony. This approach aimed to utilize cheap labour and funds from the Crown to accelerate the development of the colony into a town surrounded by farms, with infrastructure such as roads, bridges, railways, and deep-water ports. By 1901, Perth had become the capital of the largest colony in Australia.

Over the course of 72 years, the Swan River Settlement underwent a gradual transformation from a camp to an initial settlement and eventually a well-developed town. The examination of architectural structures built between 1829 and 1901, as discussed in this section, highlights the colony's progress toward normalizing the lives of the settlers according to their cultural standards and establishing familiarity, stability, and permanence. Settler colonialism involved the transfer of British people with their established social order and cultural patterns to distant locations. It facilitated the development of greater British cultural dominance over geographically and culturally distant places and their "savage" native populations, as referred to by William Dampier in 1699. Settler colonies such as Perth were intended to evolve according to British standards into "little Britains," with a British-like administration and culture.

“(...) the type of people who immigrated to Western Australia between 1829 and 1850 were familiar with, and aspired towards, the characteristic architecture of their time. This included the elegant style known as Georgian. (...) Architecture of Western Australia was out of phase with the rest of Australia, (...). Before the sudden prosperity that came with the discovery of gold, records of private

buildings are few (...). The well preserved towns of South Australia, Victoria and New South Wales can only be compared in general style of buildings of later decades in Western Australia: and although exceptions did exist, the majority of domestic buildings remained faithful to the simplicity of the Georgian tradition long after it had disappeared elsewhere” (Pitt, Morison & White, 1981, p. 512).

The patterns of British culture within the 'little Britains' in Perth were utilized in a similar manner as they were in Britain itself, with the purpose of establishing and supporting social stratification, rules, and ways of life. This section focuses on the examination of architectural patterns, which directly contributed to the distinctively British character of Perth between 1829 and 1901. During this period, the designs for administrative buildings in Perth and Fremantle drew from British traditions and were standardized according to British norms of form, function, and appropriateness. This process involved the application of architectural patterns, along with the ingenuity and expertise of the designers involved. The architectural forms bore strong resemblance to their British prototypes, with some adjustments made to suit the local climate. Furthermore, these structures were often constructed using locally available building materials and by local labour.

Certain requirements and needs were identified as common priorities for a settler colony's public infrastructure, including the initial buildings, roads, bridges, ports, railways, and more. The aspirations of the colony to maintain its British cultural and political character were manifested through similarities, inspirations, and precedents from earlier British colonial settlements in North America, New Zealand, and the eastern parts of Australia. The memories and architectural patterns found in books and other publications served as the main sources of inspiration for the components of the colonial built environment.

By 1901, Perth had already developed a well-established social structure and essential public amenities such as government institutions, police services, judicial facilities, customs and postal services, hospitals, charitable organizations, schools, and the press in urban areas. The middle class invested in leisure and entertainment, constructing private clubs, theatres, shopping facilities, and



sports venues. The expansion of infrastructure facilitated travel and gave rise to new suburbs outside the city centre, as well as the transportation of goods and food across the state and beyond (King & Willis, 2016).

Architectural patterns in Perth and its surroundings served as mechanisms for transmitting British architectural structures and establishing a socio-political order, aiming to civilize the "savage" and explore distant lands. These architectural patterns played a central role in social, political, and cultural discourse among the settlers, while symbolizing British colonial rule and hegemony in the colony.

FIGURES 2.43-2.67



## ***BOTTOM***

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Figure 2.43: **Round House, Fremantle**

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us/history-of-government-house/](https://govhouse.wa.gov.au/about-us/history-of-government-house/)

Figure 2.44: **Old Government House, Perth**

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Figure 2.45: **Old Court House, Perth**

Photographed ca 1920

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**Figure 2.46: The Old Mill, South Perth**

Gnangarra, photograph, 2006

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Figure 2.47: **Fremantle Prison**

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Figure 2.48: **Fremantle Lunatic Asylum**



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Figure 2.49: **Government House, Perth**

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Figure 2.50: **Burghley House, Lincolnshire, 1555-1587**

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Figure 2.51: **Donaldson's School for the Deaf, Edinburg, 1851**

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Figure 2.53: **The Old Perth Gaol**

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Figure 2.54: **Bishop Hale's Collegiate School, Perth**

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**Figure 2.55: Eton College, Windsor**

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Figure 2.56: **Perth Town Hall**



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Figure 2.57: **Wesley Uniting Church, Perth**

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**Figure 2.59: The First Anglican Church of St George, Perth**

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Figure 2.60: **St John's Pro-Cathedral - The Church of St John the Apostle and Evangelist**

Moondyne, photography, 2006

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marys-cathedral](https://www.museumofperth.com.au/st-marys-cathedral)

**Figure 2.61: St Mary's Cathedral, Perth**

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Figure 2.62: **St George's Cathedral, Perth**

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**Figure 2.63: Trinity Uniting Church, Perth**

Orderinchaos, photography, 2012

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7 1

Figure 2.64: **Central Government Offices, Perth**



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Figure 2.66: **The Old Observatory, West Perth**

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Figure: 2.67: **The Perth Mint**

## PART THREE: Processes of Colonisation through the Mechanism of the Architectural Pattern. The Crucial Role Played by the Architectural Patterns in the British Colonial Expansion, 1750-1901. Theoretical Framework Revisited

Understanding the meaning conveyed by the built environment, both to ourselves and to others, involves considering the modes of representation and communication within the socio-cultural contexts of observers. The built environment, as a form of applied art and monumentality, plays a crucial role in shaping the notion of contextual identity. Observers and participants inherit specific inner orders and logic influenced by their geographical locations, technological advancements, and social stratification within contemporary society, which contribute to defining their national, class, or group affiliations and overall identity (Manganaro, 2002; Rising, 1998; Arnheim, 1977; Panofsky, 1955; Lynch, 1960; & Benedict, 1934).

Representation and communication of architectural objects carry inherent meanings, and the visual and physical forms of the built environment have a significant impact on observers (Arnheim, 1977).

The political power and cultural production of architecture relied on authority to establish and convey meaning in space, incorporating historical perspectives, social and cultural formations, human context, and geographical landscapes. This mechanism enabled authorities to construct knowledge and assert that this knowledge was collective and progressive. The authority connected the construction of knowledge to the interests of the public, and thus, as justification of its own rule (Olsen, 2019; Weinstein, 2017; Bourdieu, 2000; Wrong, 1979; & Foucault, 1978).

Moreover, the authority sought to symbolically represent its power in the built environment. This symbolic representation was derived not only from the physical location but also from geographical, cultural, political, and theoretical perspectives. In turn, the representations emanated these viewpoints. Architectural patterns served as the foundation of symbolic representations since

architecture held meaning by shaping urban spaces, constructing building types, and employing architectural styles that demonstrated the evidence of authority.

The discourses surrounding the concept of meaning were intertwined with the struggle for control and authority. In practice, it was the struggle for power and dominance between the rulers and the ruled among observers and participants. The unequal distribution of power sparked moral debates that were central to discussions on meaning and understanding. Power, while concealing its mechanisms, justified the existing inequalities (Webster, 2011; Bourdieu, 2000 and 1969; Bourdieu & Saint-Martin, 1998). In this context, when power became naturalized, it transformed into cultural hegemony (Gramsci, 1971; JanMohamed, 1985).

The British middle class played a crucial role in both Britain and its empire during the period from 1750 to 1901. They were considered the backbone of the British empire and held significant cultural authority (Webster, 2011; Hauser, 1999[a]; Bourdieu, 1993). The ruling middle class exerted control over the main political and economic powers, establishing themselves as the dominant force in the "field of cultural production" (Bourdieu, 1993).

The ruling class exercised control over the ruled in order to manage them for the benefit of the public interest. They employed various mechanisms, including the use of architectural patterns, to exert control. Architecture and urban planning played a role in spatially controlling and subjugating the ruled (Fontana-Giusti, 2013; Foucault, 1972). In the colonies, the aspiring British middle class, who had acquired wealth, often attempted to emulate their betters (Webster, 2011). In India, the highest class, and in Australia, a higher class. In Britain, individuals who had accumulated wealth in the colonies could potentially ascend higher in the class hierarchy, thanks to the social mobility within the middle class.

Bourdieu's concept of the "field of power" (1993), encompassing the political and economic spheres, revealed itself as a form of "symbolic power." The middle class controlled the architecture and building industry not only for political, ideological, and economic reasons but also due to its symbolic significance (Weinstein, 2017; Dovey, 1999; Bourdieu, 1977).

Architectural patterns of public buildings, new types of institutions, technological advancements, administrative networks, and cultural production were all influenced by the authority of the middle class (Hauser, 1999[a]; Bourdieu, 1984, 1990). These developments had to consider the preferences of the middle class and reflect socio-cultural practices. The ruling class played a significant role in transforming the market for cultural consumption, particularly in the realms of arts and architecture. Through patterned urban planning and the construction of new buildings, spatial practices of "Exclusion" and "Inclusion" were executed to accommodate political, social, and cultural institutions. Moreover, the consumption of arts and architecture became a means of legitimizing societal differences, inequalities, and dependencies.

In the context of British power discourse, the ruling class referred to themselves as "Us," while the British lower classes and native inhabitants of the colonies were labelled as the "Others." During the Industrial Revolution, practices, policies, and institutions were established to facilitate, control, and separate "Us" from the "Others." This hegemonic mode of operation, utilizing the built environment, extended to both Britain and its colonies. Cultural hegemony in Britain was also applied to colonial encounters, albeit in a modified form that suited the circumstances.

The middle-class authority influenced architectural patterns, institutions, technological advancements, administrative networks, and cultural production. The consumption of arts and architecture played a role in legitimizing societal differences, while spatial practices such as exclusion and inclusion were executed through urban planning. The British ruling class employed cultural hegemony, both in Britain and its colonies, to establish and maintain control over the lower classes and colonial encounters.

Discourses involving the "Others" played a crucial role in power relations during that time. The Others were problematic and required such a representation process, which always involved hegemony. This process was mediated through authority, institutions, social structures, historical accounts, assumptions, and ethnocentrism - the tendency to view other cultures based on preconceptions from one's own cultural standards, customs, and settings.

Within the discourse of power and hegemonic practices, the concept of "Us" and "Others" introduced a duality in the representation of places and their architecture. In more complex cultural and social contexts, representations and interpretations were multiple. In the colonies, for instance, British dominance coexisted with local governance and socio-cultural formations that were independent of British imperialism. Representations and interpretations from both sides, Us and Others, stemmed from different frameworks that were familiar and useful to each side within this discourse.

The concept of the Other during the colonial era was influenced by the European middle class's own ambiguity about their identity. The middle class as a political and economic power was still evolving, and the processes of constructing its identity necessitated projecting attitudes towards Others. These attitudes were often reinforced by religious beliefs, which encompassed three spatial-temporal representations: Christianity, other monotheistic faiths, and polytheistic beliefs (Said, 2003; Jan-Mohamed, 1985; Fanon, 1963).

The descriptions of the colonial world during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries provided by colonial administrators, travellers, entrepreneurs, and missionaries were considered accurate and reliable due to the authors' firsthand experiences, personal presence, and fieldwork. However, these accounts lacked the objectivity of a scientific approach, as they were often subjective and influenced by the authors' personal perspectives. Despite their amateurish nature, these British accounts played a significant role in shaping the popular understanding of distant lands and their diverse cultural traditions. They became the dominant narratives of the "Others" in colonial hegemonic practices.

The concept of Otherness facilitated interpretations that were inherently appropriative. For example, "tribal objects" were often seized and categorized as "cultural artifacts" by European collectors, displayed in art exhibitions, and placed in museums. In this process, the native meaning of these objects as religious or ritualistic items was redefined. This research delves into British colonial literature, primarily non-fiction works, supplemented by a few paintings and drawings, to present informed sources that offer firsthand experiences and perspectives.

The subjugation of the "Others" was justified based on their perceived underprivileged position within the discourse of power. They were considered the ruled, while the ruling class believed it had a responsibility to exercise paternalistic control over the "uncivilized" imperial subjects. This justification stemmed from the belief that the colonized populations were in need of guidance and governance, and that the ruling class had a duty to civilize and uplift them. It was a rationale used to maintain the power dynamics and justify the hierarchical structures of colonial rule.

### 3.1 Observers-participants and their colonial experience 1750-1901. Critical enquiries

In the British world from 1750 to 1901, the experience of colonialism presented a dual perspective for both the British and non-European subjects within the empire. They occupied roles as observers and participants in the colonial context. They viewed the British-built environment and native India from two distinct vantage points: from within as active participants and from outside as external observers.

The observers, positioned externally, constructed representations of the observed system of objects and subjects in order to gather information about them. However, biases emerged when the observers' preconceptions, assumptions, prejudices, or other interpretive factors tainted their recorded accounts and were treated as knowledge. Consequently, the mere presence of observers influenced the observed situation, altering the examined phenomenon itself: the British colonial built environment, characterized by British architectural patterns, in the study locations of India and Australia. It was observed both from within, as active participants or contributors, and from a distance, perceiving it as a foreign element within the landscape of the territories under colonial rule. This observation highlighted the architectural patterns' application as a significant manifestation of the colonizing power, asserting its claimed cultural hegemony.

Participation in colonial contexts was shaped by socio-physical factors that influenced the perspectives and insights gained from lived experiences. The outcomes of participation contributed to an experiential context that informed the observations made. Observation and participation were interconnected, with various dependencies that contextualized the nature of both.



In Britain between 1750 and 1901, the social structure consisted of three main classes: the higher, middle, and lower, each with its own subclasses. Members of each class observed and interacted with the other classes. For instance, the middle classes sought to express their social status by emulating the behaviours, fashions, and lifestyles of the higher classes. However, both the higher and middle classes also had a vested interest in preventing uprisings from the lower classes, which could challenge the existing social hierarchy.

To safeguard their positions, the higher and middle classes utilized various means such as urban planning, police forces, prisons, the Church, and limited education. Drawing on historical knowledge, including events like the French Revolution, they sought to separate themselves from the lower classes for safety and stability. Meanwhile, the lower classes observed public buildings, commercial establishments, administrative and government buildings, as they were part of the context of the higher classes. The built landscape that the lower classes experienced was designed, constructed, and authorized by the upper middle class. Additionally, the middle class took charge of founding and administering institutions such as charities, shelters, hospitals, basic schools, lunatic asylums, and orphanages for the lower classes. Through their control over planning and building processes, the middle class aimed to exert control over the lower classes. By acting as a political and moral authority in Britain, the middle class became a significant driving force behind British commercial imperialism, by utilizing prevailing hegemonic practices.

In the context of India, the British middle class, whether employed by the East India Company, the British government, or self-employed, played the role of observers of the native population, their customs, and traditions. As the workforce was primarily sourced locally, British individuals visiting India were often tourists, had secure employment with British employers, or possessed the means to afford travel expenses and sought independent work there. However, their experiences in India were often limited in terms of their interactions with the native populace. As participants, their movements and activities were primarily confined to the spatial, architectural, and socio-political environments they created for themselves, seeking cultural comforts or interpreting them within the broader framework of British rule in India.

On the other side of the colonial discourses in India, the native population consisted of diverse and culturally distinct traditions. This included numerous castes of polytheistic Hindu people, Persian migrants from the Mughal Empire practising Zarathustrianism or Islamic faiths, as well as Buddhists, Sikhs, and other religious minorities such as Chinese, Jews, and Armenians. The cultural environment of the "Other" in India, with its rich religious and ethnic diversity, added another layer to the already existing racial discourses for the British observers and participants.

Within the context of British colonialism, some wealthy Indians who had either traveled to or received education in Britain understood the significance of European architectural styles, building types, technological advancements, and social identity. The settings of British colonialism reflected Britain's administrative system, culture, social dependencies, and built landscape. However, for Indians in India who were unaware of these contexts, British public architecture was seen as foreign and symbolic of British hegemony, representing a separation from Indian cultural and geographical landscapes.

Simultaneously, the infrastructure developed by the British, including roads, ports, and railways, which resulted from their technological advancements, benefitted internal trade and communication while serving as symbols of British progress. The subjugation of India to British rule during the colonial period was the subject of subaltern studies, where scholars examined the European concept of the Orient and the perception of non-European people as the "Others." They also analysed the responses of these non-European populations to colonial mechanisms and their consequences.

In Australia, the British colonizers and their commercial enterprises, supported by technological advancements, came into conflict with the native Australians, who were primarily fishers, hunters, and gatherers. While the indigenous population relied on harvesting resources for survival, they also practised sustainable resource management and ensured the preservation of natural resources before moving seasonally to another location. In southern regions, they utilized sandstone overhangs and limestone cave systems as shelters against extreme weather conditions. They made cloaks and foot coverings from animal skins and crafted tools from wood, bones, and stones.

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Unlike the native inhabitants of North America, who had some exchange of knowledge and understanding with the colonizers, the European settlers in Australia had little insight into the traditions of the native Australians. This lack of understanding was due to limited contact and cultural exchange. In North America, some knowledge was gained through the adoption of kidnapped or orphaned children from the immigrant population or through mixed marriages between native Americans and non-native women over a span of more than 100 years, starting from the early seventeenth century. English-speaking individuals who grew up in native tribes were able to provide accounts of their experiences and translate their knowledge of native customs and traditions to the colonizers. Such interactions were absent in the case of native Australians.

Both the native Americans and Australians experienced disruption in their relationship with their native lands due to the processes of colonization. The indigenous population in Australia initially became observers of the invasive practices of the British and the built environment created by the colonizers. Simultaneously, they maintained an independent way of life separate from the British invaders, although the implementation of British concepts of property and ownership often restricted their movement. The British settlers in Australia consisted mainly of middle-class individuals, along with convicts who were sent to serve their sentences but chose to stay in the

colonies afterwards. Their observations of native traditions were often uninformed and biased, leading to skewed accounts.

The imposition of British cultural norms resulted in the restriction of indigenous practices, while the state apparatus and cultural hegemony maintained British administration and rule in Australia.

This research emphasizes the importance of recognizing these contextual discourses in order to understand how architectural patterns were ideologically constructed as instruments of domination within the discourse of power.

### 3.2 Architectural pattern as the expression of hegemony

The British application of architectural patterns in hegemonic practices within their own country served as a strategic framework for their implementation in the British colonies. The diverse range of architectural patterns and their evolution in industrial Britain visually represented the intricate institutionalized administrative system, commercial enterprises, and imperial strength of Britain, reflecting its socio-political transformation. The distinctive appearance of the British built environment, along with the replication of its architectural patterns, signified their association with the culture of origin and symbolized power and dominance. The spread of architectural patterns, building types, and town planning was closely intertwined with the processes of imperialism and colonialism.

In both Britain and its colonies, the architecture of institutions and urban planning played a significant role in implementing various hegemonic practices, which included spatial and visual separation between the rulers and the ruled. This involved class divisions in Britain and the exclusion of the indigenous populations in the colonies. Consequently, the colonizers had limited knowledge of local cultural traditions and customs. This limited understanding led to the construction and interpretation of the colonial-built environment through racial, cultural, and political perspectives, generating specific architectural meanings for both observers and

participants. This process also simplified the complex construct of the "Others" into more manageable entities for control.

The ruling minority deliberately maintained physical and spatial separation from the majority ruled to uphold their cultural hegemony on the one hand and to enforce subjugation on the other. The built environment served as a tool to understand and enforce socio-cultural subordination. The rulers were responsible for constructing the buildings, and these structures maintained their power and authority. Stratification and domination were crucial in the formation of the British empire, with British architecture becoming a symbol of the ruling class and the discourse of power.

The key considerations of political organization, the expression of symbolic meanings through the physical environment, and the representation of beliefs and ideologies shaped the architectural experience in the selected study locations. These factors played a determining role in understanding the socio-political dynamics and power relations embedded in the built environment.

Each colonial centre required institutions for governance, worship, finances, trade, education, and other functions to operate. The architectural forms of these institutions were derived from their specific purposes and were comparable to their British prototypes, aligning with the British system of power and administration. Through visual transformations of the colonial landscapes, they asserted British control over new territories. These architectural designs also accommodated the diverse requirements of the colonial enterprise, from structural modifications necessitated by the climate to the adoption of the Indo-Saracenic style as a means to connect with India's imperial past prior to European influence.

Colonialism, by challenging existing cultural traditions in overseas territories, imposed an industrial model of the built environment in place of local, pre-industrial arrangements. The discourse surrounding colonial methods justified and validated the built environment and its planning, guiding the development of hegemonic cultures in colonial cities. This, in turn, often led to conflicts within segregated urban environments in India or between British settlements and indigenous land-use traditions in Australia. Each urban development, characterized by its use of

space and physical arrangements, was always a reflection of British culture and its power distribution.

In both industrial Europe and European colonial cities, the built environment of the colonizing powers coexisted with culturally diverse pre-industrial traditions. However, in the colonies, the distribution of power was radically altered, as the colonizers exerted complete dominance over relations with the indigenous populace and established their own modes of governance. As a result, the colonial environment underwent significant alterations.

The primary objective of this research was to address the research question, how did architectural visual effects and understanding of the function of a building generate specific meanings in architecture based on the experience of the observer in the context of British colonial practice? This generated an examination of how political authority materialized through the built environment and how the colonial-built environment contributed to the discourse of empire during the period of 1750-1901 through the experience of the observer. Central to this discourse were distinct architectural patterns that embodied the concept of institutionalized colonial power. These patterns played a crucial role in reinforcing the control of the empire over both the ruling class and the subjects during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Drawing from European experiences and the specific context of Britain, the colonial-built environment adopted and adapted certain building forms to suit the colonial setting, effectively allocating power and establishing colonial order.

To elucidate the ideological significance of architectural patterns within socio-political and colonial contexts spanning the period from 1750 to 1901, it becomes crucial to explore the interconnections among architectural patterns, architecture, culture, and colonization processes both in theory and practice. These interconnections reveal how architectural patterns were entwined with colonizing strategies that emerged from social, nationalistic, economic, and political motivations in Britain and its colonies during the aforementioned period, and how the experience of the observers and or participants experience was shaped by cultural associations between culture, power and built environment (research question). By studying specific locations, it becomes possible to examine the extent to which British architectural patterns were modified and

adapted to suit the experiences and effects on native populations in both exploitative/occupational and settler colonies.

By examining multiple perspectives stemming from the British social-class system and socio-political tensions, as well as British colonial practices during the period of 1750 to 1901, this research offers a comprehensive analysis of the role of socio-cultural dynamics in the implementation of architectural patterns both domestically and overseas. In the colonial context, the utilization of architectural patterns in the practices of claiming and exerting power over land and the native population positioned these patterns as tools within hegemonic practices.

The primary contribution of this research lies in the identification of the use of British architectural patterns as influential factors in shaping architectural expression within colonial contexts. The ideological and political character of these patterns played a crucial role in colonial hegemonic practices. Notably, the conceptual significance of architectural patterns in relation to cultural hegemony has been somewhat overlooked in architectural history. Therefore, by addressing this gap, this research stands out within its field.

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