COLONIAL ENCOUNTERS, KARACHI AND ANGLO-INDIAN
DWELLINGS DURING THE RAJ

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ABSTRACT

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Was British imperialism in India an authoritarian rule or a collaborative one? How did the Indians resist, react, or adapt to the modernity introduced by the British? How did the British respond to their Indian context? Did the colonisers transplant western ideology and institutions without experiencing an exchange of ideas and practices in return?

To deal with these questions, the study focuses on the architectural developments in Karachi during the British Raj (1858-1947) and investigates how the reforms introduced by the Raj transformed and modernised the society and its architecture, particularly the colonial domestic architecture.

Keywords: Raj architecture, colonial domesticity, Karachi, British imperialism, Anglo-Indian bungalow.

Öz

RAJ DÖNEMİNDE SÖMÜRGESEL ETKİLEŞİMLER, KARACHİ VE

ANGLO-HİNT KONUTLAR

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Hindistan'daki Britanya sömürgeciliği sıkı bir yönetim miydi? Yoksa esnek bir işbirliği var mıydı? Hintler, Britanyalıların getirdiği moderniteyi nasıl karşıladılar, buna nasıl adapte oldular veya karşı koydular? Britanya Hint bağlamına nasıl karşılık verdiler? Sömürgeciler, batının ideolojisiyle kurumlarını yerleştirirken karşılığında yerel yaklaşım ve uygulamalardan nasıl etkilendiler?

Bu soruları tartışmak için yapılan çalışma, Karachi'de Britanya Raj dönemindeki (1858-1947) mimari gelişmelere odaklanarak, Raj'ın getirdiği yeniliklerin toplumu ve mimarlığını, özellikle sömürge dönemi konut mimarlığını nasıl dönüştürdüğünü ve çağdaşlaştırdığını incelemektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Raj mimarisi, kolonyal evsellik, Karachi, Britanya emperyalizm, Anglo-Hint konutlar.

To my great grandfather,

who moved from Ludhiana to Karachi in 1922 and called it home.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1498, Vasco de Gama helped the Portuguese establish a seaborne trade with the Indian region. Afterwards came the Dutch who in the mid-17th century handed over the reins to the French. In the mid-18th century, Britain's supreme military power helped them earn a decisive victory over the French and they became the sole Western imperial power in the region (Guaita, 1999, p. 72).

The first British to arrive in India were traders who were employed by a private trading company known as the British East India Company.[1] They established trading posts (and called them "factories") in the region and guarded these properties with the help of their privately recruited army. The constant threat from the French rivals was finally overcome in the Battle of Plassey (1757) and the Company emerged as a new political power in the region (Ali, 1999, p. 23). Under their rule, India became the market for the

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[1] Also known as the Honourable East India Company; it was founded in 1600 and was granted monopoly of all English trade with Asia by the Royal Charter. The operations of the Company were run by the shareholders who worked from the headquarters in London (Marshell, 2011).

producers of raw materials for the industries in England and remained pre-industrial as late as the end of 19th century (Lari & Lari, 2001, p. 68)[2].

As we know, British Colonialism was a global phenomenon. The international politics and trade dictated its discourse. Therefore, when Britain suffered from both a psychological as well as an economic blow in the American Revolution (1775- 83), the focus of its interests shifted to India. The success in the subcontinent was meant to counterbalance Britain's inability to triumph in the American uprising (Levine, 2007, p. 62). India was truly a subcontinent (Figure 1 & 2). When the effective conquest of India was completed in 1818 (King, 1982, p. 52), the situation demanded the colonisers to devise a system of civil and juridical administration that would not only optimise the region's economic potential but also prolong Britain's territorial and political hold.

However, forging a suitable policy for India was a challenging task. Indian society was complex because of the heterogeneity of its culture, religion and ethnicity. Lord Curzon, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India (1899-1905), regarded Britain's Indian Empire as the most important, delicate and diverse frontier in the world (Onley, 2009, p. 47). Since Britain's knowledge about the region was limited, colonisers throughout the late 19th c. "sought to comprehend, and thus to control, the colonial peoples and their past" by conducting research and surveys nationwide (Metcalf, 2005, pp. 109-110)[3]. The

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[2] The English trading policies encouraged the Indian farmers to produce agricultural cash crops and in turn demanded the Indian retail markets to buy English manufactured goods.

[3] These censuses were government sponsored and published in detailed gazetteers and survey reports. Independent research such as James Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, first published in 1876 or personal diaries and travelogues by authors such as Richard Burton, also contributed towards the expansion of colonial knowledge about the subcontinent.

Indian heritage was studied and defined as the frozen past. Furthermore, the British engaged themselves in the conservation of the region's ancient monuments so that they could portray themselves as the true custodian; this also helped strengthen their claim as the legitimate rulers of the subcontinent (Metcalf, 2005, p. 153).

Orientalism influenced Britain's understanding of the Indian society. The paradigm was structured to promote the differences between the familiar Europe ("us", the West) and the strange 'Orient' ("them", the East) (Said, 1995, p. 43). According to this *reading,* the colonial world was a bipolar zone where the ruler and the ruled stood against each other.

However, in practice, the colonial experience was about both the similarities as well as the differences. The British understood the Indians by drawing parallels and seeking equivalences with their own society. According to Cannadine:

> The British Empire was about the familiar and domestic, as well as the different and the exotic: indeed, it was in large part about the domestication of the exotic- the comprehending and the reordering of the foreign in parallel, analogous, equivalent, resembling terms. (Cannadine, 2001, p. xix)

Throughout the British rule in India, Britain remained the true homeland for the colonisers. It was seen as the only legitimate source for their socio-cultural values. As the representatives of the Crown, they were expected to conduct themselves in a particular manner - a social and moral conduct that could uphold the dignity of their advanced civilisation. Despite this projected confident image, the British in India constantly suffered from anxieties. They

feared that frequent exposure to the foreign land and its people would cause moral contamination which would eventually lead to their colonial degeneration. Henceforth, colonisers often manifested ways to distance themselves from the very people they colonised (Mizutani, 2011).

However, Britons in the subcontinent were not successful in completely isolating themselves from their Indian context (Glover, 2008, p. 28). Interactions were inevitable. Especially because the colonisers were trapped in the image of the *sahib*[4] which they fabricated for themselves in order to impress the natives (Guha, 1997, p. 492).[5]

The demonstration of British 'prestige' is best captured in the designs of their dwellings in India. In most cases, the high-ranking officers were allotted spacious bungalows which were located within the confines of the predominantly European neighbourhoods. Since the colonial enterprise was about exclusiveness, spatial segregation was a key feature in a typical colonial urban setting. The European and Indian residential areas were planned at a distance from each other accompanied by "a peripheral manufactural zone adjoining the Indian sector, and an outlying military zone bordering the European sector" (Kosambi & Brush, 1988, p. 33). The use of Western architectural vocabulary in the British house designs in India further broadens the divide between the rulers and the ruled.

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[4] "Sahib" is a polite title used for holder, master or owner.

[5] In other words, the theatricality of their *projected identity* necessitated communication with their Indian audience.

By 1857, the gulf between the colonial authorities and the natives reached its breaking point and a number of Indian soldiers rebelled against the British. Levine describes the event as:

> The 1857 revolt was far more than merely a soldiers' protest…This revolt covered a whole range of frustrations- over extortionate tax demands, extensive overt racism, insensitivity to local culture and religion and incessant territorial expansion. (Levine, 2007, p. 77)

The violent uprising was eventually crushed by the British. Nevertheless, it left a bitter mark on the colonial discourse. On 1st November 1858, Queen Victoria's Proclamation announced the transfer of power of governance from the East India Company to the Viceroy, who was assigned to administer the Indian possessions on behalf of the British Monarch. This officially marks the beginning of the era known as the British Raj[6]. The Queen's Declaration of 1858 set the guiding principles for the Raj. It promised the Indian subjects equal opportunities in the Civil Services based on the merit of "education, ability and integrity" and pledged to abstain from any interference in their religious affairs. The Crown also expressed its desire to expand the industries of India and improve the public utility sector[7].

Undoubtedly, "mutiny caused a reassessment of policies" (Klein, 2000, p. 551). As a new government, the Raj aimed to cast itself as a moral, 'civilised' and

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[6] "Raj" means rule in Urdu.

[7] In addition, the government was to protect all its Indian lands and subjects. All the treaties and agreements made by the Company with the Native Princes were to be 'scrupulously maintained' and the rights, dignity and honour of the Princes was given equal status as that of the British counterpart.

'civilising' regime" (Metcalf, 1995, p. 39). In order to achieve these objectives several development projects were launched: juridical reforms focused on selective interventions in areas such as individual property rights, new commercial laws and trade policies while the educational reforms aimed to transmit Western social practices and scientific knowledge especially to the Indian elites (Klein, 2000, p. 559).

Due to these developments, the Indian social life and culture became increasingly secularised. Rapid urbanisation, an increase in spatial mobility and expansion of the communication network nurtured these transformations (Srinivas, 1966, p. 125) and the natives began to modernise.

The scope of these reforms, however, was limited and had little impact on the lives of ordinary Indians. Only the high and commercial castes in the society benefited from these developments (Klein, 2000, p. 572). It proved that the modernity project was carried out in a selective manner and the rural areas in India experienced very little industrial progress. India remained predominantly agricultural, and the cultivated lands were linked with the ever-growing network of railways that connected to and from the major ports (Levine, 2007, p. 81). This gave rise to the port cities. The harbour facilities were expanded and more and more people flocked to these new colonial port cities.

The Raj endeavoured to transform India through material development (Klein, 2000, p. 571) and architecture played an instrumental role in achieving that. The colonisers often take credit for introducing several new building typologies to the region. The list includes banks, universities, railway stations, town halls and public libraries. These new institutional buildings represented

western and modern thinking and were built to acculturate the natives into British ways (Hosagrahar, 2005, p. 60).

While the colonisers were responsible for initiating several public works, they were not the only contributors in the making of colonial metropolises. The works of scholars such as William Glover, Preeti Chopra and Swati Chattopadhyay present us with a variety of evidence which proves that much of the infrastructure of the colonial cities was the product of 'a joint enterprise' (Chopra, 2011)[8].

The revolt served as a reminder for the colonisers' that due to their insufficient numbers[9], they must rely on collaboration and collusion in order to prolong their rule in the subcontinent (Levine, 2007, p. 69). To strengthen their connection with India, in 1876 Queen Victoria of England was proclaimed the Empress of India. The Queen's long reign became the synonym for Britain's Imperial stability and India was known to be "the jewel in her Crown" (Moore, 1999, p. 422); she was now "an eastern potentate as well as western sovereign" (Cannadine, 2001, p. 45).

The Raj projected itself as a benevolent enterprise. However, in reality, social hierarchies rigidified under their rule. The colonial white society continued to hold the social barriers (Levine, 2007, p. 110) and the distance between the natives and their rulers remained intact. "Restraint was necessary both in personal behaviour and architectural design" (Chopra, 2011, p. 53) for the

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[8] For example, in many large colonial cities, bungalows were often built by Indian businessmen and were rented to British officers and civilians (Glover, 2008, p. 165). Similarly, the creation of Bombay's colonial infrastructure was a 'joint enterprise' (Chopra, 2011).

[9] In 1830, there were only 45,000 Britons against 150 million Indians (Levine, 2007, p. 69).

implementation of the British imperial vision. After all, India offered the British an aristocratic security at a time when England's government was becoming increasingly democratic (Cannadine, 2001, p. 59). [10]

As a result, spatial segregation remained a defining characteristic of the colonial space but its nature and form changed because of the political and social circumstances. A British officer's house in India is an ideal building type to understand these colonial architectural transformations. After all, on numerous occasions, the British colonial bungalows along with their spacious compound and coterie of servants, were used as a metonym for the empire (Glover, 2008, p. 162).

The research in this thesis aims to reveal that a colonial building type like the bungalow during the Raj did not remain a mere symbol of British imperial authority. It also served as a refuge- 'an isolated zone of British repose' and as a place where occupants could nurture and cultivate their values, tastes and dispositions without having the risk of falling prey to the natives' intrusions (Glover, 2008, p. 162).

Nevertheless, an Anglo-Indian bungalow remained a complicated colonial setting. The colonisers, because of their Indian context, could not practice an ideal English domestic lifestyle. The harsh climatic conditions dictated the physical form of the house while their colonial social position demanded them to carry out their official roles in a particular manner that "would stand them up against the critical gaze of the natives in the post-revolt era (Mizutani, 2011, p. 23). The thesis also aims to demonstrate that the English officer's house in

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[10] Another reason why the self-imposed isolation continued to exist was that the 1857 revolt left a lasting feeling of distrust amongst the colonisers because of which they constantly feared another resistance or uprising.

India was indeed a peculiar colonial space. Often regarded as a microcosm for the Empire, the colonial bungalow was both "familiar and strange", "a source of both homely comfort and disquieting anxiety" (Glover, 2008, p. 163). In short, residing in the Anglo-Indian bungalow was as challenging as representing the Empire itself, asserting control was never an easy task.

To understand the colonial past, the historical evidence requires a closer inspection. History writing is selective. The history of British colonialism is a vast and complex area of study. Therefore, for a better understanding of the phenomenon, the thesis looks at the overlapping narratives by consulting a wide range of sources including official documents, architectural evidence, travelogues and historical texts.

After consulting various sources during the research, the question arose about what the perceptions and perspectives of the colonial people were and how did British colonialism evolved with time. Were the western ideologies transplanted by the ruler or were they imported by the locals? To what degree were Indians encouraged to modernise and what were the challenges faced in retaining their cultural and traditional identity?

In order to conduct a more detailed historical inquiry, the thesis primarily focuses on the British Raj era. The regime is considered to be a turning point in the region's colonial history; under the administration, India came directly under the Crown's rule and became Britain's "only possession to which such Imperial nomenclature was applied" (Moore, 1999, p. 422). The British imperialism in India brought the society to a new age. The political and social reforms, the establishment of universities and expansion in India's export trade transformed the society and colonialism entered the modern mode of collaboration (Moore, 1999, p. 431).

The British Raj is also the time when the subcontinent's port cities grew exponentially. Great Britain, the naval superpower at the time, understood the importance of harbours and marine trade, and invested in the expansion of the infrastructure of the port-cities, transforming these urban centres into thriving metropolises.

Amongst such cities, Karachi remains a prime example for an ever-expanding port-city of the Raj. Unlike Bombay and Calcutta, Karachi witnessed a short Company's rule. At the time of its invasion in 1837, Karachi was but a small town with hardly any historical artefacts. In a few short years, the British expanded its infrastructure and turned it into an important modern port-city of the region. Shortly, most of the city's colonial heritage belongs to the Raj era. For these reasons, Karachi is chosen as the case study in this thesis.

Overall, the thesis is divided into four parts. The first chapter opens with the introduction to Karachi; it takes a look at the colonial urban development and the socio-cultural changes that were taking place at the time. The second chapter is concentrated on understanding architectural history and the development of Karachi in a chronological order. After familiarization with the contextual and historical background, the research takes us to the theoretical and conceptual aspects of British colonialism in India. Behind the phenomenon of British colonialism in India, the intangibles such as ideology, projected identities, British imperial vision etc. were the key catalysts in keeping the engine of colonial enterprise in running condition. It is, therefore, necessary to acknowledge the responses of both the colonisers and the colonised by including the overlapping narratives. The final chapter is structured to incorporate a range of colonial abodes. As already stated, the Anglo-Indian domesticity encapsulates the difficulties and rewards faced

during the colonial encounters. Karachi's colonial bungalow designs are the examples of a mature stage of the British-Indian house designs. The examples studied in the thesis are: the English officers' bungalows (Flagstaff House and bungalow at Claremont Road), local elite's palatial house (Mohatta Palace) and an ordinary Indian's residence (An Apartment at Napier Quarters), and two examples of the permanent sanctuary for the Britons in India- the cemeteries known as Gora Kabiristan and Karachi War Cemetery.

A variety of sources has been consulted in the research for this thesis. These references range from personal letter correspondences to travelogues, historical documents such as photographs and books. All these reveal that British colonialism is about resistance as well as assimilations. The archival records and material evidence of the buildings help us imagine the colonial world in physical and spatial terms while memoirs and novels allow us to witness the enterprise from an individual's perspective.

Consulting the works of post-colonial scholars such as Preeti Chopra on Bombay (now called Mumbai), Swati Chattopadhyay on Calcutta (now called Kolkata) and William Glover on colonial Lahore was particularly useful in tracing parallels and similarities between the British colonial cities of India. Thomas Metcalf discusses several colonial architectural examples to present the ideologies of the British colonialism in India while the focus of Anthony King's on the British Indian domesticity helps in providing a backdrop for this thesis's case studies.

The information on Karachi's early development phase is provided by the works of Richard Burton and Alexander Baillie who visited the city in the late 19th century and shared their first impressions and views of the new city's environment and people. The urban research by Arif Hasan provides

commentary on city's evolution, its continued expansion and the changes observed in the attitudes towards its colonial heritage. The architectural research done by scholars such as Yasmin Cheema, Yasmin Lari and Mihail Lari is an important resource since it provides information and facts on city's renowned colonial buildings and quarters.

Due to Karachi's current political situation, retrieving archival information has been a slow and difficult process. Since Karachi remained under Bombay's Presidency until 1935, it is speculated that its early official records might be available in Mumbai's Municipality archives, however, due to restrictions those historical documents could not be reviewed in this thesis.

Under these circumstances, the access provided by the local organisations such as Heritage Cell at NED University Karachi and Heritage Foundation of Pakistan has assisted tremendously in studying archival records and documentation on Karachi's Raj era and has provided relevant details and quantifiable information on the city's historical buildings.

However, these primary sources lack architectural analysis and criticism. This thesis research is therefore an initiative to bridge this gap and aims to generate interest amongst scholars to pursue, participate and begin scholarly conversations about Karachi's colonial heritage.

The thesis adopts an inclusive approach. The chapters reveal that the Indian society remained diverse throughout the British colonial regime and that in order to understand its history, it is important to remind ourselves that despite the conflicts and controversies, the British Empire was "an inter-connected zone constituted by multiple points of contact and complex circuits of exchange" (Jackson, 2013, p. 18).

CHAPTER 2

MAKING OF KARACHI

> Karachi developed pretensions of her own; and she detected in her position, the point nearest to Europe, a pride of place, a virtue, a natural value which, improved by Art, would soon raise her high above obsolete and rococo Calcutta, Madras and Bombay (Burton, 1877, p. 33)

Karachi was the first place in India to be added to the British Empire after the accession of Queen Victoria (Baillie, 1890, p. 37). It was captured by the British in 1843. In comparison to other port cities such as Madras and Bombay, it entered the industrial age late. Yet, in a short span of time, it prospered exponentially. "It did not grow bit by bit, but it leapt with a few bounds from a miserable native fortress into a civil town of considerable size, with its adjoining military cantonments" (Baillie, 1890, p. 5).

Unlike Peshawar or Lahore whose origins are lost in the mists of legend, Karachi is the city with no ancient lineage[11]. Its history can easily be traced to

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[11] Feldman claims that Karachi has no ancient history but Cheema negates this by quoting Hasan's article in which he states that Karachi's origins date back to the Vedic Period and refers to the folklore of Ram Chander and his wife Sita that tells about the night the two had spent in Ram Bagh (presently Arambagh) on their way for pilgrimage to Hinglaj. The existing Mahabdev temple besides the Kothari Parade at Clifton also confirms the fact. (Cheema, 2009, p. 1)

two or three centuries back, when the Hub River[12] had become unsuitable for navigation because of silt and the traders of Sindh had to transfer themselves[13] to the natural, land-locked harbour which lay between Manora and Keamari (Feldman, 1960, p. xi)

Initially, Karachi was regarded with little importance. Despite being the first port of Sindh which was directly on the sea-coast (Khuhro, 2010, p. 8), the princes of Sindh showed little ocean-shipping interests [14] and gave no assistance in the development of the harbour. (Baillie, 1890, p. 5). In contrast, the British, the maritime superpower of their time, recognised the city's true potential and started to send trade missions to the principal Sindhi officials as far back as 1635. [15] However, this trade relation experienced several

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[12] Hub River (also spelled Habb) is the navigable channel of the Indus Delta.

[13] According to the memoirs of Naomall Hotchand, this sand-barred port was called Kharakbandar (presently called the Karachi Creek). The migration had taken place eastwards where there was a small settlement consisting of twenty to twenty-five huts of fishermen that was called Dirbo. In its vicinity there was a pool known as 'Kalachi's Kun' (Kun meaning ditch, and Kalachi was the name of a local fisherman) and around the pool mangrove trees grew. This spot was selected and in about AD 1729, a new settlement started; it was named 'Kalachi-jo-ghote' (Village of Kalachi). Later, this new settlement was fortified by Seth Bhojoomal and his pioneers (Naomall Hotchand's ancestors). They are considered the real founders of the old town of Karachi who also developed the port.

[14] The main reason for this is that the lands of Indus, including Sindh and Punjab, used to carry out their trade from the river ports which were situated just above the delta proper. (Khuhro, 2010, p. 8). For the rulers of Sindh, Thatta was the most convenient port; it was the centre of Sindh commerce and was under an immediate control of the authorities and revenues could easily be collected there (Baillie, 1890, p. 46).

[15] According to Feldman, the first factory established by the British was in the 1640's in Thatta but was closed down in 1662. The trade connections revived for a brief time from 1718 till 1775 but came to haul due internal unrest within the then dominant Kalhoro family. (Feldman, 1960, p. xiii) Postans, however, claims that trade relations between the two started at a much later date. He states that, "The connection of the British Indian government with Sindh had its origin in 1758 AD when Ghulam Shah Kalhora on the 22nd September of that year granted

interruptions due to unstable local politics. The British continued to maintain a diplomatic relationship with the rulers of Sindh until the start of the 18th century when an active interest in the region was renewed. (Feldman, 1960, pp. xii- xiii).

By the eighteenth century, the ruling families of Kalhora and Talpur had realised Karachi's importance and decided to develop it as the port of Sindh. The island of Manora which was located at the strategic point guarded the harbour of Karachi; in 1797 Mir Fateh Ali Talpur became the ruler of Sindh and ordered its fortification against the growing threat of the British invasion[16]. (Khuhro, 2010, pp. 12-14). Today's Rampat Row at Bolton Market marks the limits of the old fortified town. (Siddiqui, 1995, pp. 4-7)

Despite the defensive measures, the walls of the fort of Manora could hardly sustain the attack of the British ships; the western arm of the fort was levelled down after a heavy fire and Karachi came to be formally occupied on 7th February 1839 (Rustomji, 1952, pp. 18-19). In 1842, after the British conquered Sindh, Karachi was named the new administrative capital of the province. Karachi became an important addition to the British Empire, as explained by Khuhro:

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perwannah or an order to Mr Sumpton of the Company's service for the establishment of a factory in the Sindhian territories" (Postans, 1843, p. 283).

[16] During that time, the British East India Company (B.E.I.C.) secretly sent many British civil servants including Commander Carless, Charles Masson, Nathan Crowe and Sir Henry Pottinger, to carry out a survey on the areas around Karachi. They reported meticulous details regarding the town's particulars such as trade potential, facilities and physical character. Some of the recommendations given by these surveyors proved beneficial for the British policy makers especially after the area had come directly under their control.

Karachi was also the most convenient location for a maritime colonial power. The city was to be developed to serve as 'the port nearest to Europe'- a military necessity….as the port that would open up not only the hinterland of Sindh itself, but the entire northwestern areas of the subcontinent and also be the port of areas to the north-west, which could thus be safeguarded from the embrace of the Russian bear. (Khuhro, 2010, p. 25)

As evident from the above discussion, Karachi acquired a unique position in the eyes of its colonisers. At the time of its colonisation, the germination of the industrial revolution had already begun. Cities all over the world experienced transformation brought by the modern technology, Karachi was no exception. Once the harbour was expanded with modern infrastructure, the natives too began to adopt new ways of living. This chapter aims to understand how these developments transformed the city physically, commercially and culturally.

2.1 INTRODUCTION TO KARACHI

Located on the Arabian Sea coastline, Karachi's geographic coordinates are 24°53' N and 67° E. It is 124 ft. above the sea level and it mainly consists of flatlands flanked by the hills of Khirthar range on its north-western side. Although it is not a part of the Indus delta there are two rivers namely Malir River and Lyari River that flow through it which originally supplied the city with drinkable water. On its north-eastern side lie Thatta and Jamshoro districts while Lasbella and Baluchistan are at its west. On approaching its coast by the Red Sea route, Cape Monze (locally known as Ras Muari) is the first point that can be sighted; just twenty miles apart from that lies Manora

Point where a lighthouse stands to inform the entrant that the harbour has arrived (Figure 3 & 4).

As a coastal city, Karachi's weather is regarded pleasant[17] in comparison to the inland cities of Sindh. Initially, Charles Napier had made Hyderabad the capital since it had a good fort built by the Kalhoras but found the city too hot for his liking. He then sent Richard Burton to Karachi to report on its weather. The received report described Karachi as a fishing village by the sea[18] with the advantage of trade with the Persian Gulf and having a much cooler weather than Hyderabad. Henceforth, the capital was moved to Karachi[19] and shortly thereafter, a military cantonment was established and army barracks were erected. (Katrak, 1963, pp. 139-142)

But before Karachi's status became elevated from a 'fishing village' to a modern port city, it was a place known by many names. Alexander F. Baillie writes:

> Crochey, Krotchey Bay, Caranjee, Koratchey, Currachee, Kurrachee, and Karachi, are only a few of its many appellations and ways of spelling, the last being the official one, according to the Imperial Gazetteer of India, but it does not appear to have been, by any means generally adopted up to the present time. (Baillie, 1890)

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[17] "Karachi is celebrated for its [salubrity], the maximum summer heat seldom reaching 90 to 92 °F…Moreover, the sea and land breezes are tolerably regular, and aided by the heavy dews, while rod from the roofs like thin rain" (Burton, 1877, p. 109).

[18] When Burton visited Karachi it had recently been colonised. The fortified walls had been completely razed down due to its siege and there was a scarcity of water. The place was left in a miserable state after its conquest.

[19] "Subsequently, they made Sindh a district of the Bombay Presidency and Karachi was made the district headquarter" (Hasan, 1999, p. 17).

Besides the above-mentioned names, Kolachi, Krokala, Kukrala, and Kalachi-jo-ghote have also appeared in various sources; these variations are derived from many regional languages which were spoken at that time.

Despite being described as a "small, closely built, dirty place" (Baillie, 1890, p. 34), it was an important trading post for the neighbouring land-locked areas (Dodijah, 2007). It had its own traditional caravan trade routes. One of the routes reached out all the way to Central Asian cities and went as far as Moscow; this route consisted of a chain of cities i.e. Karachi, Hyderabad, Shikarpur, Kandahar, Herat and the cities of Persia. Another route linked to Kabul, Khira, Yarkland, Samarkand, Bukhara and north to Russia and east to Sing-kiang and China. Fairs played a vital role in the promotion of this trade and were held in these great cities. (Khuhro, 2010, p. 25)

In the pre-British era, Shikarpoor held a prime importance for the Indus River trade and served as the gateway for both Kabul as well as Dera Ghazi Khan. As a landlocked city, it relied on Karachi as its port for importing British goods. Likewise, other inland cities also carried out their sea-borne trade via Karachi.

According to the report submitted by Commander Carless in 1837[20], right before the British occupation, fourth-fifths of Karachi's imports were brought up from Bombay. This trade was mostly textile related and a large variety of fabric items such as long cloth, sheeting cloth, English broadcloth, Chinese and Bengali silk handkerchiefs, silks, muslins, cotton from Gujrat, *sarees*[21] from

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[20] Further details: (Baillie, 1890, pp. 48-50)

[21] Popular Indian attire for females.

Bengal and *kinkobs* from Surat and common English shawls were amongst the chief imports.[22] Other imported commodities included sugar, spices, dyes, drugs, lead, steel, iron, copper, tin and quicksilver. Luscious scent oil cakes along with dates were popular imported items from the Persian Gulf.

On the other hand, chiefly exported items included *Ghee*,[23] indigo, wheat, wool, madder, raisins, gum, dyes, and seeds of two classes and oil. The town manufactured only a handful of articles including longer (clothing), coarse cloth, caps, and *gur*.[24]

Besides these branches of commerce, in pre-colonial Karachi slavery was a common practice. It was both a trade and an institute. Young African children (locally called *Siddees*) were brought from Muscat to be auctioned for sale in the slave markets of Karachi[25]. Under the Amirs' rule this trade flourished more than ever[26] and as Carless reports, in the year 1837 alone, some 1500 slaves had arrived at Karachi from Muscat and the African coasts. After the British colonialized the city, the practice was finally abolished (Baillie, 1890, pp. 42-43).

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[22] Woven silk textiles consisting of gold and silver threads (called *zari*). It was produced through a complex weaving technique.

[23] *Ghee*: Saturated fat extracted from dairy products

[24] *Gur*: a local liquor made from brown sugar and dates, bark of the babul and cassia, cloves, anise were added according to taste.

[25] Besides Africans, Abyssinians were purchased and were often priced heavily due to their good looks. The locally born slaves Kambrani (children from inter-marriage between Guddos and Sindee) and Brahooes were also bought for domestic help.

[26] Dhamvi quotes from (Hart, 1843). According to Hart, during those days, Muscat was a global centre for the slave trade. Talpurs collected heavy customs duties from this trade and despite the brutal nature of this trade, these slaves were generally well treated.

In spite of the fact that pre-colonial Karachi was a busy trading post, it lacked many modern facilities of an international harbour. Before Napier Mole was constructed, "landing at or leaving the town was neither a pleasant nor a dignified undertaking" and one had to "undergo the operation of being carried pick-a-back by natives across the mud flats, to and from the boats that had brought them towards land, or that were to carry them away" (Baillie, 1890, p. 55) Moreover, the port consisted of just one anchorage and there were mud-banks at the principal channel and at Chinna Creek (an alternative approach which was much deeper but involved a circuitous route); this proved hard for the bigger vessels to anchor.

The harbour was not the only place lacking the modern infrastructure. Before the conquest, the fortified town, which encompassed an area of about 35 acres, consisted of neighbourhoods and bazaars which were connected by a web of narrow, irregular and dusty streets. There was a scarcity of fresh water and the residential areas were densely populated. Moreover, there were no large open public spaces within its enclosure which could be accessed via two gates: the one that faced the Lyaree River was called *Meethadar*[27] and the one that faced the sea was named *Kharadar*[28]. The two neighbourhoods where these gates once stood were named after them. Even though no physical evidence of the original structure survives, life in these neighbourhoods continues to exist in the present day.

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[27] "*Meetha*" means "Sweet", and "*Dar*" means door. "*Meethadar*" refers to the door facing the Lyari River which was towards the north-east direction.

[28] "*Khara*" means "Saltish", and "*Dar*" is a Persian word for "door". "*Kharadar*" refers to the door facing the sea which to the west.

By 1813, Karachi's recorded population was 10,000 (Lari & Lari, 2001, p. 11) which then grew to 116,663 by 1901 (Rustomji, 1952, p. 69). The rapid growth enabled the town to spread outwards and several suburbs began to take form outside the periphery of the city walls. (Cheema, 2009, p. 2) However, before the British came and reorganised these areas there were many natives' bazaars that had emerged in these suburbs. Amongst them, the Kafila Sarai was the most significant, it was where the Afghan traders met the locals and held their business dealings and it was a terminus for the camel caravans. A road that connected *Kharadar* area with the port known as Rah-e-Bunder (later the Bunder Road) was extended till the Sarai during the Talpur era; the British further developed the road to link the old town areas with the newer quarters. (Hasan, 1993)

Immediately after the conquest, in 1839, the British set up their camp in the plain between the old city and the Rambagh. A market known as Saddar Bazaar was also established to serve the troops. After the annexation of Sindh in 1843, the bazaar was reorganized and became a commercial area reserved for the European customers. (Hasan, 1986) Since Karachi was made the provincial capital, a district administration was also developed and was housed in the Civil Lines area (Hasan, 1999, p. 17). By 1854, the troops moved a mile north-eastwards from the old campsite, the area was named the British Cantonment. (Cheema, 2009, p. 2)

In short, following the examples of other colonial cities of the region, Karachi also became a dual city. It was a city "… divided into the native city, consisting of the old pre-British town and its suburbs, and the European city, consisting of the Cantonment, Civil Lines, and Saddar Bazaar" (Hasan, 1999, p. 17).

2.2 A Change in the Winds

Although Karachi was ruled by many,[29] it was the British who are to be credited for putting it on a world front. Previously, Karachi had gained recognition due to the regional trade but remained fairly distant from the changing world of global politics. This situation changed in 1838, when the British occupied Karachi out of fear for the Czarist's expansion to the Arabian Sea. Minding the strategic advantage its location offered, the harbour was planned to accommodate trade and commerce facilities as well as military ones so that it could act as a landing port for their troops for the First Afghan War. (Hasan, 1999, p. 16).

Another political situation that turned the tables in Karachi's favour was the War of Independence in 1857 also known as the Indian Mutiny. During this rebellion, communication with Calcutta was interrupted and Karachi served as an alternative. Strategically, it could not only provide a better defence against the northwestern invaders but could also be used for import and the deployment of troops in the region. (Khuhro, 2010, pp. 34-35)

For the case of Karachi, the Company's[30] rule was brief (1838-1857). Yet, these two decades were instrumental in shaping the city's future. Amongst many

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[29] *Kalmati Maliks* dominated the area perhaps since the 13th century. Also see: (Anwar, 2014). Then it fell into the hands of *Kalhoras* who unified the chiefdoms of Sindh. (Khuhro, 2010, p. 7), which were then replaced by the *Talpurs* who continued to rule till mid-nineteenth century when the British overthrew them after the Battle of Miani in 1843.

[30] A British private trading company received a royal charter on the approval of Queen Elizabeth I in 1600 to do trade with the subcontinent. They first established "factories" in the eastern Indian cities which was backed by the military force comprising locally recruited Indian soldiers that were meant to guard their enclave (factory properties). However,

public projects which were initiated during the time the improvements for the harbour were highly prioritized. It was mostly due to the fact that the subcontinent was seen as a market for the production of raw materials for Britain's home industries. Therefore, for the case of Karachi, "The port was improved and steps were taken to develop and market Sindh's agricultural produce to Great Britain" (Hasan, 1999, p. 17).

When Bartle Frere was sent as the second Commissioner of Sindh (1851-1859), many of the harbour related projects that Napier had suggested during his tenure (1843-1847) remained to be executed[31]. Frere, however, was more ambitious than Napier; he not only supervised the completion of the previously proposed plans but also laid out plans for a better road network for the city. He also laid out the foundation for Karachi's Civic Body which eventually evolved into the Karachi Municipal Corporation[32]. Furthermore, under his administration, the first railway line between Karachi and Kotri was established which began to function by 1861 (Rustomji, 1952, p. 40).

Inevitably, these projects had a positive impact on the local businesses and by the end of the nineteenth century, the areas surrounding the old native towns of *Kharadar* and *Mithadar* hosted bazaars which became a nucleus for the lives of the local mercantile communities. Motivated by better employment

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recruitments expanded and the company began to lead a series of military campaigns. In 1757 after the decisive victory at the Battle of Plassey, the company had finally emerged as a political body. (Dalrymple, 2015)

[31] He commenced several projects such as Napier Barracks constructed in 1847 (Figure 6), Napier Mole Bridge (a causeway that bridges Karachi with Keamari), Native Jetty Bridge (1854) and also a sanatorium for the soldiers at Gizree and Clifton.

[32] Refer to Appendix B for an additional information on the Karachi, its colonial neighbourhoods and its Municipality.

opportunities, many foreign investors and other commercial firms also opened their branches in Karachi; their offices were located at the McLeod Road, a quarter converted into the high-class business centre by colonisers (Figure 5). A railway station (McLeod or City station) which was situated along the artery made the trading activity all the more convenient.

> More than anything else, the improvement of the harbour and the construction of the railway brought Karachi into the industrial age. The pace of life changed. The railway served the harbour where it had railways sidings and lifted goods for up country… The city of Karachi had already begun to take shape by this time. The old town… continued to be the heart of traditional and 'native' trade (Khuhro, 2010, p. 43).

According to Rustomji, even during the turbulent period of the Revolt of 1857[33] Karachi remained peaceful and the city progressed at a steady pace. All this became possible because of Sir Henry B. Frere's efforts. Rustomji's statement seems debatable since Arif Hasan contradicts him by presenting an eye-witness narrative who explained that the rebellion in Sind (esp. in Karachi) was crushed by the British and the freedom fighters were either publicly hanged or were blasted from the mouth of the canons.[34] (Hasan, 1999, p. 17)

Regardless of the politics, the city's resilient economy posed a fierce competition to the older and much bigger port cities such as Bombay and

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[33] There was a mutiny amongst the employees of the Company's army and the Indians rebelled against the British. The revolt continued for a year after which the Company's rule ended and was replaced by the British Crown. The era (1858-1947) is known as the British Raj in which India was included as the part of the British Empire.

[34] There is a legend that the site of Empress Market at Saddar (built in 1889) could be the same site "where several freedom fighters were blown from the mouth of canons by the British!" (Ahmed N. , 2006)

Calcutta. After the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, Karachi became the nearest port in India to the UK, this gave a sudden boost to the economy (Hasan, 1999, p. 18) resulting in a population influx which then increased the demands in the housing sector. The city's boundaries stretched and by 1890's Karachi's area was recorded to be over 25 square miles. (Cheema, 2009, p. 3)

Although the British policies did help in promoting trade and commerce, it was the enthusiastic spirits of Goan, Parsi and Hindu communities that helped maintain Karachi's momentum[35]. This only became possible when the Indians started to acquire modern education in the institutes which were established by their colonisers.

> Over the course of the 19th century; the indigenous system of schooling in British India was replaced by the new state system of education developed by the East India Company till 1857 and was controlled by the British Crown from 1858 to 1919 (Chaudhary, 2009, p. 272)

By the mid-nineteenth century, several schools were opened in Karachi; many of these were founded under the Grants-in-Aid scheme. The schools which were established by the Catholics and Protestant missionaries played an important role in educating the elites of India. They were mainly attended by the locals and had a special section designated for the European children. (Khuhro, 2010, p. 45)

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[35] They initiated numerous public projects and contributed in charitable works such as Eldulji Dinshaw Dispensary (1882), Mama Parsi Girl's Secondary School (1918), Jahangir Kothari Parade (1919) to name a few.

These institutes bred a new generation of modern thinkers amongst the locals. They became active participants in the society and initiated several institutes of charity and welfare for their countrymen. The western education opened doors to more professions for them and they continued to move to the city centres for better prospects.

Unlike the historical cities of Lahore and Delhi, Karachi had no deep-rooted traditional practices and customs. In fact, the migrated populace brought with them their own traditional customs and practices. Due to this, Karachi's own heterogeneous and hybrid culture began to take shape. As Khuhro puts it, "Karachi's population was multi-ethnic and its tastes eclectic. It was poised, unencumbered by historical baggage, on the point of taking off as a twentieth-century city" (Khuhro, 2010, p. 54).

2.3   A DUAL CITY

Earlier in this chapter, it was briefly mentioned how Karachi was developed as a dual city during its colonization. Urban form is but a product of political, social and cultural aspirations of its people. For the case of a colonial city, the colonisers assumed a position of dominance and reinforced segregation by creating a distant, different and exclusive zone for themselves. (Lari & Lari, 2001, pp. 56-58)

The Industrial Revolution that originated in England transformed the transportation system; the once far away destinations could now be accessed with ease, this allowed the city forms to expand and disperse. While developing a spatial scheme for the European town in a colonial city, the

colonisers obeyed their parent-industrial urban model: each space was designated for a particular function and the plots were laid in a grid-iron pattern (Lari & Lari, 2001, pp. 64-66).

European colonialism went hand in hand with Orientalist thinking. The coming chapters will elaborate how Orientalism promoted the differences between the familiar Europe and the strange Orient. The European colonisation of the territories of the 'East' reassured the Orientalists of the time that the West was indeed superior to the Orient because of its advancements in scientific knowledge (Said, 1995).

If the Dual City concept is equated with Orientalism, the native town becomes a representation of the Orient: backward, chaotic and fallen, while the European quarter becomes a representation of rationality, progress, and dominance.

In the case of Karachi, the European zone consisted of the Cantonment (Figure 6), Civil Lines and the Saddar Bazaar. Apart from Europeans, Goans and Parsis also resided here. The area was well provided with posh retail markets and eating places, it had the finest churches, missionary schools, community halls and clubs. "Christmas and Nauroze were celebrated with fervour and May balls were held regularly" (Sadiq, Polak, & Hasan, 2008, p. 5).

Meanwhile, the native city was dominated by Hindus and Muslims. It was the area where the merchants and the working class dwelled. A large number of wholesale markets, tanneries and other manufacturing units were situated here (Sadiq, Polak, & Hasan, 2008, p. 6).

By the mid-nineteenth century, the growing native population resulted in the expansion of the 'native city' boundaries and the Bunder Quarter, Market

Quarter, Napier Quarter and Lyari Quarter were included in it. (Cheema, 2009, p. 3) These quarters showed an organic growth pattern where streets were narrow, meandering and pedestrian friendly. By the late 19th century, all the areas except the Old Fort City were reorganised while the internal streets were widened. Due to the increase in port activities, a few functional changes also took place and the older parts of were largely transformed into a wholesale market for Karachi (Cheema, 2009, p. 5).

In contrast to the native districts, the European quarters were planned in a grid-iron pattern. Occasional deviations from the orthogonal format were generally done to create monumentality in architecture (Hasan, 1984). In the beginning, these quarters were divided on the basis of rank and colour but "after the First World War, the racial spatial segregation was transformed to that of the class" and the privileged Anglo-Indians "were allowed to reside in the British domains." (Cheema, 2009, p. 6)

Although the spatial segregation diluted over time, it never diminished completely. Unlike the Mughals who orchestrated integration, the British held a disparate treatment against the natives. (Lari & Lari, 2001, p. 56) Although modern technology and education were introduced by the British, this was done in a selective manner. The colonial regime refused to grant the natives equal status even after the locals begin to adapt 'modern' ways of life.

The colonial discourse was never a coherent experience, it was about synthesis, hybridity and resistance. The coming chapters will elaborate on how the region encountered modernity and how it's spatial, social and cultural practices reflect its transformation.

Table 1: Chronological order of important events in Karachi's history. Adapted from (Rustomji, 1952) (Khuhro, 2010)

Dates/Years	Events
1729	People from Kharakbandar settled at 'Kalachi-jo-ghote' (Village of Kalachi), presently known as Karachi
1758	First, regular factory was established by English in Sindh
1783	Kalhoras were ejected by the Talpurs
1818	The effective conquest of India was complete[36]
1839	The fort and town of Karachi came under British possession
1843	Sir Charles Napier won the battle of Mianee
1857	Indian Mutiny (also called War of Independence) broke out. Karachi remained peaceful during this time of turbulence.
1914-18	Karachi became a base that provided food and equipment to British and Allied Forces
1936	Karachi becomes capital of Sindh after Sindh is separated from Bombay Presidency
1942-8	At Karachi Harbour, the East Wharf repaired Merchant Ships
1947	Karachi became the first capital of the new country Pakistan.

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[36] (King, 1982, p. 52)

Table 2: Chronological listing of major urban projects and port development. Based on (Rustomji, 1952)

Year	Project/Developments
1837	Com. T. G. Carless surveys the harbour & submits the report by 1838.
1846	Cholera spread in Kurachee Town leading to establishment of a Board of Conservancy on the instruction of Sir Charles Napier
1847	Napier built barracks (named Napier Barracks) for the European Army
1851	Introduction to the 'postal system' in India by Sir H. B. Frere.
1851	Frere revives the Old Board of Conservancy in Karachi
1853	The Karachi Municipality Cooperation came into existence. In 1930, the building construction was completed and offices were shifted there.
1855	The Post Offices in Sindh were handed over to the Post Master General, Bombay

1855	Construction of Keamari Groyne
1855	Tramway introduced in Karachi
1860	The Bombay business firms started to open their branches in Karachi
1860	Karachi Chamber of Commerce was formed
1861	The railway linking Karachi with Kotri was laid
1873	Manora Breakwater[37] is commenced.
1882	Tram lines were laid on the Napier Mole and Lyari Embankment project was put forth.
1884-1947	More than 12 wells were dug round the Dumlotte water works approx. 18 to 28 miles from Karachi
1887	The Karachi Port Trust was formed.
1895	The Import Yard by Lord Sandhurst was opened.
1899	Karachi was the largest wheat exporter from India.
1901	Graving Dock at Manora was constructed

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[37] The Breakwaters allowed the country crafts to enter and leave the port during the monsoon season.

1902	The Karachi Native Merchant Association was formed
1909	Manora Light House was completed.
1912	The Exports Yards on the Queens Road were completed
1914	Cape-Monze Light House was erected
1916	Buyers and Shippers Chamber was formed
1921	Wharves and railway yards were commenced on the Western side of Keamari
1924	First airport of British India at Karachi
1930	The West Wharf Channel was converted into a channel for airships of the Imperial Airways and a great marine base was also build.
1933	Karachi Cotton Trade set up a Clearing House and an up-to-date statistical service.
1935	Separation from Bombay Presidency. Sindh becomes a province with Karachi as its capital
1942-44	Indus was tapped for the water supply of the city

CHAPTER 3

KARACHI'S COLONIAL ARCHITECTURE

As discussed earlier, Karachi came under British rule much later in comparison to the other port cities of the sub-continent such as Bombay (1626) and Calcutta (1690). By the time Karachi was colonised (in 1839), other port cities had already been introduced to this novel way of thinking and being. Experiences gained from the previous rules were now put into practice more efficiently and Karachi modernised at a much more rapid pace.

For Karachi, the British East India Company's rule was short and was replaced by the British Raj after the Revolt of 1857 (also called the Indian rebellion). This rebellion had a lasting impact on how the British viewed India. The British East India Company was pre-occupied with conquest and paid little attention to how the Indian architecture ought to be under their rule. The transfer of power to the Crown gave birth to the notion of 'empire' amongst the British who began to find ways to justify themselves as legitimised rulers of India. This change in attitude can be observed in urban planning as well as in architecture of the Raj (Metcalf, 1995).

Much of Karachi's colonial architecture belongs to the British Raj era (1857-1947). As discussed in the previous chapter and Introduction these ninety

years were eventful and witnessed the two World Wars and the freedom struggles. Moreover, many modern innovations such as railways, electricity and industries rapidly transformed the small town into a metropolis.

As a 'traditional' and 'non-Western' society, for the Indians, introduction to modern technology was not without contestation. And as Jyoti Hosagrahar rightly points out,

> All idealizations of modernities are, in the end, indigenized in their actualization. All modernities are the consequence of negotiations of an imagined ideal with the particularities of a place and its socio-political context and hence are indigenous modernities (Hosagrahar, 2005, p. 191).

This chapter is an attempt to understand how Karachi entered the 'modern' age. Among many faces of modernity, architecture became an important medium for 'educating' the natives of the 'western' and 'progressive' ways. As a counterpart, the British contact with the subcontinent's culture left its imprints on the natives. Studying the architectural developments of that era will help understand how a phenomena such as modernity, colonialism and industrialisation materialised.

For a better understanding of the development process, Karachi's colonial time period can be divided into four phases: the Company's rule (1839 to 1857), the early Raj years (1857 till WWI), post-WWI till 1935 and lastly (1935-1947) respectively. These phases are formed in correspondence to historical events which were taking place in the region at that time.

3.1 INAUGURATION OF MODERNIZATION (1839-57):

The Company rule in Karachi (1839-57) marks the first phase of the development of the city. Around the time of its conquest, the Czarist expansion posed a serious threat to the British and Karachi's strategic location offered the British an advantage against the opposition. Thus, immediately after its annexation, military facilities and cantonment areas were developed. Since Karachi was meant to serve as the landing port for British troops for the First Afghan War, the port development was also initiated. After Sindh's conquest, the capital moved from Hyderabad to Karachi an administrative block was set up and the native town was reorganised. (Hasan, 1999, pp. 16-17)

The early architecture primarily served military and administrative purposes and reflected a utilitarian purpose (Hasan, 1984). As the city gradually developed and colonisers began to settle, plans for the new quarters were laid out which were placed at a distance from the old native town. Markets which were built in these quarters were reserved for the Europeans only and in some cases, they were out of bounds for the natives. The natives, however, were facilitated with newer markets, closer to their neighbourhoods.

As mentioned earlier, Karachi was planned on a 'dual city' concept. The native population was confined to the older parts of the city. The administrative and commercial areas acted as 'buffer' spaces between the native and the European part of the city and were often clustered with other public amenities such as the library and parks etc.

Stone was chosen as the material of construction for the colonial architecture. In Karachi, Ghizri stone was widely available, although slightly more porous than Jodhpur stone; it was obviously more durable and suitable than mud-brick which was then used by the natives especially in and around the fortified walls at the time of the arrival of the British.

Stylistically, stone was an ideal 'medium' to represent the European style of architecture especially, the neo-classical style. Metaphorically, it gave a sense of 'permanence', strength and authority. Visually, it was in direct contrast with the mud-brick construction of the native quarters. And as the 'heirs to the Roman legacy', the Britons were inspired by Augustus, who claimed to have found Rome a city of bricks and transformed it into a city of marble (Kleiner, 2009).

The British introduced new typologies in architecture to the locals which were 'educational' in nature and portrayed novel ways of thinking in finance, education, health, and administration. (Hosagrahar, 2005, p. 60) These were European-style structures which were built so that they would inspire the locals and portray 'British' aesthetic sensibilities. The following quote explains how this form of architecture represented the European progressiveness:

> …the building scene of colonial South Asia was not just a provincial theatre for the playing out of metropolitan ideas and fashions. It was a particularly distant stage on which representations of the modernity associated with the European imperial core- no matter how stilled a caricature- could assume self-importance [and] authenticity merely by contrast to local practice (Scriver & Prakash, 2007, p. 5)

In other words, the new language of architecture further segregated the city and was not defined by the 'limits of accessibility' only. The architectural

vocabulary, building typologies, building material and construction methods were the agents that helped both the colonised and the colonisers in understanding how 'different' they were from each other.

The earlier developments were successful in materialising the colonial ideology of difference and segregation; and yet at the same time they were also revolutionary. The modern technology, western institutions of education, politics and civic administration all helped Karachi enter the industrial age. The Company's rule ended after the Indian Revolt of 1857. However, the progress made during the time helped influence the future policies for the city under the British Raj.

3.2 THE EARLY RAJ ERA (1857 TILL 1914)

The second phase of development (1857 till the First World War) is the era in which the city expanded and its population swelled due to improvements that took place in trading and the commercial sector. Thomas R. Metcalf describes this time period as:

> …throughout the Raj, and especially during the years of uncontested British supremacy from 1858 to 1918, the ideas that most powerfully informed British conceptions of India and its people were those of India's 'difference' (Metcalf, 1995, p. x)

In many respects, the early Raj period followed the Company's footsteps and continued to demarcate the places for locals from the places for Europeans. Several institutional buildings along with numerous public buildings began to

emerge. The 'modern' public facilities, such as railway stations and libraries were built in European style[38]. Most of them were modest in terms of scale and represented a utilitarian thought. William J. Glover best explains this approach as:

> …In utilitarian thought, the qualities of uniformity, regularity and an easy concatenation of parts were perhaps the most symbolically charged metaphors for the operation of a just, productive and morally advanced society (Glover, 2008, p. 30)

Unlike Calcutta which was known for its neo-Classical style of architecture, Madras for its Indo-Saracenic buildings and Mumbai for its Gothic Revival architecture[39], Karachi's colonial architecture can be termed as constantly evolving, eclectic and heterogeneous.

The modernization process first began in the eastern side of India before it spread to the other areas. Between 1872 and 1901, Karachi's population doubled (Hasan, 1999, p. 19) and more and more people began to move there from across the sub-continent. Since Karachi was a late bloomer, seeds of 'modernity' needed to be nurtured properly and carefully so that it could compete with other cities such as Bombay and Calcutta (which were well-established and prospering). Immigrants coming from the eastern parts of India, helped the city to progress better since they had been witnessing the

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[38] Refer to Appendix C. The table shows the range of 'European' building styles such as Tudor, Classical and Gothic.

[39] In his books, Metcalf explains the background against which certain styles were preferred over one another. It is interesting when the 'choice' of styles for India are compared to the ones built in England during the same time period. For more: (Metcalf, 2005)

environmental as well as cultural changes in their native towns for about a century and a half before finally settling in Karachi and calling it their home. These migrants brought with them the experiences and memory of their first encounters with modernity. Since they were Indians by birth, their voices gave the sense of authenticity to the locals. Thus, for the case of Karachi, since the migrant population increased over time and superseded the local population, a different kind of 'cultural appropriateness' took place.

Embracing modernity was a difficult undertaking for the locals. Modernity had its roots in the European 'Enlightenment' ideology which had inspired the Industrial Revolution in England (started in the 1780's). Modernism rejected superstitious beliefs and all modern innovations, technologies and knowledge bore a tinge of 'secular' ideas. India being a 'non-Western', 'traditional' and multi-religious society underwent a series of dialogues when it first came in contact with the European modernity. This dilemma is best described as:

> … The imagination of Indians was overwhelmed with a form of European modernity and the memory associations with the customary older one. Unable to completely reject one or surrender fully to the other, they melded into internally divided indigenous modernities (Hosagrahar, 2005, p. 190)

Although the major characteristic of the city remained intact, i.e. Karachi continued to be a 'dual' city[40], the city's social and cultural spheres grew and as more people flocked to the city, many facilities such as parks and libraries which were once reserved for Europeans only started to accommodate the

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[40] Quite a few Indians were becoming prosperous yet "segregation and discrimination continued to hold sway in their lives" (Lari & Lari, 2001, p. 241)

needs of the local population. The 'nature' of segregation between Europeans and the natives during the Raj differed from that of the Company era in Karachi[41], while the respective groups continued to reside in their designated neighbours, the public facilities had now begun to serve a wider audience.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the locals had also begun to contribute towards public architecture and buildings such as D.J. Science College (1887) and Eduljee Dinshaw Charitable Dispensary (1882) (Figure 7) were erected with the help of local funding and patronage and were charitable projects addressing the needs of the natives. These structures were inspired by European style of architecture and followed the British construction methods in stone. The new architecture replaced the pre-British tradition of building and by the first decade of the twentieth century, the timber framed and mud plastered traditional built structures had vanished completely. (Hasan, 1984)

This era can be described as a time period in which modernization was now becoming exercised and propagated by the local elites and emigrants from other parts of the sub-continent. Several local banks had started to open their branches and local merchants took an active part in economic activities. Thus, 'modernising' became closely associated with the well-being of the locals and the prosperity of their new port-city.

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[41] See (Metcalf, 1995). Metcalf mentions how the 1857 revolt caught the British slightly off-guard and paintings such as *Miss Wheeler Defending Herself against the Sepoys of Cawnpore,* from Charles Ball, *History of the Indian Mutiny* (1858); express the insecurities that the British faced after the revolt had come to an end. Due to the large local population, the colonisers decided to build their quarters a little farther away from the native towns. To me, this form of 'distancing' and 'segregation' appears to be defensive in nature.

3.3 ECONOMIC BOOM AFTER WORLD WAR I

The third phase of development (1914 till 1930's) witnessed many events such as World War I (1914-18), economic prosperity after the war and Karachi's eventual separation from the Bombay Presidency.

As already discussed, Karachi became the military base during the Great War. To address newly emerging needs, many war colleges and offices were opened in the city and several employment opportunities became available. This resulted in huge migrations from other parts of the sub-continent. Due to this high population influx, housing rates increased and several schemes were launched to accommodate the masses.

Europe suffered terribly at the hands of this war, their cities faced destruction and death and the long years of conflict left many homeless and unemployed. On the contrary, the local Indian traders and merchants benefitted from this. During the war they sold goods at higher rates and the inflation rate climaxed. After the war, they invested their profits in real-estate and properties and erected several impressive buildings. Thus, city's architecture continued to flourish in the following years (Dhamvi, 2013, pp. 441-2). The inter-war period was short and mostly peaceful, Hamida Khuhro paints an interesting picture of the city during that time:

> Life was unrushed in Karachi of the inter-war period. There was time to take the Victoria carriage to Clifton and to sit in Café Grand or in many 'Irani' restaurants in Saddar with their bentwood chairs and marble-topped tables and have 'chai'. It was a clean, well-kept city where the citizens were secure in the knowledge that the city's fathers were doing their very best (Khuhro, 2010, p. 72)

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Peace and prosperity meant that the newer projects now included places of leisure, recreation and entertainment. Although sports clubs (locally called *gymkhanas*) had already made their appearances around the turn of the century, they were initially gentlemen's clubs and the membership was restricted to the British only e.g. Karachi Gymkhana (Figure 8). By the turn of the century, new clubs were established which were typically commissioned by the local elites and were designed for a particular caste, community or religion[42], for example, Hindu Gymkhana (Figure 9) which was established by Ram Gopal Das Govardhan in 1925 and reserved for the upper-class Hindus; stylistically it drew its inspiration from historical architecture of both the Hindu and Mughal era buildings (Dhamvi, 2013, p. 640).

Western education also helped the locals go further in their political and economic aspirations. As a result, the segregation between the Europeans and locals also began to dilute. By the end of the First World War, a new class of 'rich' native merchants had emerged and Karachi became the hub. This new class of wealthy Indians admired their European counterparts and began to adopt their way of life. As a result, several community halls, hotels, billiard rooms and other recreation facilities started to gain popularity amongst the local elites who had begun to imitate the habits of their colonisers.

In the third phase (1914 till 1935), many business houses opened their offices in Karachi. With the establishment of the Buyers and Shippers Chamber (1916) the local merchants were reassured that their role in the local economy was

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[42] Similar to the case of Delhi where buildings which were sponsored by the Indian philanthropists were generally for the use of a single caste or community. See (Hosagrahar, 2005, p. 60)

equally important and acknowledged. The McLeod Road served as the main venue for all the trade-related activities and new banks and offices had their buildings erected along this road; this architecturally pleasing sight echoed the city's growing wealth and financial stability.

During the post-World War I era, it seems that the wealth had given the natives a new confidence and their approach and response changed towards their built-environment. In the case of Mohatta Palace (1927) and Hindu Gymkhana (1925), we observe a revival of styles which were inspired by the local historical architecture[43]. The architecture belonging to this era shows that natives had finally joined the 'club' and had become active members of the society.

It is important to remind ourselves that modernity introduced by the colonisers occurred in a selective manner. Many commissions for construction of institutional and imperial buildings were reserved for European civil engineers such as James Strachen while the early local architects such as Moses Somake and Ahmed Hussain Agha found work through local patrons. The training of local architects in the colonial institutes helped them produce those designs that show an amalgamation of both the European as well as the local traditional influences.

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[43] James Fergusson and Percy Brown are the earliest colonial writers and researchers on Indian archaeology and antiquity. Their works helped coin the term "Indo-Saracenic" which refers to a style that belongs to Hindus and Muhammadans. The post-colonial research however, has challenged this terminology since it refers to the classification Indian architecture on the basis of religious inclinations. The sub-continent was a very inter-connected society and architecture did not simply take form on the basis of faith and beliefs.

3.4 KARACHI AS THE CAPITAL OF SINDH (1935-47):

In 1935, Karachi became the capital of the province of Sindh. Sindh was no longer under Bombay's Presidency[44]. This meant that Sindh could now enjoy the status of an independent province. However, several offices, courts, and other administrative buildings needed to be built in Karachi.

Karachi's population increased, both because it had become a provincial capital and also because during the World War II (1939 to 1945), the city once again emerged as the hub of the war efforts. During the war the port provided supplies to the Russian front and also to the Allied troops in south and south-east Asia. The base also gave training to the stationed troops. (Hasan, 1999, p. 20) At Malir Cantonment area several barracks were constructed for these soldiers and several highway roads were laid to connect Karachi with the inland areas. (Dhamvi, 2013, p. 444). Additionally, Karachi Harbour was transformed to carry out the repair of merchant ships and the four berths of the East Wharf were reserved solely for this purpose (Rustomji, 1952, p. 58).

Consequently, there was a dramatic increase in population mainly due to local migrations for better employment opportunities. Even the sparsely populated areas such as Maleer, Drigh Road, Maripur and Ghizri became crowded and began to emerge as prominent parts of Karachi. The high-income group came to occupy Clifton, Frere Town, and Bath Island areas while Jamshed Quarters was where the middle-class people settled. For the low-income residents, the

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[44] Since Karachi remained under the Bombay's Presidency, both Karachi and Bombay shares many metropolitan and colonial similarities and affiliations with each other.

areas along the Lyari River quickly developed to provide housing. (Siddiqui, 1995, p. 42) Thus, the late-British Raj experienced a boom in the housing sector and the war once again proved to be profitable for the local merchants.

By the first quarter of the twentieth century, when concrete became a more popular and cheaper material for construction, the building regulations were revised. In tandem, the sudden increase in population gave way to apartment buildings. The technology was thus coupled with new design aesthetics and for many of the cases, the buildings of that era can be identified by the 'Art-Deco' motifs and vocabulary. The Cotton Exchange Building built in 1933 is one example of this new style (Figure 10).

As Ashley Jackson reminds us, the British Empire was "an interconnected zone constituted by multiple points of contact and complex circuits of exchange" (Jackson, 2013, p. 18) it is important to consider how the coloniser's attitude change and approaches evolved over time. The degree of segregation that began to dissolve by the end of First World War had finally diluted even further during the late-Raj era. These changes are visible in the new aesthetics and styles, whether it is in a form of a revival of Indian style of architecture (Figure 9), or a marriage of Indian and European styles (e.g. Indo-Gothic style of Empress Market built in late-nineteenth century) or even in the Art-Deco style of the earlier twentieth century (Figure 10).

By the end of the colonial regime, the locals had established enough confidence and understanding of their 'modern' world. Considering the limitations due to their colonial experience, the locals took this 'Euro-origin' phenomenon and tried to interpret it in their own terms; the late-British Raj architecture stands as a testimony of the narratives of these colonised people.

CHAPTER 4

COLONIAL ENCOUNTER OR CONFRONTATION?

The story of British colonialism in India is neither simple nor coherent. This chapter focuses on the sensibilities and the mentalities of both the colonised and the colonisers. This should help to understand the process of colonial articulation and its effect on the sociological and physical environment

The introduction to technological advancements, industrial development, and the modern sciences in the context of the sub-continent was very different from the place it originated from. According to Jyoti Hoshgrahar, for Indians, modernity posed some serious challenges as well as questions. The universal scientific vision that modernity propagates was introduced by the British who themselves had strong inclinations of Orientalism. As a result, both what they learned about the Indian society as well as their "modernization project" were affected by bias and prejudices.

How did the colonisers regulate and transmit modern ideology and practices? To what degree were Indians encouraged to participate and who were the stakeholders of this 'modernization' campaign? Part of the answer to these questions lies in the British colonial educational policies.

The following discussion will elaborate further how education served a political agenda during the colonial era. In Macaulay's words: Indians were to

be taught in western manners in order that they might assist the British in ruling India. They were expected to acquire English taste, opinions, morals and intellect (Metcalf, 1995, p. 34).

As expected, the educational policy did have an impact on the intellect, morality, and manners of the Indian people. The resulting environmental design and arrangement are the product of imagination. This chapter provides the backdrop against which the intentions behind the construction of colonial realities can be studied and understood.

4.1 SONS OF BRITANNIA, HEIRS OF ROME

During the heyday of the British Empire, the Britons prided themselves as the worthy heirs of Rome. The classically-educated Briton, as he built his empire, invariably conceived of himself as following in the footsteps of ancient Romans and Greeks (Figure 11) and not surprisingly Rome stood as an exemplar to spur on the British in their own imperial enterprise (Metcalf, 2005, p. 106).

Economically and territorially speaking, the British managed to supersede the Romans[45] (Figure 2). As the British Empire reached its zenith, the growing confidence led some to believe that the sun would never set on them and since

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[45] "Britain not only ruled, as the Romans had done, but had mastered the Orient" (Metcalf, 2005, p. 135).

the empire was both righteous and democratic, God's help would always be by their side and they would never fall the way the Romans did.[46]

On the other hand, for scholars like P. A. Brunt comparisons between the two empires were in fact always rather forced: there were more points of contrast than of likeness. Romans sought more direct methods of exploitation. Regarding this, English scholars may have unconsciously pictured Roman administration after the pattern of their own (Brunt, 1965, p. 267).

Nevertheless, the Classical Age did inspire the British. Classical art, because of its purity of form, provided a model for western, even British, moral values and the British saw, 'a reflection of their own best selves' in these ancient arts. (Jenkins, 1992, p. 10). This paved the way to the revivalism of Classical art and architecture.

During the mid-nineteenth century, archaeology emerged as a scientific field of study and a popular image of the archaeologist as an adventurer, a hero, and a saviour surfaced. These explorers would 'rescue' the invaluable treasures of knowledge and bring them to their 'proper' place i.e. museums. (Challis, 2008, p. 3). The finds that were brought to England were treated like relics and the legacy of the classical age was now tangible and accessible to the British public who acknowledged themselves as the able custodians. Britannia which was once a colony of the Roman Empire could now trace her roots directly to Rome! As her territories expanded, so did her collection of antiquities. This 'practice of custodianship' could now serve more purposes, henceforth it was revised and modified to help the British claim the legitimacy of their rule in India.

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[46] Translated from (Ali, 1999, pp. 35-36).

4.2 FIRST ENCOUNTERS:

Orientalism and British imperialism are intertwined phenomena. In fact, it was Orientalism that laid the groundworks for the European colonialism. The bifurcating practices introduced by the scholarship of Orientalism restricted the British in integrating themselves with the local cultures. For example, during the colonial regime, British officers were discouraged from having intermarriages with the natives (Said, 1995, p. 213). According to Ashley Jackson "The British were often distant and arrogant, especially once Victorian decorum and morals, and Britain's growing power, confidence, and sense of mission had opened a chasm between Britons and 'natives'" (Jackson, 2013, p. 42)

However, "British society in India could rarely isolate itself from its Indian context although that was the motivation behind the hill station, the English club and the British bungalow" and despite these enclaves the idea of separation was seldom realised. (Glover, 2008, p. 28)

Unlike Australia or Canada, India had a large local population; its heterogeneous sub-cultures, the diverse geographies, and vast territories further provided challenges for the British administrators to devise an 'appropriate' policy which could efficiently be enforced.

For the Indians, the British invasion was different from that of the previous ones. In the past, after conquests, the foreign invaders and their armies used to settle and mingle with the local population and used to cut their ties with their parent-cultures. However, in the case of British colonialism, they first came to India as traders and were employees of the British East India

Company, which meant that after finishing their tenure, they were expected to return back to England. (Ali, 1999, pp. 24-28).

This association and loyalty towards the British Crown meant that they (i.e. the Company's personnel) could not completely disengage themselves from their motherland nor could they integrate into the Indian society in the same manner as the previous rulers like Mughals did. This may have contributed to the anxiety and apprehension of the Indians towards their colonisers[47]. The British response towards this situation was "to capture for themselves the authority, unquestioned and legitimate, of their Mughal predecessors". To prove their 'eligibility' to rule India, the British initiated several projects. They first familiarised themselves with the Indian context and the people then wrote chronological histories about the Indian past expressing how the authority to rule the region was handed down to them. They also created symbolically charged architectural designs that had 'Indian' aesthetics but European planning layout.[48]

Furthermore, Archaeological surveys and documentation enabled the British to learn about India's ancient past. By discovering and preserving this heritage, the British claimed themselves as the rightful guardians of Indian heritage and civilization.

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[47] Personally, I interpret this as "seeds of 'distrust'", and this may have played some part in the Indian Mutiny of 1857.

[48] See Metcalf, 1995 and Metcalf, 2005. He mentions the example of Mayo College in Ajmer to illustrate how the building uses Indian motifs in the façade but follows western principles in planning and spatial layout.

4.3 THE BRITISH UNDERSTANDING OF THE INDIAN SOCIETY

The British had a limited knowledge of the Indian society and its history. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century when texts in Sanskrit, Zend and Arabic were translated, this generated new knowledge about the Orient. Till then, the European knowledge on India was based on Islamic sources. (Said, 1995, p. 75). These translations opened a new field of study for the West, the Indology. Indian history thus became an 'object' of study that could be understood in terms of Indians 'difference' from the 'West'.

The post-Enlightenment ideals, Oriental studies, and growing western secularism had a direct impact on how India, being the part of the 'Orient' was understood. David Cannadine argues that British imperialism was about social hierarchy. The titles and honours made this layered ordering more prominent which then intensified the racial differences between the ruling and the ruled.

The British classified the Indian people into various groups based on religious, ethnical or social differences; these categories were often rigid and fixed. These compartmentalized people once belonged to an inter-connected world which was traditional and observed local protocols and customs of interaction.[49] Although the groups existed in the pre-colonial era, they had been more flexible and at times interchangeable.

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[49] Jyoti Hosagrahar gives the example of pre-colonial Old Delhi and describes the interaction of various communities with the habituated space and with each other. For more, see: (Hosagrahar, 2005).

4.3.1   Social Stratification:

Throughout the ages, India has been a region rich in diverse ethnicities, languages, religious and cultural affiliations. Prior to its colonization, these various groupings and classes of people co-existed within a social organisation in which their individual identity was defined in complex and overlapping terms, partly because the inter-marriages between various sects and classes was a commonplace.[50]

However, 19th-century European scholarship perceived India as a 'deeply-rooted' and traditional society that comprised mainly two religious groups, i.e. Hindus and Muslims. Since Islam and Christianity had a long history, Indian Muslims were treated like the old competitors. Therefore, much of the colonial scholarship attempts to address their curiosity regarding Hinduism-the mother-religion of Hindustanis.

Rather similar to Richard Burton's experiences in his pilgrimage to Mecca, the colonial scholars studied Hinduism both at a cultural as well as religious distance. The European secularism left little room for empathy. Hence, the Hindu-caste system (Figure 12) was understood in static and absolute terms became the way to define the entire Indian society inclusive of the collective minority groups.

> Under [the] British rule more of the subcontinent's peoples than ever before found themselves drawn or coerced into the schemes of ritualized

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[50] The most famous of these inter-racial and inter-faith marriage was between Mughal Emperor Akbar to Rajput princess Heer Kunwari (later known as Mariam-uz-Zamani Begum)

social hierarchy which are now regarded as key characteristics of caste society (Cannadine, 2001, p. 42)[51]

In general, the Indian society was considered to be 'timeless' and 'unchanging'. The translations of ancient Sanskrit and Hindu sacred texts had revealed the Brahmanic theory of caste to the British who understood this as a linear structure from which the Indian social hierarchy was derived. This promoted the image of Indian social order as immobile, status-bound and increasing inclusive.

From the viewpoint of social hierarchy, the Indian landlords could be equated with the English squires. Since "…the history of Britain itself made plain, the best people to collaborate with were likely to be rich, well-born and powerful" (Cannadine, 2001, p. 124), the colonizers believed that Indian feudal lords could be regarded as the natural leaders who bore a traditional authority amongst the locals. Here the British appear to have understood the periphery in their own 'vernacular' terms. They were selective and careful in drawing such parallels. For example, a *nabob*[52] was similar to a lord but not equal to him. After all, as an Orientalist, an Englishmen would occupy a position of superiority.

4.3.2 Replacing 'criticism' with 'celebration'

Before the Company's rule began, Europeans had only economic interests in India and their private army served two purposes: for the security of their own

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[51] Cannadine quotes Susan Bayly.

[52] *Nabob* is a person who has conspicuous wealth or high status. Also used for Muslim governors during the Mughal era.

trading properties and to defend themselves against the French. As the Company prospered financially so did the recruits in their private army. After several successes at the military level, the Company emerged as a political body and began to shape policies to administer its expanding territories. (Ali, 1999, p. 23)

Even before the Company's rule, factories had started to function at Calcutta and Madras where local labourers worked. The industries had secured their foothold in the sub-continent and Europe's technological advancement certainly had a lasting impact on the lives of the colonised.

For the Europeans, the traditional Indian education, morality, and culture were seen as a hurdle; it was considered as the reason for Indian backwardness. India belonged to the Orient, therefore, as a society, it was merely a poor imitation of the 'original' i.e. the West. According to Edward Said "The Orient and the Oriental, Arab, Islamic, Indian, Chinese, or whatever, become repetitious pseudo-incarnations of some great original (Christ, Europe, the West) they were supposed to have been imitating" (Said, 1995, p. 62).

Shortly after the Revolt of 1857, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan published a booklet which was a critique of British policies. According to him, one of the causes of the Revolt was that the locals had no representation in politics. Furthermore, the locals were apprehensive about the new education system that focused on linguistic studies more than cultural and religious ones. This criticism received

due attention followed by several changes in the spheres of social reforms, modern education, and politics[53].

"After the Mutiny of 1857, 'Traditional', 'timeless' and 'unchanging' South Asia now became an object to cherish rather than to criticize: once the target of reformers, India had now become the hope of reactionaries (Cannadine, 2001, p. 41) India came to be known as the "Jewel in the Crown" and the Raj projected the 'image' of India as glittering, ceremonial, layered, traditional, princely and rural. (Cannadine, 2001, p. 51).

Yet, the replacement of criticism with celebration did not mean the absence of Orientalist undertones. The Indian 'difference' continued to be regarded as its weakness. India was regularly featured in the World Fairs from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. And since the"…non-western cultures were placed on the stage, arranged according to European norms (Çelik, 1992, p. 189)", Indian culture too was defined in European terms. In the post-1857 world, these displays were neither criticising Indian culture nor celebrating it. They were like war bounties, showing Britain's victories in the East. They offered a symbol of hope and promise to Londoners (Breckenridge, 1989, pp. 195-216).

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[53] Sir Syed was an Indian Muslim who received his education at the East India Company College and served in the civil services. He is considered as Muslim reformer who encouraged his community to pursue western education against their religious biases. He wrote a booklet called *The Causes of Indian Mutiny* which was translated into English. See (Khan, 1859)

4.4 CIVILIZING THE COLONIZED

There was never a one-size-fits-all colonial experience (Jackson, 2013, p. 11). As already discussed above, India's "difference" in comparison with other British colonies was sometimes criticised and sometimes celebrated. However throughout the British occupation, there was a constant presence of reformative projects, such as missionaries and western education.

This is because, "The British were determined always to mark out the Raj as a moral, 'civilized' and 'civilizing' regime." (Metcalf, 1995, p. 39). As the custodians of the Indian heritage, Britons felt that it was their responsibility to "…hold out to the Indian people the image of a modern world they might themselves aspire to join" (Metcalf, 1995, p. 51).

It is important to remember that even during the uncontested years of the British domination of the sub-continent, one-third of the total area of the latter remained under the direct rule of the indigenous *maharajas*[54]. The *maharajas* were regarded as political allies of the British Crown and were permitted to practice local customs and laws in their respective territories. Hence, the British governance was both authoritarian as well as collaborative (Cannadine, 2001, p. xvi). However, the British monitored these 'princely-states' closely; their policy was that: "Those who were to exercise authority under British supervision were to be 'brought up as gentlemen should be' by establishing 'an Eton in India'"[55]

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[54] Indian word for Prince or ruler of a princely-state.

[55] (Cain & Hopkins, 1993, p. 288): Quoting from: J. A. Mangan, *The Games Ethics and Imperialism* (1986), p. 125.

Therefore, the establishment of 'British' educational institutes such as the Mayo College at Ajmer was not merely a place where the princes could learn English and mathematics only but also games and discipline. (Metcalf, 2005, p. 116). These institutes not only educated the locals, especially the elites but also had a political role to play: they assisted the British administrators in maintaining their rule.

4.4.1   Creation of a Past for the Raj

As discussed earlier, the British with their 'objective' approach learned the history of India through archaeology, documentation of historic monuments and the translations of ancient Sanskrit texts. The unveiled 'truths' about the Indian past meant that the British preserved the memory which had the risk of 'getting lost forever'. Studying history is also an act of preservation. Preserving the heritage signified Britain's 'offering of reverence to the past' and in doing so they were able to legitimise their rule of India (Metcalf, 2005, p. 153).

The 18th century Orientalism had a significant impact on the British imperialism. According to the Orientalists only they could interpret the Orient, the Orient being radically incapable of interpreting itself (Said, 1995, p. 289); the subject race could not understand what was good for them.

Henceforth, it was the primary obligation of the British to undertake the conservation of India's ancient monuments.[56]

Lord Curzon remained closely associated with these conservation projects. According to him, the past of the earlier dynasties needed to be seen in the past, therefore, the 'preserved' monuments were made to represent an idealized version of a great empire frozen in the past.

This practice introduced a new concept of time to the Indian society. For Indians, time was transitional and therefore the past was fluid and flexible[57]. By viewing the heritage as a relic of a 'distant' past, time was thus divided into the past, present and future. The old kings belonged to a glorious era which no longer existed while the present was 'happening' and 'active'. Setting time into motion, public clock-towers, announced the beginning of a 'new' era which could lead its people to an inspiring future.

Works of Percy Brown and James Fergusson were crucial in framing the Indian history in a chronological order. Around the nineteenth century, the production of detailed gazetteers and ethnological surveys opened a wider array of studies of Indian architectural heritage to the West.

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[56] As a Viceroy of India, Lord Curzon addressed on 7th February 1900 at the annual meeting of Asiatic Society of Bengal that, the 'duty' of the British Indian government was to preserve Indian history.

[57] As Benedict describes, this is much similar to mediaeval Christian mind who had no conception of radical separations between past and present. Also see: (Benedict, 2006, p. 23)

4.4.2 Imported Intellectualism and Projected Identities

In 1853, Thomas Macaulay's *Minutes on Education* famously outlined how the British ought "…to form a body of well-instructed labourers, competent in their proficiency in English to act as teachers, translators, and compilers of useful works for the masses of the people"[58]. The education policy was meant to generate people who were Indian in blood but English in thinking and morality.

Translations of local languages into English and vice-versa played an important role in the colonial experience. Translations were considered to be 'objective' in nature, their clarity of speech, carried with them an air of authenticity and their impartiality amplified the voice of 'modernity' which in turn attested to Western superiority in scientific knowledge. Thus, an English book translated in Hindi would remain English and represent 'western' thinking (Bhabha, 1985).

The English language, like the English themselves, was meant to stand-out from the rest of the languages. The importance and emphasis given to the English language had a lasting impact on the natives primarily because of the method it was instructed in:

> Even when it was taught within the same college, the English course of studies was kept separate from the course of Oriental study and was attended by a different set of students. The rationale was that if the English department drew students who were attached only to its department and

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[58] Homi K. Bhabha quotes Macaulay. The "English book" is addressed as a metaphoric writing of the West. Also see Bhabha, 1985

no other (that is, the Persian or Arabic or the Sanskrit), the language might then be taught 'classically' in much the same way that Latin and Greek were taught in England (Viswanathan, 1995, p. 377)

Noteworthy is the difference in education policies between the centre and the periphery: in the early Victorian period, English schools emphasized the learning of classical literatures, Greek and Latin- not English. However, "in India, by contrast, 18th c. neo-classical literature, along with Shakespeare, formed the core of the curriculum in the government schools" (Metcalf, 1995, p. 40). The Indian schools' curriculum was designed to support a morality that could uphold the Christian faith. (Viswanathan, 1995, p. 376) English medium education was thus a particularly important tool in 'image-building' for the British. They projected their culture however they wanted for the colonised to see.

English language education and its status as an official language had a grave impact on Hindustani culture. Consequently, the older generation who was trained in traditional studies were stripped of their elitist status… replaced by newly European trained pupils, whose viewpoints was based on modernity rather than tradition (Ali, 1999, pp. 81-82)

Since the English education promised better employment opportunities many Indians adapted the British ways of working and their spatial practices but continued customary ways of living and dressing. (Hosagrahar, 2005, p. 35) . Since the associations with tradition could not always be completely rejected, this resulted in the co-existence of both the indigenous customs as well as the newly introduced European modernity.

According to Metcalf, western education paved the way for institutes that promoted western ideals of democracy, law, and individual rights:

> …the liberal transformation of India meant the flowering on Indian soil of those institutions which defined Britain's own society and civilization. Among the most important of these, as we have seen, were private property, the rule of law, the liberty of the individual and education in Western knowledge" (Metcalf, 1995, p. 35)

Orientalism played a key role in these imports. Before the seeds of modernity could be sowed, Indians needed to be trained in European morality and ethics. This bred a new class in the society whereby the locals taught in western education were eligible to serve in civil services department. Collaborating with the colonizers, this individual could now participate in the growth of the economy of the British Empire.

4.5   THE OTHER SIDE OF THE COIN

On a closer look, Charles Dicken's famed novel *The Great Expectations* was as much about climbing-up-the-social-ladder as it was about romance. Money, poverty, social standing and class consciousness stands out as common topics of British 19th-century novels. These give a unique perspective concerning the lives of the Britons and tell us more about their mentality, morality, and sensibility than they might have intended.

It is important not to separate the British Empire from the 'British' people residing in Great Britain. Victorian London must be studied alongside with the British Raj. After all, the ambitious British colonisers were closely tied with their domestic commercial and industrial growth and development. Bremmer summarises the scene of 19th century Britain as:

The mid-nineteenth century is the age of increased industrial development, overcrowded cities, martial incompetence and expanding the territorial empire. This led to the realization that Britain required urgent reforms in fields including civil, military and colonial organization. (Bremmer, 2005, p. 704)

Victorian London presents us with at least as much of a chaos as Delhi did at around the end of the nineteenth century. Whether it was the political tension observed at the House of Lords or the numerous assassination attacks on Queen Victoria or the grim living conditions of the textile industry labourers, Britain too, experienced a period of uncertainties.

In addition to this, the prevalent ideals of secularism and democracy challenged the aristocratic and traditional hierarchy of their own country. Under these circumstances, Britain's overseas imperial territories offered her an aristocratic security because it was in the peripheral zone, the colony where the empire's vision i.e. to maintain "traditional rulerships as a fortress of societal security in the changing world could be realised." (Cannadine, 2001, p. 124)

Architecturally speaking, Britain's 19th century buildings were as eclectic in style as their colonial Indian counterparts. The only difference was that eclecticism practiced in England was carried out using only the traditional western style of architecture i.e. classical and Gothic. While in the British India, the palette of experimentation was much wider because India's entire historical architectural vocabulary was placed under the wide umbrella of Indo-Saracenic style. "Reflecting the Orientalist conceptions of the times, they were at the deepest level similar and interchangeable." (Metcalf, 2005, p. 126). Resulting in more diversity and variety than its counterpart in England.

CHAPTER 5

COLONIAL ABODES

Commerce motivated the Europeans to sail to distant lands. These early travellers to India were merchants, officers or diplomats rather than settlers. (King, 1982, p. 56). Therefore, the first structures that the British erected were 'English factories' which were enclaves that accommodated both spaces for trade as well as lodging for their English employees. According to Anthony King: "The picture of …European settlements which emerges from description is of enclaves containing storehouses, barracks, a Director's house and other accommodation lying within a walled and possibly defensible compound" (King, 1982, p. 40)

Once the British rule became consolidated, a new era began in earnest. The establishment of the Company's rule meant that many British officials were to be deployed in various administrative positions resulting in an increase in the number of Europeans in India. Administrative developments ran parallel to military control. Therefore, cantonments were established throughout the sub-continent. (King, 1982, p. 52). Within the boundaries of the cantonment, troops were housed in barracks. For their European officers, the local house-

form namely *bangla*[59] was adopted and transformed into bungalows to meet their requirements. These bungalows were often grouped together, forming a spacious quarter (Metcalf, 1995, p. 179).[60]

As revealed in the previous chapters, Indians were introduced to modernity and industrialisation by the Europeans. And while the new building typologies i.e. railway stations, town halls, clock-towers etc. introduced by the British were tactile and visual ways of expressing a vision of the modern world to the locals, each typology came with its own agenda, i.e. "…the Government House and church spires expressed the power and might of the Raj, the club building sought to reinforce a feeling of perpetuity for the Raj" (Lari & Lari, 2001, p. 242). As a result, the preference of architectural styles was generally dependent on the political situation[61] or else it followed in the footsteps of popular contemporary revivals in England at that time (Lari & Lari, 2001, pp. 294-296).

It is important to remind ourselves that although the British "…held out to the Indian people the image of a modern world" (Metcalf, 1995, p. 51) and many Indians did adapt to "British ways of working and to their spatial practices" they nevertheless "continued customary ways of living and dressing" (Hosagrahar, 2005, p. 35)

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[59] A typical Bengali peasant's house.

[60] This was also true for the British housing outside the cantonment such as 'Civil Lines'.

[61] Depending upon the political conditions of the Raj the style was chosen: classical, Gothic or Anglo-Mughal to appear Imperial, Christian or paternalistic respectively (Lari & Lari, 2001, p. 296).

The practices of adoption, translation and resistance simultaneously took place, both in public as well as in private domains and for both the colonisers and the colonised. The colonial enterprise was multi-dimensional and while the colonisers launched reforming projects, in turn, they too learned from the locals. These cultural exchanges are most apparent in the case of colonial domestic architecture: the form of the bungalow which had originated in India underwent 'cultural translation' and was subsequently adopted and adapted by the British (King, 2004, p. 201).

Therefore, the Anglo-Indian bungalow is a particularly promising building type for understanding the cultural, social and environmental transformations in the local society in Karachi. After all, a house has the potential to be seen both as an *idea* as well as a built structure; it is the product of various factors including climate, building materials and technology as well as more far-reaching and intangible factors such as religious beliefs, prestige, status and cultural imports. A house can be a symbol for a sense of belonging, ownership and shelter. Since the form of a house is dependent on the value judgement, definition of territory and demarcations of thresholds between private and public areas, the final outcome can help decipher the world viewpoint of its people. (Rapoport, 1969). In short, a house is a microcosm- a reflection of its society and people.

As discussed previously, by the mid-nineteenth century, India comprised a rising class of locals who were bred in western education and who had already begun to acquire positions in civic service departments, trade and in the military. Parallel to Karachi's colonisation, Indians continued to modernise (even westernise themselves) and the British officials were, by then, well acquainted with the local habitat and its people.

Therefore, the colonial domestic architecture that we observe in Karachi is a 'mature' example for the British colonial domesticity in India. Thus, the chapter aims to discuss those case studies that help capture reflections of social and cultural transformations in the society via an architectural expression.

5.1   AN ENGLISH DOMESTIC ORDER IN INDIA[62]

According to Anthony King, the earliest use of the term "bungalow" was intended to define a dwelling of a particular pre-industrial, Bengali peasant in the rural. By the seventeenth century, the era of mercantile capitalism had begun; the bungalow, an indigenous mode of shelter was adopted and adapted by the Europeans living in India. And by the 19th century, it had gained the status of being a symbol of Britain's new imperial power.

The term "bungalow" is generally associated with a 'detached' dwelling that principally comprises one storey and possibly a veranda; it is generally occupied by one household or family and located on its own plot.

The spacious compound was a pre-requisite for its development during the colonial era. The veranda being a multi-purpose, semi-covered space could also frequently be used for sleeping (King, 1982, p. 59). Although an Anglo-Indian bungalow was for living in; alternatively it could also accommodate spaces for leisure and work. A colonial bungalow was never needed to be

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[62] In this thesis, the term 'English domesticity' is used specifically to refer to an Anglo-Saxon family lifestyle while the term 'British domesticity' can include characteristics from Welsh, Irish and Scottish origins.

fortified since the majority of European residential quarters were developed away from the native towns and close to the cantonment area.

Like other cities of the region, Karachi's native town was also organic, densely populated, with cul-de-sac streets and irregular plot sizes. (Figure 13) The courtyard house design, therefore, worked well for the locals[63]. While its introverted courtyard provided ventilation and privacy, it was an active space throughout the day and various activities could take place without the risk of intrusions from the outside (Ahmed S. , 2013, p. 6).

In contrast, a European bungalow was generally located on a sparsely populated and spaciously designed quarter (Figure 14), and comprised a compound which was perceived as an extension of the inner space. The veranda looked outwards allowing colonisers to enjoy views of their surroundings while keeping a spatial distance from the native populace.

The British in India liked to regard and represent themselves as a 'super-caste'. In order to maintain their racial purity and vigour, miscegenation and cohabitation between them and the natives had to be avoided. (Figure 15) They manifested strategies to distance themselves from the Indian influences both spatially as well as socially (Mizutani, 2011, pp. 15-30). The Dual City model[64] suited the colonizers since it provided them with a safe haven where they

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[63] Grant calls an Indian's house, his 'castle'. "Surrounded by a wall, and a *darwān*, or warder, retained to keep charge of the entrance" (Grant, 1862, p. 7).

[64] To keep the intermingling with the 'backward' and traditional natives to a bare minimum, the administrative and residential quarters for the Europeans were built several miles away from the Old Town. This is known as the Dual City concept. Access to these new quarters was closely regulated.

could enjoy their solitude, security and privacy away from "the increasingly critical gaze of the natives" (Mizutani, 2011, p. 23).

The sizes of these bungalows were meant to impress natives with the British prestige (Mizutani, 2011, p. 24). Any European who could afford it, would ride to his work or leisure; this meant that the buildings required a carriage porch (later car porch) and a large house would often include stables and coach houses (King, 1982, p. 78). Due to the availability of cheap native labour, a typical English official's household hired numerous servants. (Figure 16) The description of this typical bungalow compound may be thus summed up:

> Most bungalows were built near the centre of an enclosed plot of sufficient area to ensure a free flow of breeze. Servants' quarter and animal, vehicle, and other kinds of storage sheds were arrayed along one edge of the plot out of view from the main rooms of the house, and a separate structure placed closer to the main dwelling was used as a kitchen. (Glover, 2008, p. 174)

As these bungalow compounds evolved, their mature form presents us with a unique hybrid version of Indian and European domesticity. These designs addresses factors such as climate, individual needs and the coloniser's aesthetic sensibilities and preferences. (Figure 17)

Karachi's Flagstaff House (c. 1890), designed by architect Moses Somake, and is a good example to understand the domestic scene of British officers serving in India. Situated at the exclusive area of Staff Lines, Flagstaff House can easily accessed from the prestigious street known as Bonus Road (now Fatima Jinnah Road), which lies at the boundary edges of the Cantonment and the Civil Lines Quarter. (Figure 18) It was owned by two Parsi magnates Sorab Kavasji and

Dina Katrak. The bungalow was later designated as the Flagstaff House, the residence of the General Officer Commanding. (Lari & Lari, 2001, p. 308)

The house bears all the salient features of a colonial bungalow compound. The main façade (facing Bonus Road[65]) has a carriage porch which marks the entrance of the main house (Figure 19). It leads the visitors to a sizable veranda, from which the drawing room, study (home office), and dining rooms can be accessed. There are two toilets on each corner of the backside and a smaller veranda that leads to a covered walkway which then connects to a separate structure used as a kitchen. (Figure 20)

The Annex was a later addition (Lari & Lari, 2001, p. 309). It was used as the Guesthouse and was independent from the main house. The outhouses, storage, and carriage houses were all placed together at the back of the plot, along with the boundary edge. (Figure 21)

As opposed to the ground floor plan, the first floor constituted a more private domain. The stairways leading to the upper storey opened up to a family room which was accompanied by the bedrooms on either side. Each bedroom had an attached dressing room and bathroom. On one side of these bedrooms, a semi-covered gallery accompanied by the semi-circular balconies looked over to the front yard. (Figure 22)

While we can imagine how these spaces were used during the Raj era, King points out that, "The excess of leisure time, combined with plentiful native labour, encouraged entertaining on a liberal scale" (King, 1982, p. 80). The neighbourhoods of the Flagstaff house, as shown in Table 3, reveal that there

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[65] There is also a secondary entrance to the house that faces Sharah-e-Faisal formally known as Drigh Road.

were quite a few places around the European quarters to cater for the wants, needs and entertainment of the colonisers.

Table 3: The Neighbourhoods of Flagstaff House

Name of the Building	Walking distance	Function
Sind Club	2 mins (180 m)	Recreation
Holy Trinity Cathedral	2mins (140 m)	Religious
Frere Hall	4 mins (350 m)	Recreation
Trinity Methodist High School	5mins (350 m)	Education
Karachi Gymkhana	9 mins (700 m)	Recreation
Government House	10 mins (800 m)	Official
Polo Ground	15 mins (1.2 km)	Recreation
Army Depot/Offices	16 mins (1.2 km)	Official
Empress Market	19 min (1.5 km)	Market

Considering the neighbourhood, amenities and the overall facilities available, the British officer residing at the Flagstaff house, lived a lifestyle based on exclusion rather than inclusion. (Figure 18) Based on the available information collected from various sources, we may surmise that the officer used to ride his carriage whether for work or to shop or to socialise at Sind Club across the road. He attended balls organised at Frere Hall (adjacent to Sind Club) and procured his groceries from Empress Market (a marketplace out of bounds for the natives).

Just round the corner, occupants of the Government House (later known as Governor House) followed a similar lifestyle, but on a much grander scale (Figure 23). Standing in its vast gardens, the house itself could be approached by four drives and two long wings leading the visitors to marble steps; after mounting them one could find himself on a high portico from where he could catch the view of perfectly kept grass lawns of the compound. (Lawrence, 2012, p. 41)

Sundays were reserved for leisure time. The quote below from Lady Rosamund's letter, written in 1916, from Governor House, Karachi[66] captures an interesting observation of her fellow countrymen during Raj:

> Quite a few are stoutest, devoted to their game of golf in the sand on Sunday morning, with a heavy luncheon at the Sind Club afterwards. The bar at the Sind Club plays an important part in Karachi society. There,

[66] She was the wife of Sir Henry Lawrence, then acting Commissioner of Sind. She travelled to India in 1914 after her marriage and moved from Belgium. She stayed in Karachi till 1918. Her diaries record the life at the Government House, Karachi.

business, war, scandal, is discussed over whiskies and milk punch, not war, tiger, sketching and games, as in Belgium (Lawrence, 2012, p. 42).

The above description of city life is obviously quite in contrast to the early nineteenth century "*Kurrachee*"[67]. By the early twentieth century, Karachi had become a blustering metropolitan city where the colonisers and the local elites could both enjoy the fruits of modernity.

5.2 OSCILLATING BETWEEN HOMELY COMFORT & DISQUIETING ANXIETY

Sociology, economy and politics all played an important part in determining the process of the construction, its form and consequent habitation.

> Some bungalows, especially those located in military cantonments, were built by the colonial government for its officers and employees, and standard plans were produced by the Public Works Department (PWD) for the purpose. In larger cities, however, bungalows were often built by Indian businessmen and landowners who rented them both to government officers and to European civilians (Glover, 2004, p. 64).

In other words, the representatives of the ruling class lived in the lodgings rather than mansions[68]. The provided and presumably assigned houses followed such a strict and standardised design that little room was left for

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[67] Old Karachi, as described by Burton. (Burton, 1877)

[68] Including the Flagstaff House and the Governor's House discussed earlier.

individual improvements, personal initiative, or alterations[69]. Moreover, these prototype houses were often built in close proximity to one another, and were sometimes along the same street. According to Rapoport, a house invokes a sense of belonging. These bungalows addressed this issue by incorporating those elements that could stimulate the aura of 'a home away from home'. Whether it be the use of gabled roofs (Figure 8), or the impression of a fireplace in the interiors (Figure 24) or the use of classical pilasters on the façades etc., each of them was resonant with the memories and reminiscences of their homeland.

Since their colonial careers prevented the British from calling the subcontinent their permanent place of domicile, only Britain could be considered their true homeland (Mizutani, 2011, p. 26). The British in India must have talked quite often about their homes in England with Nawab Mehdi Hasan Khan. After all, this is what fuelled Khan's curiosity to know about life in England. In 1890, he travelled to London. The following quote is an excerpt from his personal travel diary:

> I am very much amused to witness English home life. There is no such word as "home" in our language; [in England] it is a word employed chiefly in the elevated style. And every heart is stirred by it. I had heard the word so often that I was anxious to see an English home and real home life. This is a small cozy house, tastefully furnished…Throughout the central parts of London, there are large buildings of five or six stories and rented either by flats or rooms. In many cases, these buildings are separated from the street in front by railings, with a small gate in front leading up a short flight of steps to a door which is numbered. Inside, generally, the dining room is on the ground floor, the drawing room on the

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[69] Glover quotes F. S. Growse's memoirs (1886) in which he declined the transfer solely because the house had "no scope for the exercise of individual taste." (Glover, 2004, p. 67)

first, and the bedrooms above. Beneath the ground floor are the rooms for servants and the kitchen. This is the kind of abode in which our retired Lieutenant Governors lives (Glover, 2008, p. 62).

Notice the stark contrast between an active Governor's bungalow in British India and a typical row-house of a retired official in London. Various sources indicate that the colonial residences in India served not only the purpose of housing but were also symbolic visual forms that represented imperial power. With India's vast resources at their disposal, even the modest houses were set on relatively large lots (Figure 25 & 26), often raised honorifically above their surroundings and adorned with neo-classical and gothic revival ornament (Glover, 2008, p. 62).

These houses echoed an affiliation with the distant centre and in these "sanctuaries", the colonisers were expected to harvest and harness a particular kind of domesticity, a domesticity that could reflect and instil the values and dispositions that separated rulers from their subjects (Glover, 2008, p. 62).

Architecturally, the domains of servants and the served were ostensibly demarcated by the clear articulation of circulation. Both the prominent residences as well as the typical civil servant residences followed this scheme of segregation. For example, in the case of the residence at Claremont Road (now being used as Ladies Food Club), despite its modest size the same planning principle was applied. There were two separate entrances to the house, the main entrance was marked by the patio that connected to the veranda while the second (or back entrance) was primarily for the servants. Typical of a colonial bungalow, the kitchen was kept relatively isolated from the main house and an outhouse stood detached from the main structure, accommodating both the servants' rooms and storage areas. (Figure 27) While

first floor is reserved for bedrooms. (Figure 28) Despite the simplicity of its façade, (Figure 29), the colonial identity were inescapable. The semi-circular niche projected on the southern façade informed the audience that there was a large hall used for relaxation and entertainment and its large spacious lawns and gardens confirmed that this house was meant for a well-placed official serving the Crown.

The British felt an urge to distinguish themselves from the natives. After all, for a post-industrial, secular thinking, and eighteenth century British, it was natural and logical to classify, compartmentalise and designate things into groups. Spatial practices highlight the Oriental mindset: Intellectuals of the Orient as subordinates of the West. And thus, the British obsession for expressing their superior difference remained present throughout the colonial discourse[70].

However, in the presence of a large number of Indian servants, unfavourable weather conditions, and the uncertain political situation, many Europeans faced hindrance in finding that ideal bourgeois domestic comfort which the popular magazines, treatises and home décor books [71] inspired them to achieve.

A colonial setting remained a contested domain. Even after the Revolt was crushed there was a constant threat from the Indians, and events such as the Khilafat Movement and the Civil Disobedience Movement led by Gandhi

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[70] See Cannadine, 2001 and Chattopadhyay S. , 2000.

[71] Works of John Claudius Loudon (for Gardening design), Mrs Beeton's *Book of Household Management* (1861), and *Harper Bazaar* magazine are some of the most popular and widely circulated reading materials at that time.

always kept the colonisers on their toes.[72] The colonial bungalow, therefore, had to function as a bulwark against this strange, unfamiliar and even threatening outside world and to solve this, "the colonizers resorted to building elaborate artifices of delimitation- wrought-iron railings, masonry walls, and gates- often designed after European pattern books" (Chattopadhyay S. , 2000, p. 157).

However, the natives could not absolutely be kept away from a European's bungalow. As mentioned earlier, a European's household in India was a house full of servants, and they were often present in an adjacent space in the case were needed[73]. Their co-presence "in the innermost recesses of the home was thought to expose its occupants to a range of social (physical) dangers that derived, in part, from fears of race mixing" (Glover, 2004, p. 75) The wet-nurses and *ayahs* (nannies) employed for European infants (Figure 30) were also seen apprehensively because there was a fear that they might transfer dangerous habits and unamiable traits of character onto the children (Grant, 1862, p. 112). Furthermore, especially for a newly arrived European mistress, the language barrier[74] often led to difficulties in managing the domestic staff, provoking distrust and misunderstanding.

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[72] These anxieties were further fuelled by the lack of the 'sense of belonging'. Typically, the British officer's house in India was meant to serve as a lodging. Therefore, little effort was invested to call this temporary dwelling as *home*. As a result, interior spaces were often chaotic, missing the personal interventions and taste (Figure 17).

[73] A *khidmutgharh* (the one who serves food at the table) used to stand behind the dining chair for both public as well as private dinner parties. According to Grant, "dressed in liveries of Eastern fashion…they present a very extraordinary and imposing array" (Grant, 1862, pp. 105-106)

[74] Like Mrs. Fenton when George took her servant with him "…promising to send him back immediately," because he was her "only medium of communication with all the others" (Fenton, 1901, p. 143)

Despite all the insecurities and discomforts that the occupants experienced, no one abolished the practice of utilizing native domestic help. Chattopadhyay explains: "The pleasures of imperialism did not simply necessitate native presence but *depended* on and was besieged by native practices in the very centre of domestic life" (Chattopadhyay, 2005, p. 135). Whether reluctantly or willingly, Europeans gradually came to terms with this: "…pleasures of imperialism were gained at the price of being watched by the servants" (Chattopadhyay S. , 2000, p. 175).

5.3 THE PALACE OF A MERCHANT PRINCE

Similar to the Romans, the British used both military tactics as well as political and social reforms to establish their rule in the subcontinent. Viswanathan quotes Farish's 1838 *Minutes*:

> The Natives must either be kept down by a sense of our power, or they must willingly submit from a conviction that we are more wise, more just, more humane and more anxious to improve their condition than any other rulers they could have (Viswanathan, 1995, p. 436).

In short, British colonialism was both authoritative as well as collaborative. The vast lands and resources of India could not possibly be ruled on the 'might is right' formula alone. Local elites, aristocrats, and feudal lords were seen as natural leaders, if they would cooperate with the colonisers, the masses would soon follow the suit. Therefore, nobles and chiefs were the first ones who were encouraged to acquire western education. Consequently, the Westernisation

of Indian domestic life also began 'at the top', with the 'nobility' so to speak"
(King, 1982, p. 84).

The trickle-down effect continued. "The architectural expression favoured by
the rulers was enthusiastically adopted by a rising class of Indian merchants,
contractors, suppliers and others" (Lari & Lari, 2001, p. 199). Those who could
afford it, began to indulge in European luxuries such as a furnished house,
carriages, and wines.[75]

After the 1857's Revolt ended, several Indian educational institutions such as
the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College and the Mayo College at Ajmer
were established. Similarly, Indian professions also grew, giving rise to the
emerging middle-class groups in the society. Gradually, as financial
conditions were improved, the standard of living was also elevated. By the
mid-nineteenth century, it was not uncommon for the local elite to own
business, invest in properties and volunteer in public charity works.

In Karachi's case, a city developed by the colonisers from scratch, its people
owed as much to the government for its infrastructure and development as it
did to its local elites. The local merchants and entrepreneurs took an active
part in the city's growth and names such as Eduljee Dinshaw, Adamji
Boodhabhoy, Cowasjee and much more became household names who ran
successful businesses, organised charity works and participated in managing
the public affairs of the city (The DAWN Group of Newspaper, 2003).

By the early twentieth century, people from all across the subcontinent had
begun to migrate to Karachi for better employment opportunities. The city

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[75] As quoted by King from (Misra, 1961, p. 154); also the Urdu poet Ghalib, in his letter to his
friend Mir Mehdi Majruh (undated) praises liquor for its good taste and colour.

grew into a commercial hub and many architectural edifices were added to the city's urban landscape. According to Yasmeen Lari:

> Karachi became a bustling commercial centre, most of the buildings were now designed by local designers and craftsmen who were now well-versed in the use of 'paper patterns' and proficient only in creating an innovative mix of imported styles and local elements (Lari & Lari, 2001, p. 300).

Around the same time, a successful Marwari businessman, Shiv Rattan Mohatta[76], decided to move to Karachi and build a palatial house as a summer retreat at the city's sparsely populated suburban area known as Clifton Quarters. (Figure 31 & 32) He commissioned Ahmed Hussain Agha, a Jaipur-based architect, to design the house in Anglo-Mughal style who drew his inspirations from Rajput princes' palaces[77]. (Figure 33)

Completed in 1927, Mohatta Palace comprises an area of 18,500 sq. ft. (1720 m² approx.) and is set on a sprawling estate of 12,000 sq. yards (Lari & Lari, 2001, p. 346). The house could be approached from all four sides: the northern and southern entrances are reserved for the guests while the eastern one served as the main entrance; the western entrance was the back entrance. The ground floor was elegantly designed primarily for entertainment; it comprised rooms such as the reception area, Games room, and the dining hall (Figure 34).

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[76] His family was influential and held important business offices. For example, Rao Bahadur Seth Shivratan G. Mohatta was once the President of Karachi Indian Merchants' Association (Katrak, 1963, p. 141).

[77] The background information is based on various sources including: (The DAWN Group of Newspaper, 2009), (Lari & Lari, 2001, pp. 346-347), (The DAWN Group of Newspaper, 2003, pp. 184-185).

Alternatively, the first floor comprised bedrooms and a private sitting area (Figure 35), while the top floor had a *baradari*[78], facing the cool prevailing breeze of the Arabian Sea. This covered terrace served as a family temple and was dedicated to the Hindu god Shiva (Figure 36). The most private floor, however, is the basement. To access it, a stairwell next to the northern side entrance was taken; this led to the lobby area where there was a heated Pool chamber, which had a connected changing room. The ventilators served as the source of light and controlled temperature (Shabbir, 2015).[79] (Figure 37)

The scale and ornamental details around the house (Figure 38) not only announce the owner's wealth and social status but they were also be seen as an embodiment of a particular hybridised lifestyle. There is a clear demarcation between public and private life in this house. The variations in the degree of privacy and the nature of activities observed in them show how the amalgamation of traditional and modern practices took place within the confinements of the colonial house.

The private areas of the house i.e. the pool hall (used for the ritual bath) and the family temple on the top floor added meaning to the lives of the Hindu occupants. These were the spaces where daily religious rituals used to take

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[78] *Bara* means twelve, while *dar* means door. It is used to describe a structure or a pavilion having three doorways on each side (hence the name). It is designed to allow free flow of air. They are considered the most prominent features in a typical Mughal garden and built for entertainment purposes.

[79] According to some sources, from the grounds of the palace, a secret underground tunnel led from the palace all the way to a subterranean Hindu temple less than a kilometre away. This tunnel was apparently built to provide a safe passage for the wife of Shivratan Chandratan Mohatta to go for her daily worship. The tunnel has fallen prey to the ravages of time, having caved in and the entrance is now blocked from both ends (The DAWN Group of Newspaper, 2009). However, the story appears to be too far-fetched and has been recently dismissed by the architects involved in its restoration (Shabbir, 2015).

place. The domain was guarded by a high degree of privacy which further elevated its sacred status.

In comparison to the private areas, however, the public domain was reserved to cater for the worldly affairs. It was a domain where guests were received, entertained and socialised with. Each room was reserved for a specific function only. The Dining Hall for dining, the Game Room for indoor entertainment and so on. These grand scaled rooms were carefully orchestrated aiding the owner to project a particular kind of image for himself in the eyes of the public: a stature for himself as a modern and influential Indian elite.

Mohatta Palace may be seen as an exception rather than the norm, but it certainly sets a precedent for the lavish display of influence, riches and privilege. Alas, these luxurious comforts were short-lived. Just two decades after its construction, in 1947, Mohatta migrated to India. The end of the Raj had brought an end to the extravagant life of the Palace itself.

5.4 A HOUSE AROUND THE CORNER

From the contemporary accounts, we know that: "The residences of the respectable and rich Hindus form a remarkable contrast with those of their poorer countrymen" (Grant, 1862, p. 7). The class difference was even greater in the case of large urban settlements than in villages and smaller towns. "What distinguishes these groups is not simply their income level, but the degree of hardship they endure to make a living" (Chattopadhyay, 2005, p. 143).

As previously discussed, during the First World War Karachi had served as a military base, its economy grew as more and more people flocked to the city. The local businessmen made fortunes from the war and invested it in real estate by building large bungalows for themselves in the city's suburbs.

However, the war had also brought inflation. As a result, land prices had rocketed sky-high and buying a commercial property became increasingly difficult. The older parts of the city became overcrowded and several commercial properties were either sold out in auction or subdivided and rented out to cope with the housing issue. In addition, several public work projects were initiated and the road network expanded. New buildings were erected throughout the city (Dhamvi, 2013, pp. 441-442).

Napier Quarter being the first quarter established by the British[80] experienced an organic growth and was predominantly occupied by Hindus and Muslims. The inter-war period saw a steady growth in the city's population and the older neighbours, including the Napier Quarter became densely populated. Here, the proposed drawing for Plot No. 123, Sheet A. 20 (Figure 39) is one of the many examples of the colonial building that took place during the inter-war years (1914-1921) in the area. The submitted plan is on an irregular plot and consisted of stairways, a passage, and bathrooms. The reinforced concrete structure includes European architectural vocabulary is applied to its northern façade.

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[80] Between Lyari and Meethadar neighbourhoods, there used to be an open market of fruits and vegetables. After the British conquest, this area was the first to be developed, the market was also expanded and in 1927 Lea Market was constructed on its site. (Hasan, 1993)

When this building is studied alongside the Mohatta Palace, it becomes hard to ignore the class difference within the colonial Indian society. The building's total built-up area is almost half the size of the living room area of the Mohatta Palace! Yet, regardless of their scale, both houses show a visible degree of hybridity. Despite its modest dimensions, Plot No. 123 imitates neo-classical (European) style in its façade design.

The urbanisation, western education and modern technology, secularised many areas of life including dietary and socialising habits. (Srinivas, 1966, pp. 56-125) While some areas such as religious and communal practices continued to be observed in parallel to newer customs. In other words, the colonial household of a native represented a negotiated ground since it was positioned in between new and old, modern and traditional, foreign and local. According to Anthony King:

> When ideas, objects, institutions, images, practices, performances are transplanted to other places, other cultures, they both bear the marks of history as well as undergo a process of cultural translation and hybridization (King, 2004, p. 125).

These 'marks of history' survive the course of time in the form of architecture, language, political and social practices and memorials. In the case of British colonialism, the meanings attached to its imperial symbols have evolved over time. Today, the supremacy of the British Empire no longer exists yet its memories survive:

> The captains and the kings have departed; the squadrons and the legions have come home; the plumed hats and the ceremonial swords have been

put away; the Union Jack has been hauled down again and again and again; Britannia no longer rules the waves at Heaven's command (Cannadine, 2001, p. xiii).

Shortly after the end of WWII (1945) the British Raj also came to an end (1947). Many British officials and soldiers returned to their home leaving behind only the remains of their fellow officers who had died during their service in the subcontinent. Today, these war cemeteries and memorials are but the reminiscence of the past glory of the Empire.

5.5   THE BURIED RAJ'S LEGACY

As discussed earlier, Karachi served as a military base during the World Wars and held large encampments where the troops received training and were despatched to the Middle Eastern territories and beyond (Khuhro, 2010, p. 57). Today, Karachi's War Cemetery commemorates and hosts the remains of some of the soldiers who served during the Wars.[81]

After the British Raj ended, the natives of India faced several difficulties and ambivalence in embracing the colonial heritage. Due to the apprehension towards the colonial past, many edifices and British-built urban settings including the cemeteries suffered negligence and encroachments.[82] In the case

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[81] According to the local guard at Karachi War Cemetery, the cemetery has 642 graves in total out of which only five are the original burials while rest of the remains were moved from the other cemeteries such as Gora Kabiristan.

[82] Some local scholars such as Sunil Khilnani and Narayani Gupta believe that Indians had little regard for their colonial heritage because the colonisers themselves showed little respect

of Karachi, the ad-havoc urbanisation and exponential increase in port activities brought acute social and environmental degradation to the city's colonial heritage (Hasan, 1996).

In recent years, however, local scholars and practitioners have initiated several collaborative projects with the help of international organisations such as UNESCO and CWGC for the safeguarding and rehabilitation of the built heritage[83]. These developments have inspired researchers to re-evaluate local historic narratives and encouraging them to have dialogues with the past.

The remnants of the Empire especially the spatial settings such as cemeteries impart both the ex-colonised and ex-colonisers "with a diverse range of meanings specific to a historical moment". (Buettner, 2006, p. 7). Materially, the colonisers' graveyards attest to Britain's humanistic contributions and sacrifices (Buettner, 2006, p. 17). After all:

> Tombstones and graveyards provide ample means to rehabilitate tarnished images of the British and through recounting the 'high price of service in the East', allow persons who might be depicted as colonial oppressors to be recast as victims (Buettner, 2006, p. 19).

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towards the region's past and culture especially during their conquests. The British often demolished vast areas of old cities to meet their own needs of defence, image and order. After independence, colonial buildings were readapted or encroached upon mainly to counter economic and social needs and not solely because of the hostile sentiments towards the colonial history (Buettner, 2006, pp. 21-28).

[83] UNESCO's 1972 Convention regarding the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage and the establishment of organizations such as ICOMOS (1965) and BACSA (1976) are some of important developments that have inspired conservation efforts for the heritage in the region.

However, repainting the image especially through history writing can raise controversies. Throughout the British rule, colonisers continued to hold close ties with the metropole[84] (Buettner, 2006, p. 12). Their posting in India was mostly challenging and they often faced anxieties and homesickness. The voyages to India were long and tiresome. Due to the harsh climatic conditions and epidemic diseases, there was a high mortality rate amongst the servicemen. If an officer died during his service, he was usually buried at a local cantonment or a garrison cemetery (Summers, 2010, p. 5). Since sending the remains back home was both expensive as well as difficult only a handful families could finance such an undertaking[85].

For the British in India, their colonial careers denied them the right to permanently settle in the subcontinent and call it home. Britain remained "their real homeland and the legitimate source of their socio-cultural values" (Mizutani, 2011, p. 26). Once they retired, they would return back to their country. Thus, those British servicemen and family members who died and were buried in India hardly had any visitors. Ironically, the foreign land they colonised and avoided to integrate with became their final resting place.

The post-Raj Karachi has seen the mutilation and encroachment of several colonial properties including the private bungalows, public monuments and burial grounds. The famous Gora Kabiristan (formerly Karachi Christian Cemetery)[86] also fell prey to this harsh treatment. (Figure 40) Consecrated in

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[84] Urban centres in England especially London.

[85] For the East India Company the cost of sending a European soldier to India was £100 (Grant, 1862, p. 49).

[86] Currently, it is the only operational Christian cemetery for the city.

1845, the place served as a designated burial site for the civilian populace. Despite its historical significance, the cemetery's condition continues to deteriorate due to unavailability of funds and poor management by the Karachi Christian Cemetery Board.

In contrast, Karachi's War Cemetery presents us with a more refreshing picture (Figure 41). Under the umbrella of Commonwealth War Graves Commission (CWGC), the place has been taken care of on a regular basis.[87] It follows the same international protocols as other Imperial War graveyards in the Commonwealth countries. It also shares many characteristics and design features with other Commission's graveyards such as a simple geometric layout including an altar stone[88], the Cross of Sacrifice[89] and the standardised headstones[90].

The War memorials are symbolically charged, they express both an emotional private recollection as well as politically shaped public memory (Moriarty, 1995, p. 8). When in 1917, Fabian Ware founded the Imperial War Graves Commission (now known as Commonwealth War Graves Commission), it

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[87] CWGC is a globally funded organisation that honours the 1.7 million people who died during the two World Wars. It maintains the war graves and official memorials as well as preserving the official records related to the wars. For details: http://www.cwgc.org/about-us.aspx

[88] Designed by Sir Edwin Lutyens and known to be the Stone of Remembrance, the stone is meant to represent an imperial grave for all those citizens of the Empire who fought and died during these great wars (Moriarty, 1995, p. 15).

[89] Designed by Sir Reginald Blomfied, it signifies all the major religions of the time. The scale of the cross is often varied to fit the size of the specific cemetery (Summers, 2010, p. 25).

[90] The headstones are 2'6" high, 1'3" wide and 3" thick. The lettering used was designed by MacDonald Gill and Eric Gill and typically contains regimental number, rank, name, unit and date of death (Summers, 2010, pp. 23-25).

established principles of equality of rank, creed and race (Summers, 2010, p. 24). It was a revolutionary step since it brought both Britain and its colonies under one banner and granting all the subjects including the colonialized people equal recognition. Today, the altar stone in all the Commission's graveyards bear an inscription that reads: "Their Name Liveth for Evermore"; these are Kipling's words that commemorate all men regardless of their religious beliefs. (Figure 42)

As many historical narratives reveal, the British colonialism, in most cases, did not grant the colonised subjects an equal status.[91] Yet, the catastrophes of the World Wars and the growing political awareness amongst the colonialized brought many changes in the political and social structures of the Empire. The paradigm shift is particularly observable in the Commission's design scheme since it not only honours the dead and consoles the bereaved but also helps redefine the idea of an Empire: regardless of the social stature or place of burial, the war heroes are assuredly honoured equally for all times to come.

Kipling's words not only immortalise the dead but also instill a particular kind of remembrance: the legacy of the war heroes is meant to last for eternity. Hence, the definition of time has also been revised. Time which was once understood in terms of the past, present and future gets redefined by the colonisers as a 'continuous' and 'transitional' entity.

The Commission's abstract yet simple design scheme propagates universal values such as heroism, valour and sacrifice. By adopting an all-inclusive narrative, it succeeds in providing a sanctuary- a *home* for the war heroes. For

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[91] According to Thomas Trautmann, during the colonialism there was a general perception amongst the British that the Indians may admire them, emulate them, even attempt to become like them, but they could never be one of them. (Mizutani, 2011, p. 15)

those Englishmen who served and died in colonial India, the design concept can be interpreted as a liberation from all the restrictions and barriers that prevented them to call India a home away from their home.

From a broader perspective, the British cemeteries in India, especially a war burial ground has often served as a more successful and legible stamp of British imperialism in India. Its sacred and passive nature instils memories of the global scope of the British colonialism, its legacy and its impacts in the post-colonial era.

The colonial cemeteries of Karachi are quiet and secluded places where the names on the tombstones have faded with time (Figure 43). Nevertheless, they add to the wider narrative of the British imperialism in India and shape how the memories of the Raj has been formulated and transformed in the course of time. As the studies reveal, British Raj may be buried but it is certainly not forgotten. As put in the sentiments of William Faulkner: "The past is never dead. It's not even past".[92]

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[92] This line appears in his novel *Requiem for a Nun*, it implies that the past always influences the present (Faulkner, 1951).

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

British colonialism was a global phenomenon that changed the course of our modern history. Hence, detailed study of its strength and weaknesses may help answer many unresolved issues related to its architectural and cultural heritage that continue to surface in the post-colonial world.

The thesis has shown that the history of British colonialism is complex and not always coherent. In keeping with the Roman precedents, the British used persuasive, collaborative as well as authoritarian approaches for the expansion and maintenance of their territorial hold.

Throughout their rule, the British continued to view India from a point of difference and refused to integrate into the society that they colonised because of their preconceived notions and imagined superiority. While their technological and economic advantages provided them with opportunities and privileges to rule vast lands and resources, it also deprived them of freedom to interact and intermingle with the locals. The absence of inclusiveness resulted in feelings of mistrust and apprehension which were experienced by both the colonised and the colonisers alike.

For the colonisers, the self-imposed isolation was an integral part of the colonial experience in South Asia (Guha, 1997, p. 485). It was a necessary

defence against their possible colonial degeneration (Mizutani, 2011, p. 16). Yet, neither the enclaves nor the English club or the bungalow could efficiently prevent interactions between the two.

Due to their insufficient numbers, the colonisers often had to rely on local assistance and collaboration in order to carry out their duties (Levine, 2007, p. 69). This hindered and threatened their privacy and self-proclaimed 'prestige' and became a constant source of their anxiety and frustration.

The thesis has shown how the psychological, political and social factors influenced the colonial interactions. Despite their initial apprehensions, both the colonised and colonisers experienced transformations. This proves that encounters led to changes and that "all cultures are involved in one another, none is single and pure, and all are hybrid, heterogeneous, extraordinarily differentiated and un-monolithic" (Said, 1994, p. XXV).

Under the Raj, the British launched a 'civilising' project and introduced the locals to modernity. Architecturally, several new building typologies such as railway stations, town halls and clock towers etc. shaped the urban landscape and informed the locals about the western ideologies and their vision of modernity[93]. Stylistically, these colonial buildings often corresponded with their current political situations; the colonisers usually preferred styles such as classical, Gothic or Neo-Mughal style to represent themselves as Imperial, Christian or paternalistic respectively (Lari & Lari, 2001, p. 296).

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[93] Appendix C shows that for the case of Karachi many of the city's renowned colonial public buildings were commissioned by the local patrons and colonial administrators alike. The list also include basic information on buildings' architecture and year of construction.

Modernity was often seen as an essentially European accomplishment whose mastery was unattainable especially for a non-European. (Cooper, 2005, pp. 113-115). Imitating British habits and adopting their lifestyle did not grant the Indians an equal status. The British vision of modernity was derived from the Enlightenment ideologies and secularism. Moreover, the institutions established by the colonisers defined their own society and civilisation which included private property, the rule of law and the liberty of individual and western education system (Metcalf, 1995, p. 35).

Under these circumstances, Indians faced challenges to find a balance between their newly embraced modernism and the religious and cultural traditions of their forefathers. This resulted in the formation of an 'indigenous' modernity where the locals began to adopt new modes of lifestyle[94] without completely discarding their local customs and beliefs (Hosagrahar, 2005).

The western education gave the Indians better employment opportunities and helped them participate more actively in the public realm. Since the British 'civilising' project was but another means to control the local populace, the modernisation in India occurred in a highly selective manner and targeted only the high income or the elite groups of the society. Many ordinary Indians did not benefit significantly from these developments (Klein, 2000, p. 572).

Colonial India experienced limited industrial and technological interventions further widening the financial gap between the high and low-income groups in the society. The colonial architecture, particularly the examples discussed in the thesis, proves that while the local elites made fortunes and built

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[94] They acquired taste and appreciating for sports such as cricket and polo, socialising in clubs and meeting in cafés etc. are some of the habits borrowed from the British. These activities were conducting while still observing religious festivities and rituals.

themselves palatial residences, many working class citizens particularly those who sought employment in new urban centres, dwelled in tiny apartments which were often situated in the midst of crowded and densely packed neighbourhoods.

While a typical Indian household struggled to incorporate the western modernism, the colonial officers in India usually faced difficulties in asserting an absolute control over their domestic situation. Several factors including harsh climatic conditions, the European morality and Orientalism restricted and alienated the colonisers from their local context.

The British assumed 'prestige' demanded them to seek domestic help for their everyday tasks. The availability of cheap labour meant that an average British household in India could afford a large army of servants. Their presence even in the midst of personal spaces always posed a threat to privacy. Entrapped in an 'image' of *sahib*, colonisers reluctantly accepted the servants as a 'necessary nuisance' because they were expected to lead a lifestyle that could "uphold the dignity of their more advanced civilisation" (Mizutani, 2011, p. 21).

The examples such as Flagstaff House and the bungalow at the Claremont Road illustrated that the colonial bungalows for the British officers merely served as lodgings and discouraged them to settle and integrate into the local culture. Henceforth, colonial houses could not provide homely comforts for the residents nor could they resonate a sense of belonging and ownership.

It is evident from many colonial memoirs that the luxuries of the colonial bungalow often accompanied by the anxieties and frustrations experienced by the colonial residents. And although the spatial segregation, especially after the 1857 revolt, was designed to serve as a defence mechanism, many colonisers increasingly felt isolated from their diverse and unfamiliar foreign

environment. Their isolating colonial dwellings often entrapped rather than liberating them[95].

As the study shows, the colonial world can be best understood as an interconnected zone where the exchange of ideas and practices took place. It was a contested domain where selection, appropriation, adaptation and resistances all took place simultaneously and overlapped. Like the colonial enterprise, its architecture too was a negotiated territory, it was diverse and hybrid. Therefore, it can be seen as an amalgamation of both the Western building traditions as well as local cultural and climatic responses.

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[95] Guha quotes Francis Yeats-Brown who once said: "I had sometimes a sense of isolation, of being a caged white monkey in a zoo whose patrons were this incredibly numerous beige race." (Guha, 1997, p. 483). In short, by constructing spatial and social barriers colonisers restricted themselves further, their racial bias often worked against them and they felt alienated in the difficult and strange colonial territory.

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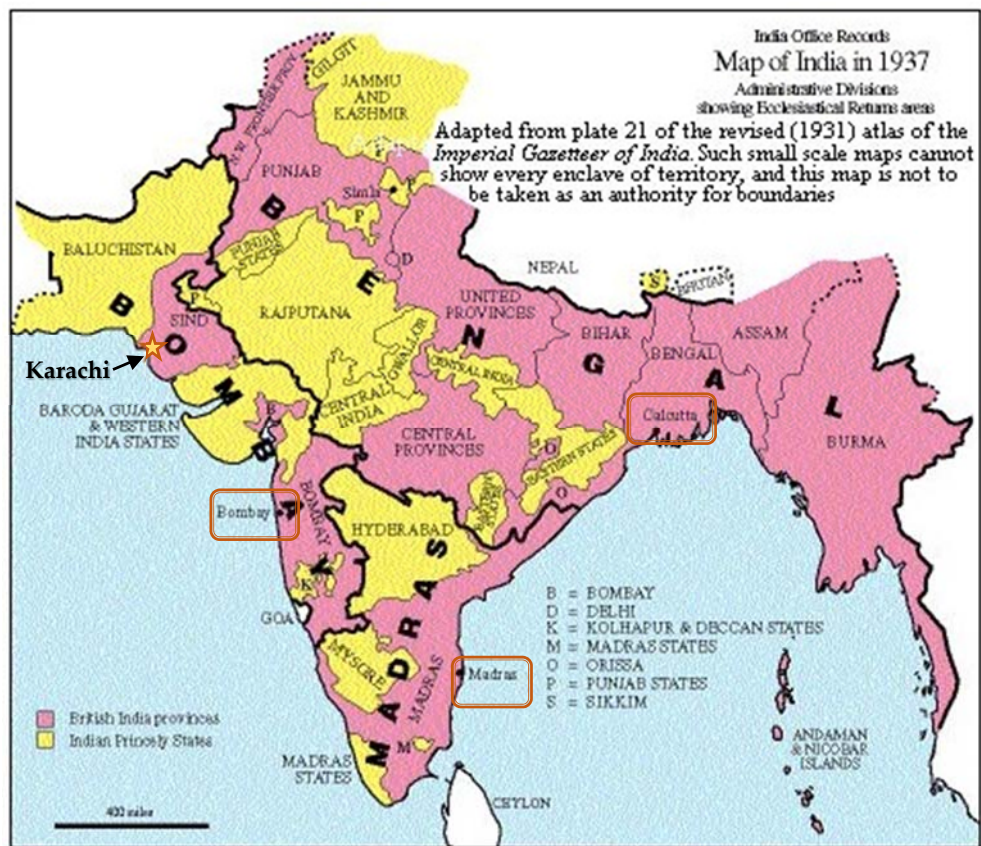
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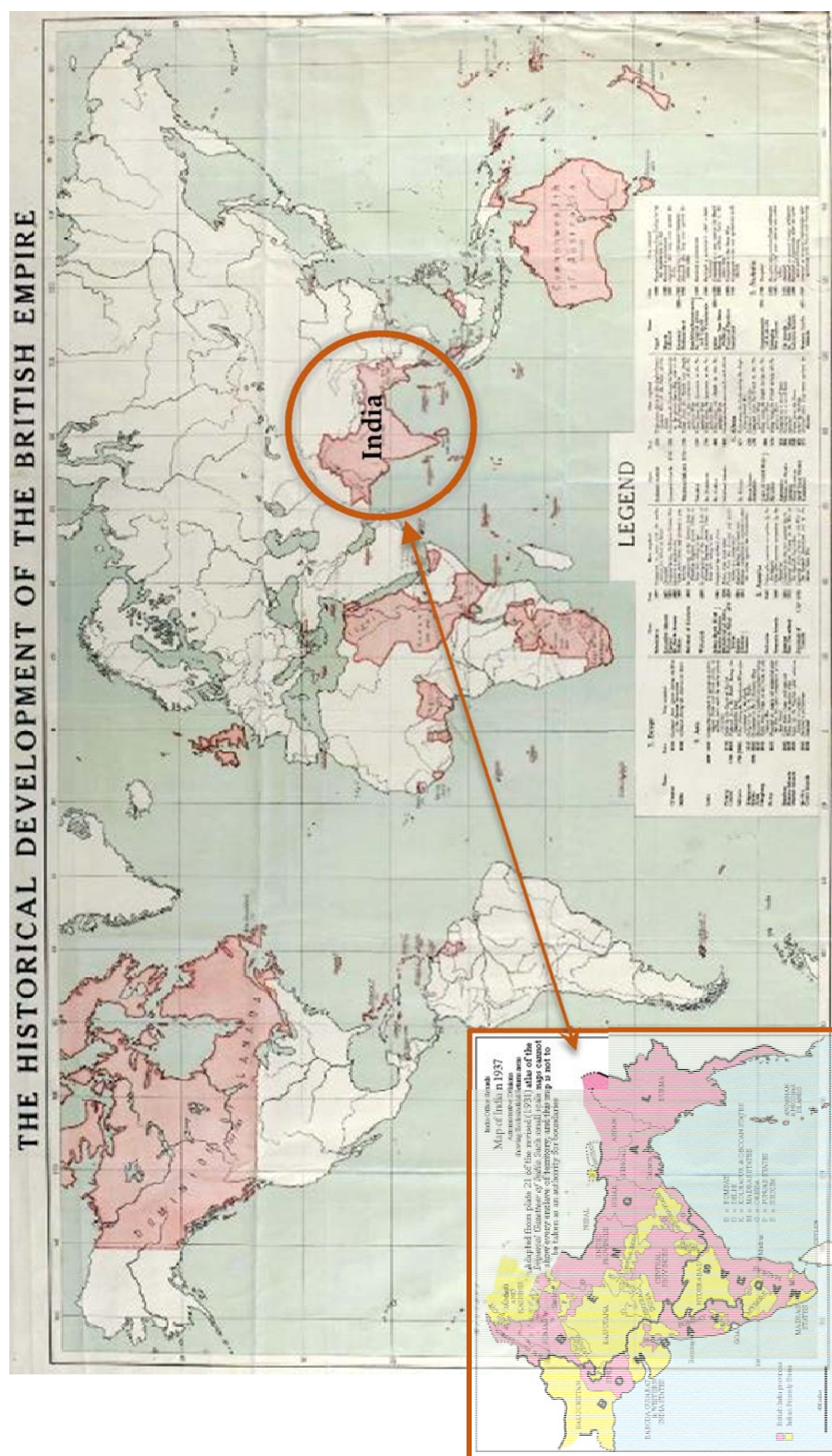
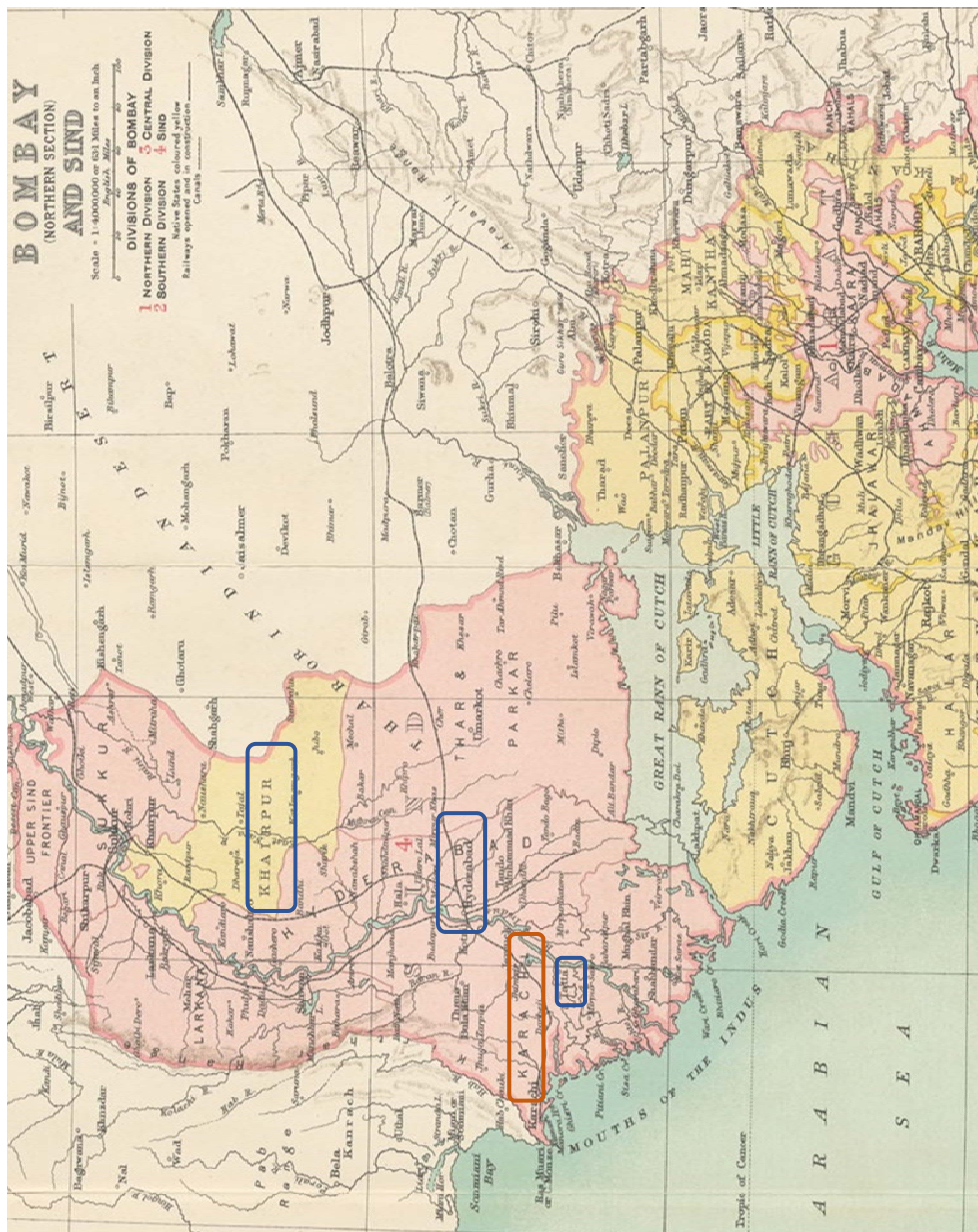*Figure 2: Historical Development of the British Empire circa. 1915. Retrieved on 15 January 2017 from: http://www.britishempire.co.uk/images4/britishempiremap1915.jpg*

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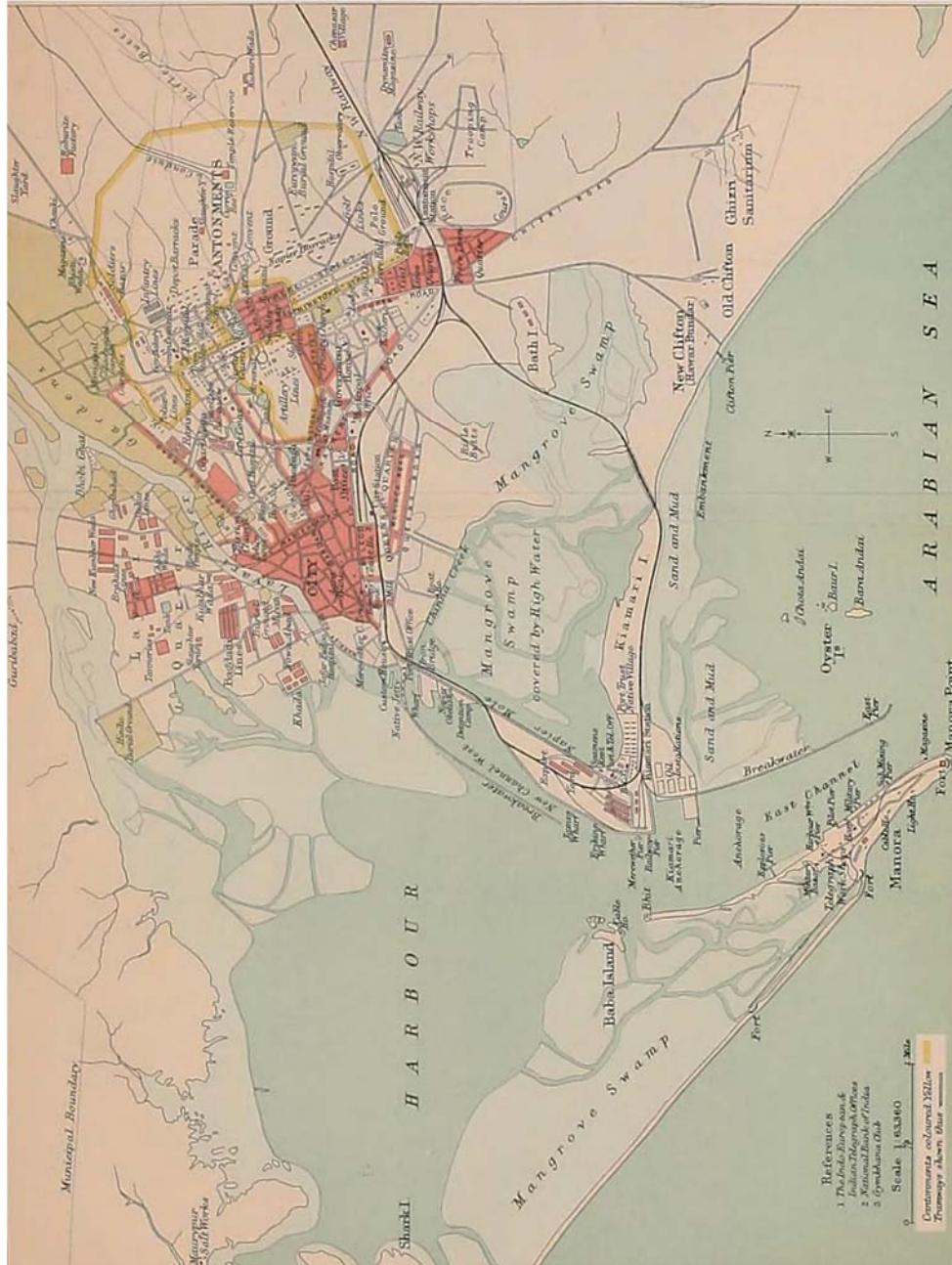
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Figure 11: Magazine Cover illustrating Athena (or Minerva?) who is holding Britain's flag while an Indian approaches her on an elephant with merchant supplies. The rising sun in the background is an analogy for Britain's Empire on the rise. Retrieved in 2016 from: (1893, January 24). Mirror of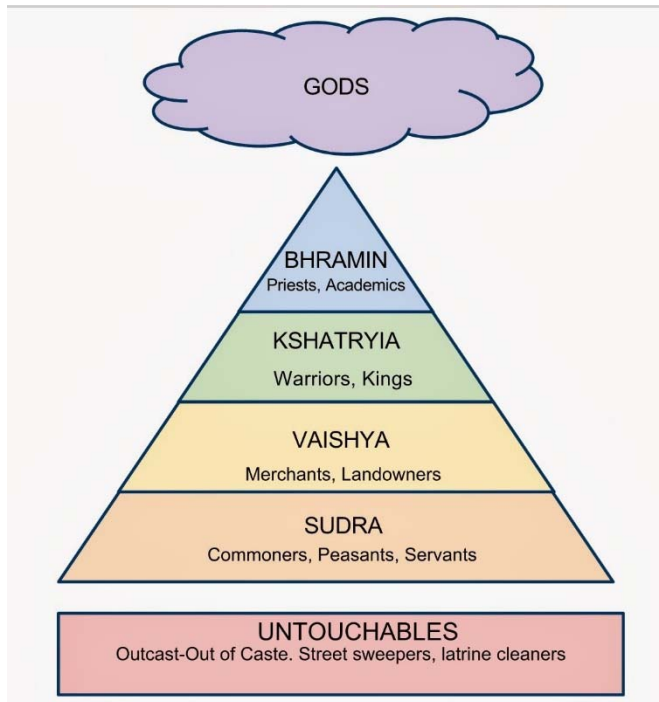 British Merchandise & Hindustani Pictorial News, (24). URL: http://www.bl.uk/learning/images/asiansinbritain/large124451.html

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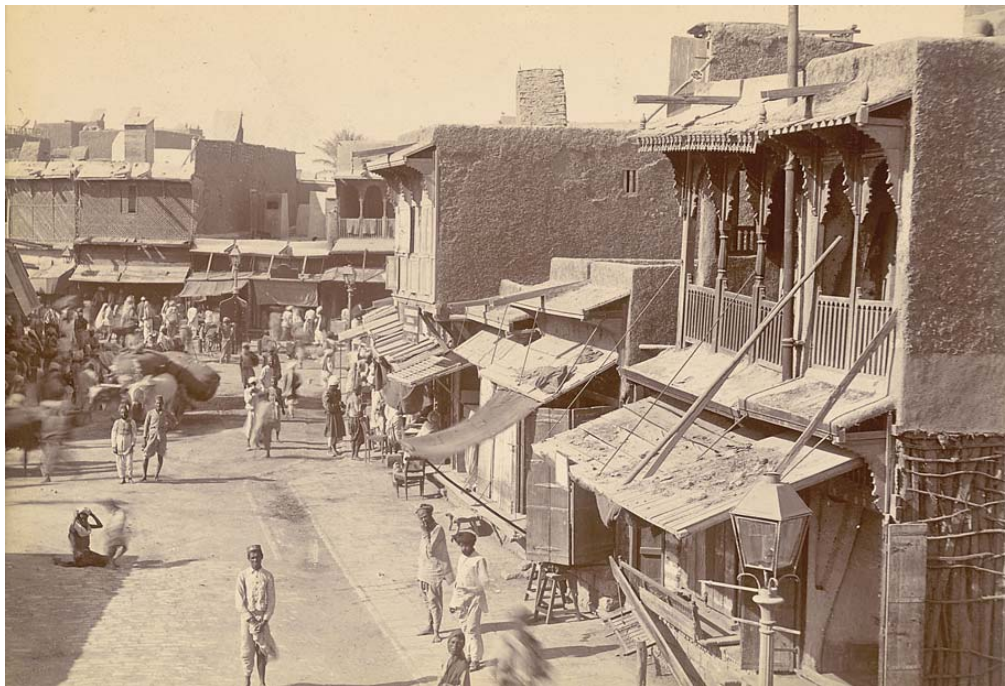*https://s-media-cache-ak0.pinimg.com/736x/bb/cf/0b/bbcf0b16f9746e2e4f7744b496a184af.jpg*

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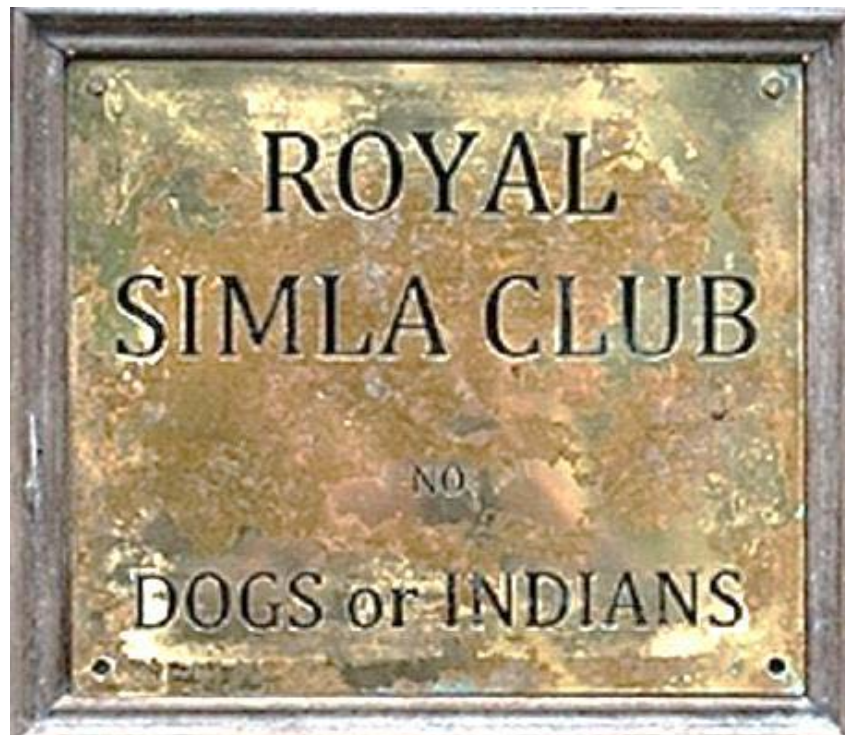

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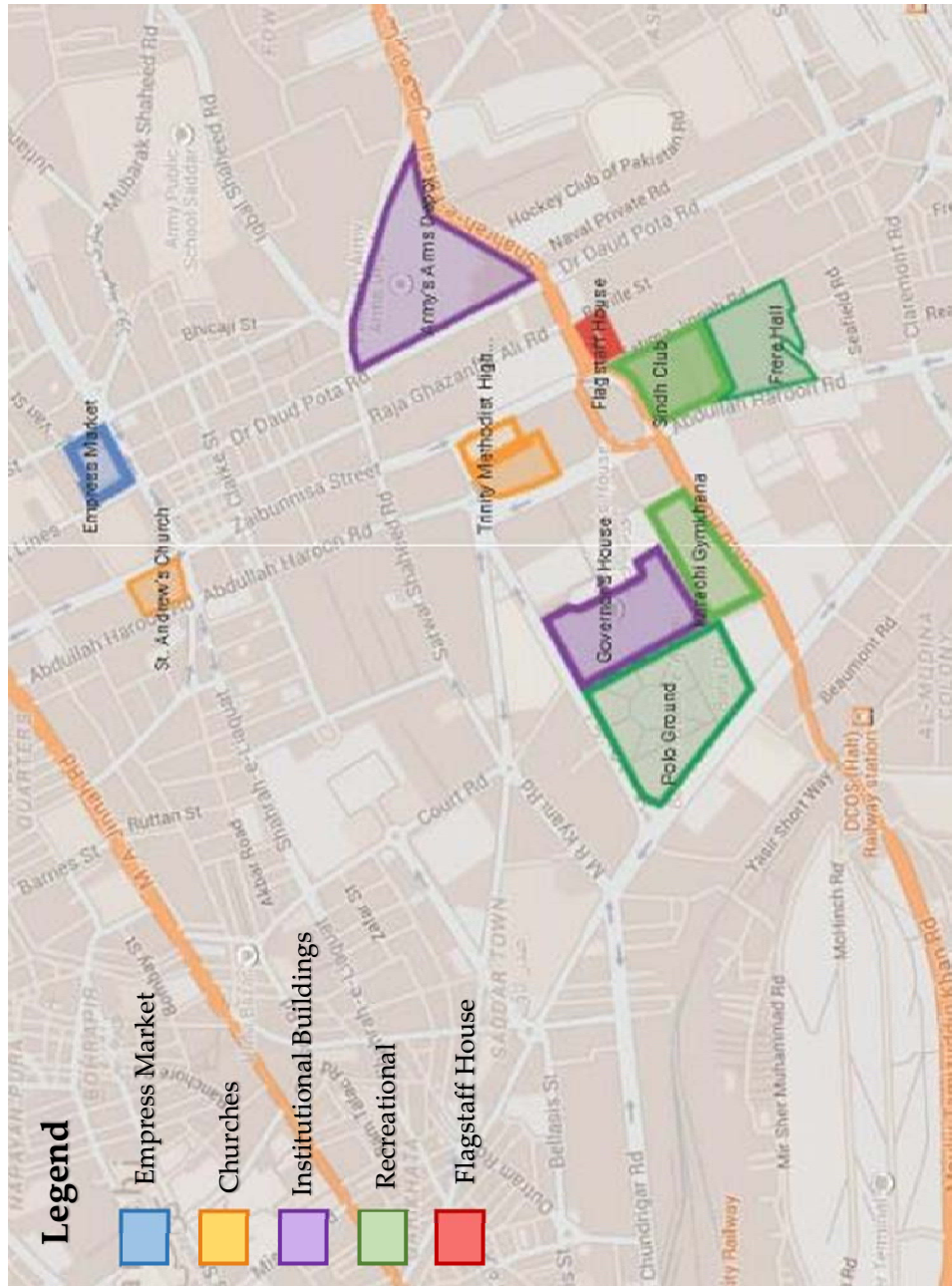
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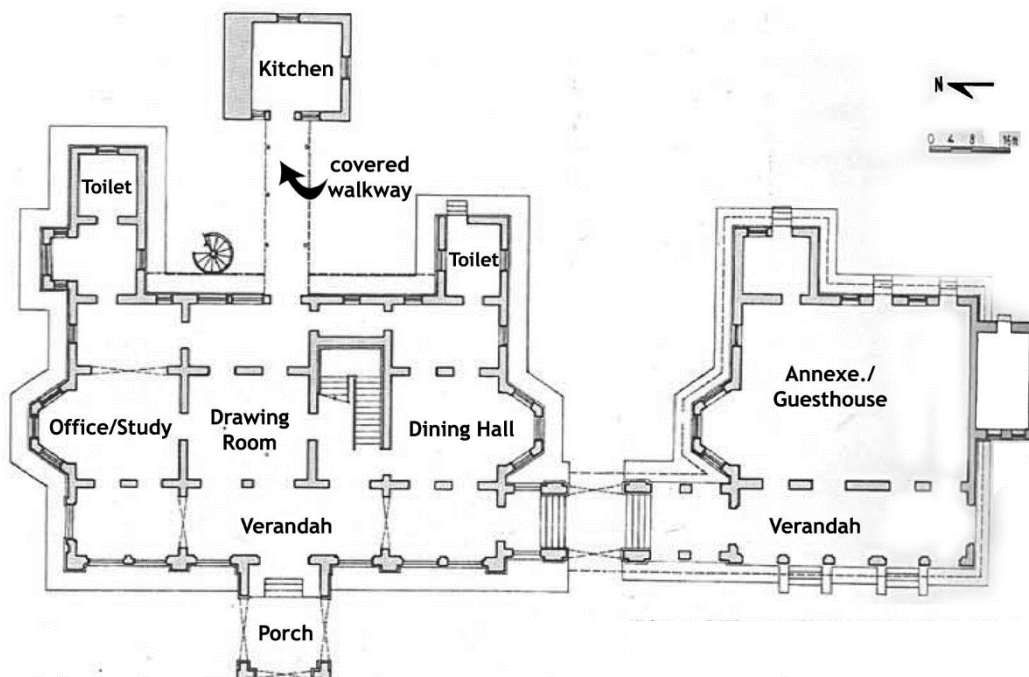*Figure 19: Front facade of the Flagstaff House. Photographed 23rd April 2016*

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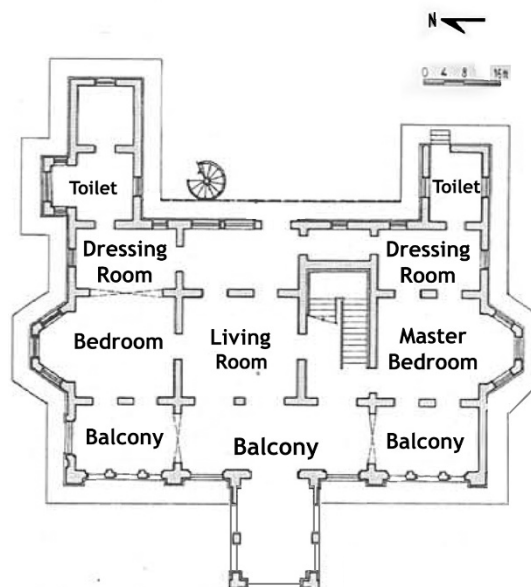

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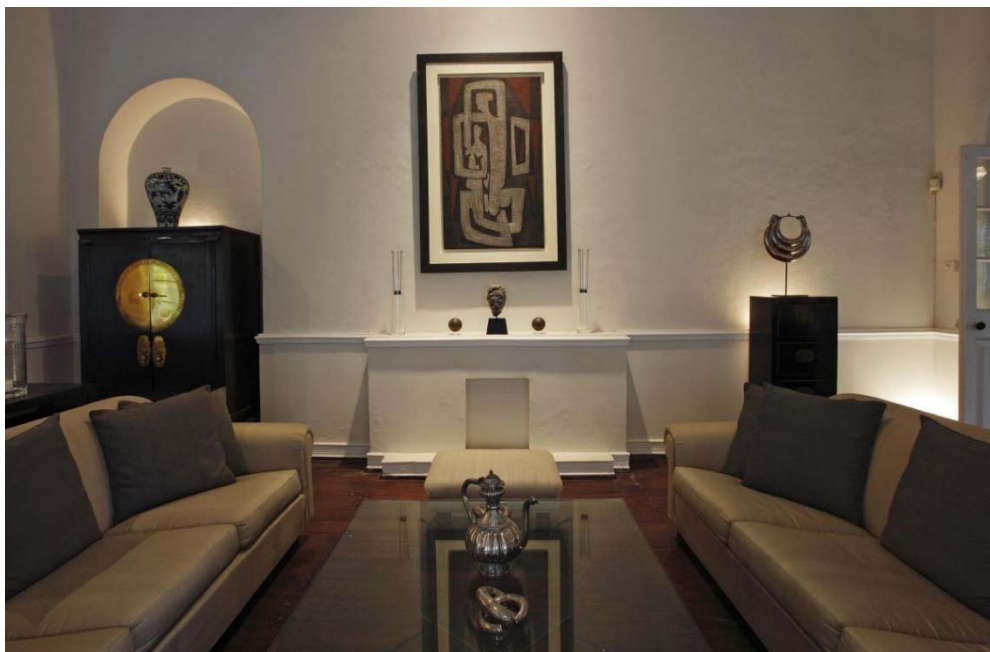
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Legend

 Verandah converted into office
 Parapet filled with cement i.e. closed
 Altered windows
 Room converted into toilet, store & staff room
 Later added masonry partition walls
 Later added glass partition wall
 Later added Aluminum door
 Dana plaster
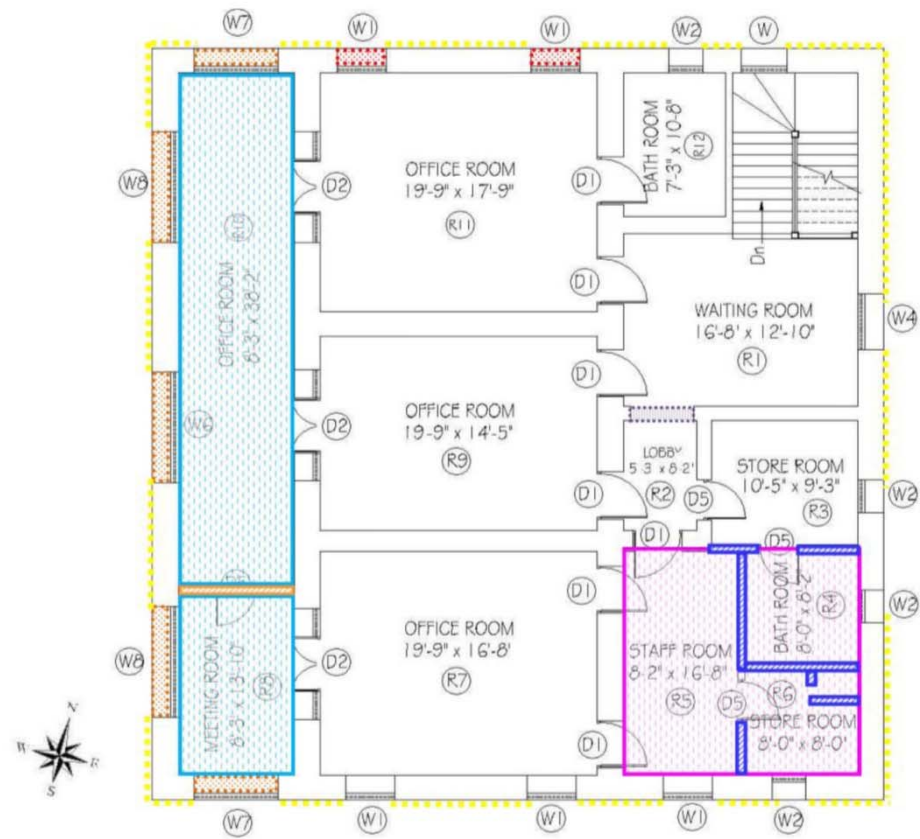
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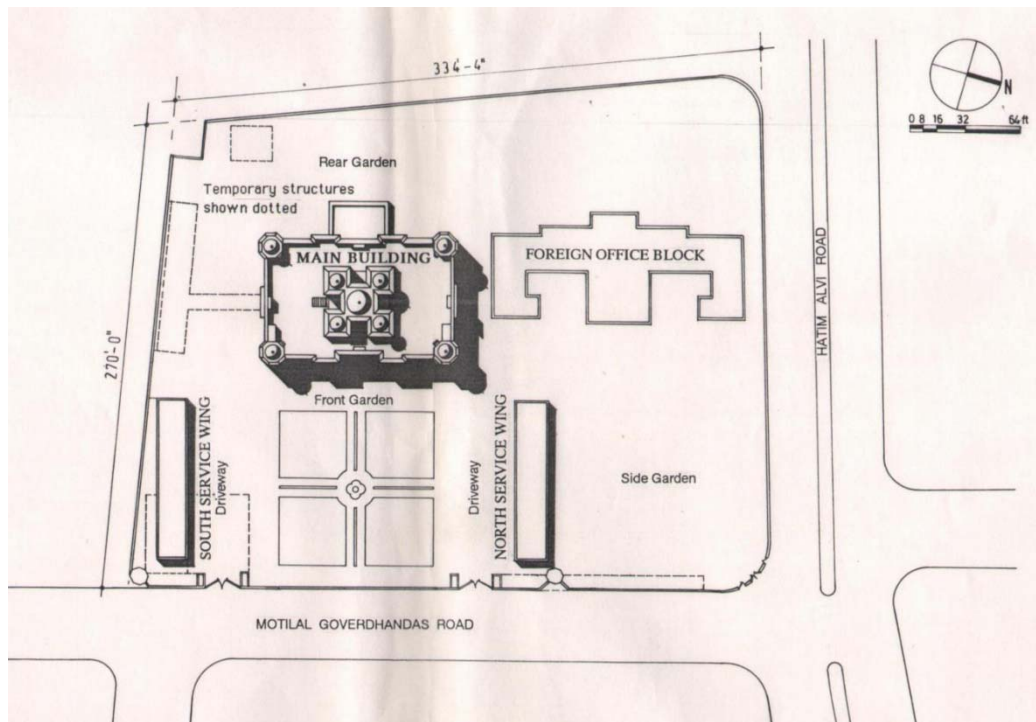
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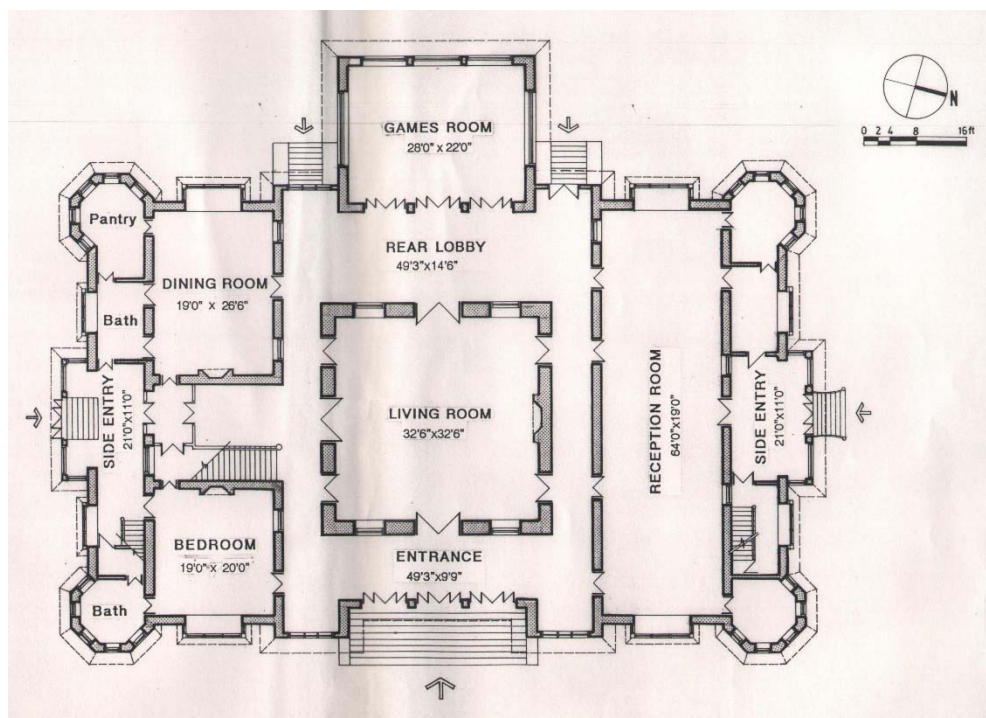
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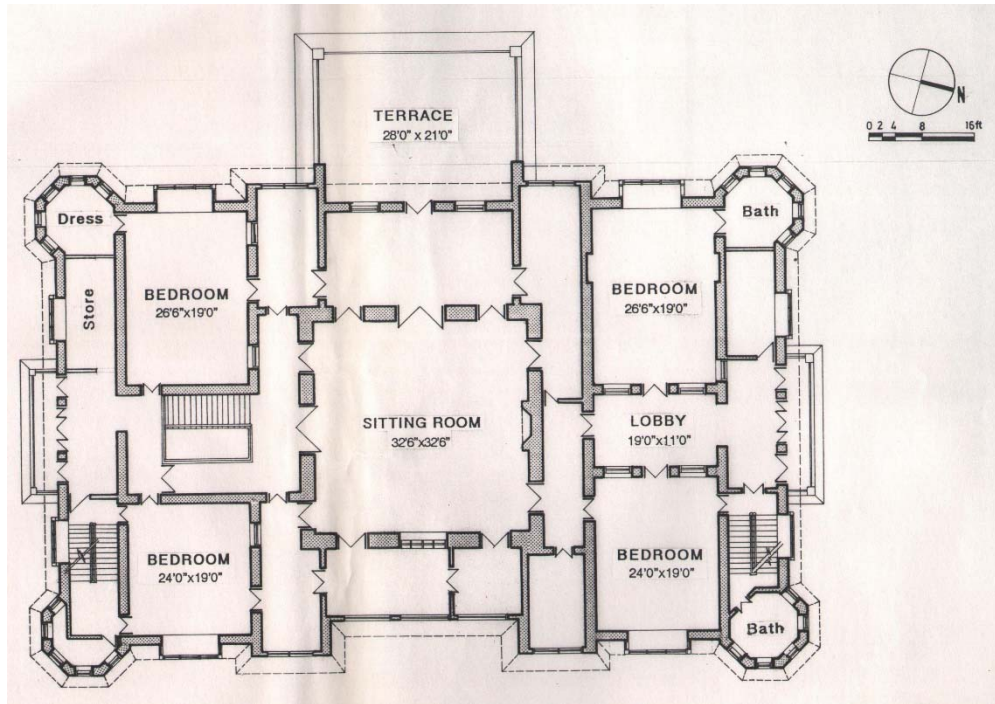
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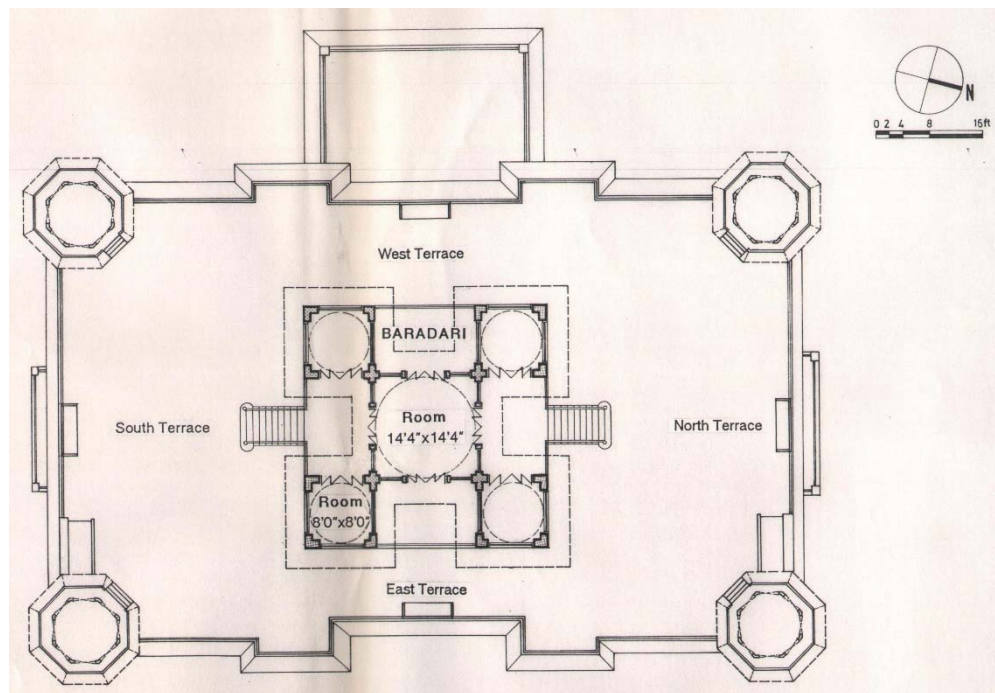
Figure 36: Second Floor Plan of Mohatta Palace. Courtesy to Copyright © 2016 Heritage Foundation of Pakistan
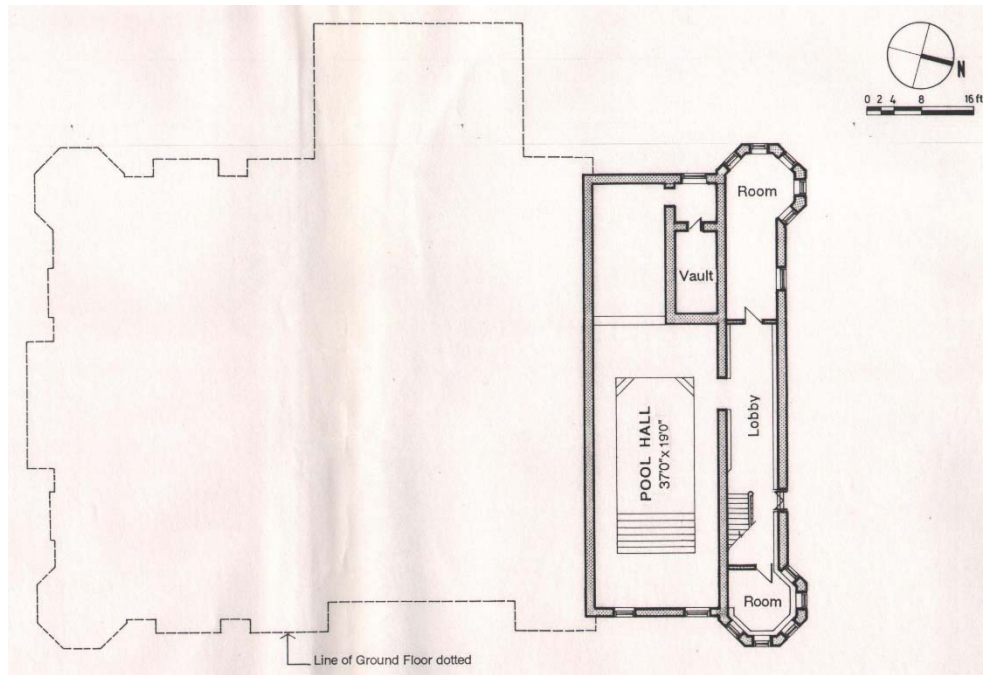
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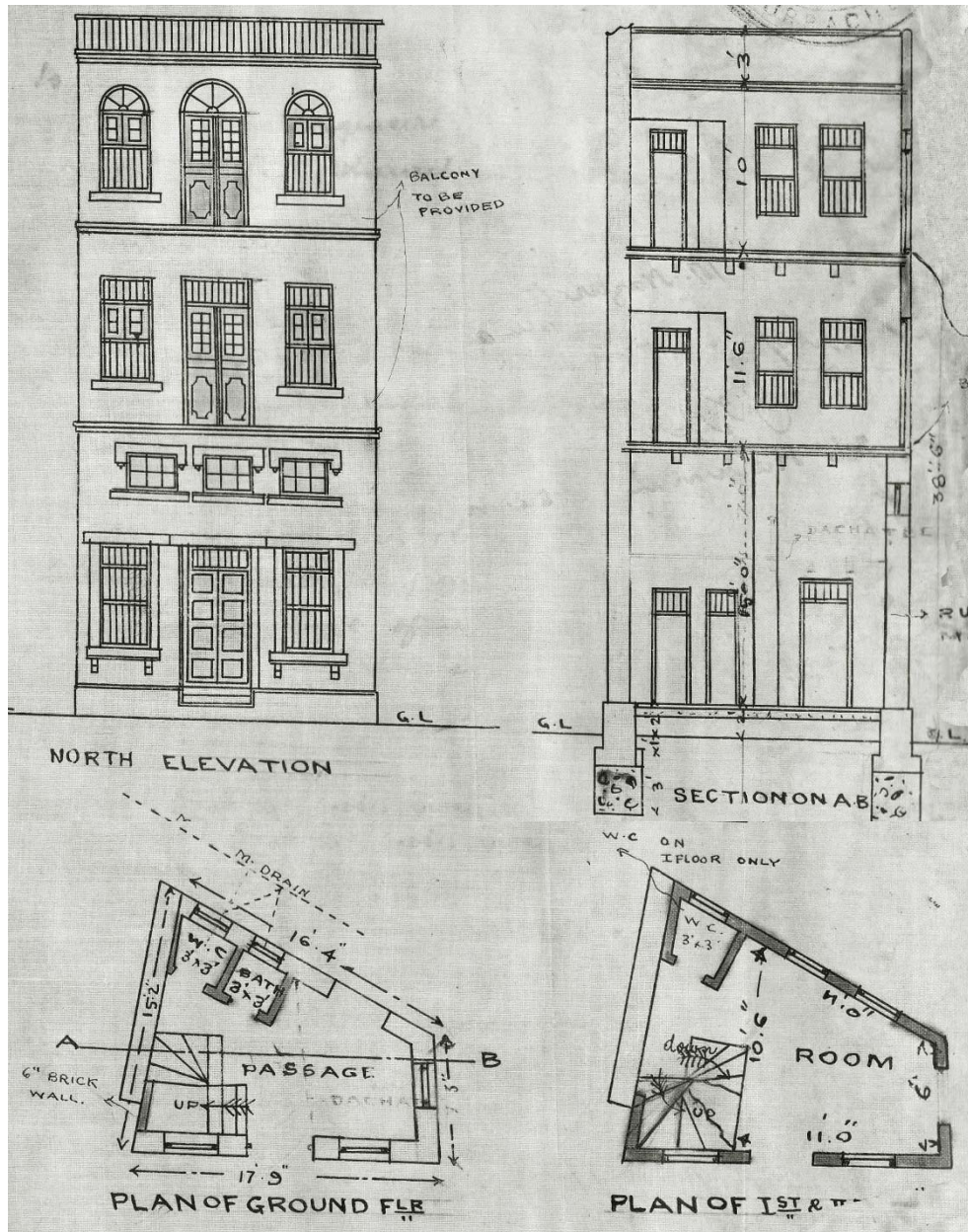
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Figure 40: The present conditions of Gora Kabiristan, Karachi. Photographed by Jawed Ahmed on April 2016

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APPENDIX B: ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON KARACHI

1. Sacred Places of Karachi

Karachi was a centre for pilgrims who not only came to the ancient shrines in and around the town but also used it as a route for the journey to the ancient shrine of Hinglaj in Baluchistan just beyond Karachi. (Khuhro, 2010) A.W. Hughes gives an interesting list of fairs that used to be observed in and around the region of Karachi. (Table 6)

Karachi had its fair share of stories and legends associated with its sacred places. In his writings, Lok Ram Dodijah talks about myths and legends associated with various places in Karachi. For example, today's Arambagh was once called 'Ram-bagh[96]', on this ground, on their way to Hinglaj, Ram, Lakshmi and Sita[97] stopped over. Alas, by renaming the place to 'Arambagh' this ancient historical myth is being erased from the popular memory. (Dodijah, 2007)

Today, Sikh temple[98], the shrine of Abdullah Shah Ghazi, several churches, mosques and Zoroastrian temple are still visited by thousands of followers. It may be of some interest to note that in Karachi, till the partition of 1947,

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[96] "Ram" is the Hindu god and "*Bagh*" in Urdu means "Garden"

[97] Names of Hindu gods

[98] Called *Ghurdwara* in the local tongue.

Hindus were in the majority (46.6%) followed by Muslims who were 40.2%. The list provided by A. W. Hughes shows that the city celebrated its festivals equally and with pomp and splendour regardless of religious inclinations.

After the Independence in 1947, the Hindu population in the city shrunk due to their migration to India and the European Christians also left Karachi. Because of this, the old temples (especially the Hindu temples) were badly affected. Manora Island temple, the temple at Native Jetty and near Jahangir Kothari Parade suffered a lack of maintenance and neglect. These slowly decaying religious places require urgent conservation efforts.

2. Neighbourhoods of Karachi

Yasmin Cheema mentions that at the time of the British annexation, Karachi was a fortified town with several suburbs. The native quarters outside the fortified city were: Market quarter, Rambagh and Arambagh, Lyari, Malir, Macchi Miani and the Serai Quarters.

The British developed the north-eastward part of the old city. The areas they developed are Saddar Bazaar, Garden, the Cantonment, Napier, Bunder, Artillery Maidan, Ramswami, Preedy, Soldier Bazaar, Ranchore Line, Clifton, Queens Road and Civil Lines Quarters. (Cheema, 2009)

The British reorganized the old settlements, the fort was delineated by a ring road and the area was renamed as Old Town Quarter. This area was located on the eastern bank of Lyari River.

A brief description of each quarter is given in the table below:

Table 4: The list of Native Quarters. Based on (Cheema, 2009)

Name of Quarters	Description
The Old Town	The boundaries of the fort were delineated by a road ring. *Dharamshalas*[99], temples, mosques and shrines adorned the streets of *mohallas*[100]
The Market	It was established as an open ground where the open market (bazaar) was held to cater the needs for dock workers and residents. Later Boulton Market, Denso Hall, and Khori Gardens were constructed.
The Rambagh	Presently called Arambagh. It had a sacred garden of Hindus, Ram Chandur Temple, and several wells. NED University, YMCA, D.J. Science College and Hindu and Muslim gymkhanas are some constructions belonging to the British era.
The Lyari	Sweetwater wells, orchards and cluster of housing (belonging to various tribes, Makranis, Pathans, Sindhis etc.) This area provided the city with cheap labourers from late 19th c. onwards
The Malir	North-east of the city, it was an oasis with many sweet water wells. British transformed it into weekend resort for picnicking
Machee Miani	Inhabitants belong to a low-income group who worked in the maritime trade. The Cotton Press and Customhouse building were built during colonial era

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[99] A hostel for Hindu pilgrims.

[100] *Mohallas* means Neighbourhoods

The Serai Quarters	Established as an indigenous hub for trade related activities later during colonialism, prestigious banks, offices and shipping companies constructed architecturally impressive buildings.

As the city expanded, new areas were developed. The native quarters were nearer to the harbour while the newly built parts were towards north-east. The table below briefly sums up the developments by the British.

Table 5: List of Quarters developed under British rule. Refer to (Cheema, 2009)

Name of Quarters	Description
Cantonment	Mainly a domain of British army that consisted of buildings for administrative purposes.
Saddar	Established in 1839, the market finally took the pace and by 1877, it was developed as a high-class market. Mostly a British domain where Indian counterparts felt intimidated.
Garden	Earlier it was developed for vegetable cultivation. By 1913, due to population increase residential colony, markets and churches were developed
Napier	The first quarter by the British; established as a market-cum-residential area. A domain of Hindus and Muslims, this quarter experienced an organic growth

Bunder	An open space where cattle were sold. By 1890 onwards it offered affordable housing and business centre for native merchants.
The Artillery Maidan	As the name suggests, it was initially a rifle range practicing and parade ground. Situated between native and the British government area. High Court and Sindh Assembly and Frere Market were later constructed in area which was handed over by the British army to civic administration
The Ramswami	The residents of the area were mostly owners and drivers of buggy and horse-drawn carriages
Preedy	A civic development authority area. Later Parsis and Goan communities established schools such as Mama Parsi School, YMCA, and BVS Parsi school to name a few.
Soldier Bazaar	Initially a bazaar for the native soldiers, it started to be developed as a suburb of Karachi
Ranchore Lines	A domain of Hindus and Muslims, initially organic in form, it was later transformed into a grid-iron pattern.
Clifton	A beachfront, utilized for recreational purposes and enclosed by mangrove marshes.
Queen's Road	Located on China Creek, it was laid out for the rich citizens. The Boat Club and Beach Luxury Hotel are some of the important buildings in this area
Civil Lines	Till 1890's it was a low-density area. Many social gathering places and clubs such as Sindh Club, Karachi Club, Frere Hall and the Metropole Hotel are situated here. This prestigious area was where the elite would reside and socialise.

LIST OF FAIRS HELD IN THE KARĀCHI TĀLUKA.

Where held.	When held.	For what Time.	In whose honour.	Average Attendance, and by what Class.	Remarks.
1. Mangho Pir or Mugger Peer.	On the 21st of the Muhammadan month Rabiulsāni.	1 day.	Pir Mangho .	1,000 Muhammadans	The original name of this saint was Kamaldin, but after death he was called Mangho Pir, from the range of low hills on which his tomb is situate.
2. Miran Pir .	On the 11th and 12th of the Muhammadan month of Rabiulsāni.	2 days.	Miran Pir .	1,000 Muhammadans	Miran Pir is on the bank of the Layāri river, near Karāchi.
3. Manora. . .	On the 1st of Chaitra Shūdh paksh.	3 days.	Of a Hindū saint.	About 16,000, both Muhammadans and Hindūs.	This fair is a mixed one, and is resorted to by all classes of the native community.
4. Kalān Kot .	13th of Jait Shūdh .	1 day.	The Hindū goddess Kāli.	4,000 Hindūs .	Kalān Kot is on the banks of the Layāri, near Karāchi.
5. Rāmbāgh .	5th and 6th of Bhadra, 27th of Magh, and 10th of Ashvin Shūdh.	4 days.	Of Mahādev, and on account of the Dasira.	2,000 Hindūs .	Rāmbāgh is a municipal quarter of Karāchi.
6. Clifton, near Karāchi.	27th of Magh, and 5th and 6th of Bhadra.	3 days.	Of Mahādev .	5,500 Hindūs .	The name of this fair is Jūdo.
7. Nāngo-bāgh, in town of Karāchi.	27th of Magh .	1 day.	Ditto . . .	1,000 Hindūs .	This place is close to the Layāri, and is the great resort of pilgrims going to and returning from Hinglāj in Balochistān.
8. Khudi, in the Machi Miāni quarter of Karāchi.	10th of Nāri .	1 day.	In honour of the sea.	1,500 Hindūs.	.
9. Kiamāri .	15th of Shrāwan.	1 day.	Is known as Cocoanut day.	5,000 Hindūs .	This fair is known in other parts of India as Naral Pūrnima.

Table 6: List of Fairs Held in the Karachi Area (Hughes, 1876)

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3. Karachi Municipal Cooperation

In 1846, Kurrachee town experiencied cholera. Napier established a Board of Conservancy which helped bring it under control by improving conditions of sanitation. However by 1851, this Board faced a shortage of funds and its operations paused for some time. As the Commissioner, Sir Bartle Frere suggested introducing the Municipal system. By 22nd October 1851, Seth Naomal, Capt. Preedy, Revenue Collector, Mr. John McLeod, the last Collector of Customs had formed the first Managing Committee of that body. On 13th April 1853, the Karachi Municipal Cooperation came into being. By 1860, Municipal rules were drawn up for the city. The major challenges faced by the Municipality were: water supply issues, problems in Health, Sanitation, and Drainage and challenges in Housing and Road network development

The water shortage was the most acute of all the problems that the city experienced. By 1880, the regular supply of 'piped' water was made available. By 1885, two wells on the bank of the Malir River were tapped. And due to increasing in population, from 1884 to 1947 more than twelve wells were dug around the Dumlotte water works (about 18 to 28 miles from Karachi). (Rustomji, 1952)

The efficient drainage system for the city ensures sanitation and better health conditions for its habitants. The Drainage Scheme was first proposed by Mr. James Starchen and was submitted to Col. Le Mesurier Sup. Eng. in Sindh in 1889. In 1898, a scheme for the whole city was submitted by Mr. Strachen. However, due to numerous reasons and shortage of funds, several plans that have been put forward could not be executed completely.

As discussed earlier, the population grew phenomenally and the city expanded. Quite a few housing schemes were proposed. Neighbourhoods for the rich emerged around the Clifton-Crossing, Frere Town and Clifton; while middle-income families opted for Jamshed Quarters. While the bed of the Lyari had poor class colonies. (Rustomji, 1952)

In 1851 Frere complained that not a single metalled road existed in the city. By 1857, a report was submitted and the Bazar Street, Preedy Road, Napier Street and the Elphinstone Road were amongst some of the roads which were proposed to be made or broadened. Several public projects were executed in the preceding years and by the mid-twentieth century, the total mileage in the Municipal Areas was 191.54; this testifies the efficiency of the Municipality.

In 1885 the tramway was introduced in Karachi. It was owned by the East India Tramway Co. Initially it ran on steam power but it was replaced by horse-drawn carriages in 1892 [101] and later by motor traction. The lines extended from Kiamari to the Cantonment Railway Station, with one branch via the Napier and Lawrence Roads to the Zoological Gardens and another to Soldier's bazaar. (Smyth, 1919, p. 65)

By the end of 1930 the West Wharf Channel was converted into a channel for the airships of the Imperial Airways and a great marine base was built there. But later, during the Second World War this airbase was shifted to the Korangi Creek (Rustomji, 1952, p. 59).

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[101] The locals objected that the steam locomotives made noise and scared the animals which were used for transport purposes. (Hasan, 1999, p. 19)

APPENDIX C: LIST OF RENOWNED RAJ BUILDINGS IN KARACHI

S.No	Building Name	Year	Style	Typology	Architect/ Patron	End-User	Remarks
1	Governor House	1843	European	Offical Residence	On Charles Napier's recommendation	Europeans	The structure was restored, the present structure was designed by architect R.T. Russel
2	Church Mission School	1846	Neo-Classical	Education		Locals	Colonel Henry W. Preedy founded the school and also the church called the Mission Church
3	Karachi Grammar School	1847	Neo-Classical	Education	Established by Reverend Henry Brereton	Europeans & Local Elites	European Protestant officials and civilians attended it. In 1854, Sir Barle Frere reorganised it as an Anglo-Indian school.
4	Napier Barracks	1847	European	Administrative		Europeans	Napier got the barracks built for European soldiers
5	Narayan Jagannath High School	1855	European	Education	Patron: Sir Bartle Frere	Locals	It was the first governement institution built by the municipality for children of the local population.
6	The Holy Trinity Church	1855	Romanesque	Religious	Captain John Hill	Europeans	Designed to accommodate 800 people, it is the oldest Anglican church in Sindh.
7	Collector's Kutchery	1856	Neo-Classical	Administrative		All	It housed the city deputy collector's office.
8	Bai Virbaiji Soparivala Parsi High School	1859	Neo-Classical	Education	Architect: Moses Somake	All	By the Zoroastrian residents of Karachi, the present-day building functions as an Anglo-Vernacular school
9	Soparivala block compound	1860	European	Residence	Patron: Seth Shapurji Hormusji Soparivala	Locals	Orthodox rubble masonry is used for interiors and it comprises of pitched roof made of Mangalore tiles
10	St. Patrick's School	1861	Neo-Classical	Education	Architect Mr. Duncan or Italian Jesuit, Fr Pagani.	Elites	Reverend J. Willy founded this premier Catholic school for boys; native Christians attended it; school had a special section reserved for European children
11	McLeod Station	1861	Neo-Classical	Utility		All	Now called Karachi City Railway station.
12	St.Joseph's School	1862	Neo-Classical	Education	Architect James Strachen	Elites	Reverend J. Willy founded this premier Catholic school for girls ; native Christians attended it; school had a special section reserved for European children
13	Frere Hall	1865	Venetian-Gothic	Town Hall/ Library/ Museum	Arch. Col. Clair Wilkins	Europeans	The public hall, with an orchestral gallery was used as public meetings, concerts and theatrical performances.
14	Wazir Mansion	1866	Neo-Classical	Residence	Architect: H. Sohak	Local	It has wooden projected walkways (verandahs?)
15	St. Andrew's Church	1868	Gothic	Religious	Mr. T. J. Newham	All	The Scottish Church
16	Sindh Club	1871	Neo-Classical	Recreational	Architect: Le Mesurier	Europeans	Jodhpur Stone is used. It has Romanesque and Victorian design influences.
17	The Methodist Church	1874	Neo-Classical	Religious	Rev. Frank Ambrose Goodman	All	Romanesque revivalist styled. Compound has the church, the pastor's house and the Sunday school for babies
18	Mandviwala Chamber	1876	Neo-Classical	Commercial		Locals	Also called Hafiz Chamber; built in a hybrid Renaissance style
19	St. Patrick's Cathedral	1881	Gothic	Religious	Architect Father Karl Wagner	All	For the Roman Catholic sect of Christians.

20	Karachi Boat Club	1881	European	Recreational		Elites	The wooden is structure is unique and uncommon
21	Eduljee Dinshaw Dispensary	1882	Neo-Classical	Text	Architect James Strachen	All	Edulji Dinshaw commissioned the architect to design this dispensary as a part of a larger plot including hospitals, libraries and community halls.
22	Sindh Maderessah-ul-Islam	1885	Indo-European	Education	Architect James Strachen	Locals	80 ft. tall clock-tower
23	Denso Hall	1886	Venetian Gothic	Library/ Community hall	Architect James Strachen	Europeans	In the memory of Mr. Max Denso, Chairman of Karachi Chamber of Commerce (K.C.O.C.); Funded by Karachi Municipal Co-operation (K.M.C.) & (K.C.O.C.)
24	Karachi Gymkhana	1886	European	Recreational		Europeans	Tudor Style building
25	Dayaram Jethmal Sindh College	1887	Neo-Classical	Education	Architect James Strachen	Locals	In 1894-1901 a hostel was built. Both college and hostel was built with local traders donations
26	Karachi Goan Association Building	1887	Neo-Classical	Library/ Community hall	Architect Moses Somake	Locals	For Native Goan community. The new hall as an extension was designed by Somake.
27	Empress Market	1889	Indo-Gothic	Commercial	Architect James Strachen	Europeans	1857 rebels were shot dead at the same spot
28	Flagstaff House	1890	Indo-European	Offical Residence	Architect Moon Cariff or Architect Moses Somake	Elites	
29	Merewether Clock Tower	1892	Gothic	Clock-tower	Architect James Strachen	All	In the memory of Ex. Commissioner of Sind Mr. William Mereweather.
30	The Indian Life Assurance Co.'s Building	1892	Neo-Classical	Commercial		All	The locals organised the company in 1892 to meet the need of people having moderate incomes.
31	Victorian Museum	1892	Neo-Classical	Recreational		All	After Pakistan's creation, its ownership was transferred to the State Bank of Pakistan. Now serves as Supreme Court
32	The Civil Hospital	1898	European	Utility		All	
33	Lady Dufferin Hospital	1898	European	Utility	Architect: Durcdas B. Advani	All	Seth Edulji Dinshaw contributed for its establishment; named after Lady Hariot Dufferin, wife of Viceroy of India
34	Frere Road Station	1898	Neo-Classical	Utility		All	Now called Karachi Cantonment Station
35	Jaffer Fadoo Dispensary	1904	Neo-Classical	Utility	Architect: Moses Somake	All	The building was constructed by a Muslim philanthropist Jaffer Faddoo in 1904 and has a clock tower.
36	Karachi Club	1907	Neo-Classical	Recreational		Elites	
37	The Bristol Hotel	1907	Neo-Classical	Commercial		Europeans	Formerly called "Minton Hall"; later it was secured by Byramji Dossabhoy & Co. Venue for most talked about New Year parties, May Queen Ball & wedding parties
38	North Western hotel	1908	Neo-Classical	Commercial	Architect: Moses Somake		
39	Café Grand	1910	European	Commercial	Architect: Moses Somake	All	Also called Edward House. Cafe Grand was famous for its confectionary items. Mr Herbert Cumper, the baker-in-chief ran the cafe along with his catering business.
40	Freemasons Lodge	1914	Neo-Classical	Community hall		Elites	This acted as a community hall for the Freemason Movement. Also known as Hope Lodge

41	Karachi Port Trust Building	1915	Indo-European	Administrative	Mr. George Wittet, J. P.	All	Consulting Architect to the Government of Bombay
42	The Carlton Hotel	1915	European	Commercial	Owned by Mr. F. Hubschmid & Mrs. R. Croal	European	It continued to be serve Englishmen only until much later.
43	Mules Mansion	1917	Anglo-Oriental	Commercial	Architect: Moses Somake	All	Named after the first chairman of K. P. T. Patron: Messrs. Cowasjee & Sons.
44	Star Cinema	1918		Recreational		Europeans & Local Elites	Names of proprrietors are: Messrs.Tyebally Ebrahimji, Gulamhusein Noorbhoy, Hoosenbhoy Abdulally, and Abdulrahim Tyebhoy
45	Mama Parsi Girl's High School	1918	Neo-Classical	Education	Architects: Anderson & Asarpota	All	Ardeshir Hormusji Mama donated for its construction.
46	Jehangir Kothari Parade	1919	Indo-Saracenic	Recreational		All	Built on land bequeathed by Seth Jehangir Hormusji Kothari
47	Young Women Christian Association	1920	Neo-Classical	Community hall		All	Houses a charity organization for underprivileged girls
48	Hormusji Katrak Hall	1920	Neo-Classical	Community hall	Patron: Sir Kavasji Katrak	Local	To provide Parsi community with their own theatre
49	Prince of Wales Engineering College	1920	Neo-Classical	Education	Patron: Nadirshaw Eduljee Dinshaw	Locals	Now called N.E.D. University old campus. Its iconic chimney is unique and might be in use for mechanical and civil engineering students lab courses.
50	Duarte Mansion	1922	Art-Deco	Residence		Locals	Owned by Goan community it was one of earliest apartment building of the city
51	Imperial Bank of India	1923	Neo-Classical	Commercial		All	After the presidency banks of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay merged and became Imperial Bank of India they opened this branch in Karachi.
52	The Karachi Chamber	1924	Neo-Classical	Administrative	Firm: James Ransome	Elites	Now called the Overseas Investors Chamber of Commerce and Industry. Inaugurated by Baron Irwin of Kirby Underdale
53	Lakshmi Building	1924	Art-Deco	Commercial	Firm: Maysers D H Daruwala	All	The façade built from red bricks imported from Jaipur
54	Hindu Gymkhana	1925	Indo-Saracenic	Recreational	Architect: Agha Mohammad Hussain	Local Elites	Based on 17th c. Itamadud Daula's at Agra. Mughal Revival design.
55	Jehangir Kothari Parade	1926	European	Recreational	Architect: E. B. Hoare	All	
56	Mohatta Palace	1927	Indo-Saracenic	Residence	Architect: Agha Mohammad Hussain	Local	This private house was owned by rich local businessman Bahadur Shevram.
57	Panchmukhi Hanuman Mandir	1927	Hindu	Religious		Locals	
58	Sindh High Court	1929	Neo-Classical	Administrative	Architects: George Wittet, A. J.A. Illingworth & Woods Hill	All	One of Karachi's first pink Jodhpur Stone construction.
59	Tayyab Ali Alavi School	1930	Neo-Classical	Education	Architect: Ahmed Husaain Agha	Locals	Seth Currimjee Jivanjee Moriswala's sons contributed generously in its construction
60	Moriswala School	1930	Neo-Classical	Education	Architect: Ahmed Husaain Agha	Locals	Girls seconday school

61	Cotton Exchange Building	1930	Art-Deco	Commercial		All	Foundation stone was laid by Mukhi Lilaram Tilokchand in 1938 & was inaugurated in 1940 by Niranjan Prasada, the then chairman.
62	Adam Masjid	1931	Indo-Saracenic	Religious		Local	
63	Karachi Municiple Co-operation Building	1932	Indo-European	Administrative	Architect James C. Wynnes	Elites	Construction took 32 years (1895-1927). In 1935 it was inaugurated to honour George V coronation.
64	Jehangir Kothari Mansion	1934	European	Mix		Local	Indigenised Gothic style
65	Karachi Chamber of Commerce & Industry	1934	Indo-Saracenic	Commercial	Architect: Agha Mohammad Hussain	Local Elites	Anglo-Mughal style.
66	Anand Bhuvan	1935	Art-Deco	Residence		Locals	Apartment Building
67	St. Lawrence School	1936	European	Education		Local	It is part of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Karachi.
68	Preet Kutia	1937	Art-Deco	Residence		Locals	Apartment Building
69	Katrak Mansion	1937	European	Mix		Local	The outer walls of the edifice reads: Katrak & Co. Estd 1891
70	Rewa Mansion	1940	Art-Deco	Residence		All	
71	Sindh Assembly Building	1942	Art-Deco	Administrative	Architects: Anderson & Asarpota	All	Inaugurated by Sir Hugh Dow KSCI CIE ICS Governor of Sind.
72	Seth Seoomal Mulchand Khilnani	1942	Neo-Classical	Utility		All	A Maternity Home opened by Mayor M. H. Gazdar Esq.
73	Shri Laxmi Narayan Mandir		Indo-Saracenic	Religious		Local	The building houses dharamshala (guesthouses) for the devotees.
74	Karachi Central Jail		European	Utility		Locals	Fort-like structure
75	Goan Union Hall		Art-Deco	Community hall		Local	Might have been constructed in early 1920's or 1930's with the help of Goan Christian community

APPENDIX D: TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Hindistan'da Batı emperyalizmi, Vasco da Gama'nın bu bölgede deniz taşımacılığı oluşturmak için Portekizlilere yardım ettiği 1498 yılında başladı. Daha sonra gelen Hollandalılar, 17. yüzyılın ortalarında yönetimi Fransızlara devrettiler. Britanya, üstün askeri gücü sayesinde Fransızlara karşı etkili bir zafer kazandıktan sonra, 18. yüzyılın ortalarında bölgenin tek Batılı emperyal gücü haline geldi (Guaita, 1999, s.72).

Hindistan'a gelen ilk Britanyalılar, Britanya Doğu Hindistan Şirketi adını taşıyan ticari özel bir kuruluşun çalışanları olan tüccarlar idi. [102] Bölgede ("fabrika" olarak da bilinen) ticaret noktaları kurarak bunları kendi oluşturdukları özel bir ordu ile koruma altına aldılar. Şirket, bu özel ordunun Plassey Savaşı'nda (1757) Fransızları yenmesinden sonra, bölgenin yeni siyasi gücü konumuna yükseldi (Ali, 1999, s.23). Hindistan, Şirket'in yönetimi altında, İngiltere'deki endüstrilere ham madde üretenlerin pazarı haline geldi ve 19 yüzyıl sonlarına kadar bu endüstri öncesi konumunda kaldı (Lari ve Lari, 2001, s.68)[103].

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[102] Bazen Şerefli Doğu Hindistan Şirketi olarak da bilinir; kurulduğu 1600 yılından sonra Kıraliyet İmtiyaz Beratı (Royal Charter) ile Asya'da tüm İngiliz ticaretinin monopolisi ona verildi. Şirket'in işlemleri, Londra'daki merkezde bulunan hissedarlar tarafından yürütülüyordu (Marshell, 2011).

[103] İngiliz ticaret yasaları, Hintli çiftçileri peşin para ile satılan tarım ürünlerinin üretimine teşvik ederken karşılığında Hint perakende pazarlarının İngiltere'de üretilen malları satın almalarını öngörüyordu.

Hindistan, büyük ve farklılıklara sahip karmaşık bir bölge idi. Dolayısıyla, özellikle de Britanya'nın bölgeye ilişkin bilgilerinin sınırlı olması, burası için uygun politikalar üretilmesini epeyce zorladı. Bununla başedebilmek için İngilizler bölgenin kültür mirasını araştırmaya koyuldular. Kendilerini bu mirasın gerçek sahibi olarak gösterebilmek için tarihi anıtların korunmasına çaba harcadılar ve Hindistan'ın meşru yöneticileri olmak konusundaki taleplerini güçlendirmeye çalıştılar (Metcalf, 2005, s.153).

Oryantalizm, Britanya'nın Hint toplumu algısını yönlendirmede büyük rol oynadı. Hint tarihi sabit bir varlık olarak algılanırken, "ebedi", "geleneksel" ve "değişmez" olarak tanımlandı. Bu bilimsel yaklaşım, bilinen Avrupa ("biz", Batı) ve yabancı 'Orient' ("onlar", Doğu) arasındaki farklılığı derinleştirirken (Said, 1995, s.43) sömürgecilerin, yönetimleri altındaki toplumla kaynaşmalarını engelledi.

Hindistan'daki Britanyalılar kendilerini üstün bir toplumsal sınıf ve Kıraliyet'in temsilcileri olarak düşündükleri için, onlardan, davranış biçimlerini de bu "gelişmiş" uygarlığın itibarını yansıtacak sosyal ve ahlaki değerler çerçevesinde şekillendirmeleri bekleniyordu. Sosyal engellerin yaratılması, bu yabancı ortam ve insanlarıyla sıklıkla gerçekleşen temaslar yüzünden kolonyal yozlaşmaya yol açabilecek ahlaki bozulmaların ortaya çıkacağına inanılmasından kaynaklanıyordu (Mizutani, 2011).

Kentsel planlama bağlamında, Avrupa yerleşim bölgelerinin, yerel yerleşimlerin birkaç kilometre dışında kurulmasıyla ayrımcılık sağlandı. Bu İkili Kent modeli,[104] "yerlilerin gittikçe artmakta olan eleştirel bakışından"

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[104] 'Geri kalmış' ve geleneksel yerlilerle karışmayı en alt düzeye indirmek adına, Avrupalıların yönetim ve yerleşim bölgeleri Eski Kent'in birkaç mil açığında inşa edilmişti. Buna İkili Kent denmektedir. Bu yeni bölgelere ulaşım sıkı bir şekilde denetlenmekteydi.

uzakta, huzur, güvenlik ve mahremiyetin sağlanabilmesi nedeniyle sömürgecilerin işine geliyordu (Mizutani, 2011, s.23).

Mimari olarak, Avrupalılar 17. yüzyıl civarında, *bangla* adı verilen yerli bir barınak türünü benimseyerek kendi amaç ve gereksinimlerine uygun olan *bungalow*'a dönüştürdüler. Ondokuzuncu yüzyıla gelindiğinde, bu yeni konut tipi Britanya'nın yeni emperyal gücünün simgesi haline gelmişti.

"Bungalow" terimi, tipolojik olarak, genelde tek katlı, bazen verandası olan müstakil bir konut tipiyle ilişkilidir. Kendi arsasına sahiptir ve tek bir aile veya hane barındırır. Kolonyal Hint bağlamında, çok işlevli ve yarı-kapalı verandanın uyuma amaçlı olarak da kullanılabilmesi, bu geniş yapının gelişiminde önemli rol oynadı (King, 1982, s.59).

Anglo-Hint bungalow'u barınmak amaçlı olsa da, bundan başka dinlence ve çalışma mekanları da içerebiliyordu. Avrupalı yerleşim bölgelerinin çoğu, yerel kentlerin uzağında ve kantonlara yakın inşa edildiğinden, bir kolonyal bungalow, hiçbir zaman istihkamla takviye gerektirmiyordu.

Bu bungalow'ların büyüklüğü, yerlileri Britanya'nın prestiji ile etkilemeyi amaçlıyordu (Mizutani, 2011, s.24). Bütçesi yeterli herhangi bir Avrupalı, işine veya dinlencesine atla gidiyordu. Dolayısıyla, bu yapılarda atlı arabalar (daha sonra motorlu araçlar) için bir sundurma gerekliydi. Büyük evlerde ise sıklıkla ahırlar ve araba garajları bulunurdu (King, 1982, s.78). Düşük maliyetli yerli işgücü kullanımı nedeniyle, tipik bir İngiliz görevlisinin konutunda işe alınan çok sayıda hizmetli çalıştırılıyordu. Eklenen bu olanaklar ve imtiyazlar, Britanya'nın prestiji algısını daha da pekiştirerek sömürgeleştirilenle sömürgeci arasındaki ayırımı pekiştiriyordu.

Britanya'nın ayrıcalığı ve ayrımcılığı, kitlelerdeki huzursuzluğu tetikledi. 1857 yılına gelindiğinde yerlilerle sömürge yöneticileri arasındaki gerilim zirveye

çıktı. Hint askerlerin bir kısmı, Britanyalılara karşı ayaklanarak tüm Hindistan'a yayılan bir isyana yol açtı. Levine, olayı şöyle anlatır:

> 1857 isyanı yalnızca bir askeri protestonun çok ötesindeydi... Bu isyan, insafsız vergi yükümlülükleri, açık ırkçılığın yaygınlığı, yerel kültür ve dinine duyarsızlık ve dizginlenmeyen toprak yayılmacılığı gibi geniş bir huzursuzluk yelpazesini kapsıyordu. (Levine, 2007, s. 77).

Güçlü isyan sonunda Britanyalılar tarafından bastırıldı. Buna rağmen, kolonyal söylem üzerinde acı izler bıraktı. Kıraliçe Victoria'nın 1 Kasım 1858 tarihli fermanı, yönetim yetkisinin Doğu Hindistan Şirketi'nden Genel Vali'ye (Viceroy) devredildiğini açıkladı. Hindistan'daki mülkiyeti Britanya Kıralı adına yönetmekle yetkili kılınan Genel Vali ile birlikte Britanya Raj dönemi başlamış oldu.

Erken Raj dönemi, birçok yönden Şirket'in izinde ilerleyerek, yerlilerin konumunu Avrupalıların konumundan ayrı tutmayı sürdürdü. Bununla birlikte, Britanya'nın yerel isyan ve başkaldırıları önleyebilmesi ve Hindistan'daki varlığını devam ettirebilmesi için bazı yönetim politikalarının yeniden değerlendirilmesi gerekiyordu.

Varolan tehditleri gözönüne alan Raj yönetimi, bölgede bir dizi eğitimsel, sosyal ve siyasi yenilikler başlattı. Yerli elit zümre ile işbirliğini teşvik eden bu yenilikler, özel mülkiyet hakları, yeni ticari yasalar ve politikalar içeren seçilmiş alanlarda müdahalelere odaklandı. Eğitimde özellikle getirilen yenilikler, yerli toplumun üst sosyal katmanlarına Avrupalı sosyal pratikler ve rasyonel bilgi aktarımını hedeflemekteydi (Klein, 2000, s.559). Bu gelişmeler, Raj projesine ahlaki, uygar ve uygarlaştıran bir yönetim olarak katkı sağladı (Metcalf, 1995, s.39).

Bundan başka, Britanyalılar, kolonyal yeniliklerin bir bölümü olarak yerlilere mimarlıkta yeni tipolojiler getirdiler. Bunlar, finans, eğitim, sağlık ve yönetimde yeni yaklaşımları içeren eğitici amaçlıydı (Hosagrahar, 2005, s.60). Bu yeni yapılar Avrupa stilinde tasarlanmış olup, Britanyalı estetik hassasiyetlerle yerlilere ilham vermeyi hedeflemekteydi. Ne de olsa, Britanyalılar, " Hint insanına katılmayı hayal edebilecekleri modern dünya algısını sağlama" gibi bir sorumluluk taşıdıklarını düşünüyorlardı (Metcalf, 1995, s.51).

Yine de, moderniteyi kucaklamak yerliler için zorlayıcı bir girişim idi. Modernite, Hindistan'da epeyce ayrıcalıklı biçimde ortaya çıkmıştı. Kökenleri, İngiltere'deki Endüstri Devrimi'ni tetikleyen (1780'lerde başlayan) Avrupalı Aydınlanma ideolojisinden kaynaklanıyordu. Modernizm, batıl inançları reddederken, bütün modern yenilikler, teknoloji ve bilim, 'seküler' düşüncenin izlerini taşıyordu. Batılı olmayan, geleneksel ve çok dinli Hindistan, Avrupalı modernite ile ilk karşılaşmasında bir dizi etkileşimler yaşadı. Bu ikilem, en iyi şöyle ifade edilebilir:

> Hintlerin imgelemi, Avrupa modernitesinin bir türü ile daha eski geleneksel belleğin ilişkisi arasında kaldı. Ne birini reddedip, ne de diğerine teslim olamadıklarından, içsel olarak bölünmüş yerel modernitelerde birleştiler (Hosagrahar, 2005, s.190)

Diğer yandan, eğitimde reformlar, Hintlere daha iyi iş imkanları vaat ediyordu. Eğitim programları, onlara rasyonel bilgi ve çağdaş eğitimde deneyim sağlarken, Avrupalı ahlak ve etik konularında da eğitiyordu. Toplumda böylelikle yeni bir sınıf türedi.

Ekonomi ve sosyal nüfuz, Britanyalı çalışma ve mekansal pratiklerini benimseyen Hintleri en çok etkileyen unsurlardı. Yine de, batı tarzında eğitim görmüş Hintlerin bir çoğu, özel yaşamlarında geleneksel giyim ve günlük adetlerini sürdürdüler (Hosagrahar, 2005, s. 35). Gelenekselle olan bağlar her zaman koparılamadığından, yerli olanla, yeni tanışılan Avrupalı modernitenin birlikteliği – yerli modernite – ortaya çıktı.

Batılı eğitim, yerlilerin siyasal ve ekonomik hedeflerinde ilerlemelerini sağladı. Modern teknolojiyi ve yenilikleri mimarlıkta ilk kullananlar Britanyalılar olsa da, çok sayıda yeni işyeri kuranlar ve kitlelere hayırseverlik projeleri geliştirenler, bu 'modernleşmiş' Hint seçkinlerinden oluşan yeni sosyal sınıf idi. Bunun sonucunda, yerel ekonomi kalkındı ve özellikle Britanyalı sömürgeciler tarafından kurulan liman kentleri başta olmak üzere, kentsel merkezlere göç eden insanların sayısı arttı. Britanya Raj dönemiyle birlikte liman kentleri gelişti. Dönemin denizlerde süpergücü olan Büyük Britanya, liman ve deniz ticaretinin önemini kavrayarak, liman kentlerinin altyapılarının gelişimine yatırım yaptı ve bu merkezleri canlı metropollere dönüştürdü. Karachi, bu kentler arasında, Raj döneminin sürekli gelişmekte olan liman kentlerinin en önde gelen örneği konumundadır. Kıraliçe Victoria'nın tahta çıkmasından sonra, Hindistan'da Britanya İmparatorluğu'na ilk eklenen yerdir (Baillie, 1890, s.37). Britanyalılar tarafından 1843'te ele geçirildi. Madras ve Bombay gibi kentlere kıyasla, endüstri çağına geç girdi. Buna karşın, kısa sürede gelişti. "Yanıbaşındaki askeri kantonlarla birlikte, fakir bir yerel istihkamdan oldukça büyük bir sivil bir yerleşime dönüşmesi, yavaş adımlardan ziyade müthiş bir sıçrama ile gerçekleşti" (Baillie, 1890, s.5).

Karachi, Bombay ve Calcutta'nın aksine, Şirket'in yönetimine kısa bir dönem tanıklık etti. Karachi 1837 yılında ele geçirildiğinde, neredeyse tarihi nesnelerden yoksun küçük bir kasaba idi. Buna karşın, yalnızca birkaç yıl içinde, altyapısını geliştiren Britanyalılar tarafından bölgenin önemli liman kentlerinden birisi haline getirildi. Başka bir deyişle, kentin kolonyal mirasının büyük bölümü Raj dönemine aittir. Karachi, Raj döneminin Hindistan'daki Britanya sömürgeciliğinin dönüm noktası olduğu göz önüne alındığında, Britanyalı Raj döneminde izlenen söylem, ideoloji ve pratiklerin anlaşılması için incelemeye değer bir örnek oluşturur.

Umman Denizi'nin kıyılarında bulunan Karachi'nin koordinatları 24° 53'K ve 67° D dir. Deniz seviyesinden 127 ayak yükseklikte olup kuzey-batı tarafında Khirthar sıradağlarının tepeleriyle çevrelenen düz ovalardan oluşmaktadır. Indus Delta'sının parçası olmamakla birlikte, buradan geçen Malir Nehri ve Lyari Nehri adı verilen ve kente ilk zamanlarda içme suyu sağlayan iki akarsu bulunmaktadır. Kuzey-doğu tarafında Thatta ve ve Jamshoro bölgeleri, batısında ise Lasbella ve Baluchistan vardır. Kıyıya Kızıl Deniz yoluyla yaklaşıldığında ilk görülen nokta Monze Burnu'dur (yerel dilde Ras Muari); buradan yalnızca 20mil uzaklıkta ise yaklaşanlara limana varıldığını bildiren bir deniz fenerine sahip Manora Point yer alır.

Karachi'nin doğal limanı, eyaletin daha içerde bulunan kentlerine kıyasla ılımlı iklimi ve coğrafi olarak stratejik konumu, sömürgecilerin gözünde ona özel önem verilmesini sağladı. Dönemin denizde süper gücü durumundaki Britanyalıların önceliği, uluslararası bir liman inşa ederek yeni kurulan kente modern bir altyapı kazandırmak oldu.

Karachi'nin sömürgeleştirilmesi sırasında endüstri devrimi küresel olarak başlamış durumdaydı. Dünyanın her tarafında, kentler modern teknolojinin

getirdiği değişimleri yaşarken, Karachi de bundan nasibini aldı. Liman modern bir altyapıya kavuştuktan sonra, yerliler de yeni yaşam biçimlerini benimsemeye başladılar.

Daha önce belirtildiği gibi, Anglo-Hint evselliği, kolonyal temaslarda karşılaşılan zorluk ve yararları barındırır. Karachi'nin kolonyal bungalow tasarımları, Britanyalı-Hint konut tasarımlarının olgunlaşan aşamasının örnekleridir. Kolonyal evselliğin daha yakından incelenmesi için bu tez araştırmasında çeşitli örnekler kullanılmıştır. Bu örnekler, kolonyal toplumun geniş bir yelpazesinden seçilmiş olup, bunlar arasında İngiliz yöneticilerin bungalowları, seçkin bir yerlinin saray yavrusu konutu, sıradan bir Hint'in evi ile birlikte Hindistan'daki Britanyalıların ebedi istirahatgahı – iki mezar yapısı bulunmaktadır.

Flagstaff Evi, Hükümet Evi ve Claremont Sokağı'ndaki bungalow, sömürgecilerin, yeni çevreleri ve koşullarında mutlak hakimiyet kurma çabasını belgelerken, Mohatta Sarayı ve Napier Mahallesi'ndeki daire ise Raj döneminde sosyal ayırım derinleşirken, birçok Hint'in, kendi koşullarına rağmen Britanyalı zevkleri taklit ederek modernleşmeyi arzuladığını göstermektedir. Karachi Harp Mezarlığı ve Gora Kabristan'ındaki son iki örnek ise, kolonyal mirasın korunmasını kayıt altına alırken, konut düşüncesine dikkatimizi çekmektedir. Sömürgeciler, kariyerleri nedeniyle Hindistan'da kalıcı olarak yerleşme hakkından mahrum olmalarına karşın, bu mezarlıklar bize, bu tenha mekanların onların ebedi istirahatgahına dönüştüğünü anımsatırlar.

Britanya kolonyalizmi, modern tarihimizin akışını değiştiren küresel bir olguydu. Bu yüzden, güçlü ve zayıf yönlerinin ayrıntılı incelemesi, post-kolonyal dönem sonrasında onun mimari ve kültürel mirasıyla ilgili ortaya

çıkmaya devam eden ve henüz çözülemeyen birçok sorunu çözmeye yardımcı olabilir.

Bu araştırma, Britanya kolonyalizminin karmaşık ve her zaman tutarlı olmadığını göstermektedir. Geçmişin Romalı emsalleri gibi, Britanyalılar, topraklarını elde tutmak ve genişletmek amacıyla ikna ve işbirliği içeren yöntemler yanında gerektiğinde baskıcı yaklaşımları da devreye sokmuşlardı.

Yine de, Britanyalılar, yöneticilikleri boyunca, Hindistan'a hep farklılığın ekseninden bakmayı sürdürdüler. Önyargılı düşünceleri ve üstünlük inançları nedeniyle, sömürgeleştirdikleri toplumla kaynaşmayı reddettiler. Sahip oldukları teknolojik ve ekonomik fırsatlar, onlara geniş topraklar ve kaynakları yönetme ayrıcalığını verirken, diğer yandan, onları yerlilere karışma ve onlarla kaynaşma özgürlüğünden mahrum ediyordu. Kaynaşmanın yokluğu, hem sömürgeciler, hem de onların yönetimi altında olanlarda karşılıklı güvensizlik ve tedirginliğe yol açıyordu.

Sömürgecilerin kendi kendilerine uyguladıkları yalıtım, Güney Asya'da kolonyal yaşamın ayrılmaz bir parçasıydı (Guha, 1997, s.485) çünkü kolonyal yaşamın yozlaşma olasılığına karşı koymak gerekiyordu (Mizutani, 2011, s.16). Yine de, ne yabancıların mesken tuttukları mahaller, ne de İngiliz kulüp veya bungalowları iki kesim arasındaki iletişimi kesin biçimde önleyebiliyordu.

Sömürgeciler yeterli nüfusa sahip olmadıklarından, görevlerini yürütebilmek için sıklıkla yerli yardım ve işbirliğinden yararlanmak durumundaydılar (Levine, 2007, s.69). Bu da, onların mahremiyeti ve kendileri için yarattıkları 'prestij'i engelleyerek sürekli bir huzursuzluk ve tedirginlik kaynağı haline geliyordu.

Tez, modernitenin, kolonyal dönemde Avrupalılara has ve özellikle Avrupalı olmayanlar için elde edilemez bir başarı olarak algılandığını da göstermektedir (Cooper, 2005, s.113-115). Britanyalı alışkanlıkların taklit edilerek onların yaşam tarzlarının benimsenmesi, Hintlere eşit bir statü kazandırmamış, mekansal ve sosyal engeller varlığını sürdürmüştü. Britanyalıların modernite vizyonu, Aydınlanma ideolojilerinden ve laiklikten kaynaklanıyordu. Sömürgecilerin tesis ettikleri kurumlar, sahip oldukları özel mülkiyet, yasaların üstünlüğü ve batılı eğitim gibi yönleriyle kendi toplumlarını ve uygarlıklarını tanımlıyordu (Metcalf, 1995, s.35). Bundan başka, Hindistan'daki modernleşme, sınırlı kapsamı ve özel kolonyal amaçları nedeniyle özgürleştirici bir deneyim olmadı.

Bu koşullar altında, Hintler, yeni tanıdıkları modernizm ile atalarının dini ve kültürel gelenekleri arasında dengeyi kurmanın mücadelesini verdiler. Yeni yaşam biçimlerini benimserken [105] yerlilerin kendi gelenek ve inançlarını tamamen bırakmamaları, "yerli modernite" oluşumuna yol açtı (Hosagrahar, 2005).

Tez, aynı zamanda, Hindistan'da, endüstriyel ve teknolojik müdahelerin sınırlılığı nedeniyle, toplumdaki yüksek ve düşük gelirliler arasındaki uçurumun daha da derinleştiğini anımsatmaktadır. Kolonyal mimarlık, tezde tartışılan örneklerle, servet kazanarak kendilerine saraylar inşa eden yerli seçkinler yanında özellikle yeni kentsel merkezlerde iş arayanların yaşadıkları küçük dairelerin, kalabalık ve sıkışık mahallelerde bulunduğunu göstermektedir.

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[105] Edinilmiş zevkler, kriket ve polo gibi sporlara ilgi, kulüplerde sosyalleşme ve kafelerde buluşma gibi yeni alışkanlıklar Britanyalılardan alınmıştı. Bu faaliyetler, hala süregelen dini festivaller ve geleneksel ritüeller yanında yer alıyordu.

Tipik bir Hint evinde batılı modernizmin uyarlanması için uğraş verilirken, Hindistan'daki kolonyal yöneticiler, evsel ortamlarında mutlak hakimiyet göstermede zorluklarla karşılaşıyorlardı. Zorlayıcı iklim koşulları, Avrupa ahlakı ve Oryantalizm gibi unsurlar, sömürgecileri yerel ortamdan soyutlayarak uzaklaştırıyordu.

Kısaca, Britanya'nın kolonyal tarihine bakıldığında, Britanya'nın emperyalist söyleminin karmaşık olmasının yanısıra, her zaman tutarlı olmadığı ve gerek sömürgecilerin, gerekse de sömürgecilerin yönetimi altındakilerin, başlangıçtaki sıkıntılara rağmen değişime uğradıkları görülmektedir. Bu da, karşılaşmaların değişimlere yol açmasıyla birlikte "bütün kültürlerin içiçe olduklarını, hiçbirinin tek ve saf olmayıp, tümünün de karışmış, çeşitli, olağanüstü farklılaşmış, yekparelikten uzak olduklarını" (Said, 1994, s.XXV) kanıtlar.

Kısaca, kolonyal dünya, düşünce ve pratiklerin alınıp verildiği, karşılıklı bağlar içeren bir mıntıka olarak düşünülürse en iyi anlaşılabilir. Bu çatışılan zeminde, seçme, elkoyma, uyarlama ve karşı koyma üstüste gelerek aynı anda gerçekleşiyordu. Kolonyal girişimin kendisi gibi, mimarlığı da etkileşime açık, çeşitlilik ve bileşiklik barındıran bir zemin idi. Dolayısıyla, hem Batılı yapı geleneklerinin, hem de yerli kültür ve iklime yönelik çözümlerinin bileşimiydi.

APPENDIX E: TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU / THESIS PHOTOCOPY PERMISSION FORM

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Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü / Graduate School of Marine Sciences ☐

YAZARIN / AUTHOR

Soyadı / Surname   : Ahmed
Adı / Name   : Nida
Bölümü / Department: History of Architecture

TEZIN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (**İngilizce** / English): Colonial Encounters, Karachi and Anglo-Indian Dwellings during the Raj.

TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE

Yüksek Lisans / Master ■ **Doktora** / PhD ☐

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