

Building for the Raj: Richard Roskell Bayne

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Article abstract

En 1995, l'Université de Victoria a acheté une collection de 735 dessins, aquarelles, plans d'architecture et autres éléments qui documentent la vie et la carrière de Richard Roskell Bayne (1836–1901), un architecte anglais et employé de la East India Railway Company qui a exercé sa profession à Kolkata et dans d'autres villes de l'Inde entre 1866 et 1890. Au début de sa carrière, Bayne a fait entre 1864 et 1866 un grand voyage d'études en Europe, au cours duquel il a réalisé des dessins d'édifices historiques et d'ornementations architecturales pour le compte de Heaton, Butler and Bayne, l'entreprise de vitraux de son frère Robert. Richard a produit des centaines de dessins d'un style raffiné en France, en Espagne, aux Pays Bas, en Italie et en Turquie et il s'est toujours intéressé à l'architecture de l'Inde. Le fait que plusieurs de ses dessins aient été mesurés laisse supposer qu'il a eu l'intention de les publier. À titre d'ingénieur-architecte des chemins de fer, il a dessiné non seulement des ponts, des gares, et des maisons, mais aussi des édifices plus monumentaux (East India Railway Office, Kolkata; New Market dans la même ville; Thornhill and Mayne Memorial, Allahabad; Hussainabad Clock Tower, Lucknow; Oak Grove School, Mussoorie et le palais du maharaja de Durbunga). Après avoir quitté l'Inde en 1892, il s'est établi comme architecte à Victoria. L'année suivante, il a participé au concours international pour la construction du Parlement de la Colombie britannique, mais sans succès. Il est mort en 1901.

Building for the Raj: Richard Roskell Bayne

ANTHONY WELCH, MARTIN SEGGER, AND NICHOLAS DECARO, UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA

Résumé

En 1995, l'Université de Victoria a acheté une collection de 735 dessins, aquarelles, plans d'architecture et autres éléments qui document la vie et la carrière de Richard Roskell Bayne (1836–1901), un architecte anglais et employé de la East India Railway Company qui a exercé sa profession à Kolkata et dans d'autres villes de l'Inde entre 1866 et 1890. Au début de sa carrière, Bayne a fait entre 1864 et 1866 un grand voyage d'études en Europe, au cours duquel il a réalisé des dessins d'édifices historiques et d'ornementations architecturales pour le compte de Heaton, Butler and Bayne, l'entreprise de vitraux de son frère Robert. Richard a produit des centaines des dessins d'un style raffiné en France, en Espagne, aux Pays Bas, en Italie et en Turquie et il s'est toujours intéressé à l'architecture de l'Inde. Le fait que plusieurs de ses dessins aient été mesurés laisse supposer qu'il a eu l'intention de les publier. À titre d'ingénieur-architecte des chemins de fer, il a dessiné non seulement des ponts, des gares, et des maisons, mais aussi des édifices plus monumentaux (East India Railway Office, Kolkata; New Market dans la même ville; Thornhill and Mayne Memorial, Allahabad; Hussainabad Clock Tower, Lucknow; Oak Grove School, Mussoorie et le palais du maharaja de Durbunga). Après avoir quitté l'Inde en 1892, il s'est établi comme architecte à Victoria. L'année suivante, il a participé au concours international pour la construction du Parlement de la Colombie britannique, mais sans succès. Il est mort en 1901.

Introduction

In December 1994, the University of Victoria acquired a collection of 735 pictures of historic buildings. The line drawings, watercolours, and architectural plans in the collection are of historic buildings in France, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, Italy, Sicily, Greece, Ottoman Constantinople, and India. Most of the sites depicted are identified, at least by city and often by specific building, in a cursive hand, and many of the works are dated, sometimes by day and month as well as by year, ranging from 1864 to 1886. Many also bear the name of Richard Roskell Bayne, an English architect who was born in 1836 in England and died at the age of sixty-four in 1901 in New Westminster, British Columbia.¹ Those that are not signed are clearly by the same hand as the signed works. This very substantial body of original material is the work of a well-trained and talented individual who had a passion for architecture, drawing, and history and who had the opportunity to travel widely. With great accuracy he recorded what he saw, and these images were a vital part of his continuing architectural education. It is obvious too that they provided him with diversion and enjoyment.

To the best of our knowledge there are no other notable materials by Bayne in private or public hands: virtually his entire collection is at the University. Nor are there any substantial primary sources about him. Thus, the scholarly value of the Bayne Archives is considerable, for they present us with the working papers and the remnants of the professional office of one of the most important and active British colonial architects in India in the second half of the nineteenth century, a superbly trained architect who was global in his interests and his activities but whose career and designs exemplified the colonial British architectural enterprise in India. The Bayne Archives therefore constitute a major new resource for the study of nineteenth-century

architecture and architectural education. The career of this successful and ambitious architect opens a new window into the world of the British Raj.

The Raj was a major source of architectural patronage, and the number and variety of monumental buildings constructed in India during British rule are dazzling in their sheer abundance. According to opportunity, commission, and patronage, British colonial architects worked in Neo-Classical, Neo-Gothic, or Indo-Saracenic styles. They and their patrons aimed to construct in every significant city in the subcontinent enduring monuments that would reflect Indian acceptance of British traditions and British ideals, as well as demonstrate the symbolic appropriation of the land by the colonizers. Patronage was diverse: for most of his life Bayne was employed by the East India Railway, but he also received commissions from churches, synagogues, libraries, schools, public markets, and nominally autonomous Indian princely states. His career typifies the opportunities available to the best British architects in nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century India. A number of his buildings in India are designated historic monuments.

For several years a team of scholars and students at the University of Victoria has been engaged in reconstructing Bayne's life, career, and achievements, and it is now evident that he was a prodigiously active and successful member of the architectural and engineering profession in India in the heyday of the British Raj.² He designed major buildings in Kolkata, Allahabad, Lucknow, Mussoorie, Darbanga, and Chennai. We have also discovered that he was a member of one of Victorian Britain's notable artistic families: his younger brother Robert was a partner in the stained glass firm of Heaton, Butler, and Bayne, which produced stained glass windows with neo-Gothic subjects, motifs, and designs for institutions throughout the English-speaking world. The older brother Richard appears to have worked for his younger brother's firm on an occasional basis.³

The Bayne Archives at the University of Victoria also include professional certificates, notebooks, diaries, and several photographs of R.R. Bayne (fig. 1). They obviously were once part of his professional office as well as his personal record of significant buildings and architectural traditions.⁴ With a keen eye for his future reputation and legacy, Bayne took great care to preserve them. His diaries contain quick journal entries as well as humorous sketches of life around him. Although he was one of a select number of architects who prospered from the abundant patronage of the Raj and the colonial enterprise—among them, William Burges, Robert Chisholm, William Emerson, Walter Granville, Charles Muir, and F.W. Stevens—Bayne has remained until now all but unknown. He was, however, an active and successful architect who designed edifices that were effective symbols of imperial power and prestige. Thus the discovery of the Bayne Archives not only adds another personality to this distinguished group; it also offers us the opportunity to investigate his architectural and artistic education, his professional achievements, his life and career, and his personality. In the end we expect to have more information about Bayne than about any other Victorian architect in India, and we are working toward the eventual publication of a monograph that will examine his education and career in the service of the colonial mission.

Bayne's architectural education took him into the professional offices and employ of some of the leading architects in Britain in the middle of the nineteenth century. To have served with both Charles Barry and Digby Wyatt was impressive training that undoubtedly brought him into contact with other leading figures too. His ability was recognized early on by the receipt of prestigious awards, and he must have been considered one of the most promising young architects. Between 1864–66, with the support of his brother's firm, he was able to undertake European travels extending from Amiens to Constantinople, during which he made hundreds of line drawings and watercolours of buildings and architectural details. This personal encyclopedia of European architecture and decorative arts would remain a repository of design for him for the rest of his life, and he undoubtedly consulted it often. In India he added to this compendium with drawings that numbered among his most polished artistic accomplishments and that paid careful attention to the richness of India's historic architecture. In this regard Bayne took part in the dissemination of the aesthetics of William Morris, Owen Jones, and John Lockwood Kipling, all of whom were passionately interested in India and its historic arts.

Throughout his years in India from 1866 to 1890 he worked for the East Indian Railway: the expansion of the railway system in India after the Great Rebellion of 1857–58 provided enormous professional opportunities. Bayne was typical of his generation of British architects in India who designed



Figure 1. Photographic portrait of R.R. Bayne, about 1890. University of Victoria Bayne Archives.

both humble railway stations and lavish monumental architecture. They promoted the colonial mission through the use of widely accepted architectural styles. Especially in Mumbai, Neo-Gothic was the favoured style; in Kolkata neo-Classical was in vogue; and in various locations throughout India architects designed buildings with a hodge-podge of historical references known as Indo-Saracenic, an eclectic and not always effective blend of motifs from India and other “exotic” locations. The lessons learned from India became part of Bayne's professional experience.

As an architect, Bayne was neither unique nor alone. He was part of an ongoing international enterprise, and he benefited from the wealth, success, and international reach of the British Empire in the second half of the nineteenth century: he had trained in Britain; journeyed through Europe; lived and worked and travelled through India; visited Australia at least twice; and ended up in Victoria, British Columbia. He was ambitious and open to promising ventures, and his education and career gave him the professional credentials and achievements to seek com-

missions throughout the British Empire, including Canada. In that sense he was part of a global enterprise and aesthetic. The gifted architectural student who assiduously recorded historic European and Indian architectural achievements seems always to have been open to new opportunities, whether as a young man in India or as a semi-retired professional in Victoria, B.C.

Biography

What has been written about Richard Roskell Bayne in the architectural literature can be quoted in its entirety in less than a minute. In the following excellent studies of British India he is not mentioned at all: Norma Evenson, *The Indian Metropolis: a View Toward the West* (Yale University Press, 1989); Thomas Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj* (University of California Press, 1989); David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British saw their Empire* (Oxford U.P., 2001); Jan Morris, *Stones of Empire* (Penguin, 2005). Why none of these works of scholarship refers to him is evident from remarks by Philip Davies:

Bayne is an interesting architect, for it was he who designed the Thornhill and Mayne Memorial Library and Mayo Memorial in Allahabad, as well as the Indo-Gothic Hussainabad clock tower in Lucknow, but he remains rather elusive, a Calcutta-based man who practised widely elsewhere. On Granville's death he assumed the mantle of the city's leading architect.⁵

Davies' observations make it clear that Bayne is neglected not because of an absence of talent or achievement but because of an absence of data. Even though Davies credits him with only four buildings, he still refers to him as the "leading architect" in Kolkata. The Bayne Archives now provide us with the information to examine his life and career.

This "elusive" figure was born in 1836 and baptized in Warwick in 1837.⁶ His father was in the British civil service and served as a clerk-of-the-works for the new Houses of Parliament buildings at Westminster by Charles Barry and Augustus Pugin, and we can assume that Richard's initial architectural instruction was with his father.⁷ He would also have attended school formally and been immersed in the world of Classical languages, literature, and history that so marked English education in the first half of the nineteenth century. Among the papers in the Bayne Archives is a brief autobiographical memoir: in it he states that he had worked in Charles Barry's office and had studied with Digby Wyatt, the foremost member at that time of a distinguished family of architects going back three generations. Wyatt had spent two years between 1844–46 studying historic architecture in France, Italy, Sicily, and Germany for numerous decorative arts programs and publications. Subsequently,

he had been appointed Surveyor for the East India Company in 1855, and back in England in 1858 had received a commission for the Sculpture Hall of the East India House; his design was based on the Divan-i 'Am (public audience hall) in the Mughal royal citadel in Agra.

In 1860 R.R. Bayne was at the South Kensington School of Design, a remarkable institution with great influence. That year he won the Queen's Prize in architecture and was clearly highly regarded, and it is likely at this time that his association with India began. Bayne was also well connected through his family. His brother, Robert Turnill Bayne, was a gifted practitioner of stained glass manufacture and design. Clement Heaton, James Butler, and Robert Bayne established a stained glass firm in 1855, and by 1865 the firm of Heaton, Butler, and Bayne was located in Covent Garden: the partners had become one of the leading international purveyors of Gothic Revival stained glass.⁸

In 1864 Richard Roskell Bayne received a Certificate of Distinction in the Royal Institute of British Architects' Voluntary Architectural Examination. His mailing address at this time was 21 Writers' Building, Kolkata.⁹ Bayne returned to England in that year to embark on a two-and-a-half year journey through western Europe to sketch historic buildings and architectural details.¹⁰ He was following in the footsteps of his mentor, Wyatt, who had made a similar trip twenty years before. His sketches of historic western European architecture were also intended to provide historical background, imagery, and data for his brother's firm, which was expanding from its initial concentration on stained glass to the production of full architectural decorations, furnishings, and ornaments.

On March 6, 1866, Bayne was elected an associate of the Royal Institute of British Architects: one of his nominators was Digby Wyatt. A month before, on March 22, Bayne had accepted a four-year contract with the East India Railway Company as a draughtsman under the authority of the Chief Engineer. The Company paid his passage and promised him a salary of 550 rupees for his first two years, and 600 rupees for his last two years. For the next twenty-six years he worked in India, though he appears to have returned periodically to England and to have made at least one trip to Victoria, B.C., in 1888, before he finally retired there in 1890. All of this time he was employed by the East India Railway with its headquarters in Kolkata, although he also maintained a private practice. Architectural and engineering commissions took him all over India: his thirty-seven sketches of Indian architecture include structures in Kolkata, Varanasi, Jaunpur, Brindaban, Somnath, Lucknow, Delhi, Agra, Lahore, Chitor, Awadh, Allahabad, Baroda, Ahmedabad, Karle, Mumbai, and Chennai. They range from picturesque sketches to meticulously measured details and highly finished drawings, some of them tinted and obviously intended for publication. Sadly, the drawings in the Bayne Archives must be only a small

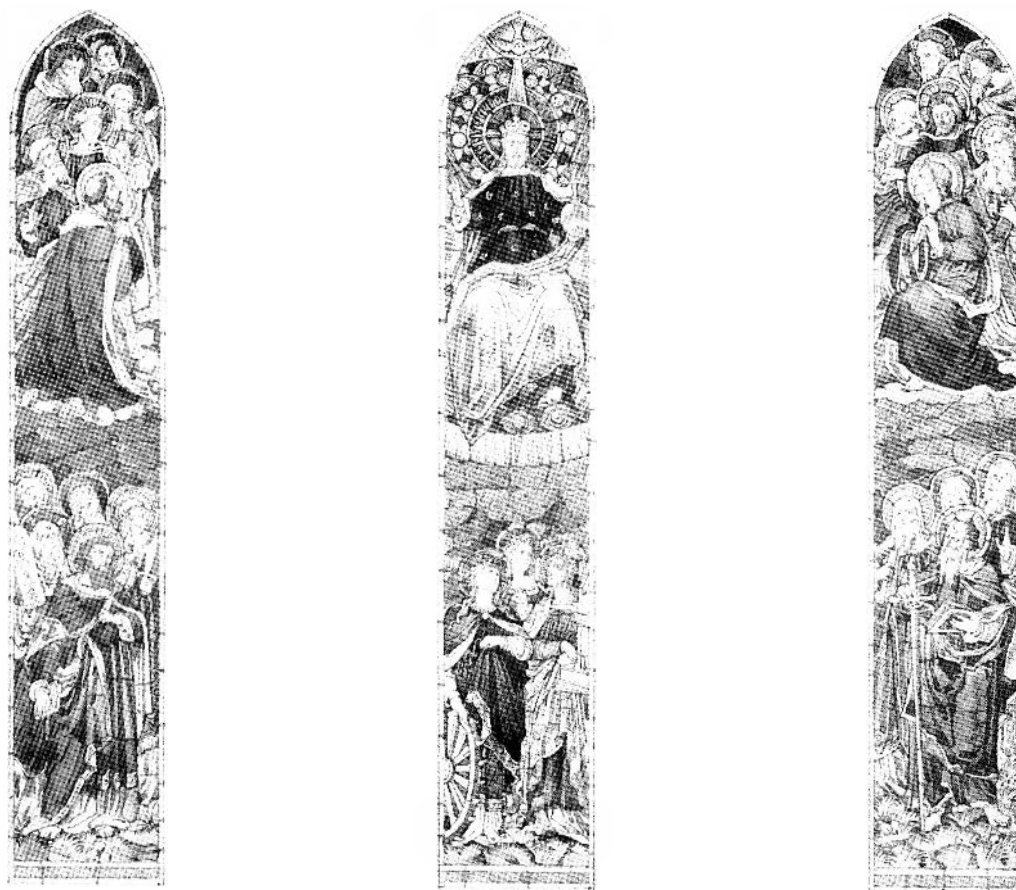


Figure 2. Stained glass designs by R.R. Bayne in memory of his children, 1872–75. University of Victoria Bayne Archives.

fraction of those he completed: he was a passionate draughtsman who, during his large architectural projects, seems to have spent his spare time in sketching historic buildings. He was apparently a highly respected individual, and he received on his retirement a glowing letter of appreciation from his employees.

From his papers we learn something about his personal life. He was married to Eleanor Sparkes, who died on April 4, 1882, at the age of 39; three of their children died in India between the years 1872–75, and he designed three stained glass windows (fig. 2) in memory of them and his wife for St. Paul's Church in Arsenault.¹¹ At least six other children survived the rigours of India and settled on Vancouver Island. One of them lived in Victoria and was in business in the tea trade between Canada and India. Several others settled as farmers in the Alberni Valley in the central part of the Island. The commercial and professional connections between India and Vancouver Island were

strong in the second half of the nineteenth century, particularly due to the tea trade and the Royal Navy, and many British Indian officials and officers chose to retire in Victoria.

Bayne married again in Australia on one of his journeys to Canada. His second wife was thirty years his junior, and they had a daughter in 1890, the year that the family moved to Victoria. By the following year Bayne had set up a practice in his new home and was promptly elected to the Board of Directors of the newly formed Victoria Society of Architects. *The Canadian Architect and Builder* published a speech Bayne delivered in his capacity as the Vice-President of the British Columbia Institute of Architects at its annual meeting in January 1893, and it is evident that he was already a respected professional in the province's capital city. His speech is clear, concise, and to the point, written in competent prose, and often critical of his profession's activity in the city. Referring to the use of the

term “Romanesque” to describe a recently erected building, he scathingly writes: “To one who has studied Romanesque art in its native country such references will certainly be amusing. The term Romanesque as applied out here is a misnomer in every sense.” And disapproving of local construction methods, he adds a haughty addendum that could not have won him many friends: “In my three years of residence in Victoria, I have seen such construction as I would not have ventured on, and yet in my work and practice in India I have done work in construction much bolder than my peers.”¹² These are the only two instances in which he mentions his earlier career. Though Bayne had a practice in Victoria and credited himself with the design of two six-room houses, we have not yet been able to identify any surviving buildings. More importantly, however, Bayne also submitted not just one but two proposals to the major international competition in 1892 for the construction of the British Columbia Parliament Buildings. Nevertheless, despite his efforts and formidable experience, it was announced in 1893 that the jury had selected the design submission by the twenty-five-year-old Francis Rattenbury.¹³ One can assume that Bayne was terribly disappointed and deeply embittered. He died on December 4, 1901, in the Provincial Hospital for the Insane in New Westminster, B.C.

Education and Training

Bayne’s years at the South Kensington School of Design determined his later architectural taste and practice. The School owed its origins to Henry Cole (1808–82), who in 1848 had proposed the Great Exhibition of Industry of All Nations, focused on art applied to industry, which opened in 1851 in the Crystal Palace. The School was located in the same building as the South Kensington Museum, founded in 1857 and later to become the Victoria and Albert Museum. Cole was its first director. He had had a long interest in Indian art and was instrumental in furthering cross-cultural ties between imperialist Britain and colonized India. His close associate was Owen Jones (1809–74). Already known for his interest in Islamic art through his 1842–45 book on the Alhambra Palace in Granada, Jones admired India’s non-industrial ornament, designed the Indian exhibit at the Great Exhibition, and included substantial sections on India in his 1856 *Grammar of Ornament*, which was to exert a major impact on architectural decoration for many decades.

The influence of William Morris (1834–96) at the South Kensington School was also great, and with it came a close attention to Indian arts and design. Running parallel to his nostalgia for the spirit of artisanship in the European Middle Ages and for pre-industrial village society, Morris considered Indian art to be based on what he called “natural principles.” John

Lockwood Kipling (1837–1911) studied design and stone carving at the South Kensington School at the same time as Bayne, and they must have known each other. Kipling went to India in 1865 (the year when his son Rudyard was born) to head the Bombay School of Art and subsequently to become the Director of the Lahore Museum. Under his leadership, art schools based on Morris’s principles were established in India to preserve traditional arts and to promote local crafts. They incidentally also served to project an image of a stately but static culture that nurtured decorative crafts rather than the high arts that had served faith and state in India in the past. It was implicitly assumed that significant Indian architecture had died with the last of the great Mughal emperors, Awrangzeb (r. 1658–1707), and that the task of British architects in India was to build either in a European mode, whether Neo-Gothic or Neo-Classical, or in the so-called Indo-Saracenic style in which the construction methods of the West were used in combination with details derived from Indian and Islamic decoration. As India’s arts were being re-branded as crafts, its great architectural traditions were being ignored, replaced by European technologies and chosen British styles. As Jan Morris has written,

While at home William Morris and his friends were seizing upon the English heritage of craftsmanship, in India a British-fostered arts and crafts movement encouraged the employment of native skills in imperial projects, providing Maratha motifs for railway station waiting-rooms, or ancient Rajasthani patterns for the embellishment of vegetable markets.¹⁴

Travels in Europe

More than five hundred of Bayne’s extant drawings document his journeys in Europe, Turkey, and India. There are unfortunately many omissions: sites that he must have seen and drawn but that are not now represented in the University’s material as well as buildings represented only by details, though he must have drawn the entire structures. The first of his dated drawings places him in Amiens from August 16–18, 1864, and in Coutances on October 1, where he did a stunning drawing of the dome of the Cathedral of Nôtre-Dame. He remained in France until the end of the year, when he went to Spain, where he spent three months travelling from the north to the south. In Valencia on January 23, 1865, he produced a single drawing of metal doorknockers in dragon form, presumably models for new work for his brother’s firm (fig. 3), which was adding ornamental metalwork to its established business in stained glass. From March 13–18, 1865, he was in Seville, where he sketched some of the details of the Giralda tower, formerly the Great Mosque’s minaret, a structure he would creatively recall

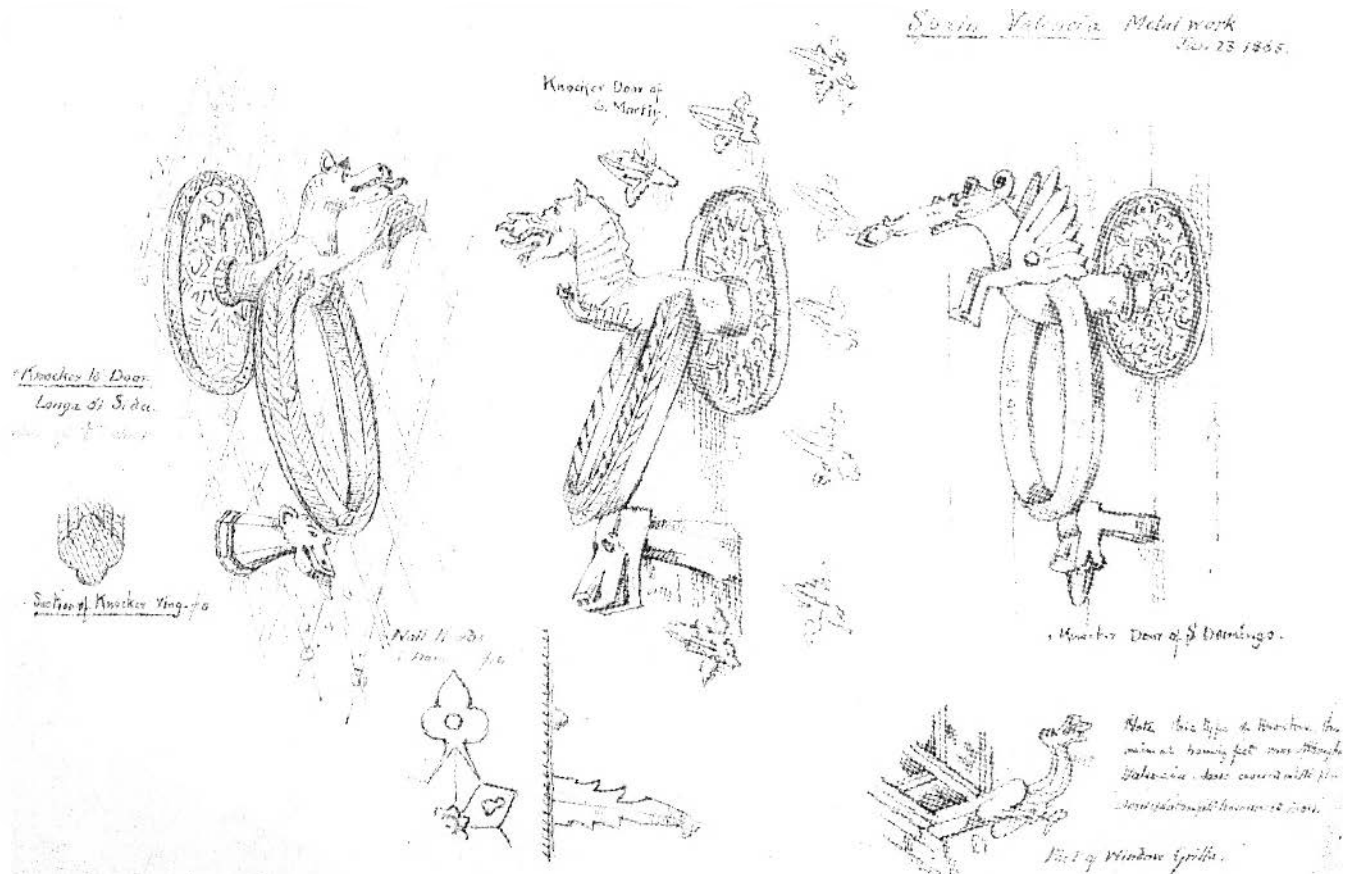


Figure 3. Valencia, metal door-knockers, drawing by R.R. Bayne, January 23, 1865. University of Victoria Bayne Archives.

in India many years later. He also recorded Mudéjar geometric tiles from the Church of St. Francis (fig. 4). Two days after that he was in Cordoba, where he drew the great eighth- to tenth-century Umayyad Mosque, and on March 25 he ended up in Granada where, following in the footsteps of Owen Jones and Digby Wyatt, he drew the Alhambra. April he spent in Monreale, Paestum, and Palermo, where he made a drawing of the famous ceiling of the Cappella Palatina, before embarking for Greece: he spent April 21–26 in Athens, April 28 in Chalcis, April 30–May 1 in Salonica, and five days from May 1–6 in Constantinople. He returned to Italy on May 18 and remained there until September 1865, his longest sojourn being nine days in Venice and a month in Rome, where on July 2 he drew a panorama of the Palace of the Caesars that may include a modest self-portrait (fig. 5).

Most of the drawings in the Bayne Archives document this grand tour that allowed him to see the greatest monuments of Classical civilization in Greece and Italy, and they undoubtedly provided him with memories and material for his later Palladian

buildings in India, particularly in Kolkata, the “city of palaces” and centre for neo-Classical architecture in India. First-hand knowledge of major monuments was gained not only from sketches but also from ground plans and elevations that he drew and kept for future reference. Since there were already numerous published studies of Classical architecture, the twenty-seven-year-old Bayne was surely not planning such a publication at this time but was instead acquiring the in-depth knowledge he needed for his future professional career: no architect of his era could be unversed in the Classical vocabulary, and his experience and drawings would serve him well. They were also an important contribution to the repertoire of images in the firm of Heaton, Butler, and Bayne.

Antiquarianism and respect for medieval artisanry had been essential elements of Bayne’s South Kensington education, and had motivated him to study closely the great Romanesque and Gothic structures of western Europe. Barry and Pugin’s Houses of Parliament and the writings of John Ruskin (1819–1900) had established the primacy of the neo-Gothic aesthetic

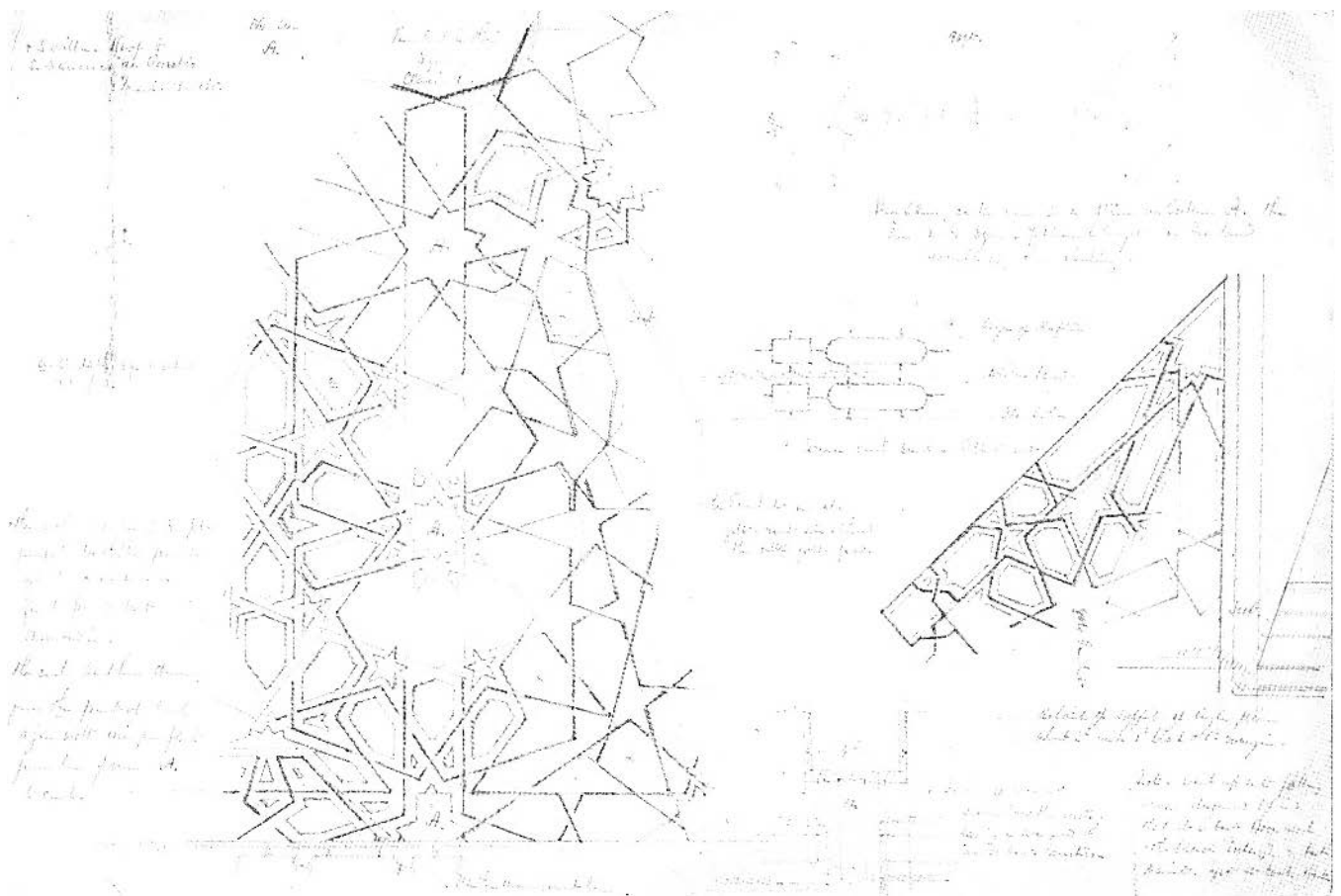


Figure 4. Mudéjar geometric tiles from the Church of St. Francis, Seville, drawing by R.R. Bayne, March 13–18, 1865. University of Victoria Bayne Archives.

as nineteenth-century Britain's national style, and it was this style that was exported to India as a conveyor not only of political dominance but also as a symbol of Christian values and evangelism. Mumbai in particular was cast in the neo-Gothic mould, as is evident in F.W. Stevens' Victoria Terminus railway station. Bayne learned his lessons well and became a skilled practitioner, and, long after neo-Gothic was out of fashion in Britain, he was building in this mode in India, most notably in the 1878 Thornhill and Mayne Memorial Library in Allahabad.

In Spain, Sicily, Salonica, and Constantinople Bayne also came in contact with Islamic architecture, and he seems to have been singularly receptive to it, whether in the thirteenth- to fourteenth-century Alhambra of the Nasrid dynasty or the great domed mosques of the Ottomans that he saw in Constantinople and Salonica. Painters in Britain and France had brought an Orientalizing view of Islamic architecture to western Europe and Bayne could hardly have avoided it; and some of his colleagues in India, like William Emerson, made extensive use of architectural motifs from fourteenth- and fifteenth-

century Mamluk Egypt, as well as from the Taj Mahal, a building that Emerson boundlessly admired. While Bayne's sketches of Islamic buildings were accurate renderings of structure and architectural detail, they were also preparation for working in the Indo-Saraccenic mode, the third architectural style that Bayne practised in India.

The Indian architectural environment

Bayne's travels and sketches prefigure his career. Like many of his colleagues in India, he was eclectic, and he presumably built to order in one of the three major styles, all of which blended, idealized, and romanticized a particular past. Consistency of style did not confine the Raj's British builders, and Bayne's eclecticism is wholly typical, growing out of his education, his grand tour, his passion for drawing buildings, and his sensible awareness of British imperial aesthetics. Whether neo-Classical Palladian or neo-Gothic or Indo-Saraccenic, these styles were skins for buildings serving similar purposes: namely, the pres-

ence of British military force, bureaucracy, law and educational systems; the propagation of the Christian religion, along with the relegation of Hinduism, Islam, and Jainism to faiths that served the unenlightened servant classes; and the subjugation of their traditions of high art and architecture to a romantic preservation of village crafts and of artisanry, like stone-masonry and tile-making, appealing to the British ruling class.

Throughout his twenty-three years in India Bayne travelled and drew. We assume that most of his Indian drawings are lost, for the thirty-seven that survive are far too paltry a number for so active and accurate a recorder of architecture. It is a terrible pity that the others, probably numbering in the hundreds or thousands, have disappeared, for they would have been an invaluable resource to guide preservation and restoration programs in India. Bayne spent time in Ahmedabad on the west coast of India in 1882–83, and drew not only general views of mosques and minars, such as a mosque under repair (fig. 6), but also of stepwells, the remarkable spring-fed tanks that held water for the dry season (fig. 7). Many of these cisterns had been endowed by patrons who also built their tombs adjacent to the water, and Bayne recorded not only the exterior of a fifteenth-century tomb but also supplied a small and informative ground plan. His measured drawings of the great stepwell in Allahabad are so detailed and so precise that he could not have been producing them simply to assist his memory later, nor could he have been hoping to use their forms in his own architecture. That they might have been designed for architectural conservation is possible, but it was much more likely that he was planning to produce a book-length study of India's historic architecture and provide it with detailed, measured drawings. James Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* had been published in London in 1876, but Bayne appears to have had the idea of writing and documenting his own architectural history ever since he first arrived in India twelve years earlier. Thus his 1870 drawings of temple pillars in Varanasi are marked and bordered (fig. 8), and in Chitor in 1883 he drew both the celebrated Victory Towers, as well as a fifteenth-century palace. Domestic architecture attracted his attention too. In Muradabad in Awadh he drew the decaying entrance to a house complete with falling panels and pillars, grass sprouting from neglected flooring, and a barefoot bearer walking in the street. And in Nassick near Mumbai he made a simple ground plan of a house and then provided measured drawings and intricate details of ornament. He also visited the cave temples at Karle and drew their cut-stone arches. He must have made many drawings in and around Kolkata, where he chiefly resided, but all that remains is a sketch of a temple to Kali on the Ganges. From Chennai is a drawing of a temple and a pillar. In Delhi in 1870 he visited the famed Qutb mosque, but all that testifies to his sketching there is a tinted drawing of one of the adjoining tombs. He must have

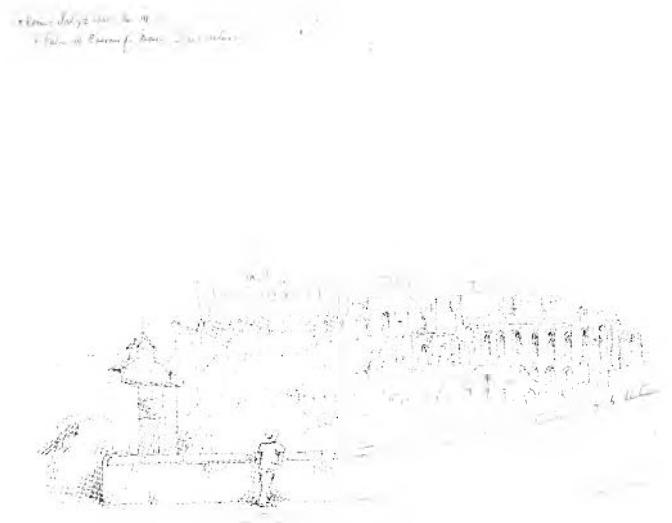


Figure 5. Rome, palace of the Caesars, drawing by R.R. Bayne, July 2, 1865 (detail). University of Victoria Bayne Archives.

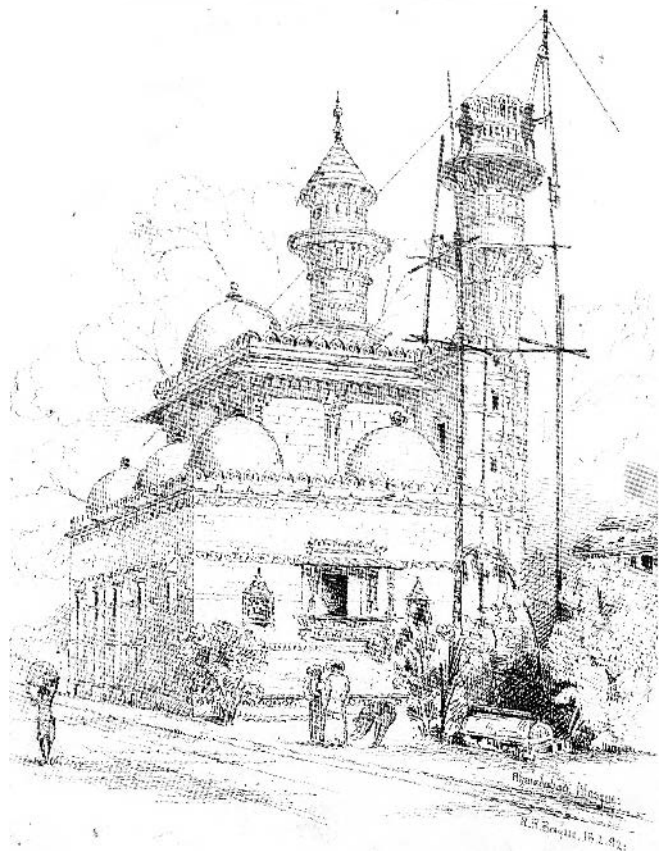


Figure 6. Ahmedabad, Mosque under repair, drawing by R.R. Bayne, February 18, 1882. University of Victoria Bayne Archives.

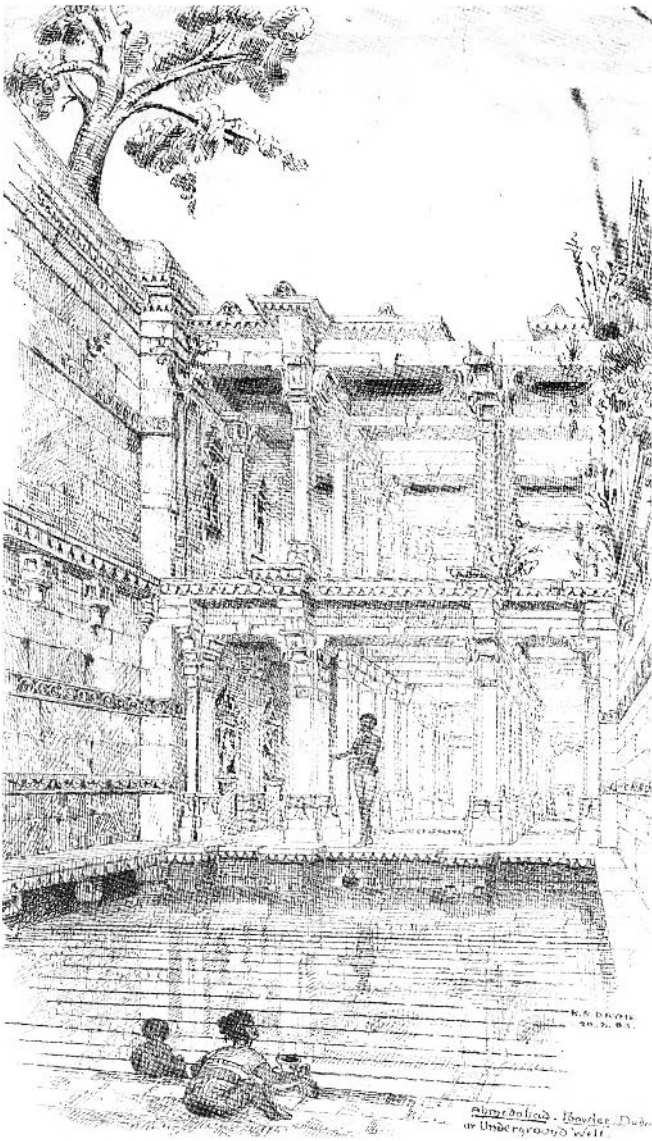


Figure 7. Ahmedabad, stepwell, drawing by R.R. Bayne. February 20, 1883. University of Victoria Bayne Archives.

done much more, for a great many British architects, artists, and tourists drew or painted the remarkable twelfth- to thirteenth-century minaret that towered over Delhi to the north, so that it became the chief icon of the picturesque ruins of fallen power that delighted the scions of the British Raj and served as harbingers of the sublime.¹⁵ He also spent time at the garden tomb of Humayun, the second Mughal emperor (r. 1530–42; 1555–56); in his drawing the emperor's tomb is in the distance to the right, while the foreground building is the earlier 1547–48 tomb of Isa Khan. Despite its hasty references to ornament, his sketch of Humayun's tomb must have been preparation for

a more polished final drawing, as a fine, measured, and ready-for-publication drawing of the arches, spandrels, merlons, and eaves indicates. The following year he was in Delhi again, and this time drew a cross section and a longitudinal section of the late-fourteenth-century Kalan mosque in old Delhi, a multi-domed building on a high plinth that is one of the masterpieces of medieval Sultanate architecture.

The emerging Archaeological Survey of India was beginning to employ artists and draughtsmen at this time to document the subcontinent's architectural traditions, and at least some of Bayne's work may have been intended for this purpose. Conspicuously absent from his drawings, however, is any image of a colonial structure; either Bayne's interest in history excluded his own contemporary world and his own employment, or none of these drawings has survived.

These Indian drawings by themselves would have been a valuable legacy. But Bayne was as active a builder as his contemporaries (architects like Mant, Emerson, and Granville), and the new railways, built to promote commerce and facilitate the transportation of troops to suppress resistance, were the employers of many of the engineers and architects active in India in the second half of the nineteenth century. For the first decade of Bayne's residence in India, Kolkata's leading architect was Walter Granville (1819–74), the designer of the General Post Office and a number of other neo-Classical buildings. Like Bayne, his first assignment in India had been with the railway: he worked for the Eastern Bengal Railway from 1858–63 when he was appointed consulting architect to the government of India. Granville died in 1874, and Bayne succeeded him as the leading British architect in Kolkata, charged with the design of the 1881 East India Railway Office, perhaps the single most important commission in his professional career, as we shall see.

During his twenty-three years with the East India Railway Bayne must have built many railway stations and bungalows, and such relatively modest engineering work was likely his principal line of work: he left the Railway's service with the title of District Engineer, and one can assume that many of the railway stations of northeastern India were built according to his designs. But his other engineering and architectural projects during this period were also very considerable. In Kolkata he designed the New Market (fig. 9), a public market of some 7,200 square meters that exerted substantial influence on the design of large urban markets throughout South Asia. In his autobiographical memoir he also refers to other commissions—several jute and cotton mills, as well as bathing ghats; in association with Charles Denlam, he also extended the Kolkata dry docks and canal.

His biographical remarks cite architectural achievements that include not only "many private dwellings for natives," but

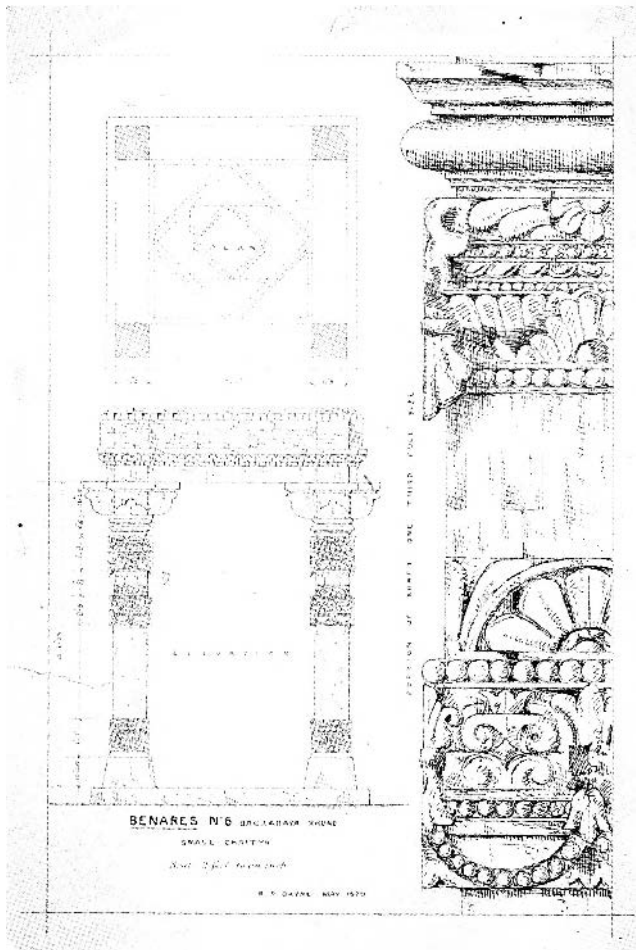


Figure 8. Varanasi, Backaraya Khund, drawing by R.R. Bayne, May 1870. University of Victoria, Bayne Archives.

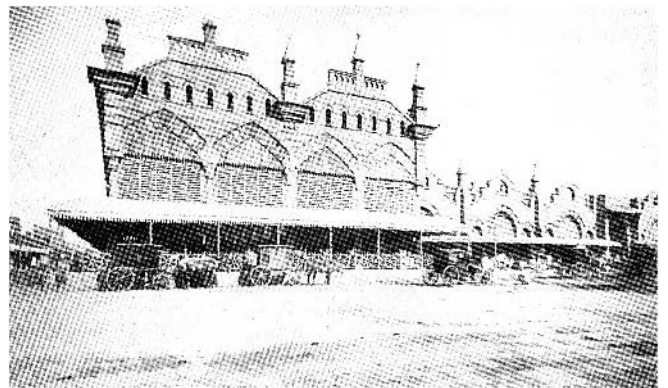


Figure 9. Late-nineteenth-century photograph of the New Market, Kolkata, designed by R.R. Bayne. University of Victoria Bayne Archives.



Figure 10. Late-nineteenth-century photograph of the East India Railway Office, Kolkata, designed by R.R. Bayne. University of Victoria Bayne Archives.

also the Corinthian theatre, the new Masonic Hall, and the Beth El Synagogue for the Bagh Daud Jewish community of Bengal. These structures were all in the neo-Classical style common in Kolkata. Surely his most important commission in the city was the new Office of the East India Railway (fig. 10), completed in 1881 at the enormous cost of £50,000. A three-storied building filling an entire block, it most nearly resembles Sangallo and Michelangelo's 1511–89 Palazzo Farnese in Rome. As described by Philip Davies:

Structurally it is quite extraordinary, pioneering a combination of iron and concrete. The floor trusses and columns are made from worn-out rails, the floors from brick carried on concrete arches, and the doors and windows are all pivoted on stone cills and architraves to create a structure both cheap and fireproof.¹⁶

In Chennai, where Indo-Saracenic style was the dominant building mode, Bayne designed the Town Hall and the public markets, according to his own account. In Mumbai his chief projects included the European Hospital, a theatre, baths, gymnasium, and recreation grounds. His contemporaries—Mant, Emerson, Chisholm, among others—built palaces for Indian princes, and so did Bayne: he designed a hugely expensive (£100,000) home for the Maharaja of Darbhanga in the Indo-Saracenic style favoured by virtually all the princes.

In 1885 Bayne was commissioned by the British authorities to design a 68-meter-tall clock tower (fig. 11), adjacent to the tomb of the nawab of Awadh, Muhammad 'Ali Shah (r. 1837–42) in Lucknow. Awadh had been one of the wealthiest and most culturally vital states of India, and its annexation by the British in 1856 was one of the major events precipitating the 1857 Great Rebellion. That it had also been a centre of Muslim resistance to



Figure 11. Lucknow, Hussainabad Clock Tower, 1885, designed by R.R. Bayne (Photo: author).

British reoccupation during that war was presumably one of the factors motivating British officials to secure the funds for the construction of the tower from the trustees of the Shi'a Hussainabad Endowment in Lucknow. Bayne designed a structure nearly as tall as the celebrated Qutb minaret in Delhi: at more than 73 metres in height, this late twelfth- to early-thirteenth-century monument in Delhi announced Islam's medieval victory over the Hindu rajahs of northern India. That the Hussainabad clock tower in Lucknow rose over the tomb of one of the last independent rulers of Awadh was no accident, nor was the fact that it supported a clock: like other Indian cities, Lucknow had been accustomed to hearing the time of day announced by the muezzin, who issued the call to Muslim prayer five times daily from the nearby Asafi mosque. A minaret in height, the Hus-

sainabad tower sought to transform God's time into European punctuality, efficiency, and order, not only through its clock but also through the gong that sounded the hour. In form, however, the clock tower borrowed nothing from the traditions of Islamic architecture in India, presumably too close for comfort; instead, its square plan, its horseshoe arches, and its broad band of relief columns and intersecting decorative arches recall the minarets of Islamic Spain, most notably the minaret of Seville that Bayne had studied some twenty years before.¹⁷

But the buildings for which we have the most documentation were built in Allahabad, where the neo-Gothic presence was strong, perhaps in response to the fact that the city had been one of the fiercest centres of resistance to the destructive reinstatement of British power in 1858. There Bayne was commissioned to design two major public buildings. Built at a cost of £25,000, the 1878 Thornhill and Mayne Memorial was a public library, reading room, and museum. A porte-cochère supports an octagonal spire; a central tower protects the west end. The library and reading room are located in the nave, lit by four bays with rose windows that may well be the work of Heaton, Butler, and Bayne. A cloister is supported by columns and British cast-iron panels. The neo-Gothic capitals are decorated with relief sculptures by artisans working with traditional Indian technologies. Built in a light brown sandstone, it resembles the French Gothic cathedrals that Bayne drew so meticulously during his grand tour. In its lower arches red stone alternates with pale stone as in the arches of the Great Mosque of Cordoba.¹⁸

Remarkably, the presentation drawing of this impressive building has survived (fig. 12). The actual building emerges relatively unchanged from Bayne's drawing, though the present roof does not have the tile patterning seen in the drawing, which recalls the roof of the 1443 Hôtel-Dieu in Beaune, France, a building that Bayne surely knew from his travels in 1865. In his European sketches Bayne had included human beings essentially to provide scale and offer a bit of local colour. In his Thornhill and Mayne drawing, however, he provides more fascinating references. Two decades before, Allahabad had experienced some of the deadliest fighting of the 1857 Great Rebellion. Now, twenty-one years later, a man in English dress talks quietly and in easy security to a man and woman in a carriage. Another English couple strolls unconcernedly into the Library, as if entering a sacred space; a doti-clad gardener stares after them, while his two companions till the earth. It is a picturesque statement of dutiful submission, of humility before the colonizers and the colonizers' architecture.

By Bayne's own account he designed several other extant buildings in India that can be examined in the context of buildings by his contemporary architectural colleagues, Mant, Emerson, and Granville, among others. But what is remarkable is that this successful and productive colonial architect was also

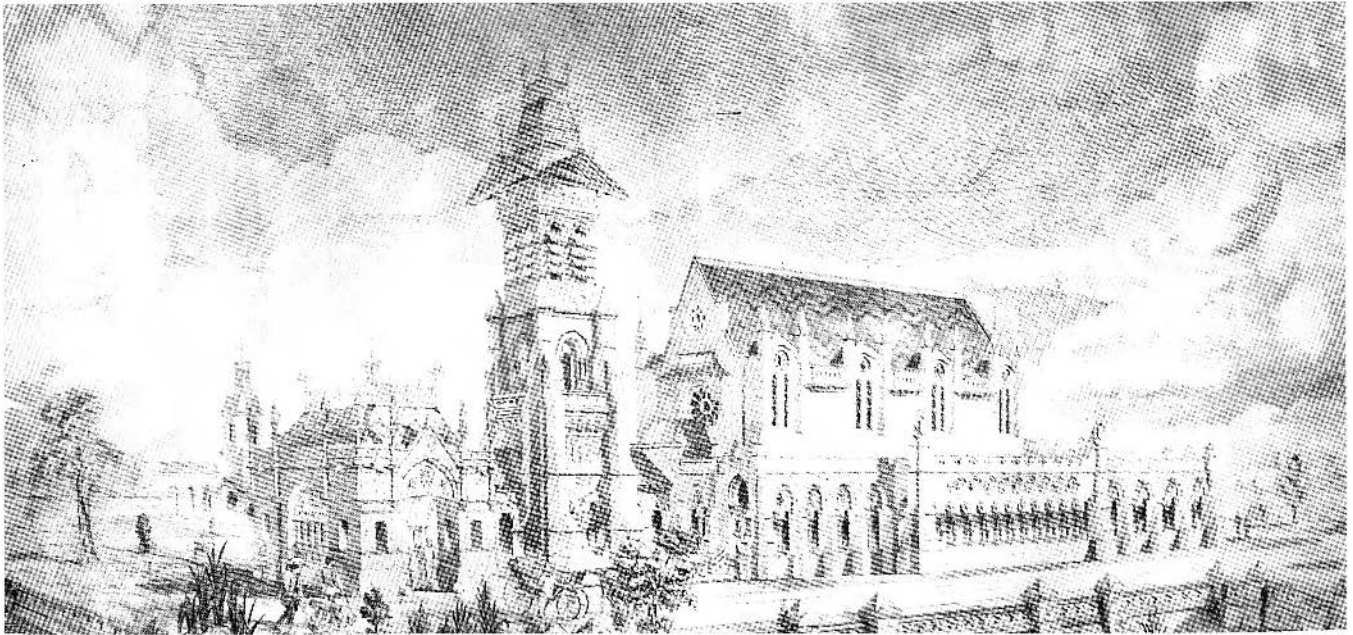


Figure 12. Thornhill and Mayne Memorial, Allahabad, 1878. designed by R.R. Bayne. Presentation drawing. University of Victoria Bayne Archives (Photo: author).

keenly committed to the study of historic Indian architecture and obviously knew the pioneering historical research of the great Scottish scholar James Fergusson.¹⁹ While much still remains to be done to investigate Bayne, his career, and his buildings,²⁰ these unique archival materials provide us with valuable new information about the international practice of architecture in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.²¹

Two of his drawings of buildings in Victoria, British Columbia, have survived, though the structures themselves have not, and they suggest that, even in the British Columbia provincial capital, where he evidently felt that the level of architectural achievement was lower than anywhere else he had ever lived, Bayne continued to study and sketch buildings. His career demonstrates the ease with which a British architect could function anywhere throughout the nineteenth-century British Empire. He deserves to be removed from obscurity and placed back in the company of his better-known colleagues who transformed the urban landscape of India's major cities.

Notes

- 1 A simple tombstone with the epitaph "Richard Roskell Bayne, Architect" marks his grave in Ross Bay Cemetery, Victoria, B.C.
- 2 The present essay is the first of several that will document Bayne and his career. The authors express their gratitude to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for its support

of this project. They wish to thank Robert Dening for producing the scanned images from the Bayne Archives and to acknowledge the work of two student seminars that enthusiastically sought out the details of R.R. Bayne's life.

- 3 See S.B.M. Bayne, *Heaton, Butler, & Bayne: Un Siècle d'Art du Vitrail* (Montreux, 1986); and Nicole Queller-Soguel & Walter Tschopp, eds., *Clement Heaton* (Hauterive, Switzerland, 1986).
- 4 We have been fortunate not only that the University had the foresight to purchase the papers but that a number of Bayne's descendants have generously supported this project by donating additional Bayne drawings, papers, and documents that were in their possession. In addition to other family members, we wish to express our special gratitude to Robert Bayne, Audrey Nordstrum, Sandra Phillips, and Oscar Turnill.
- 5 Philip Davies, *Splendours of the Raj: British Architecture in India, 1660–1947* (London, 1985), 210. There is no other notable secondary literature about Bayne and his career. In working with these materials we will be able to offer senior students, particularly at the graduate level, the opportunity to pursue experienced-based learning with primary materials. Some of this research will be supported by the website that the Bayne research team, operating out of the University's Maltwood Museum, has already constructed. We envisage a publishing project that will encompass several articles and a monograph.
- 6 His father's given name was Richard; his mother's maiden name was Ann Roskell. There were four children—Ann, Richard, Rob-

ert, and Mary. Our subject, Richard Roskell Bayne, married Eleanor Sparkes in Woodbridge, Suffolk, on March 13, 1866. She died in India on August 4, 1882. Following the death of his first wife, he married Florence Shedlock in Melbourne, Australia, on June 2, 1890. We are grateful to Oscar Turnill for this information.

- 7 The senior Richard Bayne worked as the resident superintendent of the government workshops on the Thames Bank and was in charge of the woodcarvers. See M.H. Port, ed., *The Houses of Parliament*, Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art (New Haven & London, 1976), 120. As a clerk of the works he was employed directly by Government and received an annual salary of two hundred pounds. See Records of the Office of the Auditors of Land Revenue, by England and Wales, 1860 (Kew, Richmond: List and Index Society, 1998).
- 8 Surviving examples of their work can be found in the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, India, and a number of former British colonies. See Bayne, *Heaton, Butler, & Bayne*; and Quellet-Soguel & Tschopp, *Clement Heaton*.
- 9 Built in 1780 by Thomas Lyon, the Writers' Building was the administrative headquarters of British rule in India.
- 10 His autobiographical memoir tells us that he had won the prestigious Soane Medal in architecture. It is puzzling, however, that his drawings of European architecture do not record any material from the United Kingdom.
- 11 The execution of the windows was the work of the stained glass manufactory of Heaton, Butler, and Bayne.
- 12 "Proceedings of the B.C. Architectural Institute," *Canadian Architect and Builder* 7, no. 1 (1894).
- 13 Martin J. Segger, ed., *The British Columbia Parliament Buildings* (Victoria, 1979), 83; Bayne did not even make it into the finalists' list.
- 14 Jan Morris with Simon Winchester, *Stones of Empire* (Oxford, 2005), 31.
- 15 It is worth mentioning here that both Indian and British artists were hired by British patrons in India to create watercolour studies of Sultanate and Mughal architecture.
- 16 Davies, *Splendours of the Raj*, 208.
- 17 For a contemporary drawing of the Hussainabad Clock Tower, see Thomas Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj* (Berkeley, 1989), 80, fig. 15.
- 18 The tower of the Mayo Memorial Hall, his second building in Allahabad, was built a year later and is modelled directly on the spire of the Thornhill and Mayne Memorial; the building is a far less successful example of Indian neo-Gothic style and looks as if it was designed in haste.
- 19 Not a practising architect, Fergusson completed his *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* in 1876.
- 20 In particular, his notebooks and journals contain dozens of quick and sometimes quirky sketches of people, buildings, and landscapes. His captions and notations are unfortunately written in a rapid and all but illegible handwriting that only Bayne could have read with any ease. Many of these pages are in extremely fragile condition. The transcription of his notes will therefore be difficult and time-consuming, but should also be singularly illuminating. At this point we have been able to complete the visual documentation of the Bayne Archives through high-resolution scanning of the papers.
- 21 Bayne's retirement in Victoria coincided with his unsuccessful two submissions to the 1892 competition for the design of the British Columbia Parliament Buildings in Victoria. For a complete list of the sixty-five entries, see Segger, *British Columbia Parliament Buildings*, 83.