

# GOLD

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## **GOLD AND GOLDEN: THE COLOUR OF CONTRADICTION IN AUSTRALIAN ARCHITECTURE**

*In 1806 J.M.W. Turner produced a painting of the Garden of Hesperides, complete with guardian dragon, which captures the themes of paradise and prosperity, decay and discord that were prevalent in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century and which found their way to the Australian colonies. By the late 19th century these opposing themes were embedded in Australia's architectural narratives. Perhaps in reference to this painting, an early settler en route to Western Australia anticipated finding "the golden garden of the Hesperides [but] without the guardian Dragon."<sup>1</sup> Turner's painting offers a vehicle through which this paper will explore the complexities associated with the colour gold and notions of the golden in Australian architecture.*

*On the one hand gold is the colour of promise and prosperity. This was especially so in the golden age of Old Colonial architecture, representing for many historians the peak of Australian architectural achievement, only matched a century later by Modernism's whiteness. Gold was the warmth of materials used by the early colonial architects and the glow of honesty underpinning their structural logic; it was the transient dappling of light falling on flagstones and whitewashed walls. It was the colour of a nostalgic attraction to a pre-industrial life. At the same time, gold features as the colour of discord in Australian architecture and urbanism. Ironically, it was the unearthing of gold, first in the eastern states, and later in Western Australia, that fed rapidly growing wealth and populations, generating a cultural euphoria that was nowhere more clearly reflected than in the High Victorian streetscapes of Australia's expanding cities. For the twentieth-century historians enamoured with white, the discovery of gold had ornamented and coloured Australian architecture in ways almost intolerably overt and superficial. This paper will examine the contradictions accompanying Australian architecture's golden moments.*

## Gold Filter

Recent texts dedicated to porcelain, cotton and air reveal the potency of material (or indeed immaterial) things to generate, galvanise or transform ideas, values, rituals and even nations.<sup>2</sup> In a similar way, gold offers a filter through which to sift a reading of architecture in Australia. Gold has played a crucial part in driving growth as well as shaping discourse in Australian architecture and urbanism, featuring prominently as material, colour and connotation. Discovery of this precious metal in Victoria and Western Australia, for example, contributed to the flourishing of urban centres and infrastructures in those states during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Gold colours many buildings in the Australian architectural catalogue: from the Griffins' crystalline Capitol Theatre interior and Kerry Hill's glistening Perth State Theatre Centre staircase, to Edmond and Corrigan's Building 8 joinery and the sheathing of Elenberg Fraser's recent Luna Apartments. But the interest in gold as a filter for this paper lies in the symbolic connotations arising from its material worth and attached to its colour: the very gold-ness of gold. In particular, the associations and tensions between gold and the golden are the subject of this paper.

## The Golden Garden

The relevance of J.M.W. Turner's 1806 painting, *The Goddess of Discord choosing the Apple of Contention in the Garden of the Hesperides*, may initially seem remote for a discussion of gold in Australian architecture. However, the image helps identify and articulate the complex relationships between gold and golden as they were manifest in a transcontinental Imperial and Australian colonial context. The painting is especially enlightening in relation to the settler-colonial foundations of Western Australia, not least owing to founding Governor James Stirling's desire to name the state Hesperia.<sup>3</sup>

Hesperia is a term derived from the mythological Greek garden of the Hesperides, generally taken "as a ready metaphor for the Biblical Eden" inhabited by the "Hesperian nereids" (nymphs). The notion of an Hesperian paradise appears to have held great currency in early 19<sup>th</sup> century Britain, with Turner, John Claudius Loudon and, later, John Ruskin all drawing on its symbolic potential.<sup>4</sup> Hermione de Almeida and George H. Gilpin describe the European association of the Hesperides "with sunset and the evening star," and their garden with "the earth's western horizon and, specifically, the British Isles, situated as they are at the western edge of Europe."<sup>5</sup> For the Swan River Colony this would have been a fitting title: it has a vast coastline "looking toward the Setting Sun;" it occupies the western third of the continent and has a westerly orientation toward the trade triangle comprising the neighbouring countries bordering the Indian Ocean. In this way, the name encompasses the historical and especially mythical notion of a 'golden age' on the one hand, and on the other, the idyllic notion of the garden of paradise. So Stirling is here capturing the romantic predilections for the Past, for the Mediterranean ideal, for nature and the garden, all of which may also be taken as a reaction to contemporary conditions in Britain. Echoing Lowenthal, James Schmiechen makes the point that "an attraction, albeit a largely mythological one, to the notion of a 'golden age' of pre-industrial life" accompanied a "gloomy and pessimistic perception of urban life" in 1830s Britain.<sup>6</sup> In the context of this paper, the 1830s period is a key threshold marking golden futures as well as pasts.

It is evident that settlers at Swan River were familiar not only with the Hesperian myth but also with this representation by Turner. As Ian Berryman suggests, "the initial reactions of the Swan River Settlers are of particular interest, since many were led to believe that they were coming to an Antipodean paradise, 'the golden garden of the Hesperides without the guardian Dragon.'<sup>7</sup> Turner's painting was completed approximately midway between the colonizing of New South Wales and Western Australia's Swan River district. British investors bought into Swan River on its promise as an immense, continuous stretch of grassland – a southern pastoral Eden. In the 1830s, the golden opportunity offered to aspiring Swan River migrants was land.

Swan River was one of several manifestations of a British Hesperian colony. Others notably included India – “celebrated [in 1824] as a beautiful bloom in the British garden of the Hesperides”<sup>8</sup> – and later the “earthly paradise” of South Africa’s northeastern Transvaal.<sup>9</sup> The British interest in the Hesperides seems fundamentally rooted in Imperial culture and in an appetite for land as territory but also as garden: for an agent like Stirling it was a symbol of a promising future paradise in a New World; for Ruskin and other critics the garden and its dragon offered an allegory of the empire’s covetousness and striving for conquest.

The quest for paradise lies at the root of the conflicting reports that circulated following the arrival of the first settlers at Swan River. What was the prevailing image of the “golden garden”? What was the form of the settlers’ expectations? Was it a sublime mountainous landscape such as in Turner’s background, likeness to which would have been found in the scenery encountered on the voyage at the Cape Verde Islands or Cape Town? Or did it resemble Turner’s foreground, captured in the romantic undulations described by James Stirling and painted by Frederick Garling following their 1827 expedition? Was it enhanced by the expected absence of the mythical “guardian Dragon:” the promise of a golden garden the greater for freedom from threat or control? Of course, neither the dragon nor the sublime landscape was anywhere to be seen at Swan River. It is not difficult to imagine the extent to which expectations – fuelled by publicity and primed by anticipation during the sea voyage – were challenged by the subtle undulations and white swathe of Swan River’s coastline: no cliffs or mountains here. Instead was the presence of the relatively *indistinct*, in what nineteenth-century aesthete Walter Pater might have later described as “landscape [with] little salient character of its own.”<sup>10</sup>

In Turner’s *Hesperides* painting, the coexistence of different versions of paradise can be seen: what was forbidding for Ruskin might have been ‘romantic’ for others and was described later as a “prosperous and lush pastoral valley.”<sup>11</sup> Turner’s image allows us to identify where myth and reality might have blurred in the expectations for Swan River, where ideas of past perfection and future promise coincided in the mapping of the primordial garden of the Hesperides onto a new (but also ancient) westward-looking southern land. Yet, as Almeida and Gilpin point out, Turner “warns us of the complexities of discord and contention inherent in any garden of peace and prosperity.” In Turner’s view the threat to utopia comes “not from the outside world but from inside the garden [and] not in the shape of a hideous crocodile-dragon, which in fact stands guard ... against trouble” but as a result of “imperial greed.” Almeida and Gilpin interpret as Turner’s lesson “that the origins of disaster can lie or be engendered within the peaceful world of any Edenic empire.”<sup>12</sup> Their detailed explanation of the symbolism in this painting helps articulate the existence in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century of conflicting ideas about and within paradise, embodied within the distinctions between gold and golden.

## Gold-Rush

The contradictions associated with gold in the Australian context can be further illuminated by reference to James Belich who, in his vast *Replenishing the Earth*, interrogates the claim that the gold rushes were “motherlodes of modernity for Australia and the American West.”<sup>13</sup> In fact, Belich downplays the suggestion that the “Australian gold rush actually created modern Australia.” Instead he presents an argument for the reverse order of events, claiming that in many cases settlement booms preceded or precipitated discovery of gold: ‘land-grabs,’ in other words, preceded gold-rushes.<sup>14</sup> Historian Geoffrey Bolton supports this explanation in the case of Western Australia’s boom and rush experience. He cites the example of Alexander Forrest who, when exploring the Kimberley district in 1879, “estimated that his party had discovered at least 20 million hectares of first-class pastoral land, and hinted at prospects for gold.”<sup>15</sup> This directly precipitated the initial modest gold find at Halls Creek in 1885, and then major discoveries at the Coolgardie-Kalgoorlie goldfields that powered the state’s economy in the late 1890s, transforming social and cultural institutions and instigating the first major wave of building construction and urban renewal. This is another intriguing aspect of the contradictions surrounding gold in Australian architecture: the extensively transformed urban centres that grew near the goldfields and significant levels of infrastructure built to sustain them (railways, roads and, in the case of WA, pipelines) marked a major contrast with the itinerant campsites at which prospectors and gold-diggers – what Belich calls the “wandering men” of gold – were based.<sup>16</sup>

The speculative investment in land and the migration of settlers on a massive scale to Australian colonies had transpired before the major gold discoveries in Victoria, Queensland and WA. It had been the opportunity to acquire land that first lured migrants. Belich reports a “mania of speculation ... throughout settler Australasia” in the 1830s that was a match

for what had occurred in the American Old West.<sup>17</sup> This, it seems, was the harbinger of modernity in the Australian context. Not gold, per se, but the promise of gold.

Alongside Turner's painting, Belich helps us to see that land and gold respectively were major instigators of speculative episodes that fuelled first colonisation and then rapid urbanisation in various parts of Australia. Most interesting is the fact that the moments of mania-induced change become crucial markers in the Australian architectural discourse. The 1830s land-grabs (notably in Perth, Melbourne and Adelaide) occurred immediately prior to the demise of what the Modernist historians were to subsequently label the 'Golden Age' of Australian Colonial architecture. The gold-rushes of the 1850s in Victoria and the 1880s-90s in Western Australia saw wealth generate extraordinary transformations in Australia's social, urban and natural environments. The 1890s period in particular stands out as a consequential moment in the narratives, capturing at once the peak of the High Victorian era, an urgent interest in National identity and a move towards a federated Australia. The evidence of these key speculative moments is with us today in the city plans and urban fabric of these places.

Around the themes of land and gold Belich, like Turner, has woven the threads of speculation, prospect, conflict and contradiction that point to the essentially modern moment in which Australia's architectural psyche formed. Most importantly, in the context of this paper, these episodes of speculation – in land and gold – reveal the shifting values around notions of 'golden' and highlight the ways that these have shaped the architectural narratives.

### Golden Age

Applied to Australian architectural history, the 'goldness' lens highlights the complex values and tensions that have been associated with gold and the golden, the fluctuating preferences for things considered 'golden' in the superlative sense. Typically these have been the pre-industrial, pre- or non-suburban, natural or restrained modes of architectural expression. Most often, for Modernist historians and architects, golden meant the clarity of white, the sheen of glass, the honesty of raw materials and uncluttered form. Ironically, to the Modernist sensibility the antithesis of golden was that fuelled by gold: the opulence and excess that gained momentum from the mid-1800s and peaked with the late 19th century gold rushes. Conversely, by the 1970s those passionate about later 19<sup>th</sup> century heritage attached the 'golden years' label to the very same era of mineral plenty that had so disturbed others.<sup>18</sup> Evidently, the value-laden associations attached to gold and the golden both generate as well as indicate zones of contention.

In the canon of architectural history this glittering adjective must surely be up there with the most frequently used of descriptive terms. Golden has had a dominating presence as an ideal, an evocation bestowed on the most direct, restrained and seemingly unselfconscious examples of architecture in Australia. Its champions have been the authors and architects subscribing to the Neo-Georgian tenet, so named initially by Bernard Smith in his review of J. M. Freeland's 1968 history.<sup>19</sup> Freeland was, of course, like Robin Boyd and Morton Herman had before him, sampling and reiterating the golden theme that had been quite literally and persuasively rendered by Hardy Wilson. His collotypes of buildings and their settings in the 1924 *Old Colonial Architecture of New South Wales and Tasmania* not merely captured but in fact cultivated and introduced to a wide audience the desired and distinctive qualities of formal simplicity, structural integrity and material directness. As well, his images conveyed something of the evanescent yet transformative properties of Australian light. Most powerfully, however, through his representations of buildings in garden landscape settings populated by pigeons and period dress, Wilson constructed a golden world.

Wilson illustrates David Lowenthal's claim that "[t]he golden age that time travellers revisit bears little resemblance, of course, to any time that ever was; like other nostalgists, they create a past out of a childhood divested of responsibilities and an imagined landscape invested with all they find missing in the modern world."<sup>20</sup> It is this nostalgic impulse that feeds what Catherine Ingraham would label a discourse of lament, revolving around the promise of an elusive golden ideal and, in turn, its corollary: the disappointment of the shattered dream.<sup>21</sup> The nostalgic lamenting that characterises much 20<sup>th</sup> century Australian architectural commentary identifies gold among other things as a source of excess. And yet it is not simply a straightforward lament for there is a message of hope captured in the idea of 'prospect' discussed below. Prospect is a key linking idea for the purpose of this paper for it connects golden reflections with the speculative aspirations fuelled by land and gold.

In the Australian architectural context, prospect figures strongly in Wilson's *The Cow Pasture Road* (1920) around discussion of an old homestead, *Greystanes*, "planted ... on Prospect Hill," upon "[d]escending from [which] the world seems desolate."<sup>22</sup> Through spatial, visual and temporal dimensions prospect is an especially persuasive and didactic narrative tool. Both retrospective as well as projective, it provides an imaginary aerial or distant vantage point from which to envisage and shape the past and the future, to highlight positive and negative characteristics of Australia's built environment. Walter Bunning and Robin Boyd demonstrate equally direct and compelling executions of the metaphor.

Bunning's *Homes in the Sun* balances progress and prospect in its subtitle: *the past, present and future of Australian housing*. The notions are more explicitly opposed in his opening double-page image, contrasting "[t]his is what Australians were promised," in 1789 and 1790, "and this is what we built," in 1945. Bunning opens with the "new vision" afforded by the aeroplane, the ultimate prospect that "enables us to look down on the city which we allowed to be built." And look down he does on "narrow ugly streets, lanes, alleys and mean pocket-handkerchief allotments ... dirty, shabby suburbs and the sprawling, shapeless towns." Bunning artfully deploys this metaphoric though 'real' (because photographic) aerial prospect – historical in scope, pictorial in form and ideological in purpose – to anticipate the "story" in "the pages which follow." His story is of the "gap between the vision and the reality; the promise which this country held and what has actually happened." It is a story of contrasts and oppositions, of golden ideals and crumpled dreams.<sup>23</sup>

The aerial prospect is again employed masterfully by Boyd who appears to have borrowed and extended it most obviously from Bunning, although John Summerson's *Georgian London* (also 1945) opens with a similar metaphoric strategy.<sup>24</sup> Their exposure to aerial footage of European cities destroyed during World War II should not be dismissed as influential. Like Bunning, Boyd favoured the prospect metaphor to gain an imaginary vantage point from where to survey and describe Australia's landscape and built terrain as well as to project the future. His *Australian Ugliness* starts and finishes with prospective thinking. Boyd constructs a sustained metaphor for the decline in Australian artistic and cultural life: "a visual descent from serenity and strength to the violence of artistic conflict."<sup>25</sup> In this Boyd merges spatial, pictorial and ideological functions of the prospect, exposing (in the descent towards land) the perceived inadequacies of the response by non-Indigenous Australians to the surface of their continent. It is a historical device providing a metaphor for the decline in taste after 1840.

Closing the book is his description of a hypothetical suburb for which he adopts as a visual and spatial metaphor to conjure pictures of a better future place. For his imaginary scene he chooses a hillside just "beyond the rim of the sprawl of any Australian city." On this hill he describes two potential development scenarios, contrasting existing and future and enlightened alternative approaches to suburban development and, respectively, their ensuing consequences and appearances. The comparison illustrates possible ways forward for suburban development, architectural design and the cultivation of a "planned community." Executed over several pages in the chapter entitled "The Innocent Era," he concludes: "[w]hen people are ready to return to the qualities of the innocent era, while restating them in twentieth-century terms ... the picture will come to life in ordinary suburbs."<sup>26</sup> Boyd's prospective thinking is, like Wilson's, grounded in nostalgia as well as hope and shows remarkable similarity to the problematic "fusion of progressivism and nostalgia" that underpins the early writing of Lewis Mumford, for example.<sup>27</sup>

The interest in the prospect strategy in the Australian narratives is tied to its somewhat ambivalent function as a theorising but also distancing tool. It seems fundamental to the expression of conflict and contradiction that is so strongly characteristic of Australian architectural discourse. Prospect possesses forward-looking speculative tendencies but also elevates its gaze to enable abstract, big-picture thinking rather than detailed consideration.<sup>28</sup> And of course through its anticipatory nature, the prospecting impulse as it relates to this paper comes to rest on both land and gold as drivers of speculative activity.

## Gold Medal

Emerging strongly from the preceding discussion is the two-way glance of the golden. In relation to the 1830s mania for land it was embedded in a simultaneously forward- and backward-looking anticipation of a southern Eden, perhaps resembling the golden garden of Turner's "Hesperides" painting. From the point of view of Australia's architectural historians it was a retrospective and nostalgic looking back to a glorious past which importantly preceded the

speculative urges for land and gold. In this dual reflex it is possible to see the origins and applications of 'golden' as a colour or substance to infer a past, or less often, future period of unsurpassed perfection.

By way of conclusion this paper turns to the awarding of Australia's 2015 architectural Gold Medal to Peter Stutchbury. The press commentary following the prize announcement on June 13, 2015, under *The Australian's* headline – "Peter Stutchbury, architecture's gold medal winner, lives in a tent" – Lifestyle columnist Kate Legge described the "humble canvas dwelling" that houses the winner of the "profession's highest honour." This apparent contradiction captured the conflation, long-celebrated in Australian architecture, of virtue with austerity, restraint, and simplicity. Stutchbury, of course, received the award for the design of buildings significantly more permanent, complex and costly than tents, though perhaps conceptually sharing with the tent the simplicity of functional and material expression. Gold? Or golden?

Implicit in this column is the value placed by the Australian architectural fraternity on spatial and material qualities that, as Ernst Gombrich would suggest, indicate a taste for the hard rather than soft: a preference for the primitive.<sup>29</sup> These are the qualities universally appreciated by a Modernist sensibility and that from the early twentieth century in Australia came to be retrospectively associated with pre-1840 'Old Colonial' architecture from Australia's 'Golden Age.' By 1840 the halcyon days were gone. Historians point to a number of factors as contributing to the demise: the ascension of Queen Victoria to the throne in 1837, the rise of Romanticism in Europe, and the discovery of gold in Victoria just after California in the 1850s. So gold, it seems, does not necessarily beget golden. However, golden, such as exemplified by Stutchbury's architecture, is considered a gold-winner.

Multiple threads can be drawn from this 2015 episode, linking to the others discussed above. These threads variously follow the alignment of restraint and simplicity with the golden, and the incongruous contrast between the wealth and asceticism that exist side by side in both the Stutchbury tent example as well as on Australia's 19<sup>th</sup> century goldfields.

The early 19<sup>th</sup> century age of mass migration and settler-colonisation was characterised by a speculative sensibility that found concurrent expression in – or rather drove – a mania for land; desire for gold; the rise of suburbia and associated transport innovations and mobility; and growth of the middle classes. This paper has touched on the many ambiguities associated with gold including the perpetuation of the golden as an ideal and an associated conflict between exuberance and restraint. This tells us something about the heritage and transformations of our modern values and that, indeed, contradiction is a defining feature of Australian cultural life and our collective architectural expression. The gold filter allows us to bring into sharp focus the coexistence in architecture of forms and values that are oppositional and diverse.

#### (Endnotes)

- 1 Ian Berryman, ed., *Swan River Letters* (Glengarry, W.A.: Swan River Press, c.2002), 39.
- 2 Edmund de Waal, *The White Road: a pilgrimage of sorts* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2015); Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: a global history* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2015); Siobhan Carroll, *An Empire of Air and Water: Uncolonizable Space in the British Imagination, 1750-1850* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, Inc. 2015).
- 3 There is no room to explore this fully here but the interest in mythological gardens and the emergence of the suburb as an ideal landscape and lifestyle model appear contemporaneous from about 1815 in Britain, the United States and, shortly thereafter, in Australia.
- 4 J.C. Loudon, *An encyclopædia of gardening, comprising the theory and practice of horticulture, floriculture, arboriculture, and landscape gardening; including all the latest improvements; a general history of gardening in all countries; and a statistical view of its present state; with suggestions for its future progress in the British isles* (London: Printed for Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1835). See especially Part 1, Book 1, Chapter 1: "Of the Origin and Progress of Gardening in the earliest Ages of Antiquity, or from the remotest Traditions, to the Foundation of the Roman Empire."
- 5 Hermione De Almeida and George H. Gilpin, *Indian Renaissance: British romantic art and the prospect of India* (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, c.2005), 293.
- 6 James A. Schmiechen, "The Victorians, the Historians, and the Idea of Modernism," *The American Historical Review*, 93(1988): 292.

- 7 Letter quoted in Berryman, *Swan River Letters*, 39.
- 8 De Almedia and Gilpin, 293.
- 9 Jeremy Foster, *Washed with Sun: landscape and the making of white South Africa* (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008), 119-21. Scottish lawyer John Buchan went to South Africa in 1901 during the Boer War, charged with "attracting the British settlers ... to the region [which it was believed could be] a prosperous and loyal part of the empire after the war." Buchan described the area of 'The Woodbush' – in northeastern Transvaal – as "an earthly paradise," and until his death ... remembered it as "'the true Hesperides.'"
- 10 Walter Pater, *The Renaissance: studies in art and poetry: the 1893 text* (Berkeley: University of California Press, c. 1980), 107.
- 11 George P. Landow, *The Aesthetic and Critical Theories of John Ruskin* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1971). See Chapter 5 "Ruskin and Allegory"; and also De Almedia and Gilpin, 292.
- 12 De Almedia and Gilpin, 293.
- 13 James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: the settler revolution and the rise of the Anglo-world 1783-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 309.
- 14 Belich, 309, citing Ian Tyrell, "Peripheral Visions: California-Australian environmental contacts, c. 1850s-1910," *Journal of World History*, 8 (1997): 275-302.
- 15 Geoffrey Bolton, *Land of Vision and Mirage: Western Australia since 1826* (Crawley, W.A.: UWA Press, 2008), 45.
- 16 Belich, 324.
- 17 Belich, 267.
- 18 See for example Ray and John Oldham, *George Temple Poole: architect of the golden years 1885-1897* (Nedlands, W.A.: UWA Press, 1980).
- 19 Bernard Smith, "Architecture in Australia," *Historical Studies*, 14:53 (1969).
- 20 David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge Cambridgeshire; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 25.
- 21 Catherine Ingraham, *Architecture and the Burdens of Linearity* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1998), 139.
- 22 Hardy Wilson, *The Cow Pasture Road* (Sydney: Art in Australia, 1920), 8.
- 23 Walter Bunning, *Homes in the Sun: the past, present and future of Australian housing* (Sydney: W.J. Nesbit, 1945), 6-8.
- 24 John Summerson, *Georgian London* (London: Pleiades Books, 1945).
- 25 Robin Boyd, *The Australian Ugliness* (Ringwood, Vic.: Penguin Books, F.W. Cheshire, 1968 Rev. ed), 21-23.
- 26 Boyd, *Australian Ugliness*, 171-175 (my emphasis).
- 27 Mark Linder, "Mumford's Metaphors: *Sticks and Stones* versus Ships and the Sea," *Journal of Architectural Education*, 46 (1992): 95. There are many interesting parallels to be found in the work of Boyd and Lewis Mumford. See Linder for discussion of Mumford's use of figurative language and rhetorical strategies, and the lasting influence of Mumford's work on American architects and scholars. Mumford's 1961 *The City in History: its origins, its transformations, and its prospects* continues the exploration of prospect as a narrative device.
- 28 On the gendering of the prospect see J.M. Labbe, *Romantic Visualities: landscape, gender, and romanticism* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan Press; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998).
- 29 E.H. Gombrich, *The Preference for the Primitive: Episodes in the history of western taste and art* (London; New York: Phaidon Press, 2002), 8-9.