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COLONIAL URBAN MORPHOLOGIES: AN INQUIRY INTO TYPOLOGY AND EVOLUTION PATTERN

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Abstract: Characteristics of a city's morphology and its evolution can only be studied within the context in which different phases of development or evolution took place. With this understanding in mind a comparative study has been done. It is observed that the Colonialists often created a dual urban regional system favoring the development of the major coastal cities tied to their home economy and the extraction of wealth from the inland regions. However, it is believed that under national rule, what ever the colonizers have produced will be observed, deliberated and re-evaluated time and again, for positive assimilation of useful ideas. As these are the ideas of a civilization that has emerged and experienced through t he ages but under different environment. This assimilation in spirit may eventually give direction towards a valid and authentic architecture and urban morphology suited to the land and the people.

Key words: Colonial rule; Civilization; Urbanization; Urban morphology; Physical manifestation

Introduction

Characteristics of a city's morphology and its evolution can only be studied within the context in which different phases of development or evolution took place. Urbanization that resulted, for example, in indigenous context as compared with urbanization stimulated under colonial auspices (Davis, 1960) is readily observable as evidenced in size of city, type of development, density of population, characteristics of housing and facilities etc. Location of certain cities on being at trade routes by sea placed certain cities, such as Colombo, Singapore and Hong Kong in particular good setting for growth. Colonial cities with imported work force from another colony to assist the colonizers in exploiting the resources such as Chinese in Kuala Lumpur, Indians to Singapore or Kampala forming a third sector in urban morphology gave the city a different character. Singapore, for example, founded by Stamford Raffles in 1819 is remarkable for its planning which incorporated the strict segregation of ethnic groups - the same pattern still persists (Fig. 1).

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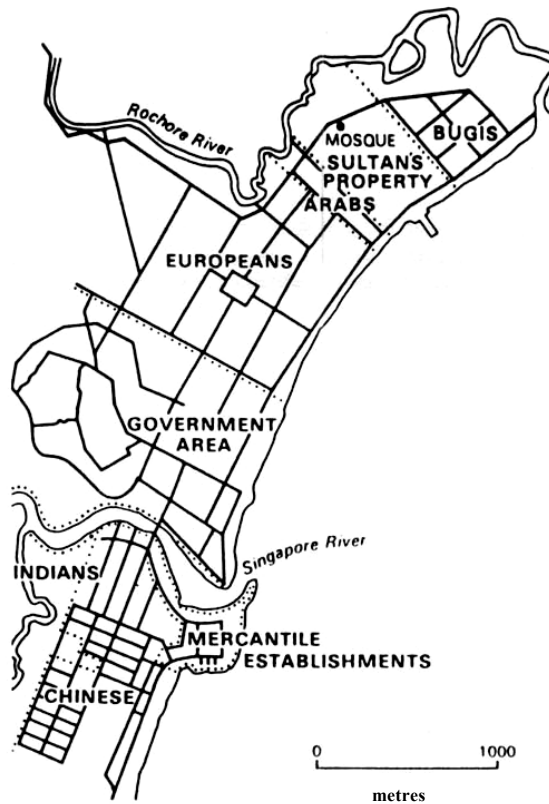


Fig. 1. Plan of Raffles for Singapore-1828 shows ethnic segregation (Mc Gee, 1967).

Typology of Colonization

Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, British, French, German, Belgian and Italian styles of expansion were in many respects quite different. Kind of territory or civilizations encountered also affected the evolving urban form. European influence also changed through the time. The style of the British in India changed markedly from the days of the East India Company to the Viceroyalty, and the effect of Spanish colonialism in 16th. Century was very different from that in the early 19th. Century. Even within a single colony at a given historical moment, the ideology of government officials may differ fundamentally from those of settlers and missionaries, while different classes of non-European may be perceived and treated in very different ways. It is, therefore, difficult to generalize the pattern of colonial urban morphologies. However, it may be possible to categorize colonial urban patterns under broad characteristics.

In America and Australia extensive European settlement and extermination of the indigenous people created a new demographic structure. In the Caribbean, indigenous population was destroyed and replaced by African slaves. In the Spanish America, both extermination and racial mixing occurred. In Latin America the Spanish removed most signs of conquered civilization. The great cities of the Incas and the Aztecs were demolished and replaced by new Iberian forms (Gilbert and Gugler, 1982). There is a long list of ancient cities faced with similar fate under colonizers. In Asia and Africa, European colonization had little demographic effect. Although, their goal was to seek economic profit, yet, the colonizers themselves were of diverse character. The urban morphological imprints due to colonization were naturally diverse. Myrdal (1971) in his *Asian Drama* compared the colonial phase of Indian Sub Continent with that of colonial phase of Dutch and French colonies. The Dutch and the French, according to him, were quite ruthless in their colonies, and they kept the average native out of modern employment and administration. Whereas, England, he continues, allowed a good deal of local participation and other kind of jobs.

Colonialists often created a dual urban regional system favoring the development of the major coastal cities tied to their home economy and the extraction of wealth from the inland regions (Breese, 1966). Physical expression was naturally different in two cases, although being in the similar geo-climatic or sociological context. A series of cities in the African and Asian coast testify to the first category while most of the indigenous cities which expanded during colonial rule fall in the second category. Examples of the first category could be Calcutta, Bombay and Casablanca while Lahore, Ahmedabad, Delhi and Fez may be grouped in the second category. Cities that have been exposed both to indigenous and colonial growth influences as well as subsequent growth during the period of national emergence could be another typology for study. In this category are the cities like Delhi, Lahore, Ahmedabad, Dhaka, Rabat, Saigon, Hanoi and many others. The last category of cities having more similarities in the evolutionary process may be taken as a typology for this study (Fig. 2).

Context of Evolution

Although there are deviations, fundamental characteristics of pre-medieval urban morphology of these cities may be broadly categorized into two groups. The cluster of settlements on the basis of caste/tribe characterized the first group and craft concept; the cities like Dhaka, Ahmedabad, Lahore, Delhi, Rabat, Fez etc. may be categorized in this group. In the second group, the main characteristics being the typical gated streets, the *Thi-tran* or market village having only narrow paths crossing a principal street, with bamboo paling at each end of the main axial thoroughfare and an open area all round for security reasons. Saigon and Hanoi fall in this group. Both types of settlements evolved at major trade routes or as administrative centers, where topography and locational aspect sometimes played a major role in their evolving morphology.

Each *mahalla* in the first category used to center on a *kulliye/chawk* consisting basically of a school and a market and occasionally a place of worship (George Michell, 1978).

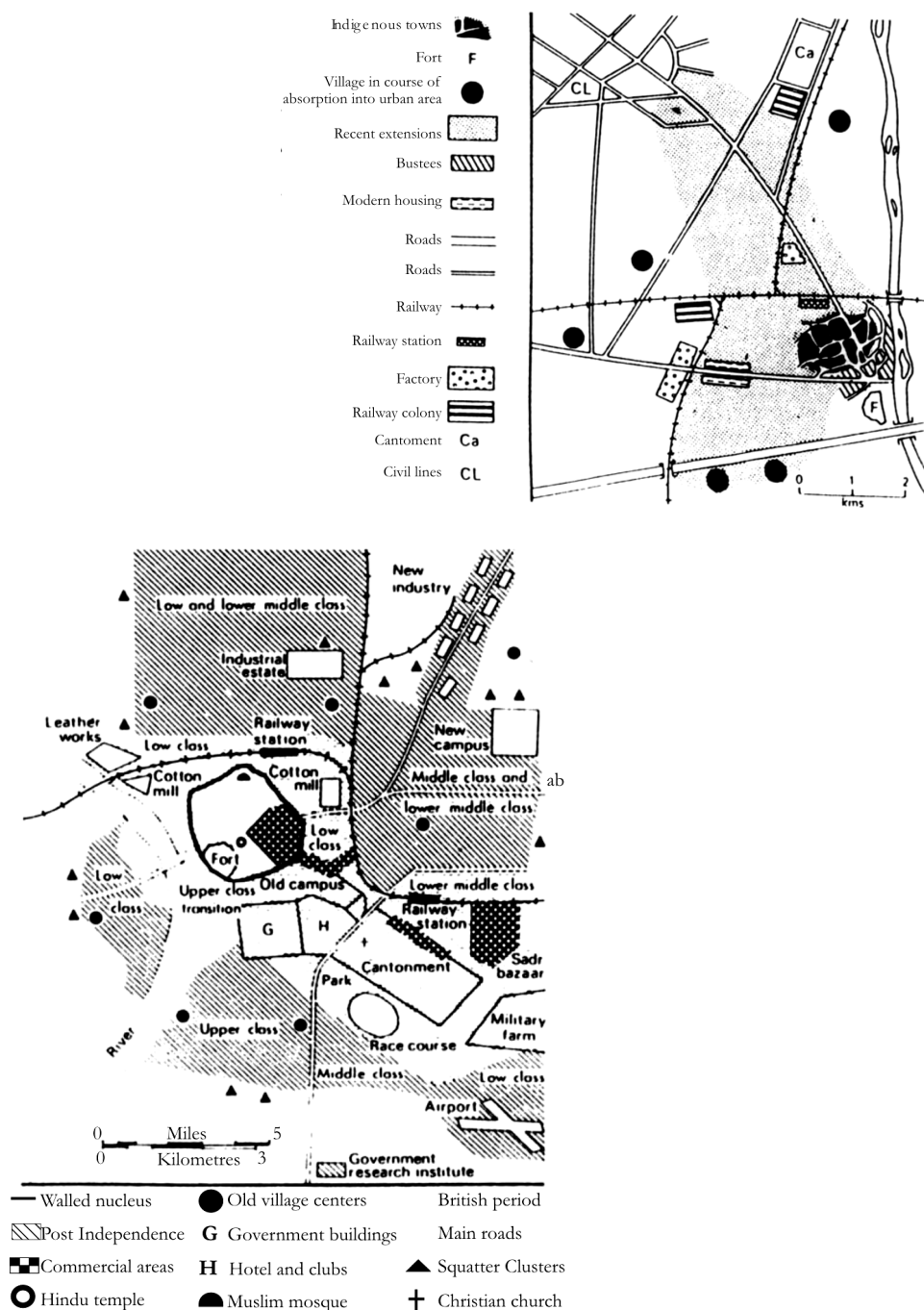


Fig. 2. Morphological model of a city of the South Asian region (After Derek, 1980 and Scargill, 1979).

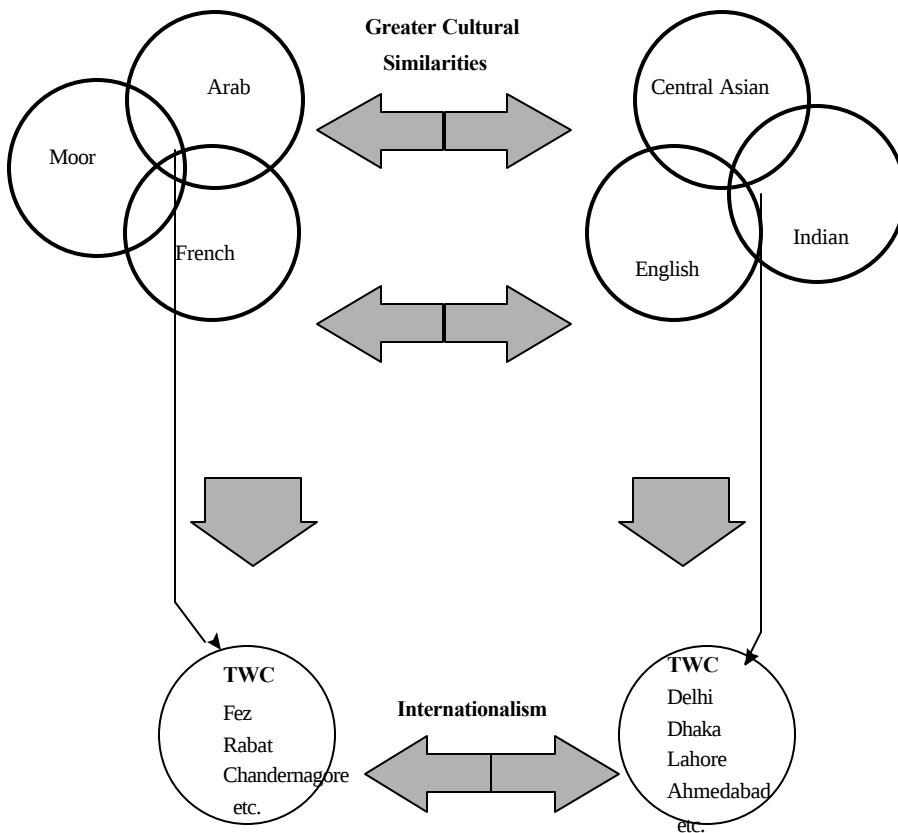


Diagram showing growth and context of the British and French colonial cities.
Case Study: North Africa and South Asia

Most typical of these were Delhi, Rabat and Lahore. In case of Dhaka, Fez, Ahmedabad, though presenting a similar pattern, were to some extent influenced by their earlier indigenous morphology. In all the cases the city was protected by defensive walls with gates at important directions but in case of Dhaka, topography provided the necessary defense with a series of defense outposts along the rivers. As major route towards Dhaka was by river and due to the same reason Dhaka grew longitudinally during the medieval period as opposed to other comparable cities. In these cities, although *mahalla* loyalties centered on the services of religious institutions or schools, tanks/*ghats*/wells etc., defense was also an important spur to organization. Some *mahallas* were, of course, single-cast/lineage /profession residential areas. But an equally common pattern was the community evolved around gentry's house (*Katra/Haveli/Deory*). Nucleus of such *mahallas* were occupied by a single extended family and their descendent and these were grouped together into single security areas, which provided their own defense and police on the basis of a general levy decided upon by the local civic bodies (Mowla, 1997).

Property documents in the municipality record rooms at Dhaka, Lahore, Delhi and Ahmedabad show that many of these *mahallas* were multi-cast/ multi-professional residential areas - and the state had little role in their organization (Bailey, 1983). They were almost autonomous cells in the indigenous city and acted as a unit. The term "cellular" has been used by Scargill (1979) to describe these indigenous cities, in which the social life of the population is closely identified with particular *mahallas*.

At Saigon and Hanoi, as Wright (1991) has pointed out, the medieval development was much less vulnerable than their earlier *thi-tran* typology. It had, with *thanh-pho* or citadel, its streets wider and often arranged in a grid, protected all along its regular periphery by walls and moats whose ornamentation and proportions were decided by royal geomancies.

Impact of Colonization

It is observed that the colonial impact resulted in the partial break down of a traditional, territorial - based social structure associated with religious, ethnic, caste and socio-occupational criteria and the building up of a new, territorial - based system of class linked to occupational, socio-economic and racial groupings. The transformation that took place in North Africa, India or Indochina clearly had its bearing on European mentality. The newly founded cities, after destruction, transformation and distortion of indigenous civilization, reflected the new power structures and exercised functions relevant to the interests of Europe. Older cities, like Delhi, Dhaka or Lahore, that survived had to modify it to cater to the needs of the colonizers.

Sources of Impact: Most of the colonial cities in the above-mentioned areas owe their morphology to the early French experience (at Pondicherry and Chandernagore) in India. The strategy of building a few grand buildings to impress local rulers and European rival powers is very clear in the English colonies in India and Africa, and also French colonies in Indochina and North Africa. Government house fulfilled the role of the palace of an Indian ruler. Although many of the imposing buildings built by the French in India, were destroyed (Fergusson, 1891) they served as a prototype, as Nilsson (1968) suggested, for European colonial mansions in India, particularly the British, in their later strategy to display their power and wealth, through architecture and built environment. The British, originally built, in India, in ways similar to other Europeans, but later after consolidating their power seem to have become more directly influenced by French constructions. This is also evident even in eighteenth, early nineteenth, late nineteenth and early twentieth century developments in Dhaka where intensity of the British involvement and interest was much less.

Pattern of grid iron layout and the separation of colonial town from the natives as evolved in Pondicherry and Chandernagore was almost the same *cordon sanitaire* that was to appear in Morocco a few hundred years later. Special efforts were made to maintain the regularity of the French town regarding which the English were not so particular. According to Nilsson (1968), the basic morphology of all colonial cities in India had their

roots in Daman, the Portuguese town founded in India in 1558. The town was based on medieval European concepts of fortified chessboard plan with the fort in the center as a recurring feature but, of course, later settlements employed more advanced patterns (Fig. 3 and 4).

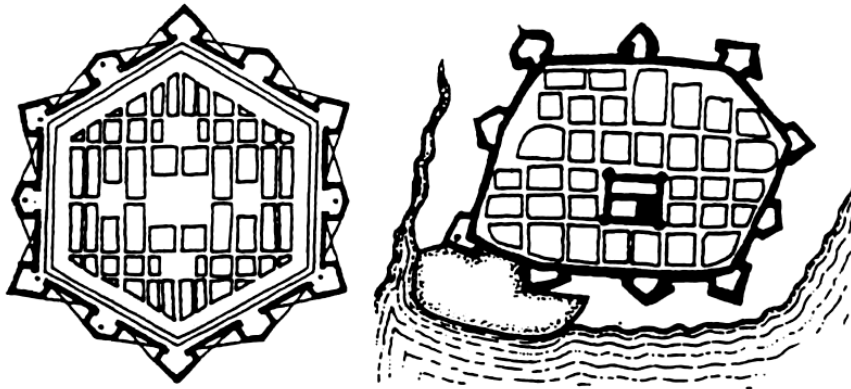


Fig. 3. Plan of Daman, a town founded by the Portuguese in India in 1558.

Development of a Pattern: In all the colonial cities, structural transformation usually began in modest ways with the establishment of trading houses/ factories and trading ports, though in case of the Spanish intervention, in most of the cases force was employed at the outset. Another point to note in the Third World Cities experiencing colonization, resulted in hybrid structures, pretending to behave as a capitalistic system and partly bear the features of the previously existing system.

In most of these cities, the indigenous main market place is supplemented by younger western style central business district. Some distance usually separates these two centers. Industrial activity may - and does - appear almost anywhere in these cities. However, French sponsored settlements show more rigid functional zonings. In these colonial settlements, European sectors present relative openness, greenness, order and quiet, making them sharply out of character with the indigenous sectors to which they were attached.

Where European influence had not been so great or so early as to shape the city, the more common indigenous pattern reflecting uncontrolled growth prevails with mixed land use and smaller but numerous foci of activity. This duality in character is termed by Brush (1962) and Bose (1973) as Dual City, while King (1976; 1980) labeled them as old and new town but McGee (1971) preferred to call them cultural and administrative cities. In the colonial towns, the grid layout separated and segregated senior from junior, English from natives. Security and health considerations led to gardens or water bodies being laid out to separate the staid and open "lines" from the lively city. One of the most noticeable features of these cities is their combination of very high population density in relatively small areas and relatively low population density over other large areas. Contrasting road

circulation pattern with convoluted pattern in the indigenous quarters and combined grid-diagonal feature in the colonial sector is yet another noticeable element in these cities.

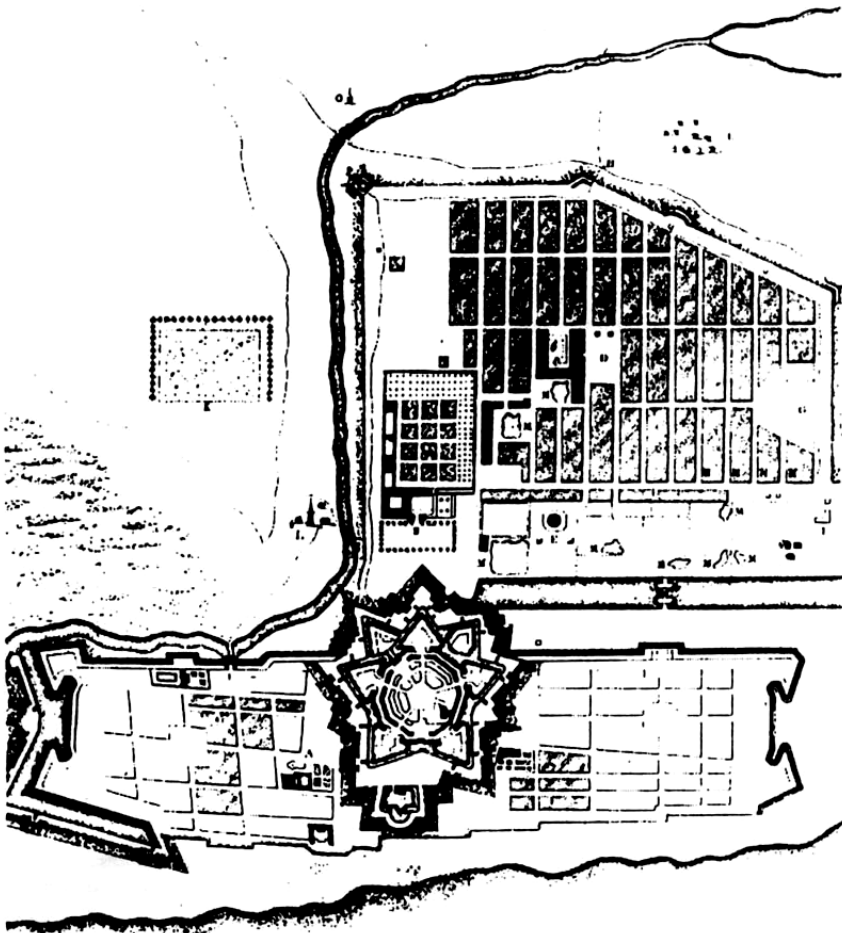


Fig. 4. Plan of Pondicherry, a town founded by the French in India.

Urban Morphology under the Spanish Colonizers

Throughout Spain's sprawling empire, colonial towns and cities functioned as powerful implements of spatial organization, social changes, Christian conversion, regional administration, and economic exploitation. Since Spanish urbanism in Latin America had a different context, that review has been omitted from this study. Manila is perhaps, the best example for this review. Hispanic administrators there laid the plan of the city according to the Royal Ordinances concerning the laying out of New Towns. There was

no urbanization in the area prior to Spanish settlement, which was protected by walls and moats- dug out to protect it from landward exposure. Streets in the walled city were laid out in gridiron pattern, with a large "plaza mayor" for the formal gatherings of citizenry. There were also *plaza de armas* for military drills, and minor squares for social activities of neighborhood groupings. Sizable areas were allocated for cathedrals, monasteries, chapels, a fort, and various government buildings. Manila's configuration, with its grid pattern, squares; monumental buildings and avenues reflected a popular image of Spanish experience in America (Fig. 5).

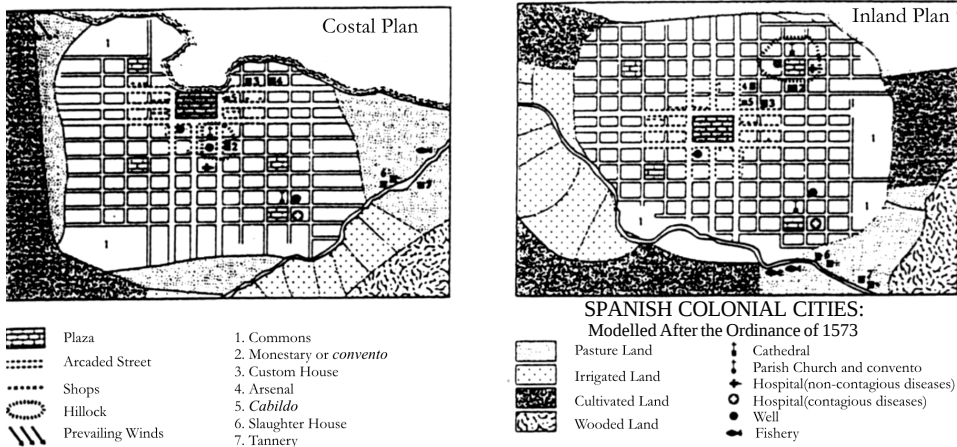


Fig. 5. Plan of Hispanic colonial cities based on Royal Ordinance (Nuttall, 1921).

In contrast to other colonial cities in Asia, colonizers in Manila were located within the walled area, which gradually got congested. In contrast to tightly built, treeless and congested walled city, the suburbs seemed to blend urban and rural environments. The morphology outside the wall had more in common with contemporary Southeast Asian cities. To avoid congestion, many Spaniards began to dwell among the Filipinos and other Asian immigrants, outside the fortified area, along the riverbank and its estuaries, producing a distinctive landscape of palatial houses surrounded by ornamental gardens, carefully tended vegetable plots, fruit groves, and even enclosed bathing areas in the bay (Fig. 6).

Spanish Colonial Policy: The Spanish, fresh from their heady *conquista* in the Americas were the natural leader in the Philippines with a blue print of colonization. Unlike, other contemporary colonies in Asia, the Spanish in the Philippines had little challenge or resistance from the natives. The powerful immigrants from China were a possible threat but it seems they did not have any political ambition. Another significant factor in the Spanish colonization was a well-conceived and integrated policy of control of land and religious conversion of local population. Therefore, unlike other colonial countries, the Spanish blue print of colonization was an integrated program of social, religious, economic and political transformation - all of which was and still reflected spatially.

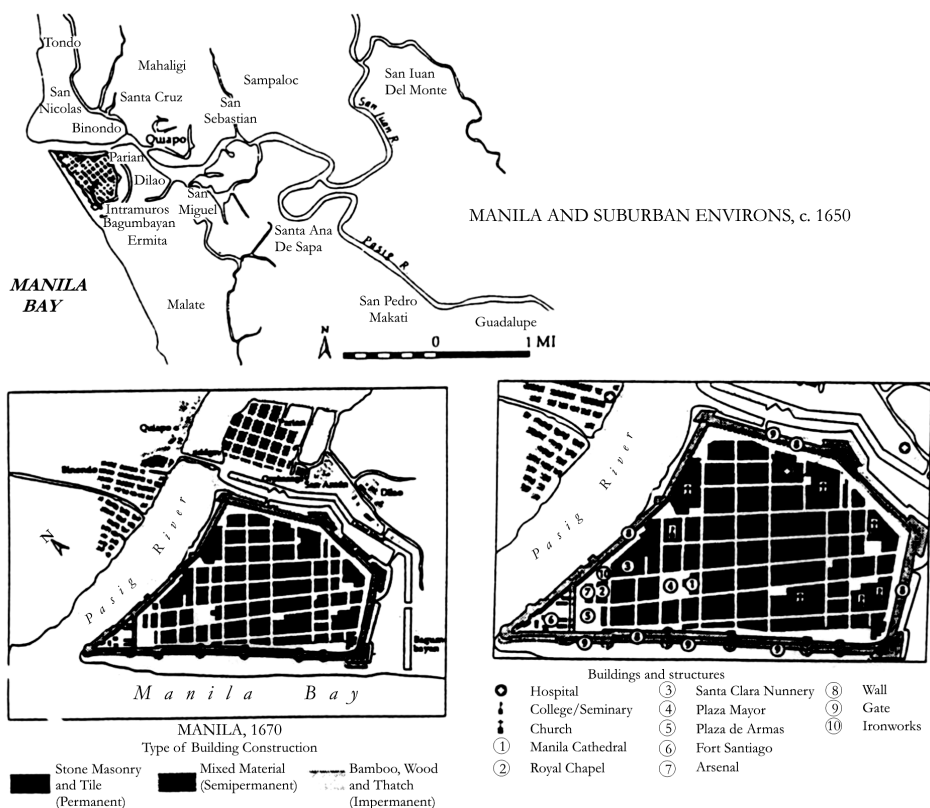


Fig. 6. Plan of Manila after a century of Spanish rule.

The Ethnic Minorities in the Urban Fabric: Population of Chinese immigrants, called *sangleys*, was quite substantial at Manila and had exerted considerable influence in the trade and commerce. In 1570, the Spaniards apparently exercised little control over Chinese settlements. With the increase in their number, Spanish fear also grew which was expressed in the Spanish adoption of the policy of communal segregation, to allow for easier supervision of alien Asians. Buffer zones were created between Spanish areas and other Asian settlements, which were otherwise essential for the survival of the city.

Despite a hostile geo-political environment, the Chinese in the suburbs of Parian and Binondo were able to preserve their own culture and society. They reclaimed the surrounding marshes, canalized streams, organized quadrangular blocks of shophouses, and made their sector, Manila's commercial and craft center. Japanese immigrants, though less in number, formed a third distinctive ethnic group. They were isolated at a small suburb (Dilao), but nurtured a cultural atmosphere reflective of Japan. Other than the segregated areas assigned for potentially rebellious aliens, the other areas developed without Spanish interventions and seem to have been based primarily on class and occupational differentiation.

Urban Morphologies under the British and the French

The English and the French were the two European countries that have influenced the morphology of many third world cities. The basic settlement morphology and prevailing focus did change, of course, even in the history of a single national culture; a fixed size or expansive boundaries; an emphasis on commerce, administration, health or the arts; highly visible planning regulations or less rigid 'organic' environment. Beneath such formal variations, the new cities of colonial realm usually shared a fundamental reference to the European countries that sponsored them what the French called the *metropole* and the British termed metropolitan society. The following sections examine the comparative attitude of these two colonizers towards their colonies.

Colonial Policy: The then member of the supreme council of India Thomas Babington Macaulay, declared that it was British policy to create, *a class*, in his words *of persons Indian in blood and color but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellects*. This was the middle class, which was destined to play a more fundamental role, even in the post-colonial years. Macaulay's total confidence in the superiority of western civilization helped shape the British perception of Indian civilization in mid 19th century and secondly, formed a rational and intellectual Indian attitude towards Indian civilization (Jones, 1989 and Marshall 1987). Martial Merlin, the Governor-General of French East Africa claimed that conquering state does not possess property since it can at any time take possession of it (Brunhes, 1925). This attitude is reflected in massive physical development of French colonial cities. Merlin (quoted in Wright, 1991) emphasized that ... *Now this state can be determined only by exploitation and by creating value. The land must be given only to those who exploit it and make it useful*. The English practiced a similar policy in some of their colonies and a classic example of this attitude is the British colonial city of Hong Kong. Article VI of the French constitution of the year III, 1795 declared the colonies as integral parts of the republic and therefore subjects to the same constitutional law. This law had particularly striking spatial implications, many North African indigenous cities were razed to the ground to create French replica.

Even the European emphasis on "no interference" had its advantages, in that it implied no need to provide modern amenities to the native quarters. The various taxes that were collected for urban development went to pay for municipal improvements and services that primarily benefited the European districts of cities. Quite natural to the colonizers' psychology, the Europeans considered their colonies "uncivilized" and therefore, did not allow them to continue their traditions to accommodate modern needs. Particularly the French commitment to a *mission civilatrice* had striking spatial implications. It will not be out of place to note Hebrard's (Urban Designer of Hanoi) remark as quoted by Wright (1991, p. 207).

Let us hope that French urbanism has found an experimental terrain in Indochina that will be fertile in producing results. It is especially in countries still young that this modern science, which consists above all in predicting future developments and putting current circumstances in order, will facilitate the construction of healthy, convenient cities which are pleasant to live in.

Only with a myopic focus on the European colonial presence could one see either Indochina or the Indian sub-continent as a "Young Country" and therefore, could direct their efforts on urbanization accordingly. Whenever, they laid out settlements out of their own necessity, naturally their principal goals involved European theory rather than native culture.

By the turn of the century, the French concept of colonial power fell into two camps, similar to British Lord Bentinck's and Warren Hastings, in the case of India, one asserting universal principles or assimilation approach as before and the other promoting respect for cultural differences or association approach. Associationist claimed that respect of the traditional way of life, when combined with social services might counter resistance far more effectively than military strength. But Rene' Mounier (1932) exposed an underside to the preservation strategies so integral to associationist colonial policy. Mounier remarked that the tendency sometimes desired by the rulers to preserve and confirm the native in their own traditions, to fix and fossilize them therein, has sometimes gone so far as to arrest the natural evolution of the native traditions, which are in fact plastic, growing things.

In India Lord Ripon granted a greater share in matters of local and municipal administration to the natives in the management and superintendence of their own affairs. In France the Chamber of Deputies officially approved the French associationist policy for colonies in 1917. However, the approach was not entirely original as observed before, because, they admired the English system of colonization, especially the general principle of "indirect rule". The English used the local elite and existing institutions of power, rather than imposing European authority in the destructive way, which had characterized French, and English colonial exploits of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Indirect rule was, after all, a manipulation of appearances intended to pacify the local population and relax antagonistic feelings between two communities. However, Wright (1991, p. 17) declares that, in neither instance did the ultimate goal revolve around cultural benevolence; the authors were searching for a policy that would make European economic and political power work more effectively, reducing the need for force. In its implementation, this colonial policy tended to have a strong basis in architecture and urban reforms.

Socio-Cultural Attitude: The British had evolved a system of control for towns, which relied on the collector's *darbar*, civil courts and a highly downgraded *Kotwal* (similar to Sheriff) and *Kazi* (Judge) under Bengal regulation 39 of 1793 (Mowla, 1999). Judicial powers were transferred from the office of *Kotwal* and *Kazi* to Magistrate. But *panchayets*/local civic bodies of individual *mohallas* retained much of their vitality and independence from political intervention. The bodies of merchants, ascetic traders and powerful urban land holders who had aided the British in their rise in power saw their influence grow as the pressure of superior authority was removed from them in commercial matters.

These changes in social structure had an influence on physical morphology of the cities in India under study. The moral obligation of nobles and notables to develop or look after

their community diminished with the gradual enforcement of different regulatory measures. The levy of taxation, as an example, had distinct ideological connotation as described by Scott (1976). It was after all an act of exchange - the exchange of coinage as tribute for protection. Men were ranked according to what they gave and received. The British concept of taxation was based on different assumptions. These related to theory of individual obligation and civic duty and tended to the welfare and utility of the community. Simply, an individual had an obligation to provide according to his means whereas in Indian case, it was a ruler's duty to give exemptions according to a man's honor and the charity he distributes.

Experimental Terrain: In the French colonial cities the officials sponsored a high quality of public and private architecture, both in new construction and in the preservation of historic structures; the style in each case, represented a conscious effort to blend modernistic forms with traditional motifs, responding to the local context rather than imposing a supposedly universal aesthetic. The French saw their colonies as "*Champs d'expérience*" or experimental terrain where one could carry out controlled tests on distinctive cultural settings. The French colonialists, as Wright (1991) suggests, were searching for universal rules, on the one hand, principles of urban design and urban policy that could be applied effectively in any context; and for the meaning of cultural particularities. On the other hand, they were looking for the specifics of artistic tradition, environment, and social life that defined each place, qualifying the kinds of change that would be feasible.

The British, at the initial stages of company rule, did not involve themselves much in physical developmental affairs. There was less interference, but few improvements. Afterwards with the adoption of the strategy of "how India should be ruled" by interventionists like Lord Bentinck over conservatives like Warren Hastings, the attitude shifted towards rapid westernization by initiating the policies of reform. This was not to convey the benefits of west but to substitute civilization, for local tradition (Mowla, 1995).

The approach of urban development in French colonies - Indochina, Morocco and Madagascar were each indeed more advanced than France itself. Wright (1991) noted that the colonies had far reaching legislation controlling building and requiring plans for future development. The first urban legislation of 1914 in Morocco, requiring master plans for all cities, preceded by almost five years the passage of similar (but not so far reaching) legislation with respect to French cities, and by two years the famous New York zoning regulation. They implemented the legislation.

The Colonial Cities were the symbol of Imperial power - and "ugly", overcrowded slums and narrow streets seemed to tarnish that grand image. Poverty-economic and social - were often ignored as root causes for the creation of slums and unhygienic living conditions; instead, "overbuilding" accompanied by "overcrowding" was cited as the major reason behind the formation of slums (Richard, 1914). Without a sympathetic understanding of indigenous way of life, a dearth of knowledge about traditional urban forms and a clearly evident cultural bias amongst the planners and administrators, the

interventions became a hindrance to the healthy development of cities and towns in the colonial period.

Spatial Manifestation of Colonial Policy: In the eyes of most Europeans, colonial settings cited above had both sides of an inherent cultural dichotomy: the voluptuously ornamented temples or grand mosque and primitive housing conditions evoked a foreign way of life, fascinating yet far beneath their own, while the straight, tree-lined streets and new buildings in European districts exemplified the benefits of "civilization". Wright (1991, p. 219) observes that ... *the process of conceiving and implementing plans for colonial cities reveals European notions about how a good environment - including their own - should look and function. This projected ideal has been a dominant aspect of colonial urbanism throughout history.*

British colonial architecture and planning were normally controlled and directed from Britain without its architects ever visiting its sites. Edwin Lutyens, planner of New Delhi was, however, one of the significant exceptions to replace the Mughal magnificence with English presence. In the French colonies, as Wright (1991) testifies, Lyautey is most remembered for having developed a well-articulated policy towards the colonial built environment. He served in almost all the French colonies, and hired well-known architects to work directly in the colonial cities e.g. at Rabat, Fez, Saigon, Hanoi etc.

It was quite natural for the colonial powers to build in their colonies whatever suited their purpose best (Figs. 1 and 2). Whenever they did some thing (if any) purely for the native community they did so in their own way without local participation - a practice that was quite common in their own countries. The term modernization as implied in the colonies was a shift from a local market to international capitalism, from production based on self-sufficiency and exchange to a system that responds only to distant consumer market. Together with these systemic changes came an array of highways and railroads, factories and plantations, banking and insurance firms, all geared to large-scale production and trade (Zahiruddin and Mowla, 1985). These patterns of social changes were too intense for easy assimilation into a host culture and therefore socially disruptive.

Comparison of the British and the French Colonial Urban Morphologies: Wright (1991) suggests that the instability and weakness of political authority, both at France and at Indochina, encouraged grandiose and vain acts of assertiveness. Civic architecture tried to convey the impression of authority and continuity where they by no means existed. In India, after the end of the French revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, the settlements of Pondicherry, Chandernagore, Mahe etc. were restored to the French under the peace treaty of 20th Nov., 1815. Among these settlements Chandernagore was in Bengal. Under the treaty, the French were not to fortify any of their settlements. The French were entitled under the terms to take possession of the subordinate factories at Dhaka but since the old buildings there were completely in ruins and administrative cost would have exceeded profits, they abandoned their claim. It is understandable that since the French did not have much political and economic stake in their Indian holdings, they did not thought to make their presence felt by elaborate architecture or urban design as they did in their colonies in North Africa and Indochina. River front promenade at Chandernagore

is perhaps the most striking feature of this French settlement that still appeals to the city dwellers.

French settlement (*Farashganj* or French *Ganj*) at Dhaka was located on a prime land at pre-Mughal portion of Dhaka. Evidence suggests that the main French settlement was beyond the *Farashganj* road leaving a strip of land between the riverbank and the road as a natural river front promenade. During the British supremacy, this land was gradually leased out to the newly emerging local elite to build their mansions. British Civil Line also was gradually developed in the area. It may be mentioned here that the *ander-mahal* of *Ahsan Manzil* was an old French factory, purchased by Alimullah (Mowla, 1989), a local business man in 1838, and converted into his residence.

The British were more diplomatic and less radical in their attitude than the French at the very outset of colonization. In the beginning the French tried to be too assertive physically as exemplified at Saigon and Algiers. When the French captured Algiers in the mid nineteenth century, the destruction of the existing city - its streets, its monuments, and its population - seemed to be the primary goal, replacing the indigenous settlements by a monotonous grid iron plan. The policy, known as *razzia*, adopted by Marshal Thomas Bugeaud, cleared major Arab monuments and structures to make way for barracks and parade grounds, even destroying the *casbah*, the ancient center of the city. Similarly the French who, then, erected a number of French cultural emblems -cafes, racetrack, lavish opera house, post office as well as palaces for the new government - before installing civic amenities burned Saigon in 1859.

French colonial cities, though segregated like the British colonies on ethnic lines, were more elaborate in functional zoning. In most of these colonial cities, the early 20th century extensions had more rational zoning plans that override the individualistic economic interest that had heretofore, determined the pattern of growth in these cities. Besides the indigenous quarters, the French colonial cities of early twentieth century basically comprised five functional zones i.e. administrative center, residential district, recreational space, commercial districts and industrial sectors. On the other hand British colonial cities had two professional zones that of civil lines, cantonment and where railway was introduced a third professional zone - that of railway colony. Within each of these zones were some informal sub zones. In the British India there were no elaborate building regulations, however, nothing undesirable to the colonialist could pass through the respective committees, as those were all headed by the English officers. The building regulations in Morocco or Indochina called *police des constructions* although not directly dictated 'style', yet they did set rigorous guidelines for scale, materials, services or alignment. Specific regulations required that street facades and even the landscaping of public gardens be in a style, which would harmonize with the architectural character of surroundings.

The following table summarizes the more common differences between the urbanization under two major European colonizers during last centuries:

Table-1. Comparative study of the English and the French colonial urbanization.

English Policy and its Implications	French Policy and its Implications
01. In the initial phases, established settlements and factories away from indigenous seats of power.	01. In the initial phases, policy was of assimilation through destruction and high style construction.
02. Colonial rulers were encouraged to represent the British royalty - therefore; implications were ethnic segregation of two communities.	02. Colonial rulers were encouraged to adopt oriental extravagances – therefore, implications were, segregation on status basis.
03. Empty rhetoric to remind their colonial subjects of their inferiority - thus created symbolic artifacts.	03. Illusion of independence and to convince the local elite that France is a worthy ally - creation of well laid modern cities.
04. European Quarters of the colonial township had professional zoning i.e. the civil lines, cantonments, and the railway colony.	04. European quarters of the colonial township had rigid functional zoning i.e. CBD, residential, administrative, recreational and industrial.
05. Indifference towards indigenous culture caused deterioration of indigenous urban environment.	05. Policy of non-interference caused museumification of indigenous culture or freezing of society in time and space.
06. Policy regulated essentially by economic interest and display of power - basically manifested in district Magistrates H.Q., Tax Collectors office and court, Law courts, police barracks, jails, railway stations, post offices, bungalows for officials etc.	06. Colonies were constitutionally integral parts of France-manifested in elaborate architectural and planning undertakings – construction of hotels, opera houses, theaters, schools, parks, boulevards etc.

Concluding Remarks

The colonial legacy still persists in most of the cities referred above, because the colonial powers had created a strong social class, which could safeguard their interest. One of the fundamental changes that these cities experienced after independence was to substitute European administrators with local bureaucrats. Thus Macaulay's hope that Indian education might eventually produce a class of dark-skinned Englishmen seemed in many ways fulfilled. A common point of interest, in all of these colonial cities under national governments, is the privileged areas of the former colonial rulers which are generally being taken over by the national ruling class or elite associated with them - which poses a question of whether the urban environment itself can perpetuate relationship of domination? It is perhaps the same psychology, which prompted the colonial rulers, as suggested by Nilsson (1968), to surpass or at least to show similar extravagance or symbolic positions of power as previous mighty rulers.

All these cities are under different levels of transitional periods, synthesizing and analyzing the bygone influences of their physical morphology. In their own right, each era has left its mark in the urban arena of these cities including Dhaka. Whatever they have produced will be observed, deliberated and re-evaluated time and again, for positive assimilation of useful ideas. As these are the ideas of a civilization that have emerged through the ages but under different environments. This assimilation in spirit may

eventually give direction towards a valid and authentic architecture and urban morphology suited to the land and the people.

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