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# National Identity and the British Empire : the Image of Saint Paul's Cathedral

Rebecca Pierce  
rjspacemon@gmail.com

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**National Identity and the British Empire: the Image of Saint Paul's Cathedral**

**Thesis submitted in  
The Graduate College of  
Marshall University**

**In partial fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the degree of  
Masters of Arts  
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2004**

**By  
Rebecca Pierce**

**Dr. James Leonard, Committee Chairperson, leonard@marshall.edu  
Dr. Sarah Brinegar, brinegar@marshall.edu  
Mr. Larry Jarrett, jarrettl@marshall.edu**

**Marshall University**

## **ABSTRACT**

### **“National Identity and the British Empire: the Image of Saint Paul’s Cathedral”**

**by  
Rebecca Pierce**

This paper considers the historical geography of place and identity construction through the case of English Nationalism and the British Empire as encapsulated in London’s Saint Paul’s Cathedral. The research explores several themes: 1) the British Empire’s use of Saint Paul’s Cathedral as a representation, both physically and symbolically, of the ideals and power of the empire; 2) the British Empire’s employment of the Cathedral as the emotional and ideological center of national identity and imperialism in the English population; and 3) the British Empire’s manipulation of the image of Saint Paul’s Cathedral as a national and religious landmark. Data analysis includes the examination of literary and visual depictions of the historical landscape from 1675 to the present. In sum, this research seeks to demonstrate the use of Saint Paul’s Cathedral as a representation of the British Empire and its subsequent employment to spread sentiments of imperialism and national identity to the English population.

**Keywords: National Identity, Europe, Landscape, Saint Paul’s**

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## Chapter 1

### Introduction

This country has been around for so long that the British simply feel rather than think British...Reluctant to define Britishness' they are simply less interested in their national identity than, say, ethnically-hyphenated Americans (The Times November 10, 1990)

The current research examines the role of Saint Paul's Cathedral in relation to identity formation and the English population. Saint Paul's Cathedral has represented the role of the monarchy and the British Empire by housing jubilees and weddings since its rebuilding by Christopher Wren beginning in 1675. Furthermore, it is the final resting place for some of Britain's most famous historical figures. There is a deep sense of historical and emotional attachment that continues to influence architecture planning and the role of Saint Paul's future in the city of London. The manner in which this emotional connection has been employed to invoke feelings in the English population is a subject that has historical value, in addition to current ramifications. The current analysis is a discourse on the link of landscape and national identity. By focusing on analyzing literary and visual depictions from 1675 to the present, this paper seeks to demonstrate the use of Saint Paul's Cathedral as a representation of the British Empire and its subsequent employment to spread sentiments of imperialism and national identity to the English population.

The current research attempts to analyze the use of Saint Paul's as a representation of the British Empire. In order to achieve this goal, two areas emphasis will be explored. The first is to examine the British Empire's use of Saint Paul's Cathedral as a representation of the ideals and power of the empire, both physically, (through architectural designs), and symbolically, (imparted

through the use of landscape planning and the Cathedral's placement in the landscape). The second goal is to demonstrate how the British Empire's employment of Saint Paul's Cathedral as the ideological center of empire instilled feelings of national identity and imperialism in the English population.



## Chapter 2

### Literature Review

The review of literature will cover three themes: (a) monumentalization, (b) landscape representation, and (c) landscape identity construction.

#### **Monumentalization**

Landscape is an ever fluctuating space in which, memory can be created, understood and contested. History cannot have a single understanding, but rather monuments and space are connected to the larger popular and shared meaning placed upon them (Atkinson and Cosgrove 1998, p.30). Collective memories and national histories are “acted on, bounded by, and bounded with, particular places” (Osborne 1998, p.432). Thus, place acts as a “memory theater”



**Figure 2.1** Vittorio Emmanuelle II Monument.  
Cosgrove and Atkinson.

used to invoke national identity (Atkinson and Cosgrove 1998, p.30). Official monuments become the means by which certain histories are reinforced through collective memories, created through the connection with place and to which individuals may feel a sense of belonging (Osborne 1998, p.431). The Vittorio Emmanuelle II monument in Rome is

one representation of a memory theater designed by the Italian State to portray national identity and purpose (figure 2.1). State rituals reinforced this image, in addition to the location of the monument in a central geographical area of Rome. Attempts were made by the Italian government to “negotiate the Vittoriano as the

symbolic heart of the nation” (Atkinson and Cosgrove 1998, p.34). These attempts began with the initial building plans, with the monument placed at a prominent and important site, close to the Foro Romano and Campidoglio. The actual monument itself mirrored these sentiments with iconography representing classical figures “who represented the ancient unity of Italy and the reborn nation-state” (Atkinson and Cosgrove 1998, p.33). Thus, the monument was meant to provoke historical images of unity, empire and nationalism. These images were further reinforced by urban design, with districts surrounding the monument redesigned in order for the monument to be “more imposing and grandiose” (Atkinson and Cosgrove 1998, p.33). Finally, the Italian government used the monument in an attempt to instill an ‘imagined community’ in the Italian people. This was accomplished through the use of the monument as a central foundation in the fascist agenda of a “refounded Italian imperial territoriality” (Atkinson and Cosgrove 1998, p.37).

Through the use of popular media this connection was further reinforced, and a sense of connection and cohesion was attempted to be imparted to the Italian nation.

Monuments can also be used to display landscapes of power and identity

(Osborne 1998; Sidorov 2000; Cooke 2000). Memorials and monuments become symbolic sites for shared national identity, oftentimes stressing specific meaning

**Figure 2.2** George Etienne Cartier Monument. Osborne.



wishing to be imparted. The George Etienne Cartier monument in Montreal, as seen in figure 2.2, was used as a backdrop to displays of empire, with the monument able to draw attention to the monarchy and away from an overall united Canadian image (Osborne 1998, p.438). In order to achieve this representation the monument was used to portray a specific image during four time periods. In the first period, from 1910-1914, the monument was conceived as a way to draw attention and commemorate empire and “bi-national Canada” (Osborne 1998, p.438). The image of a united empire held fast through the unveiling, however, three subsequent commemorations in 1935, 1937, and 1953 represented a shift away from this united image and to a concentration and celebration of monarchy. However, as with other examples of monumentalization, the identity being stressed was debated, with some French Canadians seeing Cartier as representing “the advancements of their fortunes and interests in the new nation established by Confederation” and to others he was seen as a threat to their cultural survival (Osborne 1998, p.439). Recently, the monument has been a site of contested space, with social protests being played out on the landscape. Thus, the identity or imagined community being stressed through the monument has recently been greatly called into question.

The Cathedral of Christ the Savior in Moscow, as seen in figure 2.3, similarly was used as localized national monument, with the

**Figure 2.3** Cathedral of Christ the Savior. Sidorov.



architecture of the Cathedral mirroring changes in the scale of Russian national identity (Sidorov 2000, p.549). Initially the Church was planned to be the largest in the world in commemoration of the war of 1812 (Sidorov 2000, p.548).

However, these plans never came to fruition, with the first Church on the site being the largest in Russia and quickly demolished by the Bolsheviks in 1931 for the creation of a new monument, which was never completed. Instead the foundation became the largest outdoor swimming pool in the world, and recently the “pit has become, arguably, Russia’s most famous geographical symbol for the failed Communist endeavor” (Sidorov 2000, p.548). When the church was reconstructed after the break-up of the Soviet Union a basement was added and the Cathedral became symbolic of the new ‘Russian identity’. Who exactly this new ‘Russian identity’ was referring to however, remained debated with three groups of original supporters: the Communist regime, the Russian Orthodox Church and lay believers. Eventually all three groups lost out, with Moscow authorities and the state taking sole responsibility for the reconstruction. Thus, who exactly the new cathedral represents has continued to be heavily contested.

Finally, the Hyde Park Memorial in London, England (figure 2.4) was used



**Figure 2.4** Hyde Park Memorial. Cooke.

as a construction of meaning and a link between monumentalization, identity, memory and history through its location (Cooke 2000). From the initial planning stages, the memorial met with opposition as to whom the memorial referenced, all victims

or solely Jewish individuals. This debate was carried through to the dedication, as signifiers and inscriptions on the memorial were solely in Hebrew and English (Cooke 2000, p.458). The Hyde Park Memorial, the Christ the Savior Cathedral, the George Etienne Cartier Monument and the Vittorio Emmanuelle II Monument are all instance of monumentalization, imparting meaning and identity.

### **Landscape Representation**

Landscape can construct and produce social memory, newly showing individuals how to experience an area previously known (Harvey 2000). The ability for landscape to impart such meaning and memory can be produced through landscape modification or reinforced through literary measures. Central to this understanding is the role of hagiographies or “curious compilations of factual and imaginative material relating to the lives of saints from an even earlier time” (Harvey 2000, p.231). Hagiographies acted as a tool to turn the ordinary physical environment into a collective social memory, and thus, hagiographies became essentially linked with place (Harvey 2000, p.244). People became to know their surroundings through the hagiographies and thus, their experiences and memories were in turn affected (Harvey 2000, p.244). The ability for landscape to impart meaning can also be reinforced through landscape modification. The British hill stations and Gardens in India, acted as relations between the government and discourses of the other, “reflecting and reinforcing meaning” that influenced the views that Europeans had and understood of the colonies (Kenny 2000; Carlton 1996). The hill stations linked imperialism and landscape, with colonial authority and discourses of the other played out on the

landscape (Kenny 2000, p.694). These landscape modifications are one example of the larger field of landscape analysis.

### ***Landscape Analysis***

With the emergence of nation-states, landscape representations moved from a focus on agrarian or “natural” scenes to those emphasizing a unity of identity. Thus, identity construction is shaped within an ‘imagined community’. ‘Imagined communities’ allow states and nations in which face-to-face contact is impossible, the ability to have a collective unity and identity. This identity construction can take on various forms and examples, with events often times having a profound effect on the given outcome. The World Trade Center disaster is one recent example, which united a fragmented American population. A United States ‘imagined community’ was created around the image of the fallen towers, with individuals who had never been to the site feeling a strong connection to not only the disaster, but more importantly the people of New York City. These landscape representations emphasize symbolic national landscapes, portraying the given image wanting to be stressed (Cosgrove 1997, p.77). Thus, this unity becomes visually apparent in the landscape and provides representations of national cohesiveness. Capital cities become important sites for the portrayal of these images through the creation of a landscape in which to display public performances of the nation’s rituals (Cosgrove 1997, p.77). These rituals become public reinforced of the aforementioned ‘imagined communities’.

Equally essential to an understanding of landscape from a geographic perspective is the ability to interpret the landscape being presented. Landscape

can be regarded as a text, able to be read, but lacking meaning in and of itself, until meaning is placed upon it by individuals or society (Knox and Pinch 2000, p.55). Thus, landscape is open to a vast array of interpretations and understandings. Landscape can therefore be seen as a “social expression of authority and ownership” and thus can be seen as visual representations of underlying social change (Cosgrove 1997, p.55). Meaning is able to be imparted through the use of signifiers, with large architectural projects full of such symbolism labeled ‘monumental architecture’ (Cosgrove 1997, p.55). Landscape therefore, is an ever fluctuating entity shaped by the meaning placed upon it by society.

From its conception in early Rome, the ability of landscape to impart meaning has been integral to urban design. Central to this understanding was the Roman Empire’s introduction of “a spatiality of distant control radiating from a powerful center” (Cosgrove 1997, p. 66). This powerful center, the city of Rome, set itself apart architecturally from its contemporaries through massive architectural undertakings: “Egyptian architecture could be sublime; the greatest Greek temples were both sublime and beautiful; but the grand scale and splendid decorative treatment, both external and internal, of the Roman Imperial buildings produced an effect of magnificence which was all their own” ( Bailey 1923, p. 394). Thus, Roman architecture was designed to impart feelings of dominance and imperialism, seen reflected through classical writing. The classical poet Virgil draws attention to the magnificence of the city, through the journey of the old Shepard, Tityrus, who upon seeing Rome for the first time remarks:

That city they call Rome, Meliboeus, I used to imagine, when I was an ignorant fool, was a city just like our city here where we shepherds often went to get rid of the weak offspring of the flocks. I knew that puppies looked like dogs and kids like the mother goats; in this way I always compared great things with small. But truly she raises her head as high above other cities as the tall cypresses among the bending vines. [1.19-25]

Classical writers, such as Virgil, reflected the importance of the city of Rome on patriotism and imperialism. Rome stood apart from the rest of the world, reinforced through monuments and the use of crafted landscapes. The classical writer, Vitruvius, demonstrates the importance of architecture and landscape to create a given intention when he states: “in architecture, as in other arts, two considerations must be constantly kept in view; namely the intention and the matter used to express that intention; but that the intention is founded on a conviction that the matter wrought will fully suit the purpose” (Vitruvius Chapter 1, part 3). Thus, architecture has the ability to impart intention, or meaning, and therefore can be used in order to create an ‘image’. The image of ‘Rome’ and its omnipotence is one classical example of this phenomenon. Roman monuments and the use of crafted landscapes were used as tools in the creation of imperial conquests and sentiments of patriotism.

The role of identity with relation to landscape is equally important to landscape analysis. The meaning placed upon the landscape is a part of the “continuous ‘play’ of history, culture and power” and affects the identity that such representations impart through their symbolism (Cosgrove 1997, p.56).

Additionally, the ‘identity’ being portrayed changes with time and changes in political and social power. Landscape becomes part of an emotional tie, with place and landscape becoming “part of one’s identity and one’s memory” (Cosgrove 1997, p.56).



Saint Paul's Cathedral represented an 'imagined community' with which the British Empire could use to symbolize national unity and identity. During times of instability this image acted as a site for the public display of national rituals thus, reinforcing the Cathedral as an imagined community symbol. Finally, through such symbolism the Cathedral became a part of the English national identity.

### **Landscape Identity Construction**

Landscape can be understood as being text, able to be understood through a wide range of interpretations. This landscape, can also construct identity apparent through the use of literary devices (Brace 1999; Busted 2000). Rural non-fictional writing in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> used the English Cotswolds as a tool to promote national identity through the placement of the Cotswolds in the past (Brace 1999, p.502). This historical placement drew the reader away from contemporary England and back to a time in which the current problems that England was facing were non-existent. Archival accounts of Anglo-Irish estates in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century have revealed that the landscape of the estate was modified in order for it to fit a more 'British identity'. Thus, through the use of landscape modification the residents tried to dissuade stereotypes of the Anglo-Irish in which they were portrayed as "extravagant, reckless and irresponsible, much given to excessive drinking, to dueling (Busted 2000, p.179)." Thus, by conforming to British architectural styles, the landholders tried to mold a more 'British' and refined identity.

The use of Saint Paul's Cathedral in literary and visual propaganda and representational devices to instill identity is explored in the current study. Both types of devices are used as guides in landscape identity construction in order to steer the reader to a particular reading or understanding of the Cathedral.

## **Chapter 3**

### **Methodology**

The intent of this study is to analyze literary and visual depictions from 1675 to the present, in order to examine the use of Saint Paul's Cathedral as a representation of the British Empire, and the Cathedral's connection to identity formation and the English population. A qualitative approach using a variety of data sources is implemented for this study. This section discusses the approach and methods implemented in the current research.

#### **Approach**

The current research is post-structural in approach. Post-structuralism asserts that symbolic places such as Saint Paul's Cathedral involve, as Daniels states, a "complex weaving of shifting meanings and associations projected onto and captured within a monumental national icon" (Daniels 1993). Additionally, the ability to have one fixed cultural meaning in relation to landscape is impossible, with alternative and contradictory readings being inherent (Atkinson and Cosgrove 1998). The connection between landscape and cultural meaning has a connection with identity, with identity being a mobile and socially constructed body (Harvey 1996).

The current research employs the theory of monumentalization, with regards to the ability of architecture to portray national identity and a singular representation of purpose. Images of Saint Paul's Cathedral were reinforced through geographical location and monarchical events, similar to the manner in which the Vittorio Emmanuelle II monument and the Cathedral of Christ the

Savior are presented. Additionally, the theory of landscape as text is implemented in the current study, with emphasis on social context and its connection to landscape, making text “an appropriate trope to use in analyzing landscapes because it conveys the inherent instability of meaning, fragmentation of absence of integrity, lack of authorial control, polyvocality, and irresolvable social contradictions that often characterize them” (Barnes and Duncan 1992, 7). The current study will use the theory of landscape as text in order to analyze the various meanings and representations placed upon Saint Paul’s Cathedral and the subsequent understandings they were meant to convey.

The research approach implemented in this study is qualitative based on the nature of the question being addressed. Qualitative researchers attempt to study things in their natural settings by interpreting phenomena in terms of the meanings people place upon them (Denzin and Lincoln 2000). This does not mean that statistical methods are not used, but rather that complex statistical measures are not used in order to locate subjects within a larger population. (Denzin and Lincoln 2000). The emphasis of qualitative research on using data and methods in order to define a subset of a larger population or question is apparent in the current study. Saint Paul’s Cathedral has been used extensively in visual and literary representations throughout the last 300 years. The amount in which this phenomenon occurs is less important than the meanings and representations created; therefore, the qualitative approach implemented provides the optimum means to investigate the research question.

## **Method**

A case study is implemented for this particular research. The method allows the researcher to focus on one specific 'case' under investigation; this 'case' can encompass a number of different variables. However, what constitutes a case study is oftentimes elusive, due to the fact that "a case study is both a process of inquiry about the case and the product of that study" (Stake 2000).

The current research uses an intrinsic case study method as described by Stake. This method of inquiry looks at the uniqueness of the particular case under investigation because it "is not undertaken primarily because the case represents other cases or because it illustrates a particular trait or problem, but because, in all its particularity and ordinariness, this case itself is of interest" (Stake 2000). In order to understand both what is common and what is unique about a particular case study, a researcher must understand the nature of the case, the historical, physical, economic, political, legal and aesthetic background (Stake 2000). The research presented in this paper examines the representations of a particular piece of architecture in relation to the process of imperialism and identity formation. Therefore, the method chosen for the current research is a hybrid of a case study that utilizes visual, literary and landscape analysis in order to set the research context and to complement the qualitative data.

## **Data Collection**

The following data sources are implemented in the current research: visual depiction, literary depictions and landscape analysis. The visual depictions include photographs, propaganda, sketches and other representations of Saint Paul's Cathedral. These forms of data are examined to analyze various representations of Saint Paul's Cathedral, and how the Cathedral was portrayed, both physically, through sketches and architectural designs, and symbolically, through the placement of the Cathedral in visual depictions. Additionally, the way in which these visual depictions were employed, such as in advertisements and other forms of visual propaganda are examined.

Literary accounts are examined including statements, poems and travel literature depictions. These forms of data allow analysis of the ways in which Saint Paul's Cathedral has been represented and perpetuated through forms of literary propaganda. Finally, landscape analysis is performed in order to examine symbolic representations of the Cathedral. These symbolic representations include the use of landscape planning and the Cathedral's placement in the landscape. All three types of data are used in order to determine the extent to which the Cathedral was in fact used as a representation of the British Empire and the intended results these representations were meant to instill in the English population.

## Chapter 4

### Data Analysis

In order to fully grasp the effects of the rebuilding plans and eventual completion of the 'new' Saint Paul's Cathedral, a short history of Saint Paul's Cathedral before the great fire is in order. The paper then moves to an analysis of the architectural plans and conceptual representations of Saint Paul's beginning with its rebuilding in 1675, until the current day. Next is an examination of the British Empires use of propaganda and landscape to instill feelings of imperialism and national identity in the English population. The paper concludes with a brief discussion on the impact of historical architectural representations for future city planning endeavors in the city of London.

#### **Saint Paul's Cathedral before the Great Fire**

Saint Paul's Cathedral has a rich history dating back to 604 when the first cathedral was built bearing

the namesake. Following the initial building, the cathedral went through two rebuildings: one after a fire in 675, and another as a result of Viking ransacks in 962. The Old Saint Paul's, which stood on the site until the great

**Figure 4.1** Old Saint Paul's



fire in 1666, was built in a grand Norman style, as seen in figure one. Before the Great Fire, James I declared in 1614 his desire to make London the heart of the empire, reminiscent of Rome:

“As it was said of the first Emperor of Rome that he had found the city of Rome of Brick and left it of marble, so Wee, whom God hath honored to be the first of Britaine, might be able to say in some proportion, that we had found our Citie and suburbs of London of sticks, and left them of bricke, being material fare more durable, safe from fire and beautiful and magnificent.”

This sentiment followed through to the rebuilding plans for the new Saint Paul’s Cathedral after the Great Fire.

### **Rebuilding of Saint Paul’s Cathedral**

The rebuilding of Saint Paul’s Cathedral was an integral part to the “rebirth” of London into a vision of the British Empire. The Great Fire of 1666 had devastated the city. Before the fire, (Figure 4.2), houses were crowded and space extremely limited. Additionally, the most densely populated region was near the River Thames. The Great Fire demolished nearly all buildings surrounding the River, transforming a region once overpopulated to nearly sparse. Initial rebuilding maps (Figure 4.3) continued this less densely populated area around the River emphasizing just a few key pieces of architecture. As shown Saint Paul’s Cathedral displayed prominently in these rebuilding plans, a sentiment the architect Christopher Wren shared.





Figure 4.2 City of London before Great Fire of 1666

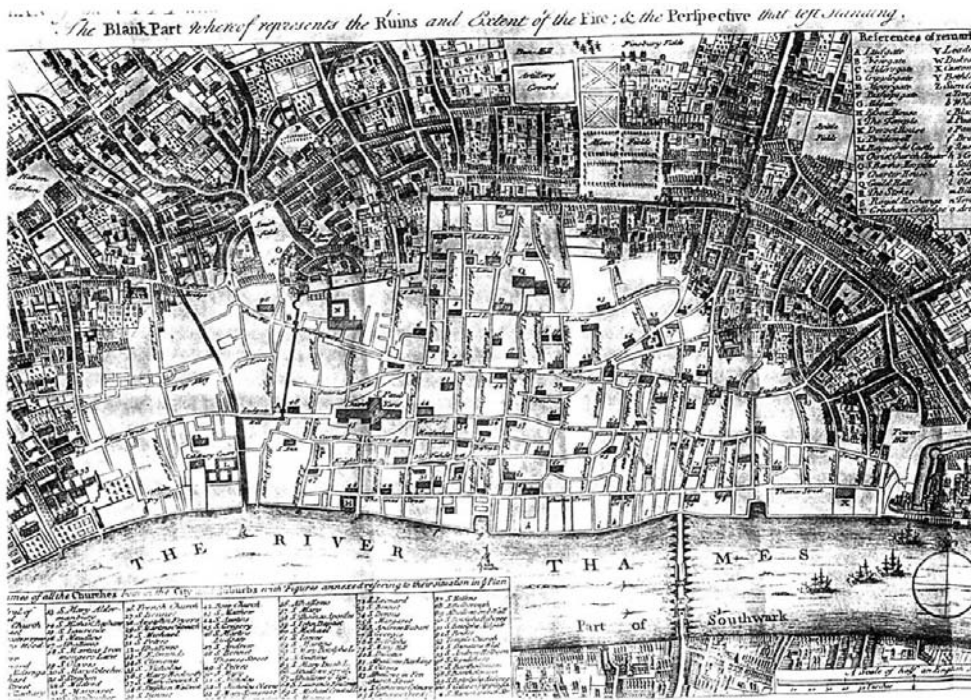
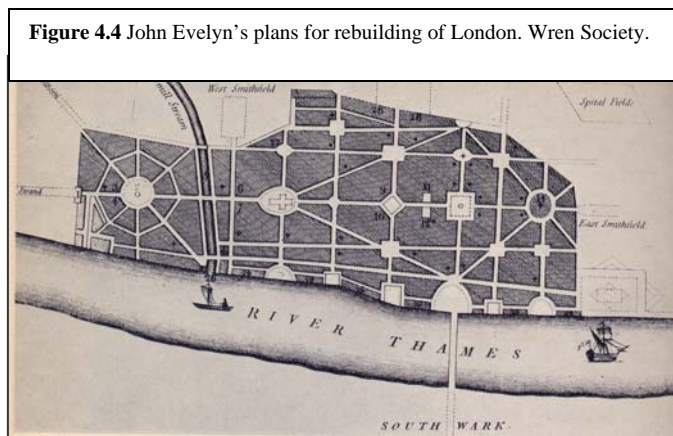


Figure 4.3 City of London after the Great Fire

King Charles II commissioned Christopher Wren to rebuild the city of London after the Great Fire telling him to:

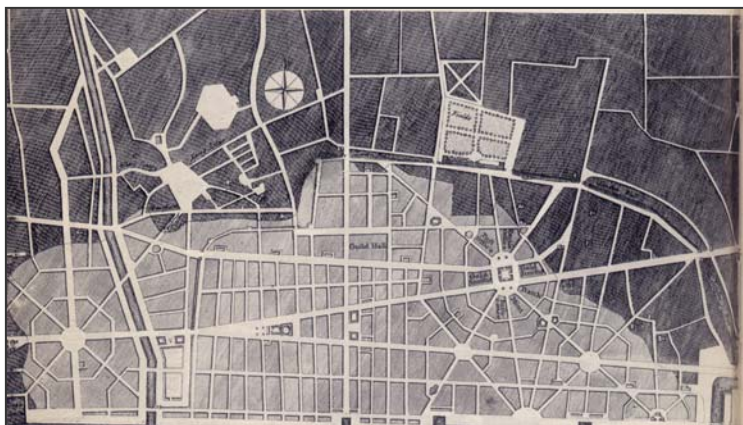
“frame a design, handsome and noble, and suitable to all Ends of it, and to the Reputation of the city and the Nation, and to take it for granted that Money will be had to accomplish it” (The Economist, 1991, 16 April p89).

Following these instructions Christopher Wren set about to design, what would become one of his most famous pieces of architecture. Using the baroque style popular in Rome and France, Wren set about to reinvigorate the city of London with architecture provoking images of grandeur, power and reminiscent of



Roman counterparts. However, initial plans for the rebuilding of the city itself were met with ardent opposition. As seen in figure 4.4, John Evelyn, was additionally commissioned to

submit plans for the rebuilding of London. Evelyn's plan emphasized classic



styles with numerous open spaces. As figure 4.5 contrastingly shows, Wren's plan emphasized the position of Saint Paul's, with the cathedral forming the apex to the

triangle. Both plans were eventually rejected due to monetary inability,

However, Wren's plan demonstrates the centrality and importance of Saint Paul's Cathedral in relation to the city of London in mind of the architect.

Wren was personally commissioned to rebuild Saint Paul's in 1668, by the Dean of Saint Paul's, William Sancroft, who begged to Wren:

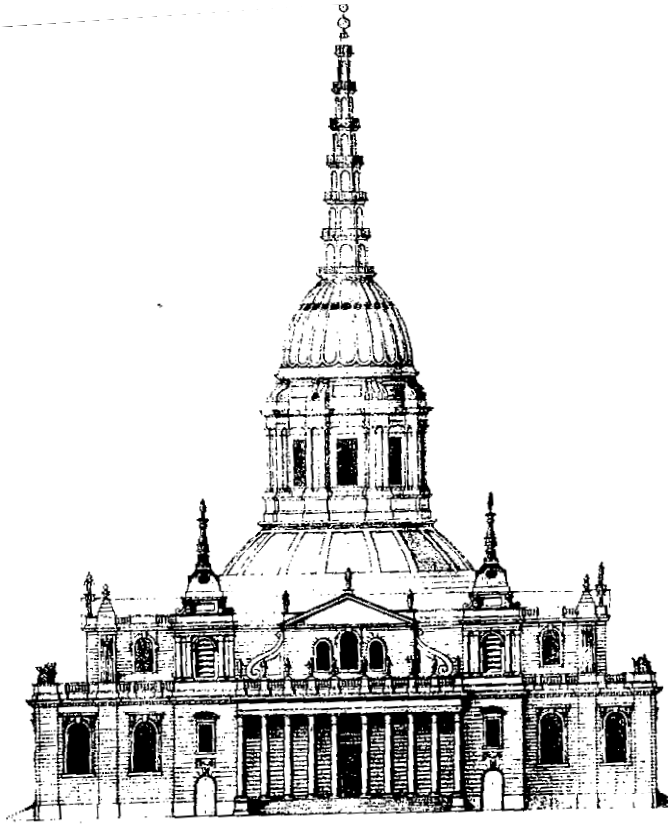
"What we do next is the present Deliberation, in which you are so absolutely and indispensably necessary to us that we can do nothing ... without you"

(Saunders 2000, p.54-55).

As Sancroft's plea demonstrates Wren was in high demand to rebuild the city churches destroyed in the Great Fire. Essential to the architectural style Wren employed in the rebuilding of Saint Paul's cathedral were his beliefs on the role of architecture, in which "Architecture aims at eternity" and that is has:

"its political uses; public buildings being the ornament of a country, it establishes a nation... and makes people love their native country" (Ilan 1997, p.32).

Using this conception of the role of architecture, Wren presented the first, of what would be many architectural drawings for the rebuilding of Saint Paul's. This first design was rejected and a compromise was configured for the Warrant Design (figure 4.6). It wasn't until Wren was granted permission by Charles II to complete the cathedral in the vision that he saw fit that the architectural design reflective of the Saint Paul's known today was born (figure 4.7). As Thus, central to Wren in his architectural planning of the new Saint Paul's was its role as a symbol of Britain and its subsequent ability to spread feelings of nationalism to the English population.



**Figure 4.6 The Warrant Design.**  
Christopher Wren.  
The Warden and  
Fellows of All Souls  
College, Oxford,

**Figure 4.7 Definitive Design.**  
Christopher Wren. The Warden and  
Fellows of All Souls College,  
Oxford, Jeremy Butler.



## **Representations of Saint Paul's**

The rebuilding of Saint Paul's took a total of 35 years. The cathedral quickly became a symbol of the British Empire, apparent through the use of literary and visual representations. The symbolic use of Saint Paul's in literature and visual images as a representation of the city of London and the British Empire as a whole, became popular even before the rebuilding of the cathedral was completed. Central to this representation was the enormity and grandeur of the dome, which at 111.3 meters in height makes it the second largest in the world, behind St. Peter's Basilica, an important link in the fact that they were both based on a similar dome in the Parthenon, built by the Romans. This link to Roman architecture became an important in the sense that it emphasized the might and power of the British Empire, while simultaneously invoking images of the mighty empire of Roman times. Literary representations became numerous with this connection:

"The cathedral of St. Paul's is exceedingly beautiful. The church of St. Peter's in Rome, which is believed to be the most magnificent in the world, only exceeds St. Paul's in the magnificence of its inside work; the painting, the altars, and the oratories, things, which, in a Protestant church are not allowed" (Daniel Defoe, Personal Letter, 1723).

The above representation is just one of many such literary pieces tying Rome and London. Emerson remarked "London is the epitome of our time, and the Rome of to-day." Saint Paul's, London and Rome were being intertwined in popular literary representations. These depictions centered on the image of Saint Paul's as a sign of Empire, be it a symbol of the current expanding empire, or reminiscent of the power of previous generations.

Visual images were additionally an integral aspect to representations of Saint Paul's. These representations focused on the Cathedral as a symbol of the center of the British Empire and its link to commerce. Neil M. Lund's 1904 painting *The Heart of Empire*, as seen in Figure 4.8, is one example of the 1,000's of cityscape paintings created during the imperialistic era, emphasizing the placement of Saint Paul's as a symbolic site of imperialism, as well as its

**Figure 4.8** Neil M. Lund's 1904 Painting, *The Heart of Empire*, Guildhall Art Gallery, City of London



global scope as an intersection between commerce and imperial power (Jacobs 1996, p.38). The commerce buildings form the triangle seen directly in front of Saint

Paul's with Mansion House on the left hand side. Bank Junction is seen at the intersection where the commerce buildings and Mansion House connect. Thus, the placement of the commerce buildings links Saint Paul's and Bank Junction,



extending the dome above and beyond to the edge of empire (Jacobs 1996 p.53). This connection between Saint Paul's and the power of commerce is very apparent in visual images



**Figure 4.9** Fleet Street and Ludgate Hill, Esther Singleton, 1902.

from the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries (Figures 4.9 and 4.10). Figure 4.9 displays Saint Paul's in the center of the depiction as the overseer of the activity taking place

below. Figure 4.10 similarly places the Cathedral above a busy scene below, visually linking prosperity and Saint Paul's in the readers eye. In both figures, Saint Paul's stands over a busy



**Figure 4.10** Gustave Dore, *Ludgate Hill*, from Gustave Dore and Blanchard Jerrold,

commercial district, acting as an overseer to economic and commercial

prosperity. Saint Paul's visually became the center of a thriving and rapidly changing imperialistic Britain.

This use of the centrality of Saint Paul's in relation to the city of London and the British Empire was used extensively in paintings and engravings during the imperialistic era. The gaze of the 'reader' is drawn to the center of the depictions, straight to Saint Paul's (Figure 4.11 and 4.12). Figure 4.11, places the Cathedral



**Figure 4.11** Blackfriars Bridge and the Riverfront: Print by Tho H. Shepard



**Figure 4.12**

at the center of shipping and business activity, with Saint Paul's looming over. Similarly, in figure 4.12, Saint Paul's is once again the backdrop to business and leisure activities. Thus, one inadvertently places the Cathedral in a dominant

**Figure 4.13** Stowe's Survey of London.



position in the minds eye. Such readings were further enforced through the work of surveyors, who were themselves not immune to Saint Paul's glory. Surveys done during the 18<sup>th</sup> century emphasized the location and enormity of Saint

Paul's in relation to the rest of London (Figure 4.13). In figure 4.13, Saint Paul's



draws the eye of the reader, residing with enormity over the rest of the London cityscape.

These visual depictions created a landscape of Saint Paul's as the ideological center of empire, while subsequently symbolically imparting spatial representations provoking the designated apparition of the ideals of the empire. By the landscape of Saint Paul's becoming part of the everyday imparted through the visual and literary, it acted as a powerful ideological tool.

### **Propagandist Representations of the British Empire**

Saint Paul's quickly became central to representations of the city of London following its rebuilding by Christopher Wren. However, so far the visual and literary depictions examined have been by prominent artists and members of the community. The question emerges, how if at all, these images were conveyed to the English population as a whole, and if they were the effect that they subsequently created.

The use of propaganda and landscape to instill feelings of national identity in the English population from the late 17<sup>th</sup> to middle 20<sup>th</sup> centuries was used extensively as a political tool. Central to these representations was the placement of Saint Paul's cathedral as the ideological center of empire. Subsequently through these methods feelings of national identity and imperialism were instilled in the English population. These methods can be broken into two categories for analysis, those of literary and visual propaganda and the use of Saint Paul's as a national and religious landmark.

## Visual and Literary Propaganda

The link between national identity and landscape is essential in that “national identity, would lose much of its ferocious enchantment without the mystique of a particular landscape tradition: its topography mapped, elaborated, and enriched as homeland” (Schama 1995, p.15). Through the use of visual and literary propaganda Saint Paul’s was shown to the English population to be the symbolic representation of the power and grandeur of the British Empire.

The use of visual propaganda to promote national identity and empire was used for numerous endeavors, ranging from the promotion of the London omnibus in 1913 to London Underground posters. What they all had in common were

the link between empire and imagery. Representations of Saint Paul’s Cathedral have been central to London Underground advertisements up to the current day. Before World War I maps put out by the London Underground place a visually



Figure 4.14 London Underground Map, pre-WWI

dominate Saint Paul’s in the forefront, with the slogan “London’s Guiding Star” (Figure 4.14). This slogan is meant to refer to the Underground, but the placement of the Cathedral as the dominant image in the cityscape draws a double correlation. This correlation between the Cathedral and its centrality in the city of London, and London’s centrality to the British Empire was used heavily in

the 1980's. A number of Underground posters were produced showing Saint Paul's in a visual place of dominance with slogans such as "afloat upon ethereal tides St. Paul's above the city rides.



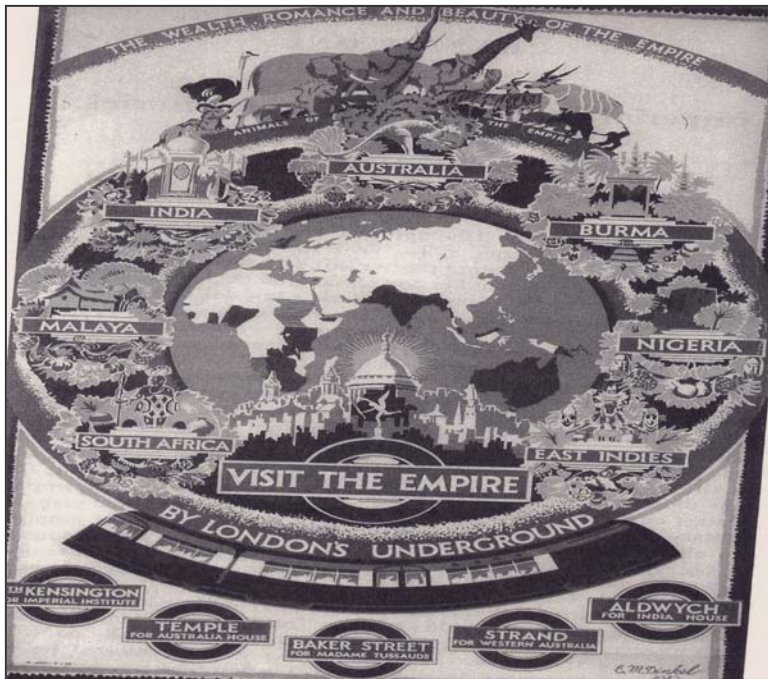
**Figure 4.15** Army Poster.

London Underground posters weren't the only posters that used the Cathedral as a symbol of power and an image of London. The British Army during World War II issued a series of posters, one of which played directly on the correlation between Saint Paul's and the bombing of the blitz. The slogan was "join the army at once" with an artist rendition of spotlights looking for Nazi bombs, with Saint

Paul's standing vigilantly in the background. Most importantly these posters promoted a sense of unity during the war, with "God save the King" displayed on the bottom and the Cathedral representing the resilient British Nation.

These advertisements placed Saint Paul's in a location of central importance in the city of London. How the Cathedral was placed as a central representation for the entire British Empire and thus, attempted to promote feelings of nationalism and identity can be seen in posters produced in the 1930's.

What all these representations produced in the 1930's have in common are the link between empire and imagery. Visitors to London were encouraged to view "London not merely as the heart of a global empire: it was the place in which an enormous variety of imperial sights could be seen" (Driver and Gilbert 1999, p.1). Visual propaganda promoting Saint Paul's Cathedral drew on the image of the cathedral as the center of empire. The colonies, subsequently were placed in the periphery, and thus in a visual space of less importance. This can be seen in Ernest Dinkel's "Visit the Empire" in which Saint Paul's forms the center of empire and the colonies form its periphery (Figures 4.16 and 4.17). These were a series of two posters made in 1932 used as a means of promoting visitors to use the underground, while simultaneously placing Saint Paul's as a



**Figure 4.16** "Visit the Empire"

central place in the British Empire to the English population. The first of the two posters (Figure 4.16) places Canada, New Zealand, Jamaica, British Guiana, West Indies, Pacific Isles and Newfoundland in the periphery. Saint

Paul's stands in the center, looming over the city and the British Empire as a

whole, with the sun shining brightly behind it. This image makes one think of the phrase “the sun never sets on the British Empire.” Additionally, the sun and the Cathedral become linked making Saint Paul’s the overseer of the Empire. The placement of the colonies around the Cathedral places Saint Paul’s as a central image in these British Empirical representations. Both posters link London tubestops, attractions and the British colonies, enticing individuals to see “the wealth, romance and beauty of the Empire.” The second poster (Figure 4.17) again places Saint Paul’s in the center, with Australia, Burma, Nigeria, the East Indies, South Africa, Malaya, and India forming the periphery. The posters divide the world into geographical sections, highlighting the colonies on a map in the

Figure 4.17 “Visit the Empire” by EM Drinkel, 1932.



background. The Empire appears as

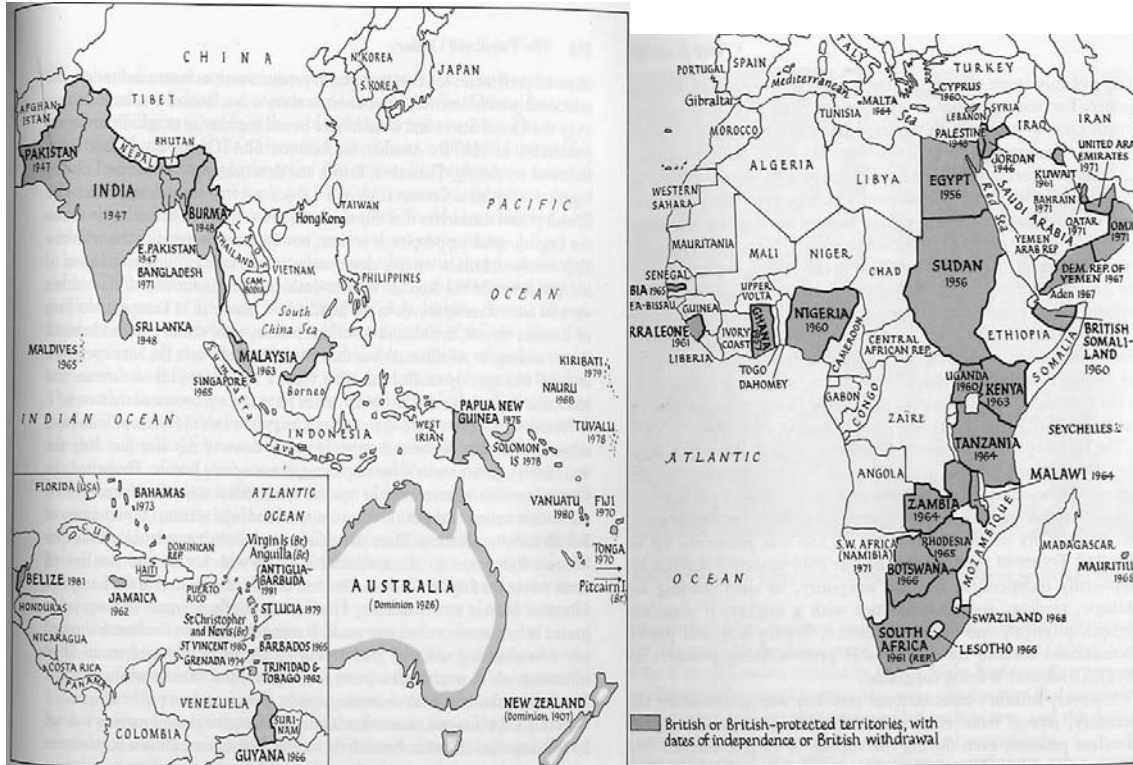
a cohesive whole, with London only a step away from the colonies forming the frame. The representations promote unity within the Empire in a time when many of the colonies were struggling with identity construction. Thus, the ‘image’ of the British Empire appears to be

one of stability and nationalism. Finally, by placing the images in the everyday the English identity was molded, without conscious awareness.





the image of a united British Empire was in jeopardy. Images such as



**Figure 4.20** British or British-protected territories and dates of independence or British withdrawal. The Oxford Illustrated History of Britain.

4.18 and 4.19, promoted a united Empire, even if the reality was slowly slipping away. These images worked to promote an image of the cathedral and London, which placed the city in a location of centrality and a provocation of grandeur and power, in a world that was rapidly changing. Far earlier representations of the centrality of Saint Paul's in relation to commerce and the empire were apparent as far back as 1739, when Edward Cave published his "Description of London" in Gentleman's Magazine. In his literary piece, Saint Paul's looms with Anglican majesty over a Thames crowded with the sails of British commerce:

Muse, mount with easy flight th'aspiring dome,  
 And let thy eyes o'er the wide prospect roam.  
 See how the Thames with dimpling motion smiles.  
 And from all climes presents Augusta's Spoils:

Eastward behold! a thousand vessels ride,  
Which like a floating city crowd her tide (Gentleman's Magazine 7, 1739).  
Thus, they sought to bring together an English population, which was rapidly changing and separated by space.

Literary observances also highlighted Saint Paul's Cathedral as a central representation in the English landscape. William Hogarth observed in 1753, after spending his while life in the shadow of the cathedral

There are many other churches of great beauty, the work of the same architect...whose steeples and spires are raised higher than ordinary, that they may be seen at a distance above the other buildings; and the great number of them, dispersed about the whole city, adorn the prospect of it, and give it an air of opulency and magnificence; on which account their shapes will be found to be particularly beautiful.

As seen by this observance, Saint Paul's played a prominent part in the city scape of London, as well as people's hearts.

Literary representations only became stronger in the nineteenth century. Travel literature became increasingly important as a means of imparting landscape and nationalism. Saint Paul's was no exception. The 1930's brought a plethora of travel literature intended to help both British and international tourists "experience the Empire". Such advice can be seen in the following depiction of the London cityscape: "the golden cross on Saint Paul's and the dome at one time stand out as if engraved upon the sky" (Looker 1994, p.42). Travel literature emphasized the otherworldness of British architecture, setting it apart from the common, "you would hardly think the word is applicable to such places as Saint Paul's and the Abbey" (Hughes 1931, p.157). Even more important was the connection between empire and the Cathedral. The late 1930's saw the



emergence of literature emphasizing this connection with some even going as far as to state: “Saint Paul’s suggests the comprehensiveness of an empire” (Dark 1937, p.96). Saint Paul’s was shown to both the British and the world as the center of Empire, to be seen and displayed.

Photographic propaganda during WWII was an integral factor to spreading national identity during a time when the world was literally crumbling around the British Empire. The 1940 photograph of Saint Paul’s “surviving the Blitz” has become forever ingrained, in not only the English population’s perception of themselves, but on the worlds’ (Figure 4.21). World War II marked a significant time for the centrality of Saint Paul’s in the minds of the English population as a source of civic pride. The connection between the Church and nationhood became incredibly strong, with church bells being banned except as signals of



**Figure 4.21** Popper Photo. 29 December 1940.

invasion. Thus, when the bells did ring signaling victory at El Alamein, the British “found it the most moving symbol of the “Turn of the Tide” (Weight 2002, p.29).

Saint Paul's in particular became the symbol of British resistance to Hitler, by surviving the Blitz attacks. It was the parish church of the Empire, and even Winston Churchill recognized its importance, evident in his December 29, 1940 message to the Lord Mayor of London, in which he signaled to save the

**Figure 4.22** Panoramic View of London. Cecil Brown. 1942.



Cathedral at all costs (Weight 2002, p.29). An Allied Watch of firefighters diligently stood guard of Saint Paul's, saving the Cathedral from destruction as

buildings on all sides crumbled and burned down. Many of these 'firefighters' were ordinary church members, helping with only stirrup pumps and pails of water (Weight 2002, p.29). The Cathedral survived the bombings, with surveys of the destruction showed a mostly untouched Saint Paul's, while everything else on all sides had virtually been destroyed (Figure 4.22). These images became a rallying cry, that as hard as any enemy's tried, they could not bring down the ultimate historical marker of the British Empire. The survival of the Cathedral was seen as no less than a miracle, with *The Times* stating:

It was at all times a living spiritual center in the life of the City, of the nation, and indeed, of the entire free world. There were long months when the way in which the dome of Saint Paul's emerged from the smoke and darkness after each successive raid, apparently indestructible however great the devastation around it, seemed like a miracle (Wolfee, op. cit, 253).

This tie between Saint Paul's Cathedral and the 'miracle' of its survival during the bombing of the blitz continues to the current day. Postcard representations of the Cathedral are sold all over London depicting the famous photograph of smoke surrounding a still intact Saint Paul's (Figure 4.23). These postcards set forth an



**Figure 4.23**  
Postcard.  
Saint Paul's  
after the  
bombing of  
the Blitz.  
Saint Paul's  
Cathedral  
bookstore.

image of

power and stability, which are then bought and sent, by both British citizens, and even more importantly, the rest of the world. Thus, this image of the Cathedral is reinforced not only to British citizens, but to the world as a whole. Thus, it was through these representations of the British Empire, spread through everyday propaganda, that the English population was encouraged to form a national identity, and thus separate themselves from the rest of the British Empire. These attempts to create a cohesive nation state, were further reinforced through the use of public displays of monarchy and other occurrences of national importance, ready available through media to not only the English population's perception of themselves, but the view of the entire world.

### **Reflections of Empire**

The use of architecture to convey a specific representation of empire was not confined to London alone. The Eiffel Tower, completed in 1889, was a visual

transmission of the Third Republic's industrial might, commercial enterprise and engineering skill (Daniels 1993, p.31). It, along with Saint Paul's cathedral were both attempts to draw attention to capital imperialistic cities. Similar attempts can be seen in other European capital cities and their "similar vocabulary of spatial forms to create a landscape of public performance for the nation's rituals" (Cosgrove 1997, p.77). Through the organization of Saint Paul's Cathedral as a national and religious landmark in which to display monarchical events, the image of the British Empire was publicly reinforced.

Before the rebuilt Saint Paul's was even officially completed, the first religious service was held within its walls in 1697. This first service was a thanksgiving for peace, and marked the beginning over two hundred and fifty years of the centrality of Saint Paul's in the British Empire. However, it was the nineteenth century that the ideology of empire became most apparent. Queen Victoria acted an important symbol for the empire, and cries 'for Queen and Empire' began to have a vast appeal to those in all the social classes (Judd 1999, p.22). Public displays of monarchy began to become numerous, with funerals and monarchical events being publicly displayed. Saint Paul's became the site of state funerals, thanksgiving services and royal weddings, all easily seen by an eager and consuming English population.

Saint Paul's is the final resting place for some of Britain's most famous figure heads. In 1806, Lord Nelson was laid to rest in the Cathedral amid a fanfare that included a grand display of his funeral procession through the streets of London. His memorial within the crypt of the Cathedral is a large black

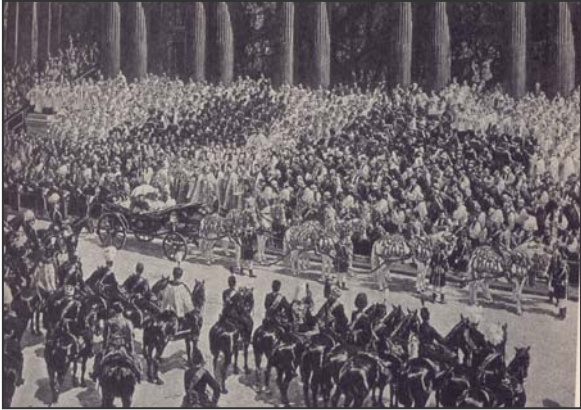
sarcophagus, and placed immediately under the dome. In 1852, another of Britain's famous heroes was laid to rest, the Duke of Wellington. His funeral marked the first large-scale service to take place within the confines of the cathedral, with a total of 13,000 in attendance. Once again his funeral procession was displayed amid the streets of London, for the English people to witness. These funerals and memorials served to define Saint Paul's as a central place in the historical value of London during the period and well into the future.

Monarchical events served to share imperial occasions with the common public. Beginning in 1789, with a celebration of George III's return to good health and culminating with service at the end of World War II, which drew 35,000 people, Saint Paul's became the backdrop of the nation. Public displays of monarchy were important conveyances of social and political attitudes to the English population. As Samuel Johnson wrote in his plan for George III's coronation procession:

As the wisdom of our ancestors has appointed a very splendid and ceremonious inauguration of our kings, their intention was that they should receive their crown with such awful rites, as might for ever impress upon them a due sense of the duties which they were to take, when the happiness of nations is put into their hands; and that the people, as many as can possibly be witnesses to any single act, should openly acknowledge their sovereign by universal homage (Johnson, Yale works, 10:293).

It was the thanksgiving services held in honor of George III's Golden Jubilee in 1809, Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897, and George V's Silver Jubilee in 1935, which created large public spectacles for the entire empire to witness. These occasions held similar and common styles of banners, flags and religious services, and all revolved around Saint Paul's, while "they stressed history and hierarchy, unity and order, crown and empire" (Cannadine 2001, p.

106). Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897, was the epitome of these attempts to convey the grandeur and power of the monarchy (figures 4.24 and



**Figure 4.24** Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee-  
Thanksgiving Service at Saint Paul's Cathedral, 1897



**Figure 4.25** Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, 1897

4.25). As G.W. Stephens of the *Daily Mail* wrote, 'here was the empire- like a huge work of architecture.... Castellated against all comers, turreted for effect, audaciously buttressed, and crowned at the top, as other edifices might be completed with saint or angel, by the portly figure of Victoria the Queen Empress, holding an orb and scepter, and already bathed in the refulgent light of legend" (Cannadine 2001, p.111).

Grand displays of monarchy continued into the twentieth century. After World War II the British monarchy was left with a nation struggling to understand itself, and wanting to connection to the 'British Empire' or even British nationalism. The Silver Jubilee in 1977, commenced to unify a fragmented Britain. The Jubilee set about to put to rest fears commenced by "Scottish and Welsh nationalism, troubles in Northern Ireland and even such economic fears as recent membership into the Common Market" (Weight 2002, p.545). Queen Elizabeth once again was a sign of stability and strength to a population grappling for a

common identity. The Jubilee was meant to bring together 'the British' after decades of unrest (Weight 2002, p.545). Saint Paul's Cathedral was once again the backdrop to the remaking of a 'British' national identity. Important to this connection, was the vision of the Cathedral made popular through literature for decades as a "monument of solid, immovable faith" and that "Saint Paul's has its dignity....In it there is the continual emphasis of solidity and character" (Dark 1937, p.96). The Cathedral reflected the image of strength and character that the monarchy was desperately trying to convey. The Jubilee proved to be a success, with 2,700 people attending the service held at the Cathedral and an additional 500 million more watching on television.

The epitome of public displays to reinforce the British Empire and feelings of national identity was the marriage of Princess Diana and Prince Charles on the 29<sup>th</sup> of July, 1981. With a growing rejection of the concept of 'dual national identity' in relation to England's 'partner nations' the monarchy was left needing to bring together a nation (Weight 2002, p.658). This was attempted through the public display of the marriage ceremony. The Archbishop of Cantbury even remarked that "this is the stuff which fairy tales are made" (Weight 2002, p.658). Over a million people lined up along London's streets to watch the procession, with 750 watching the wedding on television. It was indeed a world-wide display of British opulence, with the official programme even stating that Britain was like no other:

To the countless millions of people beyond our shores who will watch on their television screens the splendour and magnificence of a state ceremony that only Britain could stage, the Prince and Princess of Wales will symbolize qualities which are too frequently decried in this increasingly materialistic and irreligious world (Royal Jubilee Trust, *The Royal Wedding: Official Souvenirs*, 1982).

The wedding attempting to reinforce British national identity could only take place in the Cathedral that had helped to shape an Empire, Saint Paul's. Millions of souvenirs ranging from postcards to dish towels were mass distributed displaying the image of the couple that many hoped would strengthen a nation, and the Cathedral that had become synonymous with such attempts.

These public displays acted as agents to understandings and interpretations of the role and place of the British Empire to the English population. Subsequently, through the employment of Saint Paul's as a backdrop to these displays, the cathedral became embedded in the English population's notions of the British Empire and feelings of 'Britishness'.

### **Of Britain, For Britain**

The connection between Saint Paul's and 'Britishness' has only intensified with the emergence of 'historical Britain' in the last century. Integral to this image were public events such as the Festival of Britain, which was held in May of 1953. The theme of the Festival was "that the national past was the touchstone of the future (Weight 2002, p.198)." The geographic location of the festival was important, with Saint Paul's being chosen, due representation as the ultimate connection between church and crown, and the symbol of British resistance during the Blitz (Weight 2002, p.198). The festival was meant to place the British Empire back into notions and understandings of what it meant to be "British". Central to these notions was the ability to reunite a frazzled and broken British Empire, which:

Two worlds have brought us greivous loss of life and treasure; and though the nation has made a splendid effort towards recovery new burdens have fallen upon it and dark



clouds still overhang the whole world. Yet this is no time for despondency; for I see this Festival as a symbol of Britain's abiding courage and vitality (Weight 2002, p.198). The British Festival was just one way that Saint Paul's Cathedral was used as a historical reminder of the British Empire.

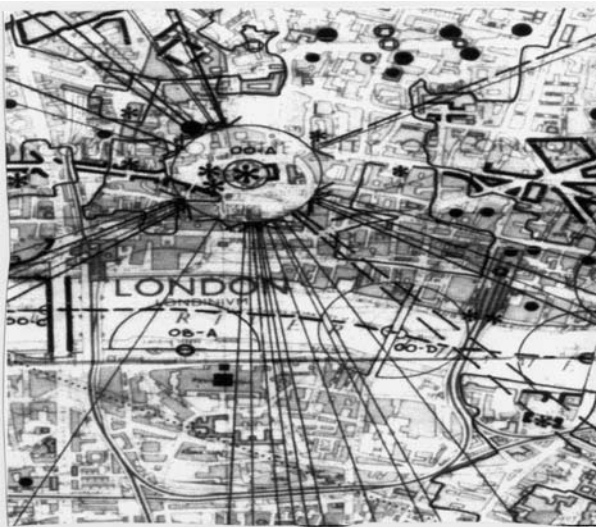
The second way in which Saint Paul's was used as a historical reminder of notions of 'Britishness' was through restrictions and laws that guaranteed that the Cathedral would hold a prominent spot in the landscape of London for centuries to come.

Beginning with its initial rebuilding, Saint Paul's Cathedral quickly became a part of the people of Britain. The rebuilding of the Cathedral was paid for by a sea-coal tax, with a total of 738,845 5s. 21/2d. used. The use of this coal tax to pay for the Cathedral tied the citizens of Britain to this massive piece of architecture. This connection between citizens and the Cathedral was only reinforced through the next three centuries.

The late nineteenth and twentieth centuries brought numerous height restrictions into effect in relation to the Cathedral. The first such law in 1894 placed a 100 foot height restriction on all building in London, which lasted until 1954. This restriction was followed by the Royal Fine Arts Commission commenting in 1934, that new building would be seriously detrimental to views of the Cathedral from Greenwich, Hampstead, and Richmond, due to London's physical geography. These feelings were put into formal policy in 1937 when the Dean and Chapter of Saint Paul's and the city of London agreed on a policy that was most concerned with views from the river and the zone adjacent in relation to the Cathedral. Thus, the policy placed special protections from development on Saint Paul's, which remain in effect to the current day. These policies were

just the beginning of a gambit of policies and laws passed to protect Saint Paul's Cathedral.

The Town and Country Planning Act in 1947 asserted the need to assure the dominance of Saint Paul's, with architects C.H. Holden and WG Holford helping to pass a 5.5:1 usable floor to acreage policy. Policies such as the ones stated above, helped to keep the city of London from developing skyscrapers into the late 1960's. It was not until the period between 1967 and 1970 that the first



**Figure 4.26** Panoramic Views

skyscrapers were built in the financial district of the city of London. These buildings could not stop policies continuing to prevent building in the city. Since 1991, the Regional Planning Guidance has attempted to save ten panoramic views of Saint Paul's Cathedral in

London. Saving these panoramic views has changed the landscape of the city itself (Figure 4.26). As seen in figure 4.26 views saving the Cathedral, seen as the X mark in the center, with views range throughout the city of London. Thus, the very landscape around the Cathedral has been affected by restrictions and policies put into place in order to save a piece of architecture that had quickly become a part of the London landscape.

Saint Paul's is more than just a piece of architecture on the London landscape. The Cathedral has become the way that the English understand

themselves. This tie between Saint Paul's and nationalism is apparent in the 1989 television special and book "Vision of Britain" by Prince Charles. In the television special Prince Charles states that pieces of modern architecture are "deformed monsters... devoid of character, alien and largely unloved." There is no sense of history, no connection. According to Charles, architecture should be sensitive to "human scale, intimacy and have a vibrant street life" which will "help to restore to people their sense of belonging and pride in their own particular surroundings." The connection of architecture in shaping the past and even current understanding of 'Englishness' has carried over to the political arena with the 'National Heritage Act' in 1983 and the implementation of a whole department titled the 'Department of the Environment and English Heritage'. This strong sense of place between the English nation and architecture can be seen in the feelings and sentiments of the British population. In 2001 a report by the Department of Culture, Media and Sports found that 96 percent of the people polled believe that the historic environment is important in teaching about the past, 87 percent believe that the historic environment is an important part of cultural life. These numbers are reflected in the statistic that two-thirds of all visitors to historic properties are from the United Kingdom. Saint Paul's itself received 1,068,336 visitors in 1999, making it one of the most visited attractions in London. Thus, the historic environment has become the way in which the British population understands its own heritage.

The connection between the historic and current continues to effect architecture plans up to the present day. Saint Paul's is listed as a Grade I

building, the highest level possible, reserved for “features of special architecture or historic interest.” Current architectural projects have also been affected. The new Tate Modern was ordered to make sure that its chimney was lower than Saint Paul’s, while the new millennium bridge, is supposed to frame the Cathedral. This connection can be seen in postcard representations of the Millennium Bridge, which show an imposing Saint Paul’s in the background (Figure 4.27). Thus, even new architectural projects are affected by the historical



**Figure 26** St. Paul’s and the Millennium Bridge. Postcard. Sampson Lloyd.

our heritage.”

Cathedral. The Arts Commission states it best in 2002, when they stated “Britain’s historic churches and cathedrals are the cornerstones of

## Chapter 5

### Conclusions

As demonstrated through an analysis of visual and literary depictions of Saint Paul's Cathedral, architectural and conceptual representations focused on the cathedral's symbolic image as the center of the British Empire. It can also be seen that these images changed and evolved as the British Empire itself went through periods of metamorphosis. Representations of Saint Paul's initially focused on its role as a center of an imperialistic and rapidly expanding British Empire, but as commerce became more central in the world scheme, representations subsequently evolved as well, and the cathedral became central to trade and monetary investments. As the turn of the twentieth century emerged, the British Empire was faced with a need to reinforce its identity and power, and Saint Paul's came full circle, to once again represent the power and centrality of the monarchy and the British Empire.

These representations of the British Empire were carefully choreographed into propagandist displays of visual and literary guides, in which members of the English population were subconsciously fed through everyday occurrences. These everyday occurrences, ranging from tube station posters to photographs, provoked images of the Empire as above the rest of the world, especially the colonies, and placed Saint Paul's Cathedral as the ideological center of empire. These representations and public centrality of the Cathedral instilled feelings of national identity and imperialism in the English population.

Realizing this connection between propaganda and feelings of imperialism and the formation of national identity, the British Empire employed Saint Paul's Cathedral as the center of their displays of monarchial power and grandeur. The most blatant of these displays was Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, in which the public was encouraged to line the streets and witness the spectacle of the Empire. These displays acted as guides to the English population's perception of the British Empire and their own identity as a nation state.

### **Saint Paul's and 'Britishness'**

Saint Paul's Cathedral has a long history in the city of London. It has become the symbol of heritage for a nation whose history has been plagued with both triumphs and tragedies. While the end of World War II marked the beginnings of the collapse of the British Empires hold over the colonies, it in no way ended the centrality and importance of Saint Paul's Cathedral. The Cathedral continues to be used as a tool by the monarchy in a time when its power is diminishing. The world display of Princess Diana and Prince Charles wedding at Saint Paul's Cathedral became an image to be used time over. The British monarchy became something on television in which dreams are made of, above and beyond the rest of the world in grandiose display.

These representations of the Cathedral have worked to change the geography of the city of London to the current day. Building plans which seek to block views of the Cathedral have been met with ardent opposition, and there continues to be height restrictions all around the cathedral, in order that views are not blocked. Saint Paul's Cathedral has become a representation of the

British Empire and the very meaning of what it means to be 'British'. As the Environment Minister of England, Michael Heseltine claims to:

Only copy where others pioneered...Of course now there are roads, cars, planes, television and living standards beyond yesterday's imagination. But there is, too, an England as she was: changeless in our fast-changing world (The Field, May 1990).

Saint Paul's Cathedral is a reflection of the British Empire, represented, displayed, and consumed by an eager English population looking for a unifying factor, in an ever evolving and changing world.

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## CIRRUCULUM VITAE

**Rebecca Pierce**

Home: 815 11<sup>th</sup> Ave Apt 3  
Huntington, WV 25701  
(304) 523-3304 [spacemon11@hotmail.com](mailto:spacemon11@hotmail.com)

### ACADEMIC PREPERATION:

**M.A. in Geography**, Marshall University, May 2004.

Thesis: *National Identity and the British Empire: the Image of Saint Paul's Cathedral*

Advisor: Larry Jarrett

**B.A. in Geography and English**, University of Washington, 2001

Concentrations: Medical and Social Geography.

### RESEARCH SKILLS:

-Certified by ESRI for ArcView

### PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

**Teaching Assistant**, Fall 2003

Department of Geography, Marshall University  
Courses: Introduction to Cultural Geography

**Research Assistant**, June 2003-February 2004

Marshall University Research Foundation  
-Compiled GIS maps from state obtained data

**Student Assistant**, January 2003-May 2004

Buck Harless Student Athletes Program, Marshall University  
-Tutored students in undergraduate courses

**Research Technician III**, July 1996-July 2002

ZymoGenetics, Seattle, WA

### RESEARCH SUBMITTED AND IN PREPERATION:

-*National Identity and the British Empire: the Image of Saint Paul's Cathedral (Thesis)*  
-*Community Heritage and Identity Construction in the Ballard Neighborhood of Seattle, Washington (In Preperation)*

**AWARDS RECEIVED:**

Carl and Carolyn Lowe Thesis Research Award, June 2003

**PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS:**

Association of American Geographers  
South East Division of the Association of American Geographers

**HONORS AND AWARDS:**

Washington Natural Gas, Stepping Out Award Scholarship, 1997.