THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
BAHCESEHIR UNIVERSITY

READING EMERGENT MODERN METROPOLIS THROUGH THE SPATIAL AND SOCIAL PRODUCTION OF REGENT STREET (1811-1848)

PhD. Thesis

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ABSTRACT

READING EMERGENT MODERN METROPOLIS THROUGH THE SPATIAL AND SOCIAL PRODUCTION OF REGENT STREET (1811-1848)

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Architecture and Design

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This research aims to study the central role and contributions of human and non-human entities to the production of space in an early modern Regency London from 1818 to 1848 by taking specifically Regent Street as a case study. In this direction, numerous spatial theorists contributes to spatial analyse of this historical research besides Regency media materials to understand the dynamics of the topic in a better way.

In Chapter one, the very central role of Lefevrian triad in social & spatial theory is explained alongside of scholars such as De Certeau, Soja, Guy Debord besides the instrumental role of Actor-Network Theory and semiotics to decipher the role of human-nonhuman entities in the production of space, Regent Street. In Chapter two, Regency Society is described to understand the cultural, social and political context of this period. In Chapter three, Regent Street as a powerful Regency production is examined trough the ideals, ideologies and the strategies of the major ators like architect John Nash & Prince Regent who were ivolved in the conception of the street. In Chapter four, the memories and the experiences, and the images of the 19th century Regent Street is observed to see how a space create visual performance through the bodies of human and nonhuman bodies. Finally in Chapter five, as being a social production of Regency Spectacle, the interconnection between modernity and the media is considered as another non-human entity that is able to speak authoratively about space and affect our insight of it. Doing so, both architecture and desing are taken as a a dynamic subject that engage and embody with interdisciplinary fields.

Keywords: Regent Street, Social Production of Space, Actor-Network Theory, Spectacle.

ÖZET

MODERN METROPOLÜN DOĞUŞUNU REGENT CADDESİ'NİN MEKANSAL VE SOSYAL ÜRETİMİ ÜZERİNDEN OKUMAK (1811-1848)

Hidayet Softaoğlu

Mimarlık ve Tasarım

Tez Danışmanı: Doç. Dr. Nilay Ünsal Gülmez

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Bu tezin amacı, canlı ve cansız bedenlerin (özne ve nesnelerin) modern (metropol) mekan üretiminde, algısında ve tüketimi/ değişimindeki; merkezi ve performatif rolünün Regent Caddesi üzerinden ele alınarak, 1818-1848 Regency (Naiplik) dönemi Londra'sında incelenmesidir. Bu doğrultuda, mekânsal ve bedensel ilişkileri daha iyi anlayabilmek için disiplinler arası kuramsal yaklaşımlar benimsenmiştir.

Birinci bölümde modern mekân ve bedeni üretim ve kullanım ilişkisi içinde ele alan Henri Lefevre ve mekânsal üçlemesi, De Certeau, Soja ve Debord'un yaklaşımları lie tezin kuramsal çerçevesi tanıtılmış, tezin iskeletini oluşturan materyaller olan 19yy karikatürlerinin göstergebilim ve Ağ-Aktör Teorisiyle nasıl irdeleneceği ve çözümleneceği anlatılmıştır. İkinci bölümde, seçilen zaman aralığına bağlı olarak bağlam araştırması yapılıp; Naiplik dönemi Londra'sı kültürel, politik ve sosyal açıdan incelenmiştir. Üçüncü bölümde, kurgulanan mekânı (conceived space) işverernleri, tasarımcıları, çizimleri ve haritalarıyla (özne ve nesneleriyle) çözümlenmesine başlamıştır. Dördüncü bölümde, kurgulanıp inşa edilen mekânın insan ve obje bedenleriyle nasıl bir algı yarattığı ve deneyimlendiği görsel öğeler ve ziyaretçi deneyimleri ile irdelenmiştir. Beşinci bölümde, zaman olgusu ve modernitenin gerekliği olan medya kavramının nasıl bir cansız bedene dönüşerek mekân üzerinde yapıcı ve ezici güce eriştiği açıklanmıştır. Bu araştırma mimarlık ve tasarımı interdisipliner alanlarla bütünleşik dinamik bir prensip olarak ele alarak gerçekleşmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Regent Caddesi, Henri Lefebvre, Aktör Ağı Teorisi, Göstergebilim, Gösteri toplumu.

CONTENTS

FIGURES

1. INTRODUCTION

Hannah Arendt describes the human body as a political animal rather than a social one. A very early version of this political presence can be found in the civilisation of ancient Greece where citizens performed in two very distinct spaces; one belonged to them (the private sphere of the family) while the other belonged to society as a whole through the polis (the public sphere). There was also a sharp distinction for the ancient Greeks between what was their own and what was communal. (Arendt 1958, p. 25) Arendt believed that experiencing the polis was only possible by being a political body that walked talked and discovered different activities in the city (Arendt 1958, p.26). It is obvious that walking in the city was crucial for being a social or political body which discovered and experienced this space by seeing and being seen through their mobile activity. For that reason, I believe that a walking man in Greece was one of the earliest political animals that corresponds to the ***flâneur*** of modern society.

The term ***flâneur*** was coined by Charles Baudelaire (1821-1867) to refer to someone who perceived the city, and experienced a bodily promenade, but more than that it is a way of philosophical thinking and a way of seeing and feeling things. Walking is not merely a means to get from one place to another, but is in fact a way to experience and wander through the urban cityscape, alleyways and hidden corners and nooks observing the immediate[1]. Thus Baudelaire designated walking as a performance for the sake of walking with no hurry in the modern metropolis.

The 19th century experienced great transformations and developments in cities, especially Paris and London which expanded on an unprecedented scale. By the time of the industrial revolution, a new mode of living and urban patterns had developed alongside the widespread availability of various goods. Thus walking bodies were able to observe other people with their costumes, movements or lifestyle. As it can be seen in **Baudelaire'** poem[2] ***Flowers of Evil***, *flâneur*s were the gazers on other bodies and

[1] https://lightgraphite.wordpress.com/art-and-design-in-context/flaneur-a-person-who-walks-the-city-in-order-to-experience-it/

[2] With her pearly, undulating dresses,
Even when she's walking, she seems to be dancing
Like those long snakes which the holy fakirs
Set swaying in cadence on the end of their staffs. https://www.gradesaver.com/the-flowers-of-evil/study-guide/poem-text

places. Walter Benjamin used the metaphor of labyrinths to describe modern cities where strollers were interested in discovering people, their costumes, movements in endless spaces, streets and alleys wait to be discovered for pleasure[3]. Industrialisation made the 19th century the age of production; it produced a range of human or nonhuman bodies such as: objects, architecture, *flâneur*s, a working class, and other pleasure sources (especially prostitutes).

There is no doubt that modern cities are observed and received by their agencies (human- non-human). Thus walker bodies could easily discover these places by seeing these agencies and being seen by them. My research question evolved by wondering about the importance of human & non-human bodies, their appearance and behaviours in the production of modern cities and a new mode of living. As previously mentioned, Paris and London were the leading cities in this leap towards modernity. However, I found London more striking as it went through a rapid social transformation because of its quick adoptation of machinery following the Industrial Revolution. Industrialisation helped people change themselves from inside to outside since new techniques were developed in science, health and especially manufacturing. Human health could now be improved from the inside while their appearance was changing due to the mass production of outfits. Furthermore, bodies which had produced things or goods by hand before evolved as observers or controllers of these new machines. Of course, developments were also obvious in the architectural environment because new materials allowed buildings to become more transparent and higher with greater appreciation and increased use of metal and glass. In addition to these new materials and building types, post-industrial England witnessed the production of new urban spaces, specifically thoroughfares representing the transformation of body space where humans and nonhumans started seeing each other. London was the city that was demanding to be gazed at by other countries. Therefore 19th century London was a producer of its own ramblers, walkers and flaneurs in its new urban places, and streets to be examined and gazed at by its visitors.

It was not surprising that London had been changed by the construction of new streets. Benjamin used the metaphor of a labyrinth to describe the city where endless streets

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[3] https://history.knoji.com/charles-baudelaires-concept-of-the-flaneur-an-urban-explorer-in-the-period-of-modernity/

promised infinite pleasure sources for the walkers[4]. One of the most famous spatial productions of 19th century London was Regent Street that was designed in post-revolutionary Regency London to make the city more prominent and visible for other its governor, the Prince Regent, who was to become King George IV. Undoubtedly, the Regency period was very productive in terms of art, architecture and literature hence the idea caught my attention of walking in a street of 19th century London to understand the importance of seeing, gazing, exhibiting andbeing aware of others in the production of the modern metropolis.

As I am planning to be a walker in the recently produced Regent Street of 19th century London, I will try to observe and discover this place with its human and non-human bodies, their movements, appearances, styles and modes of living. To do so I am planning to be a visitor to shops, buildings, and nearby places. While I am the main observer and the agency of this research, I will also describe other agencies that will help me to discover and understand the visibility or invisibility of human bodies, their presence and absence and relationships with the emergence of a modern public space which is a product of forward metropolitan thinking in 19th century Regency London.

1.1. LITERATURE REVIEW

Besides being a large-scale urban and architectural project, Regent Street was also a political, cultural and social agent since it was a part of several metropolitan improvements that took place during the early 19th century. Therefore, Regent Street has been the subject of various scholars from different fields. For example in her PhD thesis, Monterio (2009) was interested in the avenues and their planning and usage. She focused on three iconic case studies; Avenue des Champs-Élysées (Paris), Regent Street (London), and Avenida da Liberdade (Lisbon) and analysed these three examples to explore the avenues in terms of urban planning, their economic and political power and multifunctionality. Nelson (1996), studied early 19th century education at the Polytechnic which was established on Regent Street. Since this institute was planned and established there, it drew a different perspective on Regency London, even though her thesis was not directly architectural and related to Regent Street itself. In his PhD

[4] İbid.

thesis on architectural history and theory, Anderson (1998), analysed the new buildings of the project area (the street and Regent's Park) and their development during the construction of Regent Street. Due to the high rent for office space, buildings and stores, Regent Street was investigated from the economic aspect by him.

Although studies on Regent Street are numerous, those that concern the Regency era are limited. The reasons for that are, firstly, it was a relatively short period whose documents or sources were written in an older and slightly antiquated form of English, which need to be examined by professionals who have obtained express permission to do so. In addition, since London is famous for its fire registry reports, archives were not elaborately designed and protected until the Victorian period. By the Victorian era, land records and registers had become important and protected. Thanks to these records, today's archives can take English people to see their ancestors back in Victorian England[5].

Yet, there are still plenty of historians interested in the Regency period and Regent Street, and some of the sources in old English have already been republished by using these archives. For example, Hobhouse (1975) published *A History of Regent Street* that aims to order pictures of Regent Street chronologically. Hobhouse traces the construction of the street from North to South and the changes that have taken place from the 19th to 21st century. She explains how it survived and maintained its commercial importance despite reconstructions and adaptations in addition to those caused by wars. Another author, a British historian Rasmussen (1961) devotes a section section to Regent Street in his book *London: The Unique City* where he discusses the urban pattern of London and describes it as a scattered city as opposed to a concentrated city. He points that, "London has developed organically, like the body of English law, out of the life of people." Rasmussen traces the street patterns which had originated in the old Roman walls, and he draws attention to Regent Street which is outside of this pattern "as a knee of a jointed doll" (Arnold 1980, p. 204). Another architectural historian Arnold examined old maps and surveys of London in her book *Re-presenting the Metropolis: Architecture, Urban Experience, and Social Life in London, 1800-1840* to discover its expansion from east to west and south to north including new bridges, public spaces, and thoroughfares under the influence of the metropolitan bourgeoisie. In

[5]http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20101213175739/http:/www.landreg.gov.uk/assets/library/documents/bhist-lr.pdf

another book, *Rural Urbanism: London Landscapes in the Early Nineteenth Century*, Arnold explores Regent Street as a part of the Regents Park Project, and she discusses the use of land and value of land during the evolution of the metropolis by again using the archives.

Most of these sources analyse the street and its development from the past until today. Nonetheless, they are either use a timeline analysis of the street from the Regency era to today or revisions of the old sources. There are a few sources that illustrate the life in the Regency period and Regent Street in terms of architectural, political, social and modern aspects. Therefore, the originality of this research will be based on its era and the location as much as its methodological approach, which will be clarified in the following pages.

1.2 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

As mentioned earlier, this research is structured to reveal the appearance of bodies in different roles in the spatial production of Regent Street. Being an early 19th century modern construction, by various means, a street means more than a physical construction, it is a social production as well. Since the Regency era produced its own society with political, economic and cultural aspects, each member of the society regardless of their class and background belonged to this era.

When the human body is taken as the main performer (walker) in this production, mental, physical and living body should be considered as different components that affect spatial production and performance. For example, human as a thinker can foresee and envision a space, then construct it and perform there and finally deconstruct or change it. Throughout this process, space also becomes a living organism that may be born, live and die.

One of the most important thinkers of spatial theory is Henri Lefebvre (1901- 1991) who defined the production of space in his spatial triad; conceived, perceived and lived space. (Lefebvre 1991, p.38-39). *The conceived space* is the *representation of space* that was created by drawing, sketches or diagrams to represent the concept of this space. *The perceived* space is *representational space* where symbols and signs are associated with the perceptions of this space. The *lived spaced* stands for the *spatial practice* of the

users and the society since he believes every society produces its own space (Lefebvre 1991, p. 53).

Very similar to the principles of the Lefebvrian triad, is the work of another important thinker, who is usually grouped together with Lefebvre, is Michel De *Certeau* (1925-1986), who described space with its three different functions in his book *Practice in Everyday Life.* According to Certeau, the spatial practice of the urban can proceed by walking in the city, akin to Baudelaire and Benjamin's exploration of the space. This action loads "the believable, the memorable, and the primitive" functions into space. While *believable function* stands for spatial appropriations that lets people utilise it, memories of this space and repetitive movements signify the *memorable function.* Then what is constructed in believable and memorable space is engaged with the origin or the infant state of this space. Therefore they also signify legend (power, or perhaps a state that had died or disappeared), memory (bodies in motion which created stories) and dreamed spaces (a new and carved version of the old space). His methodological approach seems similar to the Lefebvrian triad, but he formulated the space in his own way with an emphasis on the action of experiencing it (walking and junctions in the space loaded per se by this act).

In addition to Lefebvre and De Certeau who were contemporary to each other, Edward Soja is also another important name who followed these pioneers and developed the concept of theLefebvrian spatial triad. His spatial theory consists of first, second and third space. However he slightly changes the order and his *first space* stands for the perceived space which was produced by daily life and experiments while *Second space* represents the earliest stage of the spatial production that can be followed and developed in conceptual drawings and figures. *Third space* corresponds to lived space which is produced by human and nonhuman agencies. (Soja 1996, p. 6-10).

What is common to those scholars, besides describing space from three different perspectives, is that they also explain these phases by visiting both ancient cities or urban realm (Lefebvre) and modern cities (Certeau & Soja). All these authorities give central roles to agencies (bodies) in each phase of the production of a space. Thus there are always visible bodies which perform or interact with space in a different way. In this research I will explain and explore their triads in the emergence of an early 19th century modern metropolis.

Taking into account the thoughts of these three leading figures of spatial theory, this research will theoretically examine Regent Street in three different phases. To do so, the Lefebvrian triad will be utilised as the main conceptual framework to reveal and decode the production of Regent Street. Moreover, each chapter will take the body as a metaphor that produces space through its values. For example, the intelligence of the human body will be the main source of first/conceived/representation of space. The movement, appearance, interaction, symbols of human & non-human bodies will be used to discover the second/perceived/representational space. Last but not least: time, social practice and bodies will be the main sources to understand change and becoming the third/lived space namely spatial practice lived/third space.

De Certeau believed that the real practitioners of the cities were the walkers who experienced the places while their movements 'wrote' their cities as a text. Whilst their bodies and movements typed and recorded the daily life of this city, these characters were not able to read what they had written (Carteau 1984, p. 93). Consequently, Regency bodies will be used as text writers who wrote their experiences into the architectural history of Regent Street but were not able to read it themselves. All in all, three modern theorists (Lefebvre, Certeau & Soja) and their spatial approach will be applied to decipher Regent Street as a minor text within a broader one (London).

Since this research is based upon early 19th century documents, the main sources of information come from the archives, images (satirical prints, caricatures and paintings), and maps. Sources, which are related to Regent Street, Regency urban planning, and the history of the Regency era, are scrutinised including architectural drawings, maps, and notes as primary sources, besides the books and dissertations that were mentioned before. Exaggerations, pity, vulgarity, selfishness, politics, social classes, interiors, exteriors and the streets of London will be implicitly or sometimes explicitly analysed from these illustrations. Semiotics will help to analyse the visual sources with reference to Saussure and Barthes to decode them into their signs, the signified and signifiers to be able to re-illustrate a visual history of the Regency period. Each of these signifiers may include human or non-human bodies that will play a representative part in the production of social space.

While elements of society will be observed in these images, they will also be the instruments and materials to be mapped by the ANT (Actor-Network Theory).

Inasmuch as ANT (Actor-Network Theory) concerns both bodies (human and non-human) and their roles, it will help to analyse the interpretive relationship among them. However, as Latour himself insists, "ANT cannot be taken as a theory but as a tool", during this research, ANT will serve as a tool which which knit these entities together to create a network (Latour 1999, p. 141-142).

1.3 THE ORIGINALITY OF THE RESEARCH

While investigating the social production of space in Regent Street, placing bodies and all related objects or subjects at the centre of this research is one of the original aspects of this research. To do so, this study uses original 19th century drawings and prints as visual materials from archives to decipher the codes of living in the 19th century.

During this research process, I mainly used four principal archives to acquire Regency sources. First of all, the London Metropolitan Archives where old reports and documents are held, helped me to see land registry reports of the Victorian era. Secondly, the British Museum Map and Manuscript Department allowed me to use some of their original maps to see even certain minute and tiny details and changes in the layout of Regency London. Since many of these maps were not published, I photographed these documents in the archives and used them in this research. Furthermore, the British Museum and Victoria and Albert (V&A) Museum prints and drawings were the main sources for the satirical prints and images. I saw all the original Regency satirical prints first hand and photographed them, however these sources were protected by files and bound, therefore the quality of the photographed images was not adequate to use here. Yet the British museum's recently established online archive enabled me to use the online images with high definition that were available by special request. Hence I believe that detailed examination of the 19th century prints and careful selection from among them is one of the strengths of this thesis. The power of the lines and etches in these prints will be the principal weapon of this research to conduct an interdisciplinary reading of the architectural, cultural and political history of the Regency period.

In addition to that, it will be the first time that Regent Street will be researched to examine the role of its human and non-human agencies in the development of modern

society and the nature of everyday life there; besides it will be an attempt to reread it as a text. Remembering De Certeau's walkers going about their daily lives, the street will be revisited by the notes and images of its own and real occupiers and walkers. De Certeau stated that when we start saying " here, there used to be a bakery" or "that is where old lady Dupius used to live" we start designating the presence of the absence through these memories. Thus while describing what is no longer there via "here, there used to be…", we demonstrate what this current place is composed of, what is invisible in this visible state that reveals different layers of the space (De Carteau 1984, p. 108). For that reason, Regent Street should be thought of as a palimpsest space and here is the first time research will carve through to the oldest layers of Regent Street and translate what was written there.

1.4 THE SCOPE OF THIS STUDY

While each chapter seems like a different visit to Regent Street, they should be considered firmly connected to each other, since each will try to explore it focusing on a different phase in the production of space. This study aims to begin a journey first with the introduction of the Regency period. In the second chapter, the era will be briefly outlined to readers in terms of politics, economics and the social life of Regency London. The Industrial Revolution and Napoleonic Wars were the undoubted headlines of the era; they were directly linked to modernity, technology, immigration, social class, and competition with France. Since the name of the Regency is transferred from its ruler, the Prince Regent, who had a curial role in the development of London and Regent Street, he will be liberally refered to in this chapter. Inasmuch as the psychology of Regency society and the mood of the period are important to understand the socio-political climate that precipitated the construction of the street, Regency London will be verbally and visually illustrated here.

Following the second chapter, the spatial production of Regent Street will be separately analysed referring to the Lefebvrian triad, namely: conceived, perceived and lived spaces respectively. In the third chapter, conceived space will be the main subject. Lefebvre claimed that conceived space was cognitive, more abstract, and geometric space that was designed and fictionalised by architects, planners, and experts (Lefebvre,

1991, 20-40). Thus this geometric plane will be analysed through its drawings, sketches and design strategies of responsible actors and agencies. Moreover, 18th and 19th century maps will illustratively demonstrate these strategies. Since conceived space concerns specific ideologies and tactics of builders and designers, their concepts and dreams will be scrutinized here. For example, the Prince Regent had an essential role as a patron as he ordered the development of the street to be awarded to his favourite architect, John Nash, who in turn collaborated with other architects and builders. Therefore agencies will be mainly human bodies that were the source of concept, vision, regulation and normativity in the production of conceived space.

The fourth chapter will focus on perceived space. Lefebvre explained this space as concrete because one could see and observe it visually and spatially. The users and their perceptions are essential in the production of perceived space (Lefebvre, 1991, 17). He differentiated between the conception of space (abstract), and perception of space (concrete) as, "Concrete space is the space of gestures and journeys, the body and memory, of symbols and sense. This solid content, of time inscribed in space, is misunderstood by reflexive thought, which instead resorts to the abstract space of vision, of geometry" (Elden, 2004, 189). Thus bodies, their movement, feelings and experiences about the buildings in the street which were mostly viewed in terms of their physical and material quality as much as their architectural style, will be the source of the analysis of this three-dimensional space. Moreover, the body is also taken as a social and material production of perceptions here to see the cohesion or incompatibility between the perception of Regency bodies and Regent Street. Mobility, movement, behaviours and feeling were extracted from the Regency texts, books and diaries, while prints are decoded to comprehend what can be drawn from them. However, many of these sources will be depicting the upper class since the lower class was largely illiterate and these sources were produced by the rich. Further, being dedicated to the nobility and gentry, many prints of Regent Street only represent the upper class. Ranging from treatments of the body with bathing and outfits on the one hand, to mobility of the body via carriages or on foot (walkers) on the other, this chapter will also deal with different non-human agencies to convey a wide array of perceptions. For that reason, ANT will be knitting together this noticeable network with these subjects and objects of Regent Street as if to produce, "Here, there used to be…" sentences.

In the fifth chapter, an analysis of lived space will be conducted through the alterations and renovations of Regent Street. Regarding the fact that each society produces its own space, Regency society will be analysed as a whole by disregarding their class differences and distinctions. Moreover, Regent Street will be analysed as a spectacle in itself produced by society. In that respect, the meaning of spectacle in modern society will be analysed through the work of Guy Debord. As 19th century Regency publisher Pierce Egan represented London as a *modern metropolis*, modernity and modern society will be considered through analysing the production of space. In 1848, in the Victorian era, the Quadrant was pulled down due to a variety of reasons including vice and prostitution. The Regency is still known as a time of pleasure and debauchery associated with the Prince Regent himself. In stark contrast, the Victorian era is identified with the morals and ethics of the young Queen Victoria that necessitated a different space rather than a space for immoral activities. Therefore analysing this transformation will be a sequential reading of the Quadrant to see its living and reproduction process between 1818 and 1848.

Finally, the research requires a map to demonstrate the important role of the human and non-human body in the production of Regent Street. The network amongst body, space and things will also be illustrated as a visual production. To sum up, I will try to make a summary of all the chapters by concluding this research with a brief reference to to specific subjects that were related to 19th century Regent Street such as : modernity, awareness, production, consumption, society, segregation, human, non-human entities, media, manipulation, gender, sexuality, visibility, invisibility and surveillance.

1.4 LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

Despite the fact that from the early 19th century onwards, Regent Street has been continuously altered and socially adapted, it is still an important and famous thoroughfare today. However, this study investigates a short period, which covers the years from 1811 to 1848, that is called the Regency (late Georgian) and early Victorian era (1818-1848).

The very reason for choosing this specific segment of history is because both the design and the construction of the street that had started during the Regency era are inseparable

from the reign of George IV. Moreover, the patron who had ordered the street as Prince Regent had died in 1830 before seeing the construction fully finished (Hobhouse 2008, p 1-10). Following the completion of the street and while leases continued to the shop owners, Queen Victoria was on the throne. The books, drawings, and engravings that show the early stages of Regent Street were published in the Victorian era, even though they had been drawn during the Regency[6]. So it was challenging to find published material about Regent Street that was published in Regency period itself. They needed to be examined carefully to understand which period they belonged to. Moreover, I found numerous advertising pamphlets belonging to shops in Regent Street, but their printing dates were unknown. Since some of the shops were used in both the Regency and Victorian era, I had doubts about using them.

Finally, the language of the texts sometimes contained older forms of English that were incomprehensible for me and I sometimes received support to render them easier to understand.

[6] http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/victorians/queen_victoria_01.shtml

2. INTRODUCTION TO THE REGENCY LONDON

The Regency era was a short but highly productive and eventful period in the history of England. Since the name of the period was taken from the title given to the future George IV, the Prince Regent, when he ruled in the stead of his insane father, this period reflected the tastes and lifestyle of the pleasure seeker Prince not only in its name but also in Regency productions. As he was the ruler and the patron of Regency productions, it is really crucial to know who he was and how he managed the period of his reign. Moreover, it was a complicated era since the country was still under the influence of the industrial revolution, and also went to war against Napoleonic France. Although the Prince was known for his indulgence of art and love, the country was reshaped by the social and the economic struggles and the outcomes were seen in all subjects that were related to human activity including fashion, architecture and art. Therefore, this chapter aims to give an idea of the Prince Regent, Regency London and its social political atmosphere.

2.1 THE ENTHRONEMENT OF THE PRINCE REGENT

It was 2 November 1810 when His Majesty King George III was fastened into a straightjacket and not released for 11 days because of his insane and violent acts. (Priestley 1969, p.2-5). During this recovery attempt, he did not show any reaction or improvements in his health, moreover he only got worse until he died in 1820. His physicians were convcinced that his disease was "porphyria" which has several forms and painful symptoms such as producing mental manifestations similar to hysteria, paranoia, or schizophrenia. Therefore, the decision was made by parliament that until King George III returned to good health, his eldest son, the Prince of Wales, who was to become George IV, would be the Prince Regent to rile in his father’s place. It was January 1811 when King George III’s condition worsened, and Parliament appointed the Prince as Regent and allowed him to form a government (Priestley 1969, p.4).

Born in August 1762, the Prince of Wales was a well-educated man, handsome in a florid fashion, with effortlessly engaging manners. When he was free from his father's control, instead of following in his father’s footsteps politically and in terms of lifestlye,

he used his position to gain for personal pleasure and indulged his desire for entertainment. He was therefore a kind of "*profligate son*" which was a common and notrorious description in late Georgian England (reign of George III (1760-1820) and George IV (1820-1830) to define sons who were in massive debt because of their extreme and costly pursuit of pleasure and enjoyment (Philips 2013, p. 7). His opposition to his father meant he refused to emulate the King and his frugal habits, and so the Prince was soon in debt owing to his overindulgences as he was addicted to clothes, dinner parties, balls and other pleasures.

His education began at an early age with the highest reputed tutors of the time so that he could grow up having been well-versed in art, music and ancient and modern languages as other aristocratic boys had done. Thus he had developed a sophisticated taste in the artistic fields including cuisines, fashion, painting, and literature. Smith[7] (1996, p. 7) describes the Prince's daily routine as follows:

> *"began lessons at 7 a.m. Two hours in the schoolroom were followed by breakfast with their parents promptly at nine. Refreshed by tea and dry toast, they returned to lessons for a further two or three hours, after which they took exercise by walking in the gardens, in preparation for dinner at three o' clock. The main meal of the day was nourishing without being lavish: soup 'when not very strong or heavy,' followed by 'plain meat without fat, clear gravy and greens,' or fish 'without butter.' Dessert was 'the fruit of a tart without crust' and on Thursdays and Saturdays the special treat of an ice of whatever flavour they preferred. A glass of wine was allowed to end the meal, with coffee twice a week" (Smith 1996, p. 7).*

Having this education and attitudes established a strong visual and artistic knowledge in the Prince who would use them all to create his future monarchy of spectacle. As he had always satisfied his tastes for self-indulgence from an early age, any work of art which satisfied him, whether it be a painting, music or a book, had an intrinsic worth in his eyes to be appreciated. However, this overindulgence made him notoriously and widely known as a womaniser because of a series of affairs he had with beautiful women, who were usually singers or dancers. Since the Prince was a glutton with an excessive appetite, he was overweight allowing caricaturists to illustrate him as the fat Prince. Figure 2.1 shows the Prince as a whale and it was depicted by Cruikshank. Cruikshank

[7] English historian, specialising in late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century British political history.

tried to convey his over consumption and exaggerated the figure by adding a poem below the caricature.

Figure 2.1: The Prince of Whales by George Cruikshank, published 1812

Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=180291001&objectId=1657369&partId=1

The Prince Of Whales
Not a fatter fish than he
Flounders round the polar sea.
See his blubbers- at his gills
What a world of drink he swills…
Every fish of generous kind
Scuds aside or shrinks behind;
But about his presence keep
All the monsters of the deep…
Name of title what has he?...
Is he Regent of the sea?
By his bulk and by his size,
By his oily qualities,
This (or else my eyesight fails),
This should be the Prince of Whales
Charles Lamb (Murray, 1998)

Despite the Prince's bad reputation on account of his vast expenditure, he was greatly appreciated within the artistic communities. For instance, he was a private patron who bought artistic masterpieces, and his support paved the way for the opening of the National Gallery in 1824[8]. (Priestley 1969, p.81). Moreover, the Prince's admiration and patronage of Jane Austen, led her to dedicated her book *Emma* to him in 1816

[8] Exhibitions at the National Gallery supported many artists including Turner.

(Murray 1999, p.2). Indeed his great passion for creative activites resulted in him earning the moniker, the first Gentlemen of Europe. While of course the definition of beauty can always change from person to person or from era to era, during the Regency period, the beholder and arbiter of such beauty was undoubtedly the Prince Regent.

Although he always wanted to be in the company of his high noble or artistic friends who shared his tastes, his lifestyle was never appreciated neither by his father King George III nor by the middle or lower classes. Therefore, many times his annual allowance was cut by the King and he also met the disapproval of several Members of Parliament (MPs) and even the ever growing middle class as his expenditures had cost several million pounds of their money for his extravagant way of living (Priestley 1969, p. 24-26). In those days the country was at war with Napoleon, which caused tremendous expense which was the last thing England wanted to deal with. Moreover, during the war, the Prince was not commanding on the battlefield, but was hosting balls and great dinners in which sumptuous dishes were served by French chefs in his royal residence, Carlton House. Figure 2.2 shows one of these fetes, and conversation among people as they look upon the sheer opulence of the table in front of them[9]. Among these fetes, perhaps the most famous was one given at Carlton House on June 19, 1811 (Timbs 1872, p. 134). When he became Regent, on 6 February 1811, he desperately wanted to organise a spectacular party to celebrate his new power. Such was his great desire to celebrate in a manner fitting his new status that the preparations for this great dinner took from February to June to achieve the desired results. It was a unique dinner experiment the Prince had ever carried out, hosting a supper for over 2,000 guests of the nobility and gentry including the "beau monde," of wealthy and fashionable society. (Graig 2013, p. 251). The future George IV in the immense preparations and rehearsals that he undertook in his desire for beauty gave a clear indication of how his reign was to proceed with his fête very much showing us his fate[10].

[9] . One says: "Oh John one of our milk white Chickens roasted by myself by our wood fire would be Luscioscious indeed." While another says: "La Feather do zee how they gilded Fishes be stareing at yow." Then another person adds: "I say Sue I thinks I should not like that dry Shampain, but a Dobbin of our home brewed in that there gilded gold thing would be dreadfully noice indeed" (Timbs, 1872, p:134).

[10] During the war, the diet of labourers mainly consisted of half-rotten bread, butter, potato while Regent served hot turtle soup, roasts, cold food, in addition to wines and iced champagne, grapes, pineapples all in silver plates to his guests for a midsummer fete that cost about £150,000 (Priestley 1969, p. 40).

Figure 2.2: Regency fete or John Bull in the conservatory, Print made by Charles Williams, 1811.

Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=78843001&objectId=1479060&partId=1

These preparations were not only covered the food, clothes and music but also the architecture as well. The Prince Regent was preparing himself and his palace Carlton House for this big day for years. It was around the 1790s when he ordered the refurbishment and decoration of Carlton House. Situated in the St James district of Central London, Carlton House faced the south side of Pall Mall, and its gardens abutted St. James's Park. Henry Holland was responsible for its Ionic screen that fronted Pall Mall, the Corinthian porte-cochère, the magnificent oval staircase and a suite of rooms that led Horace Walpole, a leading English art historian, to claim that Carlton House would be "the most perfect in Europe" when completed (Hibbert & Weinreb 2008, p. 132). Whrn the Prince Regent moved and began living there, England was suffering from social, economic and political upheavals and deprivations because of the war with France. Therefore one of the most spectacular political events that shaped

early 19th century Europe as a whole but the history of London in particular was the Napoleonic wars.

2.2 THE NAPOLEONIC WARS AND ULTIMATE VICTORY AT WATERLOO

In the late 18th century, the Royal Navy was rapidly growing and acquiring overseas power through trade and colonisation. It has the blue-water strategy that helped Britain to gain power in India and the West Indies during the early years of the Napoleonic wars (1803-15). Since Britain intended to be dominant in South Africa (that was then the Cape Colony of the Dutch) as well, they planned to attack Spanish colonies of the Rio Dela Plata (River Plate) in South America in 1806 (Grehan 2013, p. 1). That triggered the resumption of the war with Napoleon ending the rather shaky peace with the beginning of the War of the Fourth Coalition against France

British troops were under the command of Arthur Wellesley, the future Duke of Wellington and soldiers from France, the Netherlands, the Ottoman Empire and Russia were also involved in the War. The conflict took place in locations ranging across the entire continent with significant losses for both the British and France armies until the first defeat of Napoleon and his abdication as Emperor in February 1815. Nonetheless, Napoleon who had been exiled to the Mediterranean island of Elba,who after years as the dominant force of an entire continent was neve going to accept his newly found and much reduced status willingly. His escape and rallying of his troops once more led to the decisive battle and his defeat by the then Duke of Wellington at Waterloo in Belgium, on 22 June 1815 (Grehan 2013, p. 1). Wellington became the true hero of Britain while the Prince Regent assumed that it was his victory even though he had never set foot on a battlefield in his life.

It should come as no surprise to say that, during the Napoleon Wars (1803 - 1815), the standard of living in Britain as a whole had dropped dramatically, but living conditions were rather different depending on which social class you belonged to. The rich were getting richer due to earnings from their lands and taxes, and poor were getting poorer because of the debts that they had incurred. The political economist Joseph Massie's (died 1784) statistics had outlined a sharp separation between social classes that already held sway in 18th century in England.

According to Massie, half of the total population of England were on the bottom rung of the ladder with an income of £23 or less per family per year, whereas there were a few rich families that earned £27,000 a year (Hay & Rogers 1997, p. 23). Furthermore, there was an underclass made up of the unemployed, petty criminals and vagabonds who lived on around £5 a year (Hill 1969, p. 35).

Based on Massie's analysis, and examining her own contemporary society, the Regency novelist Georgette Heyer described these social segments in her books, and she mentioned the existence of a social ladder. Her books show us a fixed social ladder that shaped and delineated where the population stood and were to stay in terms of social class (table 1 was generated from Heyer's Novel). The classes were defined primarily by birth, title, wealth, property and occupation. Her ladder was structured as such: Monarchy, Royalty, Aristocracy, Gentry, Middle Class, Artisan and Trades People, Servants, Labouring Poor, and Paupers. (Kloester 2005, p. 3-5).

Table 1.1: Novelist *Georgette Heyer' Ladder* from her Regency novels and Massie's analysis in 1759.

Social Segments (yearly income)	Definition
Royalty	The English monarchy was an ancient institution based on the principles of heredity and primogeniture- eldest male inherited the throne on the death of the monarch/ if there is no son, it passes to daughter
The aristocracy	Dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, barons, peeresses were the new peers defined aristocracy.
The Gentry[11]	Members of the upper class. Baronets, Knights, esquires, gentlemen.
The new middle class £600	Professionals like: financiers, bankers, prominent doctors, engineers, lawyers, government place-holders, bureaucrats, factory owner, wealthy merchants, nabobs (man returning from India)

[11] As it was referred by Hay & Rogers, rich families each earned about £27.000 a year, however numbers were changeable, so table does not show their income.

End of scale £200	Teachers, innkeepers, artists, master craftsmen, smaller merchants, shopkeepers.
Lower end £50-£100	Doctors, lawyers, merchants, farmers, small manufacturers
Further down from the ladder around £40	Artisans, trades people, servants.
The bottom of the ladder £27-£5	Labouring poor who struggle on a daily basis to survive from labourers to pedlars, chimney sweeps, climbing boys, naval men, vagrants, paupers.

Source : Kloester, J. (2008). *Georgette Heyer's Regency world / Jennifer Kloester.*

The facts and figures try to draw a picture of late 18th century England, however, this situation was mostly applicable to London as it was the heart of England. Also, the Industrial Revolution and the war with France in the early 19th century made this gap between classes even wider.

2.3 LONDON: THE HEART OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Great Britain was unquestionably one of the leaders and host countries of rapid industrialisation. Nonetheless the Industrial Revolution was apparent only in embryo form until the advent of steam power in the 1780s. Iron and steel production expanded, and it helped the construction of infrastructure projects such as new bridges and transportation. Thanks to steam powered factories, textiles were easily and quickly manufactured from cotton. Therefore industrial towns began to swell, and populations increased there. It was called an economic boom because mass production methods helped fast and prolific production. While England was a trading nation, in time it transformed into an industrial one. For example, Manchester was the centre of weaving with its steam-powered factories, while Staffordshire (West Midlands of England) was the centre of the mass production of potteries. Roads and canals were improved, and London played a crucial role as it was the central clearing house where raw materials entered and left as finished goods (Hill 1969, p. 21). The development of the capital

combined with the embracing of new materials. Consequently, London played the head role in this reform as it was staging and exhibiting all of them in its very own form and modernisation. This revolutionary city displayed the industrial power of England with its buildings and roads. Therefore long before the Great Exhibition at the zenith of Victorian England in 1851, London was already prominent in the industrialisation process and was well prepared for the phenomenal develpments that were to come (figure 2.3).

Figure 2.3: The Great Industrial Exhibition of 1851

Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=588097001&objectId=3183053&partId=1

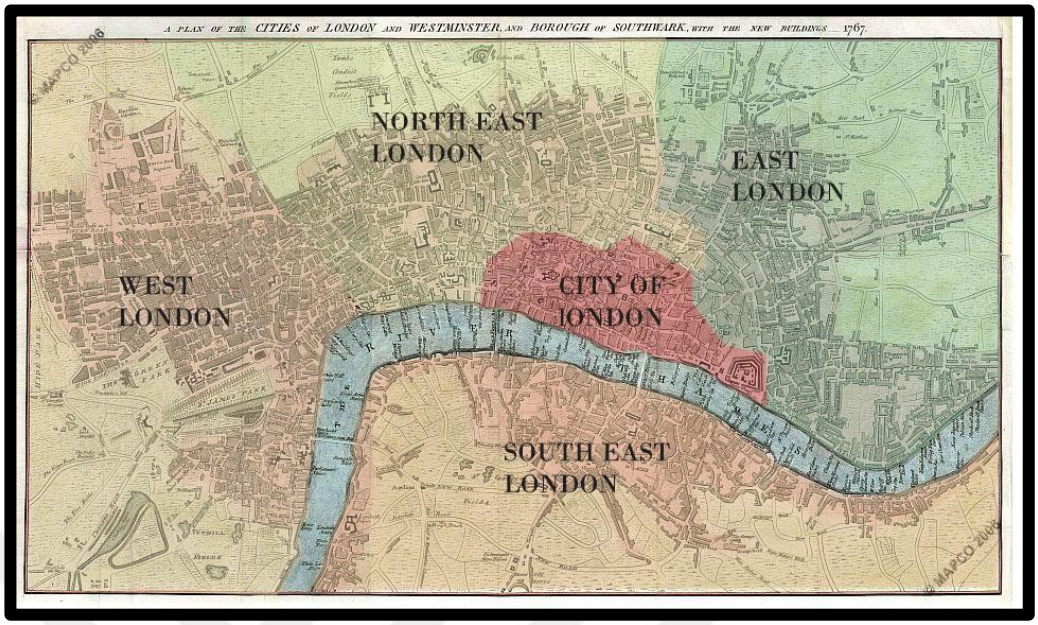
As the Industrial Revolution allowed people to work in cities and factories, migration to London grew significantly and the population of the city more than doubled within 50 years. In 1760, the combined population of England and Wales was more than six million while London housed around 700,000. By 1812 the British population was nearly 12 million and London had more than a million of them (Hill 1969, p. 27). This increase helped the country find low-paid labourers but there was a scarcity of adequate housing. The pace of housing production could not kep pace with the migration of low-paid workers. Therefore London was in effect an actor with a double face; one

represented the richest part where nobility and wealthy lived, and the other presented the unfortunate and vulgar part where people died from hunger or shared the same floor on which to sleep in overcrowded dwellings. For that reason, there was no one and the same London for anyone, for each segment of the society, London was displaying a radically different face.

Table 1 (Social Segments/Ladders of England) showed that there was a visible chasm between the very rich and the penniless who were highly visible in the most populated city of England, London. Consequently when typical Londoners were needed to be grouped in the ealry 19th century, they were placed in one of three categories; first, the poor who left no diaries, no letters and could hardly be seen in images, second the middle class and professionals and third the *gilded plutocrats* and *royalty*. Nonetheless, marriage and the accumulation of vast wealth or a landed estate could give certain members of society the opportunity to climb the social ladder quickly, though it was a system designed to ensure that it did not happen with great frequency. From here to the end of this research, Londoners will be categorised in two groups as they were in the Regency period. First are the Westenders who were upper class and royalty including dandies[12], the beau monde[13], the royal family, MPs (Members of Parliament), and aslo upper middle class made up of professions like doctors and lawyers who lived in West London. Secondly, the Eastenders (including North and South-East) who were servants, artisans, beggars; essentially the working class living in East London and the City of London (between West and East) (figure 2.4).

[12] A man, who dressed in expensive, fashionable clothes and was very interested in his own appearance.
[13] Fashionable society.

Figure 2.4: Map of London 1775



Source: http://mapco.net/bowles1775/bowles.htm

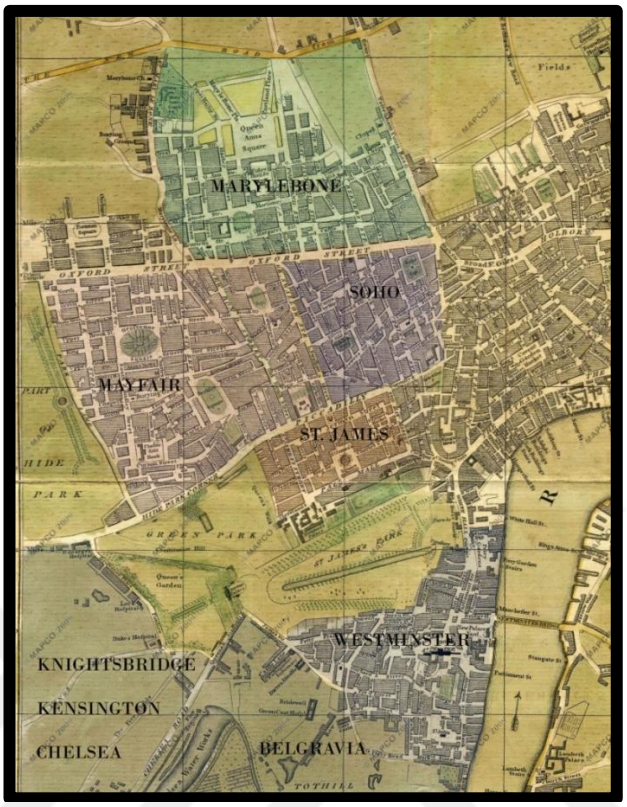
2.3.1 The West End as a Plate of Heaven

Encyclopædia Britannica describes today's West End as follows:

> *"West End, in London, a loosely defined area in the boroughs of Westminster and Kensington and Chelsea. Because many of its neighbourhoods and retail districts are among the more affluent of the metropolis, the West End is considered the fashionable end of London. For centuries it has been known for its royal palaces, parklands, government offices, mansions, and exclusive shopping districts—in contrast to London's more industrial and blue-collar East End. Among the neighbourhoods of the West End are Mayfair, St. James, Belgravia, Knightsbridge, and the environs of Kensington Palace"*[14].

[14] https://www.britannica.com/place/West-End

Figure 2.5: Map of London 1795, West End



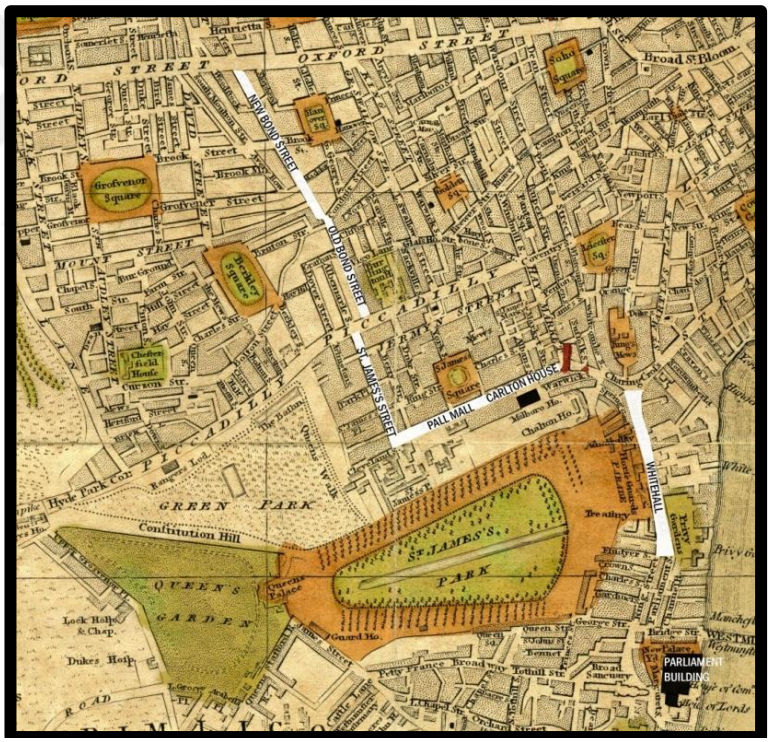
Source: http://mapco.net/bowles1775/bowles.htm

Including Carlton House that had been used as a residence for the Royal family from the 18th century in the Pall Mall area and its luxury shopping district of Bond Street in Mayfair, the 19th century West End was remarkaby similar to modern day counterpart. (figure 2.5, 2.6). West London has always been a plate of heaven with its luxurious lifestyle and its elegant bodies. Thanks to the weaving and newly introduced textile techniques, high society men and women created their own styles and followed them gracefully after the French Revolution. Fashion in the streets of West London was sourced and spread by the noble and upper class leaders of society. Similar to the "Trickle Across" theory which was suggested by Robinson King (1963) which asserts that fashion moves horizontally between groups, on similar social levels, Regency bodies followed their high society leaders and tastes[15] (King cited on Davis 1992, p. 112).

[15] Pierre Bourdieu (1979) also explains a very similar theory wabout what constitutes taste within society in his book, "*Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste"* as follows; "Thus, for an adequate interpretation of the differences found between the classes or within the same class as regards their

In the Regency West End, the buildings were of the highest standards as almost every bedroom had its own chamber pot and water closet, and some of them even had a personal bathroom and WC (Kloester, 2005, 26). The general acceptance of industrial equipment into their houses, including clean water and a drainage system, engendered a more comfortable existence and greater sanitation for those who lived there. Numerous scientists were sponsored and supported in the Regency era, and the gas lamp was one the most important inventions of that time as they created a safer environment and extended the amount of time where public activity outside of the home was possible (Henderson 1968, p. 162). The West End was filled with such lamps thanks to the Prince Regent who ordered initially ordered them to brighten the streets in front of his door on Pall Mall (Figure 2.6).

Figure 2.6: Map of London 1814 Pall Mall and St James's

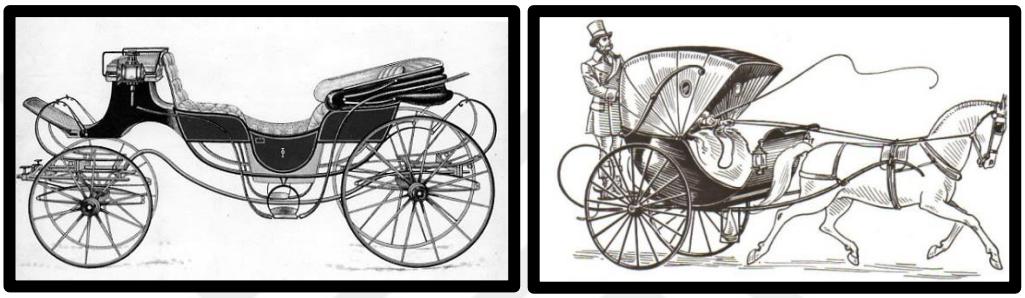


Source: http://mapco.net/darton1814/darton.htm

relation to the various legitimate arts, painting, music, theatre, literature etc., one would have to analyse fully the social uses, legitimate or illegitimate, to which each of the arts, genres, works or institutions considered lends itself. For example, nothing more clearly affirms one's 'class', nothing more infallibly classifies, than tastes in music." He believes that the cultural tastes of the dominant (ruling) class tend to dominate the tastes of the other social classes, thus forcing individual men and women of economically and culturally dominated classes to conform to certain aesthetic preferences, lest they risk societal disapproval by appearing to be crude, vulgar, and tasteless persons (Bourdieu, 18, 1984).

Using new materials and developments in transportation technology, the streets of West London were full of individual carriages that were owned by tons, a shortened term for le bon ton, that is to say high society in the Regency. Most of them had huge cast iron bodies and wheels, which allowed horses to be tied to the front and controlled by the drivers (Wright 2008, p. 19-22) (figure 2.7).

Figure 2.7: Examples of Regency carriages



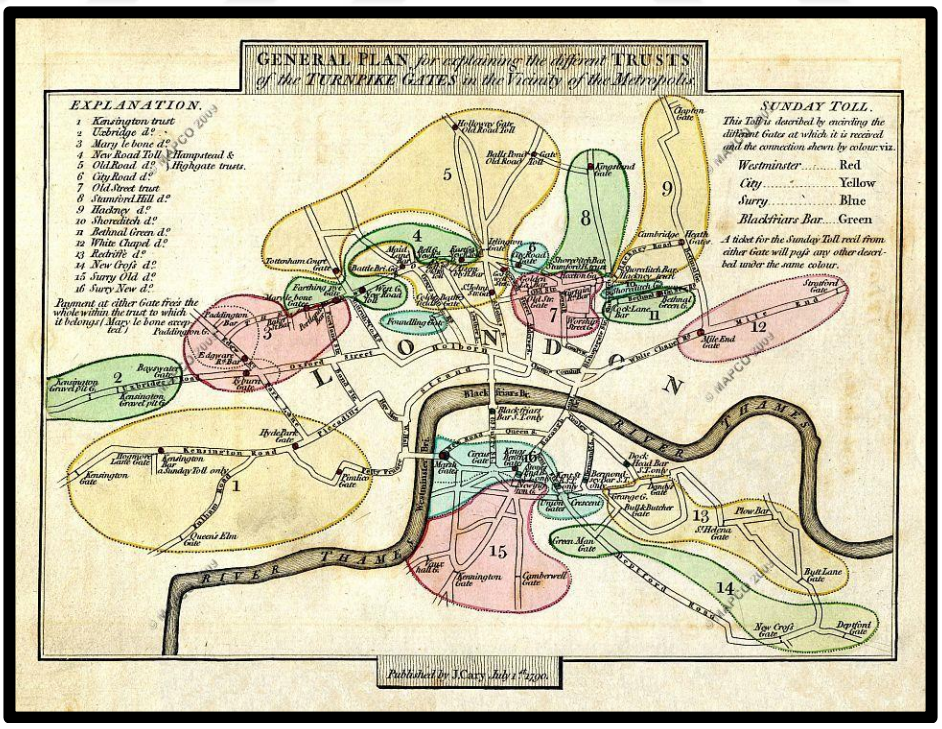
Source: https://www.kristenkoster.com/a-regency-era-carriage-primer/

These carriages were further improved by metal frames and wheels, leading to an increase in the number of drivers, and subsequent improvement in the road systems. Wright's analysis found that there were 321 daily coach services from London by the year 1805. The 1820s and 1830s were the golden decades of main road building and use for the sake of business, and mail coaches as travel became faster and journey times were reduced by these roads (figure 2.9). Moreover, newly established turnpikes (toll gates) played a significant role in improving the existing road network to meet the needs of industrialisation (figure 2.8). The money that was gained from the turnpikes was used for repairs and the development of the roads (Wright 2008, p. 19-22). These roads made it possible for people to live far from their work as turnpikes linked the main roads to other throughfares creating a nascent road network (Wright 2014, p17).

Figure 2.8: Hyde Park Turnpike 1792

Source:http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=611335001&objectId=3203470&partId=1

Figure 2.9: 1790 Turnpike map



Source: http://mapco.net/turnpikes/turnpikes.htm

Both men and women were able to enjoy travelling in their curricle in the West End's fashionable streets in their leisure time as riding and shopping were among their daily activities. They preferred riding carriages in the parks to walking and strolling in the open places as leisure activities (figure 2.10). The relationship between walking in the city and spending leisure times in open places like parks will be mentioned in the following chapters, however it is necessary to underlined here that, by the 18th century parks were the lungs of the cities while the streets were the arteries where circulation and mobility occurred.

2.10: May fashions, or hints for a four in hand exhibition, 1813.

Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=76949001&objectId=1480620&partId=1

Beside the parks, there were other pleasurable places in the West End such as gentlemen's clubs, gambling houses or boxing arenas found in St James's and Piccadilly which forbade the presence of women's bodies, and acted as popular entertainments and meeting points for gentlemen. On the other hand, theatres, exhibitions and assembly rooms were the welcoming places for both sexes. High society women were only visible in the parks, gardens, shops, or private dinner parties because

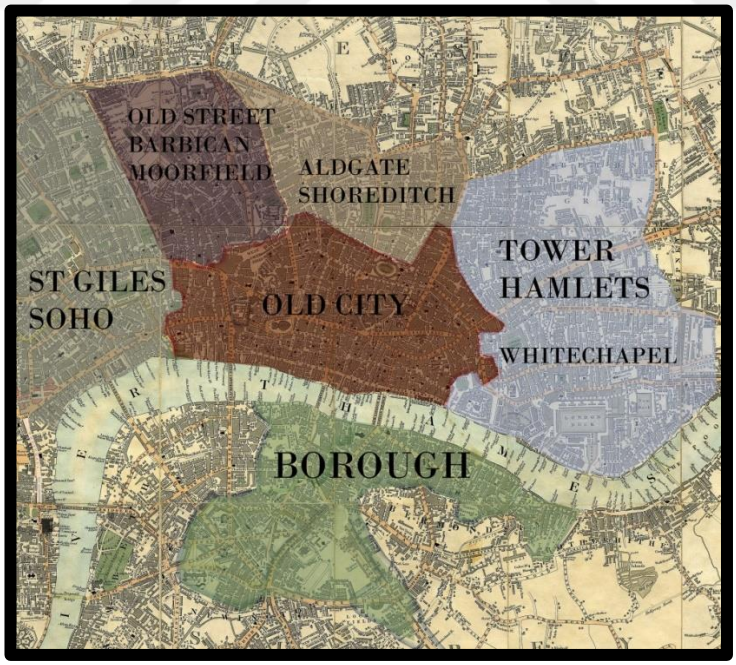
being seen around gentlemen's clubs would incur a bad reputation for them (Rendell 2002, p. 63-71).

Consequently, West London bodies can be characterised as clean, luxurious and gender distanced, while East London was considerably different from the West, with regard to both morality and quality of life.

2.3.2 The East End as a Plate of Hell

The East End**,** the traditional area of London, lying east of Shoreditch High Street, Houndsditch, Aldgate High Street, and Tower Bridge Approach extended eastward to the River Lea and lay mainly in the inner London borough of Tower Hamlets, part of the historic county of Middlesex. In the Middle Ages, the East End was part of the great parish of Stepney, but it began to take on an identity of its own in the 19th century (figure 2.11) and to this very day has long been known for its immigrant populations and its poverty[16].

Figure 2.11: East London districts, 1804



Source: http://mapco.net/wallis1804/wallis.htm

[16] https://www.britannica.com/place/East-End

Contrary to well-educated Westenders, East Londoners were mostly workers, servants, drunks, beggars, prostitutes, robbers, vulgars and paupers (figure 2.12). As they earned far less than their West End couterparts, their activities and living conditions were somewhat limited. There were a lot of houses accommodating several people living in the same room; men and women, strangers to each other lying promiscuously next to one another, paying less than three pence for a double bed (Fielding 1751, p. 141).

Figure 2.12: The Slums of London by George Scharf

Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=434909001&objectId=736134&partId=1

Because of the enormous increase in population in London, single rooms of apartments were separated into smaller cells as livng spaces to rent. From top to bottom, rooms were divided into many separate entities, and they had two, three even four doors opening out onto different alleys (Hanway 1780, p. 16). Those who did not have or could not find a place to live were sleeping in abandoned or ruined houses, close to the warm walls of the factories and kilns. Compared to the West, these crowded and overpopulated streets of the East were dirty and stinky both literally and figuratively because ‘throwing any noisome things, dead cats into the highway was not offence but

just bad'. Even though in 1773 the use of Aberdeen granite was set to create clean and well-arranged streets, the streets were cambered with gutters instead of sloping down (Picard 2000, p. 11). Benjamin Franklin noted that granite was inefficient because it made streets muddy and dirty, and therefore slippery for horses and carriages or even for those who were walking (Franklin & Franklin 1818, p. 102). Their homes were very similar to the streets as they had no drainage or refuse collection. Figuratively, because human bodies were plentiful and cheap, the streets of the East were full of prostitution, or starving families willing to sell their children in order to survive[17].

Compared to West London, East London's pleasures were not mainly based on strolling in St James's Park to see and be seen, attending balls, or walking and shopping in Bond Street. Nonetheless, on the East side of the city, there were still some entertainment sources for Eastenders. If they were lucky enough, they may have been able to afford cheap seats in a theatre or opera, but not in the boxes or the balconies reserved for wealthier Westenders. If not, there were street artists including ballad singers and musicians who entertained them without the need to go to opera houses. They might not have been able to bet in gambling houses or the clubs of Westenders, but cock fighting pits were always the scene for wagers laid on which bird would be victorious. Besides those activities, many parks and gardens of London were free to enter and open to the public from all classes (Murray 1998, p. 217-18). Overall, East London was the place where the lower classes tried to follow upper class trends as much as they could, however considering both sexes of various ages had to share rooms in their East London slums, morality was not viewed in the same manner in an environment where sexual promiscuity was almost inevitable.

2.3.3 The Prince Regent: Betwixt the East and the West

There is no doubt that 19th century London was the eyewitness of a dialectical relationship between two different socio-economic poles of the city that were segregated and separated into two different but parallel worlds. Even though there was not solid separation in the sense of isolation through physically impassable barriers that controlled the movement of people, other kinds of virtual, mental and physical markers

[17] Hanway (1785, 24) claimed that '….for twenty or thirty shillings, being a smaller price than the value of a terrier' illegitimate and poor families sold their children (Hanway 1785, p. 24).

existed between the streets and buildings since shops and alleys delineated spatial limits to make a clear separation between the classes. Throughout the course of the Regency era, streets were not only newly constructed passages or routes for transportation but also lively performance areas that differentiated themselves according to their location and time of usage. On the streets of the East there were theatres for puppeteers, stages for ballad singers and musicians, and playgrounds for children, work places for robbers and prostitutes or chimney sweeps, as well as being observation platforms for ramblers or flâneurs. On the other hand, the streets could be a catwalk for well-off ladies and gentlemen, places to gossip for nobles, and fashion magazines and newspapers for the upper classes in the West. Therefore the streets of London in the Regency were scenes of everyday life both in the East and the West. No matter where they were, Londoners were always connected to their streets and the way they lived in their homes or treated their bodies in termsof dress and entertainment were directly related to the way they used the streets (Cameron 2001, ii). Of course, Londoners have been taking care of their streets from the past right up to the present day, however there is a difference between the past and present conditions of the streets. Although the street patterns have remained virtually the same in many areas, they previously differed considerably with regard to cleaning, lighting and regulaton. Up until the Victorian period (commencing in 1837), which was the era that followed the Regency, there were no regulations covering streets and public welfare. For example, the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act provided basic medical care for the poor, the 1848 Public Health Act established local Boards of Health which appoint medical officers, provided sewers, inspected lodging houses and checked the quality of food offered for sale and the 1866 Sanitary Act made local authorities responsible for sewers, waters and street cleaners. (Langford & Russell 2017, p. 387). Although all these acts belonged to the Victorian era, they can be traced back to the Regency because Great Britain and its development post-industrialiation originated in the late Georgian era covering the reigns of George III and George IV (the earlier Prince Regent) when the revolution started and then shaped the destiny of the country. Even though the Regency is the main subject of this research, in fact as Saussure says, “history is diachronic (evolutionary).” Hence the Regency should be considered in connection with its preceding period, the reign of George III and its successor, the Victorian era. It is therefore possible to claim that even though Victorian legislation

appeared after the Regency, their origins could easily be traced backed to the Regency, perhaps not because of George IV himself but because of the modernisation process in which the revolution and social and technological developments were embedded.

Figure 2.13: A morning ride by James Gillray, 1804

Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=150035001&objectId=1644329&partId=1

In fact, the snobbish patron of the era, the Prince Regent, who supported the segregation of the classes, did not initiate any regulations as Queen Victoria did through the series of Acts of Parliament that symbolised her reign for the greater equality of the West End and East End. The Prince Regent was ultimately a pleasure seeker revelling in the prestige of West London, even though Carlton Place was situated inbetween West and East London. He had never given any regard to his expenses and preferred to spend most of his time gambling or at parties with his aristocratic friends or dandies in search of beauty personal satisfacion. Although many of his attempts to make London fashionable and beautiful did not lead to any specific legislation, his beautification projects became the foundations for Victorians to change the identity of the city as a healthy and modern metropolis. Image 8 represents a typical day in the life of the Prince Regent, passing through the front of Carlton House and leaving a poor boy behind him. His attitude left the public with the thought that the boy is simply invisible

to him. It can be understood that the Prince wanted to acquire friends or objects only if they pleased his senses. As a result of his desires to attain anything beautiful, he created a circle around him composed of beautiful people. Regency London was called the gayest and the most fashionable city in Europe because of the Prince Regent's obsession with beauty covering all artistic fields, which architecture was a significant component of (Margetson 1971, p. 1). Any architectural demolition order he gave had to serve his greater purpose of the beautification of London. Among all the projects and buildings of the Regency period, the most spectacular beautification project was undoubtedly Regent Street. Compared to other constructions, the scale of the Regent Street project was bigger both in architectural and social scale for the people involved in it. Before the history of this ground-breaking street for London, the meaning of beauty and the beautiful in the Regency era should be clarified.

2.3.4 The Desire for a Beautiful London

The Regent street project was a developmental, with the aim of this urban plan to improve the city and its layout. Rather surprisingly, from the Great Fire of 1666 to the Regency, London had not witnessed any significant attempts to change the existing map of the city. Therefore there was no prototype or good example to be given for a successful plan of beautification. For that reason, the development of the city depended on the aesthetic rules of the Regency architects and the approach to and concept of beauty held by the Prince Regent himself. Their idea of what constituted a beautiful street was shaped by the norms and the rules of the Regency society. Since the body is always the heart of these notions, here again Regency beauty will be explained through the lens of the Regency body.

2.3.4.1 The Concept of Regency Beauty

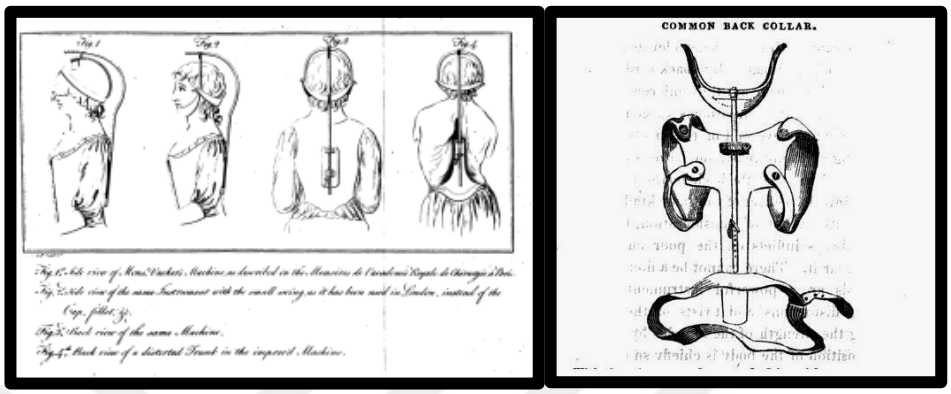
Georgian society, as an early modern society, was developing a culture of politeness (Klein 1993, p. 110-115). Therefore beauty was defined by courteous behaviour and the body that accompanied it. Anybody who was deformed or physically defective stood against this ideal and consequently was an enemy of politeness. The literature on18th century conduct instructed its readers that it was '*rude to jeer, laugh or revile any for their Deformity'* or to do anything that made people '*sensible of their weakness in point of parts,'* such as staring at them. (Petrie 1720, p. 32) The idealised body conformed to 18th century neoclassical ideas of aesthetic perfection whose qualities have been well established in recent historical studies of the 'body beautiful' (Porter 2001, p. 68–9), with posture being the key issue for both sexes. However, bodies were trying to adapt themselves to the new and industrial living standards. The food they ate might have caused nutritional deficiencies that caused skin conditions, and the places they worked could be a source of accidents because of long working hours and could even end up losing limbs or becoming hunchbacks due to their work in the factory. Therefore, body forms change from both the exterior point of view (how we perceive the body with clothes and jewellery) and from the interior (how we do so with the body structure and the skeleton that are naturally in the body but were endangered by industrial living and working conditions). These deformations were in some cases remedied by improvements in medical science that prevented and corrected such disfigurement[18].

Nicolas Andry, the French Physician, played a significant part in studies on the human anatomy, skeletal structure, and correcting deformity. He published his book *Orthopédie* in 1741, and it was translated into English in 1743 as *Orthopædia.* Thus, 'orthopaedic' intervention to restore the proper aesthetics of the body was a movement serving the purpose of social and moral responsibility (Nicolas 1743, p. 1-30). However, once deformity appeared it gave a disagreeable appearance to the sufferer and also impeded the function of the viscers and so the health and productivity of a worker would be adversely affected. Thanks to steel and metal advances, many techniques

[18] https://dralun.wordpress.com/category/deformity/ and https://englishhistoryauthors.blogspot.co.uk/2015/01/the-shape-of-georgian-beauty.html

adopted by truss makers improved to adjust problems with posture and the spine.[19] (figure 2.14).

Figure 2.14: Left: cornucopia, Right: steel collar



Source: https://englishhistoryauthors.blogspot.co.uk/2015/01/the-shape-of-georgian-beauty.html

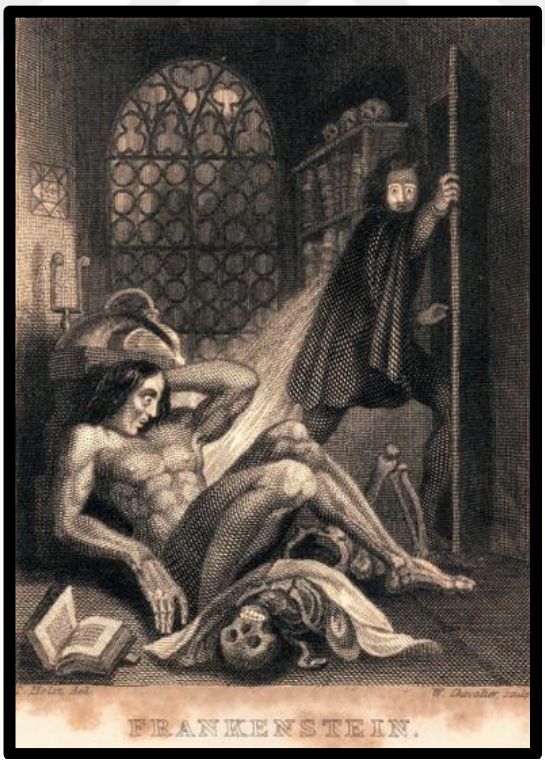
Orthopædia was one of the main texts drawn upon by Foucault in his "Discipline and Punish" (Palladino 2003, p. 206). After analysing the body in the 18th century, Foucault said that: "The classical age discovered the body as object and target of power, it is enough to find signs of the attention they paid to the body.... that is manipulated, shaped, and trained which obeys, responds, becomes skilful and increases its forces" (Foucault, 1975, p.138). As 18th century bodies were under pressure and constrained within corsets or medical inventions, Foucault tried to investigate how the body transformed from a source of torture and punishment to one of beauty and education.

One of the most spectacular literary productions of Georgian England, Frankenstein written by Mary Shelley, is the greatest proof of how discoveries on human anatomy affected the perception of late Georgian lives, even in the field of literature. The novel was published in English in 1818, in the Regency era and included different potential points of interests such as the castrated body of Shelley's monster created as a metaphor for the social order. However, the importance of the Frankenstein in this study is based on understanding the spatiality of the body because the body of this manmade creature was gathered from different people which was stitched together again by a human. This

[19] For example, cornucopia was a device by newly produced cast steel that holds bold strong and straight while metal collar kept head up and pulled shoulders back and down to provide the best posture for wearer

idea of the reproduction of the human form was only made possible after the Industrial Revolution that made developments possible in anatomy, alchemy, and electricity. Shelley uses the body metaphor that fights in its modern environment and social order (Shelley, 1818). Whether it was a monster or a creature, Frankenstein was a spatial production of the machine age of Britain with beauty or ugliness simply evaluated by appearance. Drawings and images of Frankenstein tended to show extremely deformed skin and amorphous proportions although his bone and body structure displayed as toned and well built (figure 2.15). Although Shelley did not specify the gender of the creature, both she and her society were sure that it was male as it was created within a patriarchal social order, despite the fact that his body parts had belonged to various women. In the end, the spatiality of this novel's character of the Regency clearly shows that human bodies were always the surface of representation of power, politics, gender and conflict.

Figure 2.15: Shelley's Frankenstein



Source: https://www.notestream.com/streams/57ef0ac6c0172/

A new relation between machine and body, 'engine and engineer or the producer' gave a new power dynamic to human beings biopolitically[20] in that period. To illustrate the larger social movement of power from the aristocracy to the middle classes, Foucault focussed on the history of punishment[21]. Foucault believed that punishments had shifted from public to private with an invisible and internal discipline of the "soul" through education and the intellectual relationship among the classes[22]. Foucault's late 18th century and early 19th century industrial town corresponded to the late Georgian,[23] which also covered the Regency era in England. Therefore the Georgian and Regency periods differentiated themselves with their understanding of the way they treated the body.

Naturalisation had the prime role in the Regency, and it gave some relief to the rigidly and structured body garments that had been the norm. Although corsets were still used, garments were softened and enabled the body to move more freely. Naturalisation took the Greek style as a guide and bodies were expected move easily with grace. Moving, dancing and bowing were all complex and coordinated movements that needed to be practised to be elegant. However, perfectly erect bodies and a graceful posture were still essential because any deformation in the spine was a sign of weakness. Thus the spine had to be straight with a balanced head when walking, dancing, and sitting[24]. Therefore, bodies in the early 19th century were no longer the same as those in the 18th century. Although modernity, poses, postures and its structure were still important issues, bodies were not violently punished and tortured, as their health and safety were governed by the naturalist style of the Regency which protected and formed the spine (vertebral canal), and its natural geometry. Therefore modernity not only helped the production of new engines, machines, roads and factories, but also medical studies contributed to the

[20] means appropriate to new political order and condition

[21] Because he is interested in punishment is that it demonstrates how modern society generates "their own"subject" (identities) by "disciplining" them through the intersection of social definitions of normality, material institutions (like the school), and the judgment of professionals (intellectuals) in order to stabilize bourgeois society against non-bourgeois (i.e. laboring class) revolt" https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/english/currentstudents/undergraduate/modules/fulllist/second/en229/marxfctintros_/foucault_reader.pdf

[22] Ibid.

[23] Means the era of four Georges from 1714 to c. 1830–37; George I, George II George III and George IV (Regency). The definition of the Georgian era is often extended to include the relatively short reign of William IV, which ended with his death in 1837. http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/learn/story-of-england/georgians/

[24] https://englishhistoryauthors.blogspot.co.uk/2015/02/the-natural-beauty-ideal-of-regency.html and https://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/gender-roles-in-the-19th-century

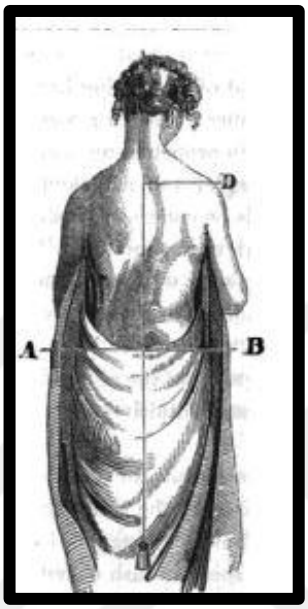
production of the perfect body. Although a human body is a natural production itself, developments in medicine assisted in improving it from the inside out. In that respect, Regency bodies could be regarded as a space in itself while education in fashion, medicine, dancing or walking was the designer of this space. Moreover, a well-structured spine and straight posture were the fundamental concepts of beautiful body design in the production of Regency beauty.

2.3.4.2 The Production of a Beautiful Place: Regent Street

When the word "production" refers a person, it is the process of the insemination, pregnancy and the moment of birth that is then followed by aging. On the other hand, taking an architectural realm or an urban space into account, their production refers to several phases that concern early sketches, drawings, modelling of this project, then construction of what was envisioned and finally using this place. Lefebvre described these three phases with his spatial triad; conceived, perceived and lived spaces. In the conceived space, he referred to drawings, diagrams, maps and other early conceptualised images that considered the geometry of the imaginary space and its construction process. Perceived space is more like the experience of space and is also related to living and using this space. Although conceived and perceived spaces are linked to each other, conceived space mostly represented the space without using it but foreseeing how to do so. Since at the beginning of the architectural design, the concept is abstract this phase is only two dimensional without feelings and perceptions. Lefebvre explained that architects and urbanists worked in this abstract space, this paper space of drawing, and were divorced from the level of “lived” in a dual sense. This is because abstracting it from their understanding, they could then project this understanding back onto the lived level (Lefebvre 1991, p. 38-39). More clearly, drawing a beautiful body (of a human) in the Regency was only possible by abstracting a well-postured body structure. Similar to the straight and clean human body, I believe that drawing a beautiful street from that period depended upon on avoiding zigzag forms and narrow and dirty secondary streets of the slum bodies. The concept of a beautiful body was a naturalised body providing with a good structure, having eliminated skin conditions and supported by politeness (figure 2.16). Similarly, the

concept of Regent Street also concerned having natural and direct movement without struggling unwanted movements (zigzags) in the city and having a clean and hygienic environment filled with polite bodies.

Figure 2.16: Posture



Source: https://englishhistoryauthors.blogspot.co.uk/2015/01/the-shape-of-georgian-beauty.html

2.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Throughout this chapter I have strived to illustrate the Regency period in London to understand the society of the Regency in its political, cultural and economic context. Although industrialisation in England had started much earlier than the life of the Prince Regent, thanks to the education Prince acquired, the Regency was the most fruitful period of the entire Georgian age in terms of sovereign who believed in the fundamental value of aesthetic beauty in art, architecture, fashion and literature. Moreover, as the country was at war with Napoleonic France for much of the period, so many young men were away from home to fight against Napoleon's army. For that reason, the poor were becoming poorer without enough men to earn money for their families and rich were getting richer since they had already accepted the machine age in their factories where men's labour was necessary but not entirely essential, thus the Regency saw a widening

gap between the social classes. The end of the Napoleonic wars brought victory to Great Britain, but also enormous demographic changes. Internal migration from the country to the city as people sought work in factories only deepened the growing differences among the social classes. On top of that, as men returned from war unemployment rose dramatically and desperation led many to look for a new life overseas. Those who remained in London were firmly entrenched on one side or other of a divided city consisting of wealthy West London and dirty, overcrowded East London. In this separation, the Prince Regent clearly favoured his fashionable circles in West London and he turned London into a spectacle where he could perform and exhibit his power, within his luxurious, fashionable and artistic circle.

While the 19th century was a period where social cohesion had started to break down it was also the period of early modernism. Consequently, Foucault referred to the transformation of the body in this period that governed the physicality and the soul of the self from inside to outside to constitute modern bodies. Since bodies had begun becoming healthier, gentler, better educated and hygienic, cities were asked to follow likewise to meet the demands of these modern bodies. Simmel (1968, p. 11) also claimed that the nineteenth century might have sought to promote, in addition to man's freedom, his individuality (which is connected with the division of labour) and his achievements which made him unique and indispensable but which at the same time made him so much more dependent on the complementary activities of others" in the maintenance of the human body, a hallmark of early modern societies.

As industrialisation reduced objects and subjects into things, this research takes architectural space as a thing that was produced in the Regency. Since this study concerns the importance of the body in the production of space, it does not take the body only as an architect, designer or the builder but rather views it as a whole with its intelligence, skeleton, skin, dresses, hygiene, movement and feelings as well. Subsequently, the Regency body will be used as a metaphor on each level of production[25] to see its central role in the early metropolis. For each phase of the production of space, the body will be seen undertaking a different performance. For

[25] First level is its conceptual phase that consists of drawings, diagrams, sketches. Second level is its usage after construction where experiences and daily practice are produced by human and non-human entities. Third phase is its reproduction and adaptation by the time process and society who uses it. It is called conceived , perceived, and lived space by Lefebvre while Soja and De Certeau called them first , second, and third space or the believeble ,the memoriable, and the primitive respectively.

example, while the Prince Regent and his architect Nash, who commissioned and formed the street respectively, were the producers of conceived space (first space in Soja or the believeble space for De Certeau), visitors performed as sellers, buyers and servers were the producers of perceived space and social body of Regent Street. Therefore from now on, the body which is the fundamental subject of architecture will have a metaphorical existence in this study both visually and logically, while non-human bodies will also play important part in describing, categorising and educating modern bodies.

In the third chapter, in considering 19th century industrial bodies or the so-called Regency body, Regent Street will be decoded, as if it was a modern, polite and natural structure which was delivered by a beautiful and graceful Regency body. The street will be looked at to understand it's mental or conceived spatial production in terms of its shape and form.

3. CONCEIVED SPACE: IDEOLOGIES AND STATEGIES

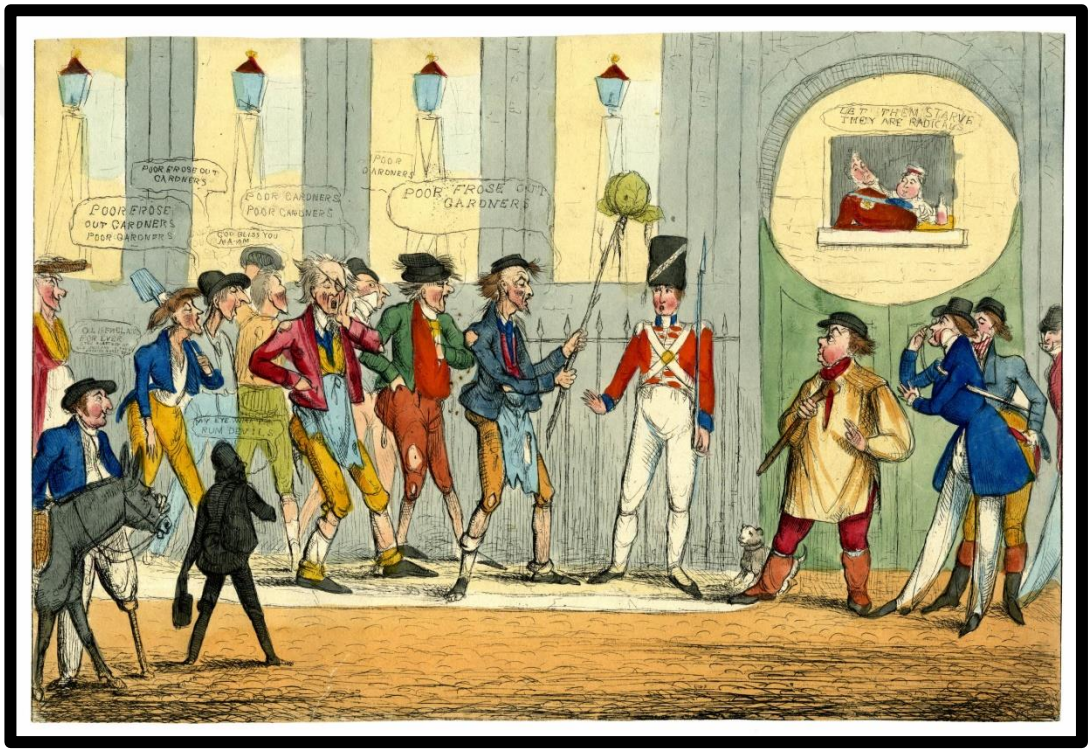
The Lefebvrian triad described conceptual space with representations of the space. Lefebvre believed that "conceptualized space is the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers, as of a certain type of artist with a scientific bent" (Lefebvre 1991, 38) . He basically argued that conceived space was the production of landowners, developers and the architects. Following Lefebvre's theory, Soja called this space a "second space" as he called a first space a perceived space (Soja, 1996, p. 6-10). Since he believed that if there was a space, it was probably perceived space which had already been planned and constructed. Therefore conceived can only be talked about after it had been envisioned and constructed. According to De Certeau, it was believeble space because its function stood for spatial appropriations because it should carry some realistic approaches so that it could be built and most of the time it needed "geometrical, space of visual, panoptical, or theoretical construction" (De Certeau 1984, p. 93). Sharing similar ideas with the two other spatial theorists , Lefebvre added: "this is the dominant space in any society (or mode of production). Conceptions of space tend, with certain exceptions, towards a system of verbal (therefore intellectually worked out) signs" (Lefebvre 1991, p. 39). The reason why he believed conceived space was so dominant was because conceived space usually represented a political ideology or strategy that started and triggered its production. Regarding 19th century Regency London, the production of a new street was not only a necessity as a new shopping area, but also the bearer of a political strategy to achieve it. This chapter looks at these strategies along with the tactics and the concepts of this new production.

3.1 THE IDEOLOGIES BEHIND THE TACTICS

The design and construction of Regent's Street provoked a great deal of speculation in London society, especially because of its location and the timing of its commision. Before the construction of the Regent Street, Prince Regent was living in Carlton House to the south, however he also wanted to have a new northern palace for his romantic relationships. Moreover, he was always a champion of the upper classes, but his

residence was inbetween the slums of the East and luxurious West. Therefore he wanted to clean out from in front of his house unwanted paupers whilst having a shortcut to his prospective northern palace (Hobhouse 2008, p. 5-11). Figure 3.1 visualised a scene that epitomised those unwanted bodies with poor, starving gardeners heading to Carlton House. We can see a chimney sweep on the left while dandies are on the right. The Prince Regent and his lover, Lady Hertford, are watching this procession from the sash window with a bottle on it.

Figure 3.1: Poor Frose Out Gardners by anonymous artist, 1820



Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=75297001&objectId=1487963&partId=1

Additionally, the country was at war with France which was the traditional fashion centre of Europe, hence Paris was not welcoming for British people to shop in. Britain therefore needed to take care of and develop its own style and fashion industry. Furthermore, Napoleon commissioned a new Parisian shopping promenade, Rue de Rivoli, (figure 3.2) as a majestic grand axis in the 1800s (Ayers 2004, p. 43) while

London only had one such elegant shopping promenade on Bond Street and the more modest Oxford Street.

Figure 3.2: Rue De Rivoli

Source:
https://www.antiqueprints.de/shop/catalog.php?cat=KAT32&lang=FRA&product=P002761

All these reasons came together and triggered the production of a new thoroughfare. The Regent Street project is the most famous and important amongst all Regency projects because controlling the street meant controlling the populace of the Regency era in that part of London. As previously stated, whether they were from West or East, Londoners were always connected to their streets and performed upon them. The Prince was aware of the importance of having a beautiful, fashionably designed and controlled street in London. Yet the streets of London were occupied by different classes, hence it was not easy to control the actions of the public on the streets. For instance, violent attacks on the royal carriage was an important issue, indeed the Prince Regent's father, George III, had been assailed in his carraiage by the public on his way to Parliament because of the increase in taxation during the wars with France (figure 3.3).

"The protesters viewed the king's body as a symbol of the state with which they were deeply disenchanted. They viewed the gilt carriage that sheltered that body from the grim realities of the city streets as the sign of a government that was deaf to the people's suffering" [26]

Figure 3.3: The Republican Attack by James Gillray, 1795

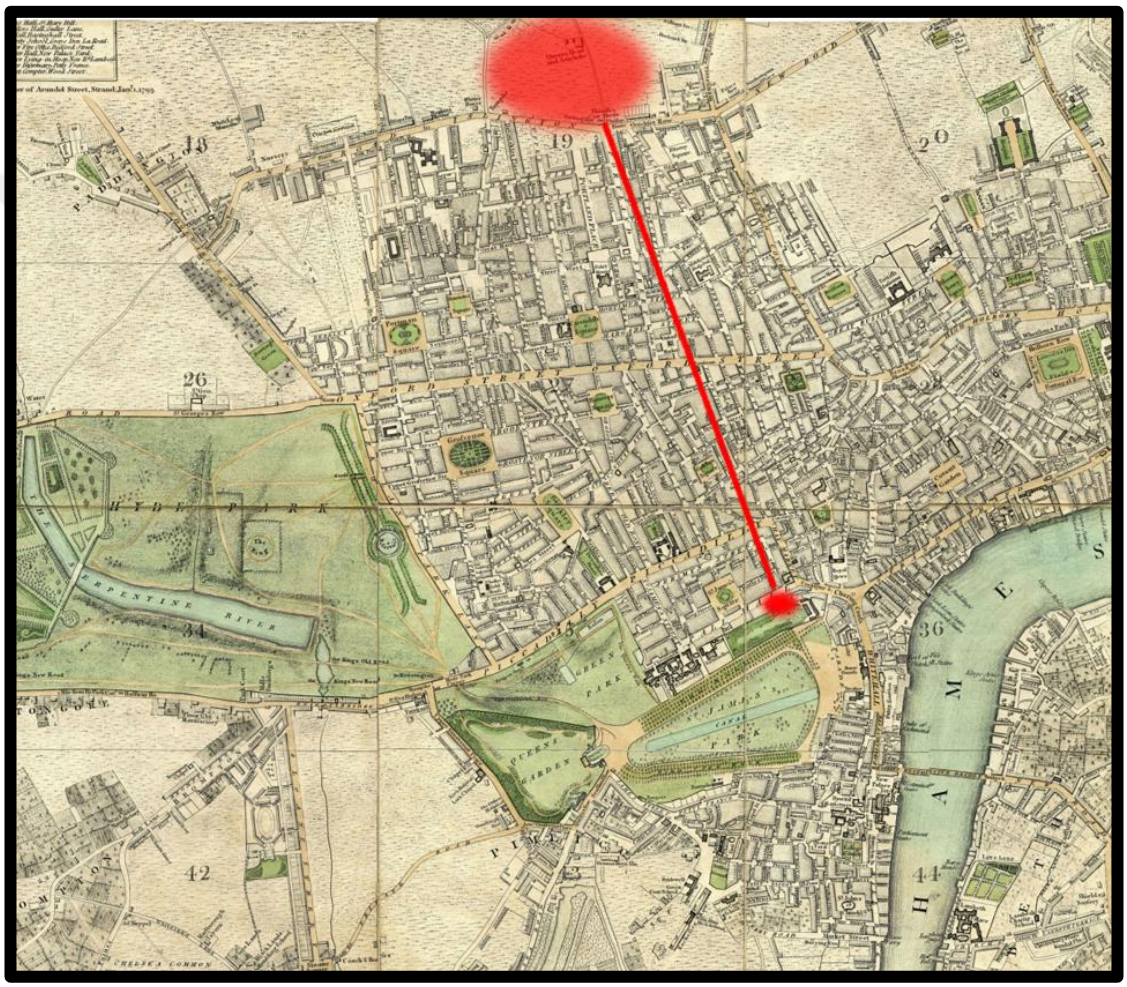
Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=140558001&objectId=1632617&partId=1

The streets were, however, the only places where paupers could see and communicate with their monarch. Therefore, the 19th century streets of London were more than a connection or a road, but they were the venues for encounters and embodied the link between a King and his people. The streets were a living organism with their own flexible and evolving body that could be altered from performance to performance. A street may have been the stage of a catwalk for the fashionable circle in the morning or a pit for an animal fight in the slums at night. As a result, the Prince Regent knew that he could be vulnerable in those streets, as a result the reconstruction of London would have to start from there. Moreover, he had shown no talent whatsoever for politics, and

[26] https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2010/dec/14/attack-royal-carriage-protesters-1795

he had never been a military commander on active service, consequently had done nothing to make a name for himself as a ruler or a governor (Priestley 1969, p. 35). And yet his inclination towards luxury, beauty, fashion and indulgence was so obvious (Priestley 1969, p. 197) that it could easily explain his urge to create a beautiful street; Regent Street.

Figure 3.4: Connection between Marylebone Park and Carlton Place



Source: http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/crace/a/largeimage88484.html

Regent Street promised to be a new and pleasant thoroughfare that would create a direct and axial coneection between the North and South of central London (figure 3.4). Many of the middle and upper class Members of Parliament (MPs) were living around Portland Place in the Marylebone district (to the North), while the House of Parliament were adjacent to Whitehall, which was close to the Prince Regent's mansion, Carlton

House, to the South. Bond Street, St. James's Park and Hyde Park were favoured fashionable locations to the South-West, but the upper classer had to use untidy and winding, meandering roads to get there from North. This interrupted access was not beautiful enough and unsatisfactory in the eyes of the Prince Regent, and necessitated a new passage or street. The Prince Regent contracted his architect[27] John Nash to build a new North-South axis in 1811. He designed a shopping thoroughfare that made the Prince Regent yell, "It will quite eclipse Napoleon" (Armytage 1968 p. 39). However, this massive project, with similarly enormous costs, was unsurprisingly rejected by the Commissioners of Woods and Forests in July of that year because of the political and economic situation in the country during the war with France.

Following the Duke of Wellington's momentous victory at Waterloo that resulted in the defeat of Napoleon in 1815, the Prince claimed to have been the real commander and the true ruler of the country. In any case, that victory removed the impediment of an extremely expensive conflict had been going on for 22 years that had stood in front of Prince Regent's elegant, safe, and controllable dream street and the Regent Street project got underway in 1816. However, the country could not heal all its differences immediately notwithstanding the end of the war, since poor were becoming poorer because of the rising population caused by men returning from war combined with poor and unemployed immigrants who had entered the country. In the midst of this chaos, the Prince Regent was not capable enough to govern and find emergency solutions for the problems of his people. One morning when the Prince Regent had been driven to Westminster to open the new session of Parliament, on his way there, his carriage had been mobbed and either a stone or a bullet had broken the glass of his coach window. It led to the passing of the so-called Gagging Acts,[28] which amongst other measures to protect the state, made it an act of high treason to assassinate the Prince Regent. When it happened, the construction of the Regent Street had already begun (in front of Carlton House) in Pall Mall (Hobhouse 2008, p. 31). The attack on the Prince Regent was similar to that on his father, as society saw the Prince Regent's body as the symbol of the state itself. This attack also proved that the streets of London were not easy to control even in the district where the Royal family resided.

[27] Since Prince was the Patron of Nash for his Brighton Pavilion, he liked Nash's monumental and neoclassic style.

[28] http://www.victorianweb.org/history/riots/sixacts.html

From the first proposal to the end of its construction, Regent Street was subject to several alterations to the original plans. First and foremost however, the production of Regent Street was basically a drawing and a piece of geometry on paper that reflected the dream of the Prince Regent and his architects. On this level, the production of Regent Street was more mental and abstract because it was based on various desires and concepts. For instance, it was to be the widest shopping street, a rival to Paris, offering clean and tidy passage from North to South and the beautiful views for Carlton House were transferred from Nash's drawing paper to the structural body of Regent Street

It comprised five main parts from North to South that were Pall Mall (Carlton House), Lower Regent Street, the Quadrant, Upper Regent Street, and Park Crescent with Portland Place. Between these five parts, Nash had drawn the curvy joins to create a fluid street eliminating any zigzags or dark, hidden corners. To see this flow from head to tail, or Regents Park to Carlton House, Regent Street will be x-rayed here.

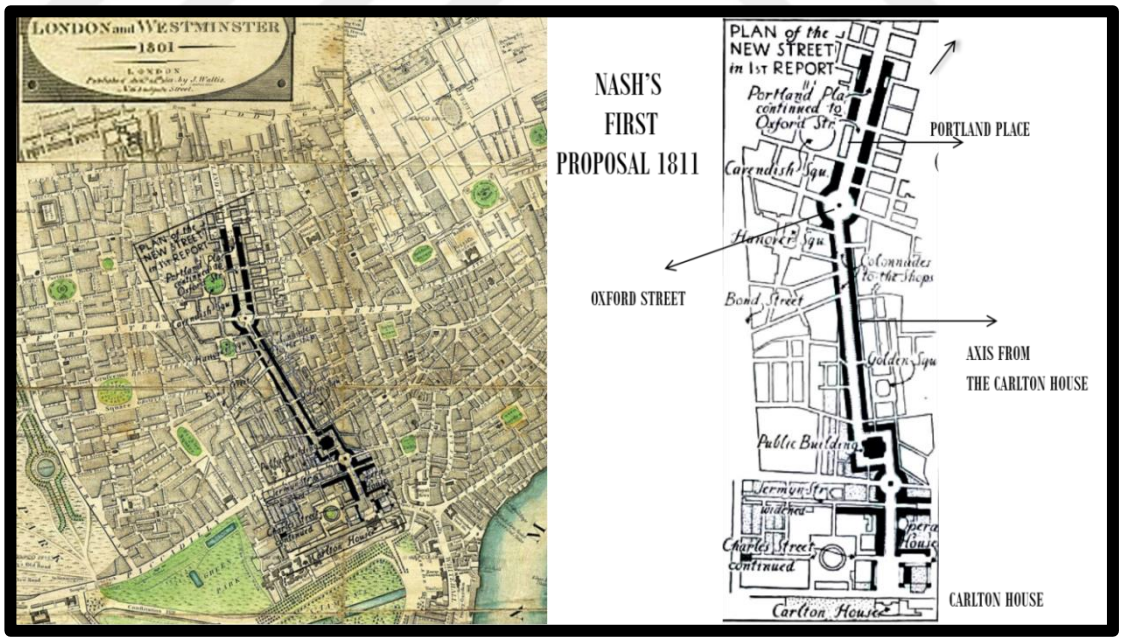
3.1.1 Strategic design of Regent Street

Until the 19th century, Marylebone Park had been a huge open space covered with mud as it was rented by farmers and dotted with cottages. Except in the West, the streets of London were not ordered, following the medieval stret plan in place for centuries. After leases of the Crown Estates in the northern parts of Marylebone Park had expired, the Commissioners of Woods andForests and Land Revenues planned to increase Crown income from Marylebone Park, and they wanted to launch a new project "in a manner consistent with increased accommodation for the Public" (House of Commons Papers 1812, p. 9). That was the main aim of the West End improvement plan. The committee called for architects and their proposals and in the end, John Nash was chosen[29]. The main reason for choosing Nash was based on his success with the Brighton Pavilion which had been commissioned by the Prince Regent, who subsequently chose Nash as his private architect as their tastes seemed to accord with one another.

[29] In Prince Regent, later King George lV, was determined to make his mark. He wanted a new summer palace in north London set in exclusive grounds. The leases on Marylebone Park were not renewed and architects were invited to produce designs for the area. https://www.royalparks.org.uk/parks/the-regents-park/about-regents-park/landscape-history.

Marylebone Park was a near empty space and therefore open to development. However, Nash‘s plan not only included a design for the park area, but also a new link that would connect it to East and West London. In his first proposal, he drew two axial lines between Marylebone and Carlton House. Portland Place, developed by the Duke of Portland from the late 18th into the early 19th century, was the only thoroughfare between North and South with its rectilinear buildings and shops in Marylebone. Nash decided to follow its track to create the axial spine for Regent Street as it was the widest street in London, and ever since the path of the street has never been changed. Portland Place was a district for the Westenders as it was a residential area for the gentry, medical institutions and parliamentary leaders. Since the Houses of Parliament were in Whitehall (to the South), and shopping districts like Bond Street or Oxford Street were in the South West, people who lived in Marylebone needed to use the winding and irregular streets of the North-west (figure 3.5). The new street would take them directly to the South without seeing the dirty, untidy lives of the lower classes.

Figure 3.5: First proposal (1811) based on 1801 map of London



Source: https://i.pinimg.com/originals/de/e6/db/dee6dbc0f4f5d06b989d2e94ddac6098.jpg

Evidently, London not only belonged to the Crown, and this plan needed to be accepted by many others including landowners and building leasers because many of the

buildings would have to be demolished depriving many people of their homes. Developers then tried to convince the public and make them believe that: "This was not only beneficial for the crown income, but also for the occupants who could have a direct connection from North to South" (Nash on Summerson 1980, p. 75). However, there were many people who were not persuaded forcing Nash to revise his project.

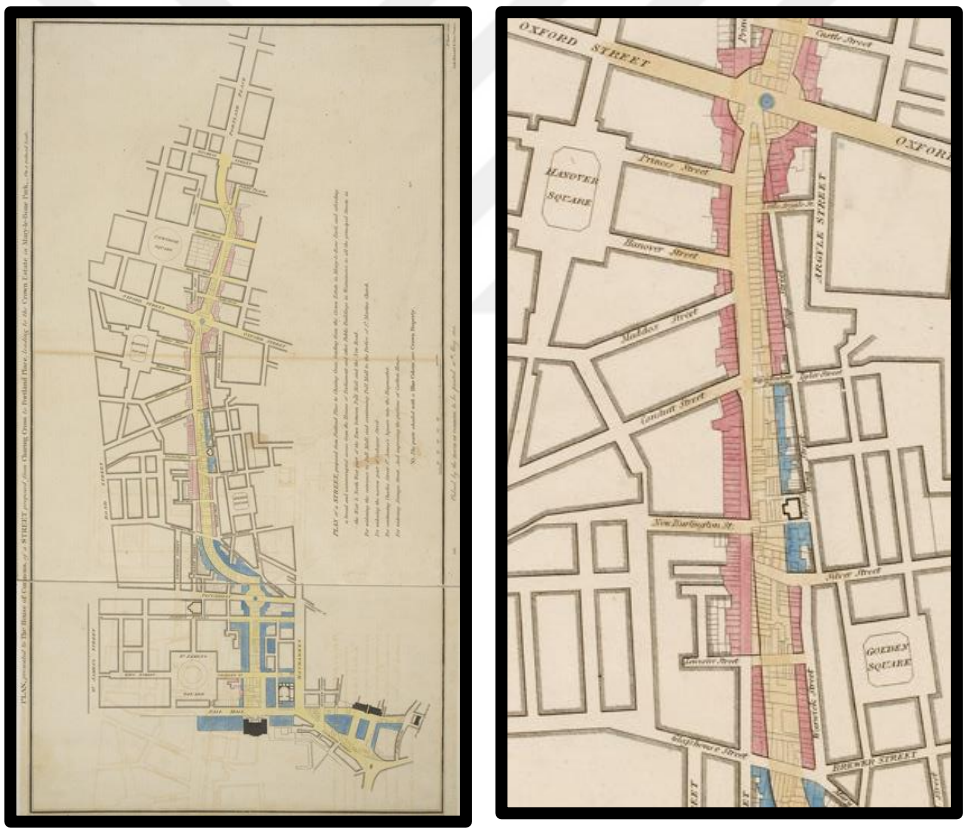
Figure 3.6: Nash's second proposal on the 1801 London map

Source: https://www.gardenvisit.com/gardens/st_james_regents_park_ceremonial_route

When he presented the second proposal (in figure 3.6) he still used the guidelines with Portland Place in the North but the southern axis covered and swept away Swallow Street where many of the buildings belonged to the Crown, so compulsory purchase orders were not necessary. Moreover, the redevelopment would increase the value of the Crown lands so the monarch could gain more financially from this modern and fashionable trade centre (Hobhouse 2008, p. 4-9) (figure 3.7).

The concept was still the same, a straight and the shortest connection between North and South London. However, the orientation of the street needed to be altered as Nash changed the alignment of the street where Swallow Street stood in the South. Swallow Street had an industrial characteristic with human, animal and vehicular traffic that made this area untidy and noisy. Therefore it was an aesthetically inadequate thoroughfare for the upper classes, although it was located right next door to Westenders and the Royal family.

Figure 3.7: The Crown Properties are painted in blue, and zoom in (right)

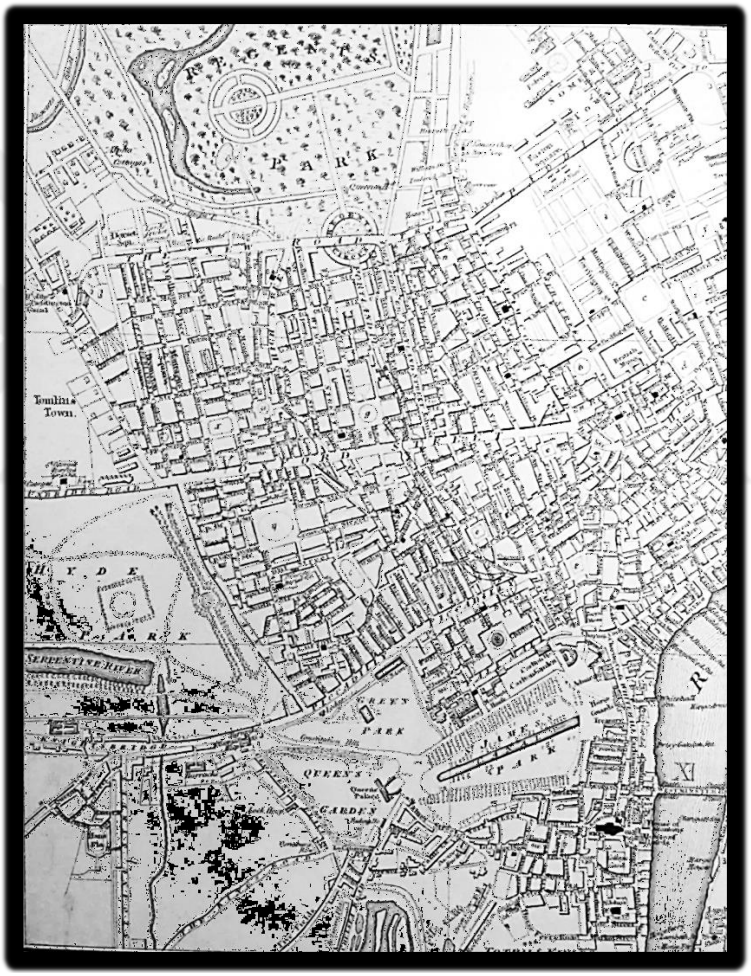


Source: http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/crace/p/007zzz000000012u00017000.html

Nash then offered to demolish the shabby buildings of Swallow Street, which was believed to be an "ugly and grimy old thoroughfare." It was situated within the Crown Estate land in the West where upper class residents lived close by. Nash apparently had in minda project which would satisfy both his pleasure seeking patron, the Prince

Regent, and his upper-class circle of friends with this fashionable street. He wanted to create a, "boundary and complete separation between the Streets and Squares occupied by the Nobility and Gentry, and the narrow streets and meaner Houses occupied by mechanics and the trading part of the community" (Nash on Summerson 1980, p. 77). The new street would curtail sharply the communication with the East side of the street, working and lower class and their traffic were to be avoided (figure 3.8).

Figure 3.8: Regents Park, Swallow Street and West End

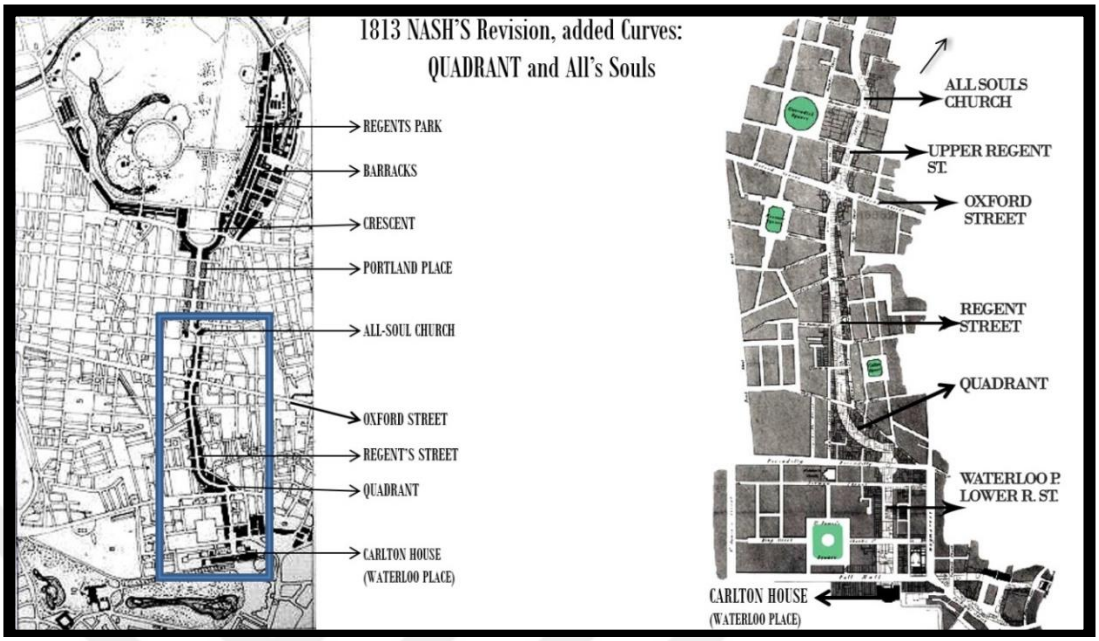


Source: Greenwood, C., Crace, F., 1827. *Map of London, from an actual survey made in the years 1824, 1825 & 1826 / by C. and J. Greenwood;engraved by James & Josiah Neele, 352 Strand.* London: Published by proprietors, Greenwood, Pringle &, 13 Regent Street, Pall Mall. Permission by British Library Map and Manuscripts Achieves,Unpublished.

As can be seen in figure 3.9, the new street was start at Carlton House, the third line[30] was generated from Carlton House to Swallow Street. Carlton Place was next to the Hay Market for the sale of hay, as its name suggested, and St James's market for the sale of meat before the construction of the new thoroughfare. Moreover, it was surrounded by lodging houses or small accommodation units inhabited by market workers and shops from which Nash wanted to save Westenders by the construction of Regent Street. However, each line from Portland Place, Swallow Street and Carlton House, was isolated, and needed to be united. Thus, Nash connected them by adding curves between the joins (figure 3.8-3.9). The first curve, bigger in scale was in the South and called the Quadrant which connected the lines from Carlton House to Swallow Street. The second was relatively small in the North, and it was a junction between Great Portland Street and the Swallow Street extension (figure 3.9). The new body of the street was called Regent Street that was named after its patron. Nonetheless, there were many segments of the new street, and each one was named separately. While the replacement for Swallow Street was named Regent Street, the lines between Carlton House and the old Swallow Street was called Lower Regent Street, and the Quadrant joined them (figure 3.9). Moreover, the Quadrant was more than a mere junction as it prevented entrance from Soho in the East and wass to act as a terminal between Regent Street and Lower Regent Street. Furthermore, it offered separation between the well-to-do West and the poorer East where the noise and inconvenience of commercial traffic originated from, "all the alleys, ale-houses, and lanes," and "narrow and dirty streets" of St. Giles. (Commissioners of His Majesty's Woods 1811, p. 88).

[30] First line came from Portland Street, second line from Crown properties and that connects to Crown estate by generating the third line.

Figure 3.9: Nash's second proposal in 1818 and the joints



Source: https://www.gardenvisit.com/gardens/st_james_regents_park_ceremonial_route

The Northern extension of Regent Street was called Upper Regent Street, which was connected to Great Portland Street by Nash's second curve at All's Souls Church. Nash added two primary curves to protect his noble street from East Londoners going around the slum filled streets there and he explained the reason with the following words:

> *"If a straight line had been continued from the Regent's Park to Carlton House, it would have passed through St. Giles, leaving all the bad streets between the new street and the respectable streets at the West end of the town, through which the persons residing in those better streets, and members going to the House of Commons and the House of Lords, must pass before they could use the new street." (Parliament Papers, 1828, vol.4. 388* (1828 report).

I will argue that, the concept of Regent Street promised a new Regency body with an axial and straight spine, and it avoided any deformed and defective zigzags between South and North. This new spine with segments and curved junctions was the backbone of West End improvements. The spine is both a source of visual and logical analogy since it is a structural element of the human body, besides being the backbone in the urban realm through the coherence Regent Street offered to central London. Therefore I am using the word "*spine"* to make this link to the Regency body.

3.1.2 Segments of Regent Street

If Nash's plan was x-rayed, it would expose Lower Regent Street, the Quadrant, Regent Street and Upper Regent Street as its main structural elements. Lower Regent Street, which was also called Waterloo Place, started at Carlton House in the South and ended by the Quadrant to the North. The Quadrant then curved and joined the lower part with the main body of Regent Street. Regent Street proceeded extending to the North until it was cut across by Oxford Street. Then Upper Regent Street followed the axis from Regent Street up to Portland Place in the North. Although Regent Street ran vertically along its North/South axis, it was traversed by other streets that went between the East and West it was therefore naturally segmented into different pieces. Since conceived space concerns the drawings and strategy of the usage of the street, it will be scrutinised segment by segment to reveal more about mental production and the physical embodiment of the street. The vision and the strategies of Prince Regent, Nash and other architects could be traced by a close examination of the buildings and their functions.

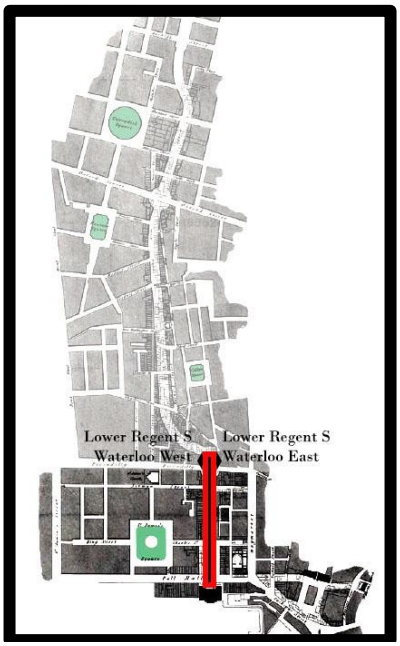
3.1.2.1 Waterloo Place: Lower Regent Street & the Quadrant

Carlton House, which was the symbol of the Prince Regent's power and in turn the crown itself, played a crucial part in the design of the street (figure 3.10). Moreover, the Prince Regent was the one who ordered the construction of the street and supported the project and its developments from the very beginning (figure 3.11). Also, there were many other architects and developers who contributed to the project, and Parliament had also fully funded them. However, the title of the Prince has disappeared or been forgotten as he gave it to the street. Since construction literally began in front of Carlton House, Regent Street started and evolved from Pall Mall and Suffolk Street (figure 3.11).

Figure 3.10: View of Carlton House, Pall Mall 1788

Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=831112001&objectId=3287479&partId=1

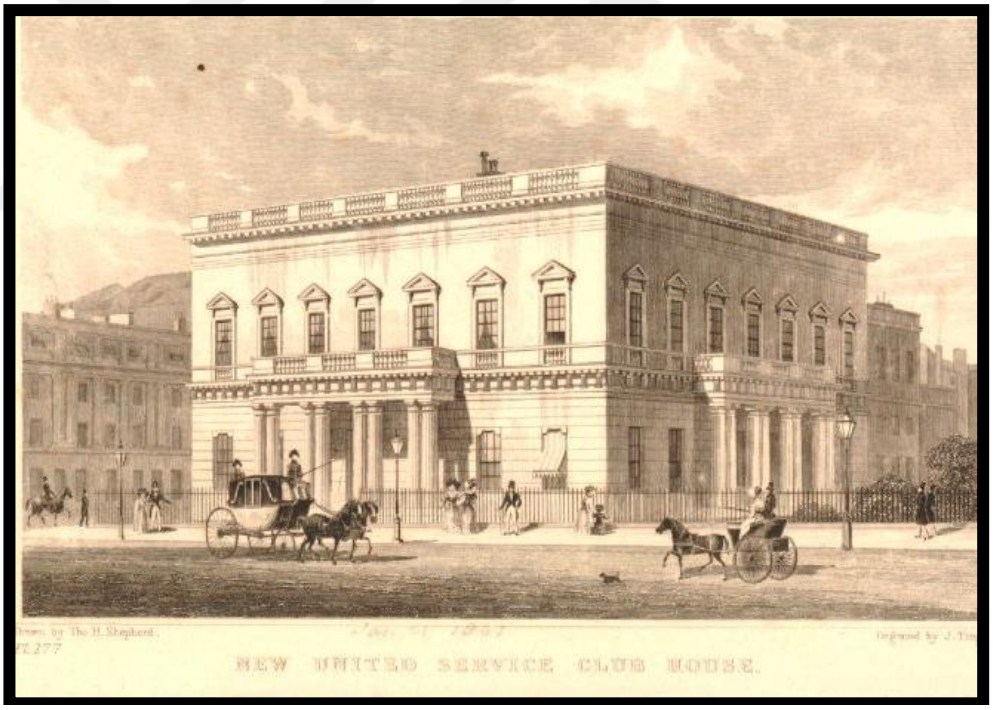
Figure 3.11: Carlton House (N) with Lower Regent Street



Source:http://archslidetest.blogspot.co.uk/2011/01/regent-street-urban-plan.html

The newly created area was called Waterloo Place and Lower Regent Street. (figure 3.11-3.12). Carlton House survived until the Prince Regent became King, but it was demolished and rebuilt as Carlton Terrace (1827). However it has always been the Southern terminal of the street. Pall Mall, where demolition started (1818), made available a clear view of Regent Street to the North and it was designed as a home for two clubs[31] (Report from commissioners 1857, p. 132). No. 2 Regent Street was The United Service (Institute of Directors from 1978) built between 1817-19 by Robert Smirke and it, "struck the key-note for new club architecture of London" (Pevsner 1957, p. 537). It was one of the first member's clubs in London and it targeted the leaders of fashion from the West (figure 3.12).

Figure 3.12: The United Service Club 1829-30

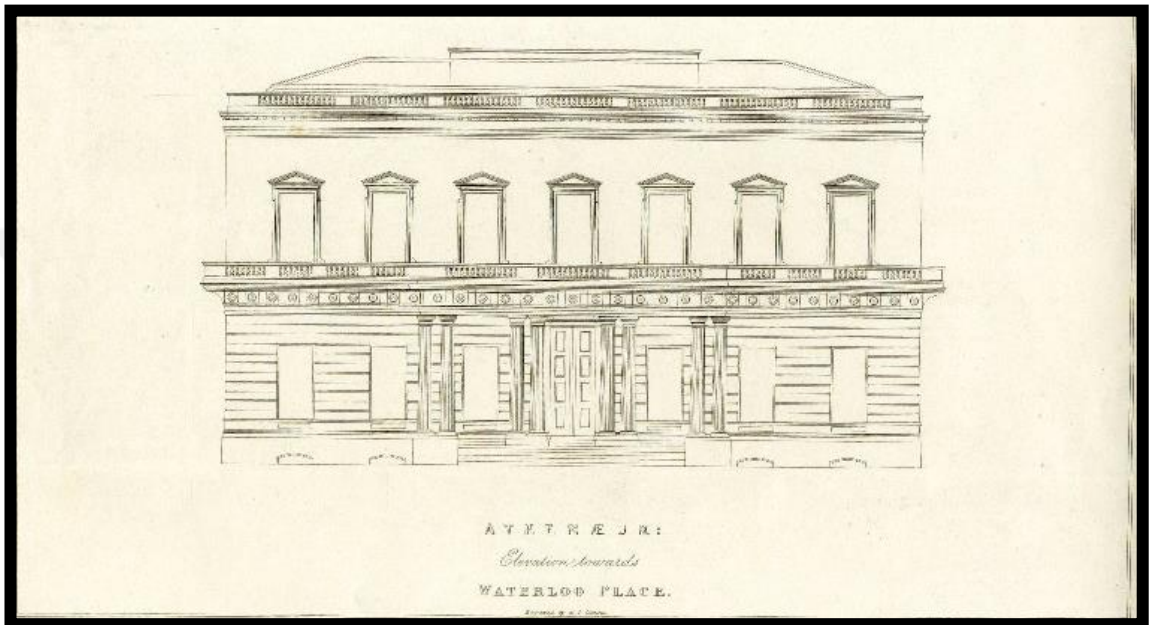


Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=607681001&objectId=3206630&partId=1

[31] Gentlemen Clubs were popular among upper class men and they were found in St James Place (very close to Carlton House-West London). Many of them needed membership, Brooks and White's club were the most poppular among them. https://janeaustensworld.wordpress.com/tag/regency-mens-clubs/

The Athenaeum (figure 3.13) was another club targetting artists and literary men, conceived by Tory politician J. W. Croker and was built from 1827-30, by the architect Burton. Along Pall Mall, were large townhouses, designed by Nash from 1815-16, later taken by banks and insurance companies (Hobhouse 2008, 10-40).

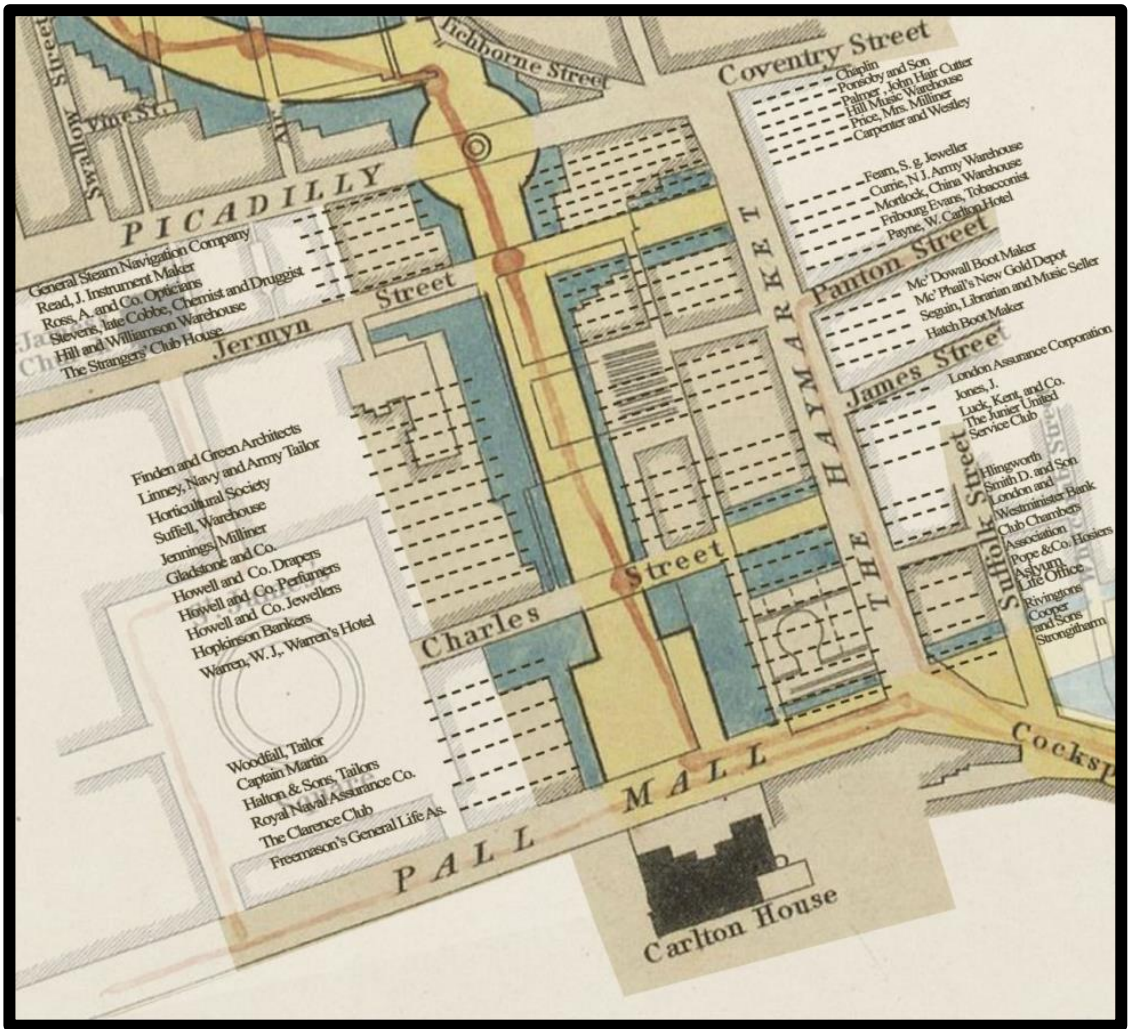
Figure 3.13: Athenaeum, 1830, by R F Cahusac



Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=888489001&objectId=3305916&partId=1

At the end of Pall Mall, there was the Haymarket that was early street market of London, which was an ideal place for hotels, restaurants, cafes and theatres (figure 3.14). Nash, and Repton arcaded the Royal Opera Arcade (1818), at the doorstep of Waterloo Place, to make it a sign that people were entering most elegant and intimate shopping street of London (Hobhouse 2008, p. 43-44).

Figure 3.14: Zoom into Waterloo Place- Lower Regent Street



Source: http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/crace/p/007zzz000000012u00017000.html

Linked to Pall Mall and close to Carlton House, Waterloo Place was a juncture between the Haymarket and St James's Market so Nash insisted on substituting a new market for poorer tradespeople who couold not afford high rents (Hobhouse 2008, p. 41). Therefore, Lower Regent Street was redesigned thinking about the needs of artisans and small shopkeepers. It should be remembered that Nash was not the only decision maker in this huge redevelopment plan that involved various architects like John Soane, Burton and R.C. Cockerel along with different investors. Whether as street plan or path it has always followed the same course just as Nash had designed, but the buildings and their functions have always altered. Lower Regent Street was built between 1817-20 including Nash's own House No:14. Carlton Chambers at No: 4-12 which served as a

bachelor lounge as well as offices was designed by Decimus Burton where he had an office with some solicitors and other professionals. On the opposite side of the chamber there was the hotel that belonged to Mr. Warren. It is not possible to survey all the buildings and changes because of the limited sources, but one of the main sources which gave an idea about Regent Street's views is Tallis Street View 1838-40 by John Tallis that has survived until today. He published it in 88 parts as a guide for strangers and visitors to the city (Jackson 2002, p. vi). The street views were published in the Victorian era, even though the date of these drawings was not certain. Tallis and his street drawings are still important today because they are the major source that show the buildings and their facades with details. For example, Regent Street was drawn with the numbers of the buildings with the names of the shops, which helped this study to learn about the commercial activity in Regent Street.(Tables 2,3,4 were created by reading Tallis' facades) (figure 3.14- 3.15).

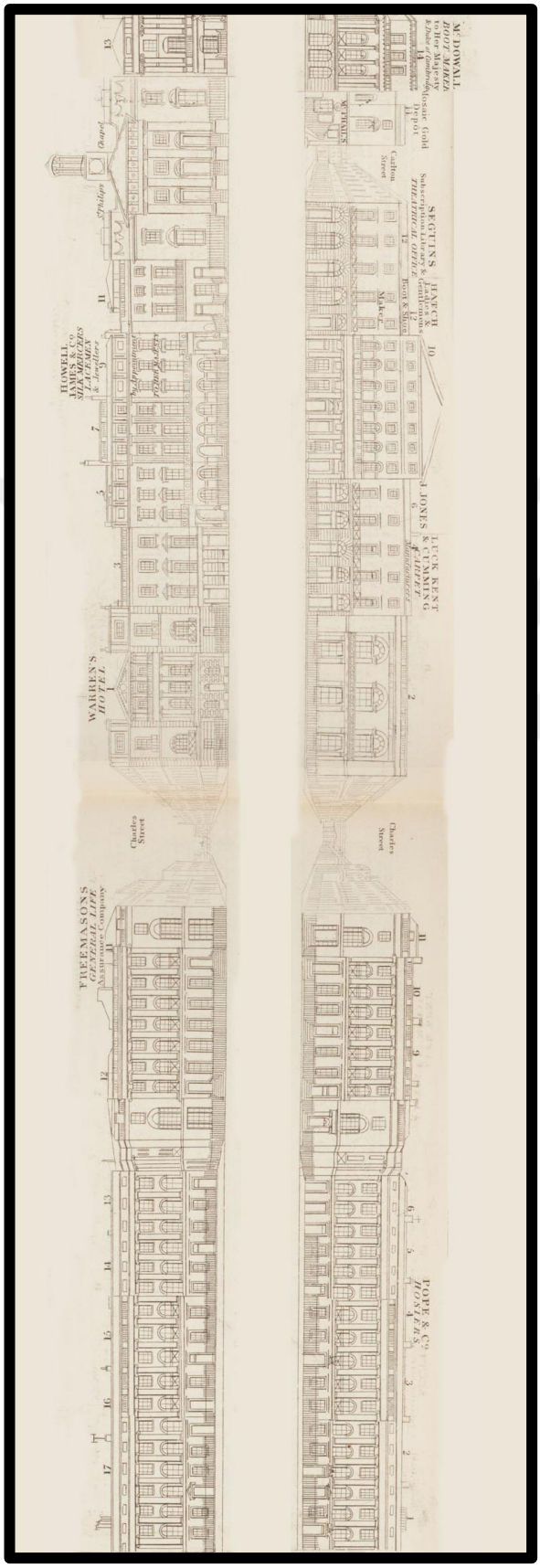
Table 3.1: Regent Street &Waterloo

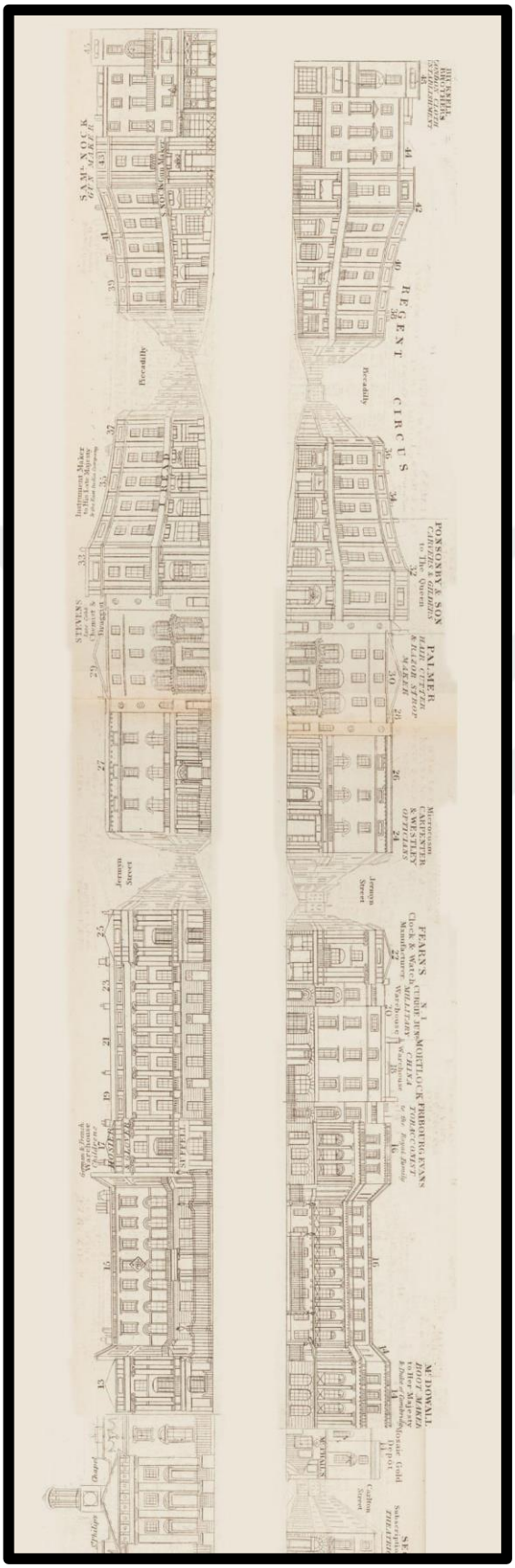
Waterloo East No:4	Pope & Co Hosier
Waterloo East No: 11	Free Masons General Life Assurance Company
L. Regent St. East No:4	Luck Kent Cumming Carpet- Manufacturers
L. Regent St. E No:6	J. Jones
L. Regent St. E No:12	Hatch Ladies& Gentlemens Boot & Shoemaker
L. Regent St. E No:12	Seguins Subscription Library& Theatrical Office
L. Regent St. E No:14	Mosaic Gold Depot- Mc Phails
L. Regent St. E. No:14	Mc. Dowall Boot Maker To Royal Majesty &Duke of Cambridge
L. Regent St. E. No:16	Fribourg & Evans Tobacconist to the Royal Family
L. Regent St. E. No:18	Mortlock China Warehouse
L. Regent St. E. No:20	Currie J. Military Warehouse
L. Regent St. E. No:22	Fearn's Clock & Watch Manufacturer
L. Regent St. E. No:24	Microcosm Carpenter & Westley Opticians
L. Regent St. E. No:30	Palmer Hair Cutter & Razor Strop Maker
L. Regent St. E. No:32	Ponsonby & Son Carves Gilders to the Queen
L. Regent St. E. No:46	Bicknell Brothers London Cloth Establishment

Waterloo Pl. W. No: 13	Freemasons General Life Insurance Company
L. Regent St. West. No: 1	Warren's Hotel
L. Regent St. W. No:9	Howell James & Co Silk Mercers Lacemen & Jewellers to Her Majesty
L. Regent St. W. No:13	St Phillips Chapel
L. Regent St. W. No:17	German-French Warehouse Children's Hosier and Glover
L. Regent St. W. No:31	Stevens Late Cobb Chemist & Druggist
L. Regent St. W. No:35	Instrument maker –the east India Company
L. Regent St. W. No:43	Sam Nock Gun Maker

Source: http://crowd.museumoflondon.org.uk/lsv1840/ (accessed 22 Aug 2015)

Figure 3.15: Tallis's Regent Street view from Carlton House to Piccadilly





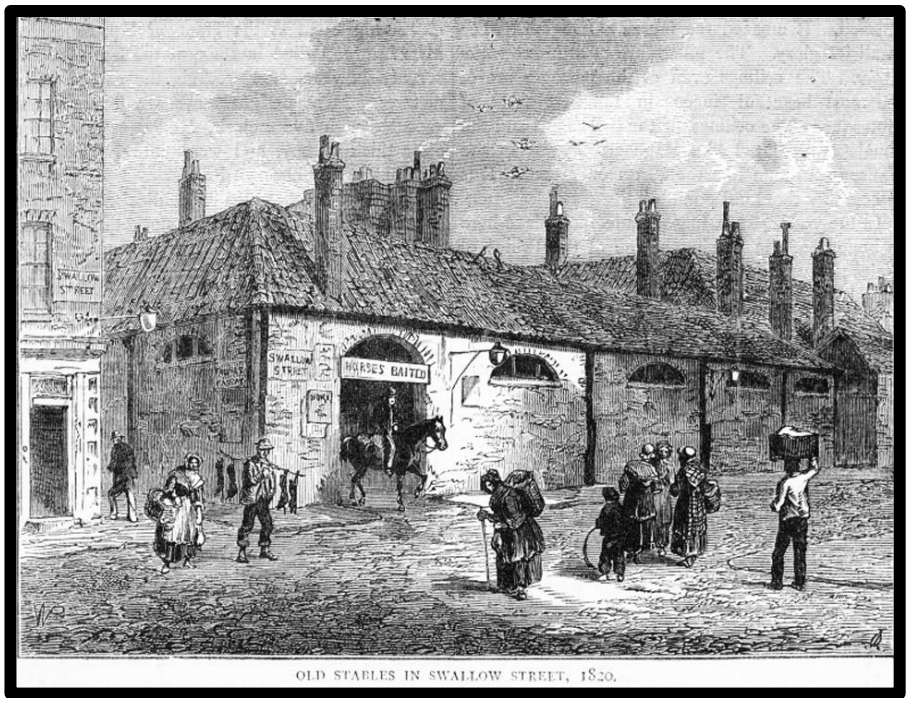
Source: http://crowd.museumoflondon.org.uk/lsv1840/ (accessed 23 Aug 2015)

What his drawings show in the Lower Regent Street and Waterloo Place of the 1840s, is that it was unlikely to have been a residential area for families (Table 2). On the one hand, there were hotels where *foreigners* came to stay; housing, clubs, and chambers mostly served the *Westenders* and the *upper clas.* However, there were also warehouses, opticians and carpenters and hosiers, where *lower class* and *middle class people* were able to work, though their numbers were relatively small compared to the main body of Regent Street, as it will be explained in the next pages. Moreover, there were specific shops and people that serviced the *Royal family*, such as McDowall - Boot Maker's and Fribourg Evans - Tobacconist.

3.1.2.2 The Quadrant & Regent Street

Piccadilly Circus was the junction between Waterloo Place and the Quadrant. From here to Oxford Circus, the line was called Regent Street. The development of the street caused the demolition of Swallow Street, which had been a dirty and stinky thoroughfare (figure 3.16).

Figure 3.16: Old stables in Swallow Street

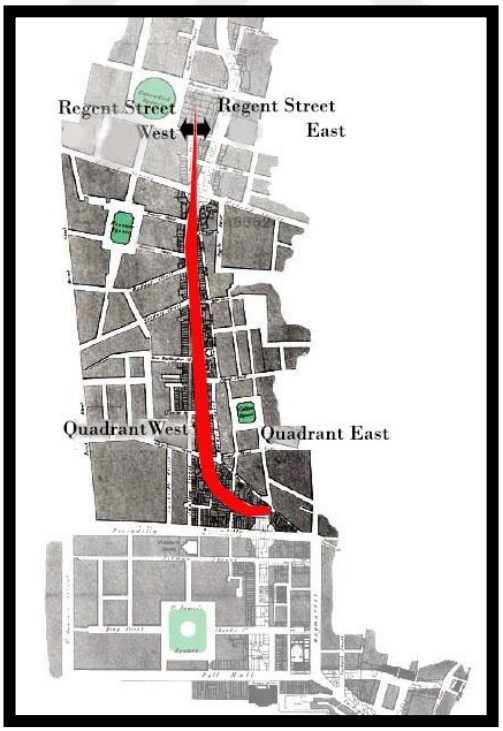


Source: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/old-new-london/vol4/pp314-326

According to the Survey of London, the construction of this part of the street was painful for Swallow Street's shopkeepers and residents because it was required to pull down almost 250 houses (Survey of London, 1963). While it is believed that the architect John Nash intentionally designed the street layout in order to demolish the old and shabby Swallow Street for the Crown's benefit, early diagrams and maps obviously show that many properties in Swallow Street belonged by the Crown itself. However, some of them were compulsorily purchased and acquired by the Crown before the construction of the street had begun[32]. The land of the Quadrant, at the southern end of Swallow Street and the closest part of Carlton House, belonged to the Crown.

When Nash designed his curve there, he also put a visible barrier between Carlton House and the North-East side where lower classes, working classes and shops were located. From the Quadrant, Regent Street ran straight up to Oxford Street. While Nash designed and undertook the Quadrant, James Burton, Sir John Soane and Baxter dominated and carried out their projects for the rest of the body the street (figure 3.17)

Figure 3.17: The Quadrant and Regent Street



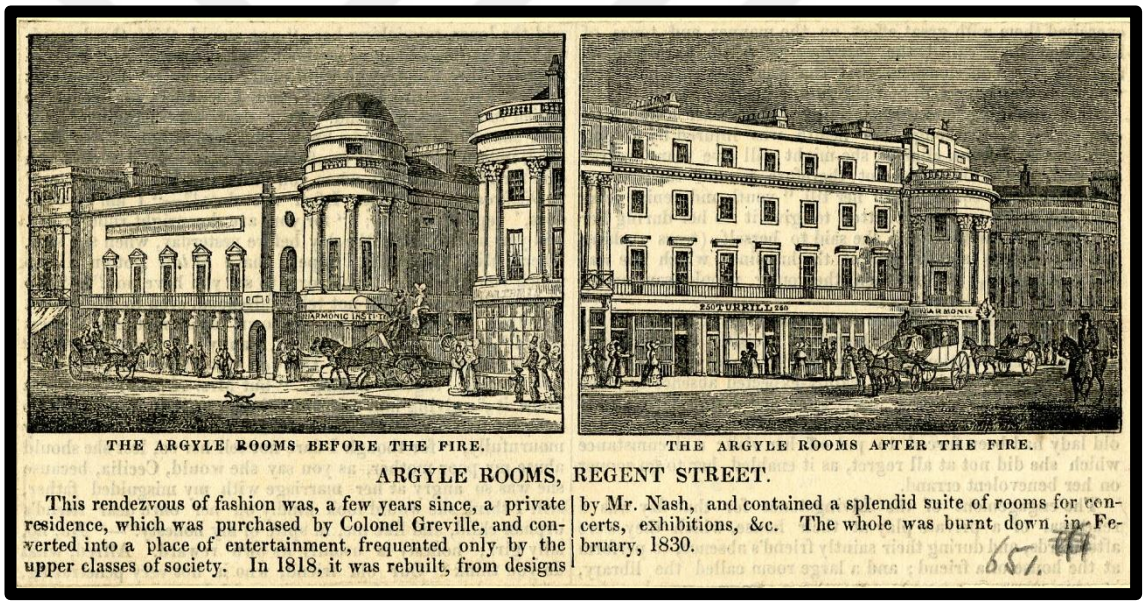
Source:http://archslidetest.blogspot.co.uk/2011/01/regent-street-urban-plan.html

[32] https://www.thecrownestate.co.uk/central-london/regent-street/

Compared to Waterloo Place, Regent Street was part of the commerce and shopping of the metropolis (See the table 3). There was a range of shops for food and fashion such as Woollen and Drapers stores including Mrs. Elizabeth Fox and Son in No: 203, tailor and habit-maker Robert Lendrum in No: 225 and biscuit and bread baker Thomas Reid in no: 227.

Besides shops for goods, Regent Street was an important centre for art and entertainment with the Argyle Rooms (figure 3.18) one of the most important. It was first opened in 1806, but then Nash rebuilt it as a musical venue as part of Regent Street in 1818. It was a stage for concerts for a musical society which was called The Philharmonic Society[33].

Figure 3.18: Argyle Rooms, Regent Street



THE ARGYLE ROOMS BEFORE THE FIRE.

THE ARGYLE ROOMS AFTER THE FIRE.

ARGYLE ROOMS, REGENT STREET.

This rendezvous of fashion was, a few years since, a private residence, which was purchased by Colonel Greville, and converted into a place of entertainment, frequented only by the upper classes of society. In 1818, it was rebuilt, from designs by Mr. Nash, and contained a splendid suite of rooms for concerts, exhibitions, &c. The whole was burnt down in February, 1830.

Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=882146001&objectId=3307516&partId=1

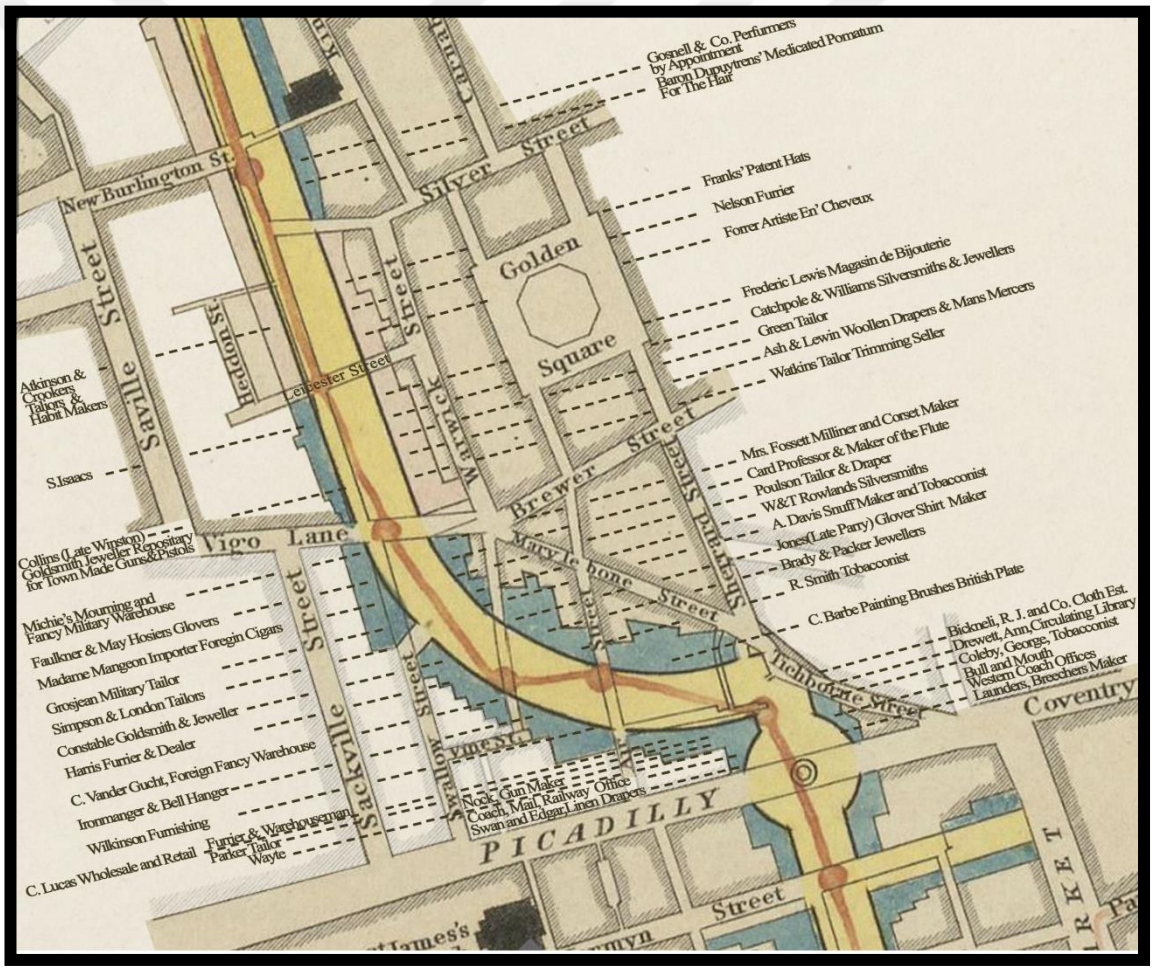
Figure 3.18 represents the change in façade of the Argyle Rooms that were redesigned by Nash in 1818. He wanted to place the entrance on the eastern side as he aimed to

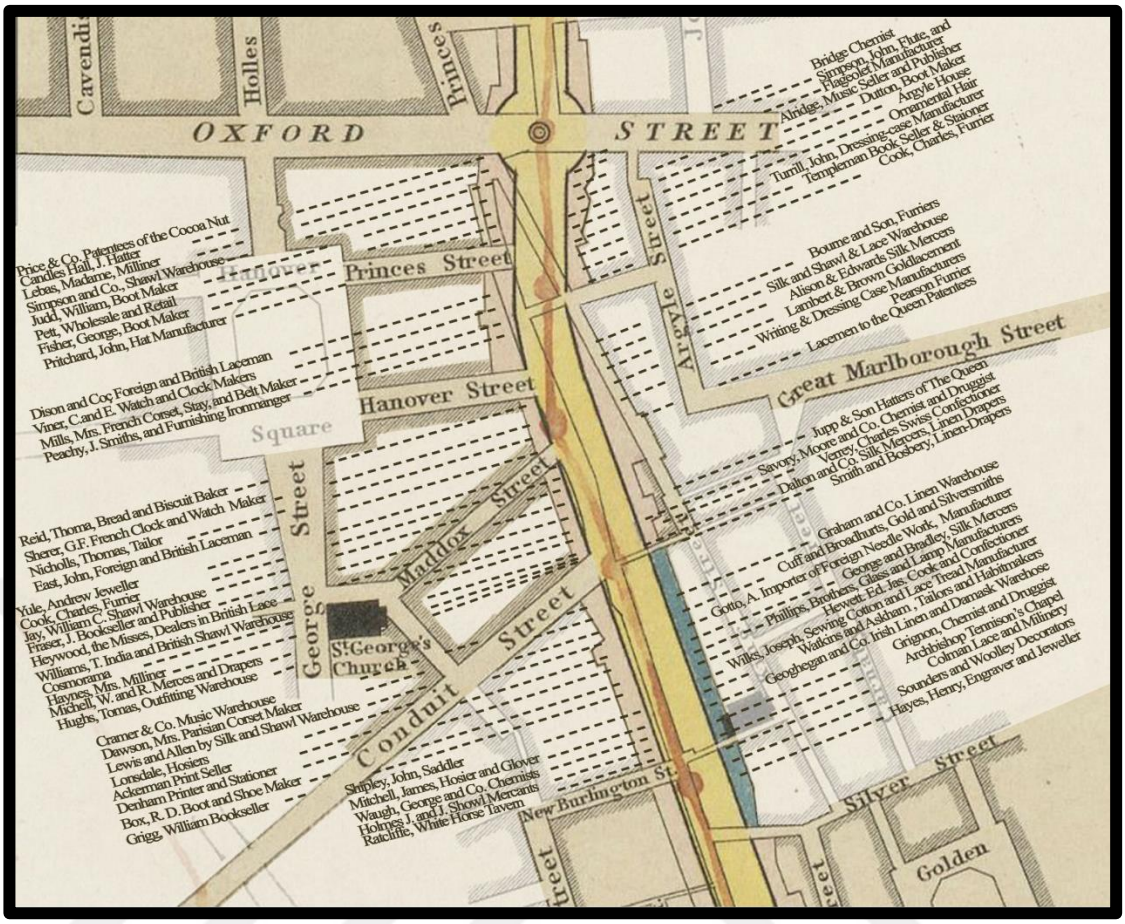
[33] The Philharmonic Society of London appeared in 1813. The aim of the group was to collaborate rather than compete to each other, creating one organization with an instrumental focus, self-governing and self-financed, that would put the love of music above individual gain. Therefore even the name of the group was chosen to stress a harmonious body (Philip means friend in Greek), inventing an English usage Philharmonic – that would later mean simply 'orchestra' the world over. (Langley, 2013, p:1).

leave the front façade for shops. Therefore there were shops on the ground level of the Harmonic Institution, while concerts were held in the first floor.

The early 19th century revolution could be observed especially from the façades of the shops in Regent Street as they represented industrial Britain through their huge windows and metal frames. Moreover, what was displayed in those windows were also the signifiers of the commercial aspects of Britain with the tailors, wool makers, gun makers and silk and drapery merchants (figure 3.19a-b, 3.20) (Piccadilly Circus and Quadrant - Table 3).

Figure 3.19a- 3.19b: Zoom into Quadrant and Regent Street





Source: http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/crace/p/007zzz000000012u00017000.html

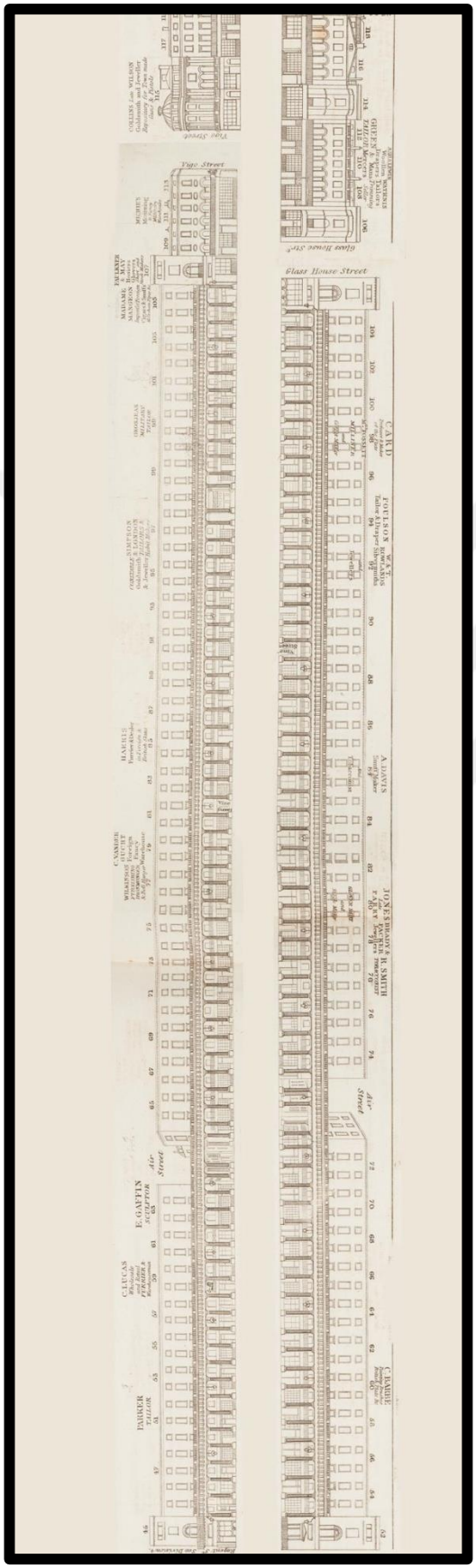
Table 3.2: Piccadilly Circus and Quadrant

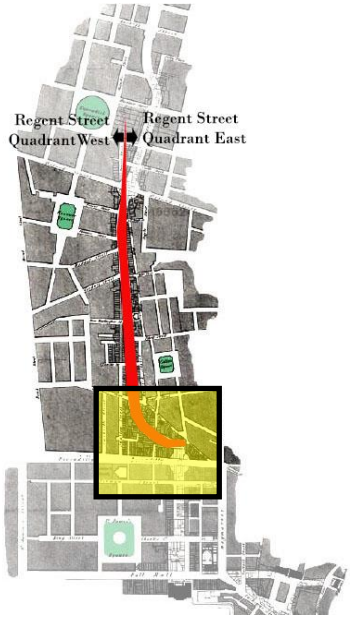
Piccadilly East, No: 42	B. Nicoll Maker of the Registered Shirt
Piccadilly East, No: 50	Country Fire Office &Provident Life Office
Piccadilly East, No: 54-104	Quadrant East
Quadrant East No: 88	J. H. Stammfrs Tailor & Professed Trousers
Quadrant East No: 104	G. J. Barclay Hatter and Furrier
Regent Street East No: 112	Du Croz Chandelier and Glass Manufacturer
Regent Street East No: 114	H.J.&D Nicholl Registered Paletot &Courts Tailor
Regent Street East No: 130	Cook & Rowley &Co Coach Builders to Majesty
Regent Street East No: 132	William Gedge Wine Merchant

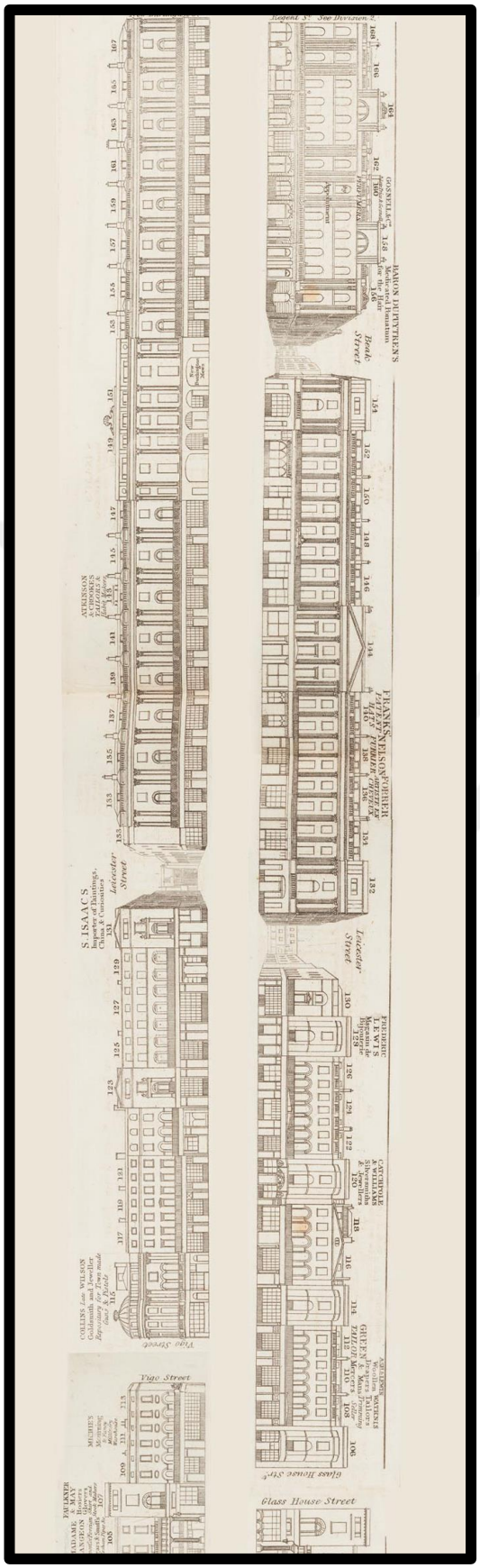
Regent Street East No: 136	Niner & Greene Lamp Chandelier and Cut Glass Manufacturer
Regent Street East No: 140	Sangster Umbrella & Cane Manufacturer
Regent Street East No: 142	
Regent Street East No: 154	Miss Clarke Antique Lace WareHouse
Regent Street East No: 174	Archbishop Chapel
Regent Street East No: 214	Royal musican Conservotary
Regent Street East No: 218	Agency of the Wenham Lake Ice Compmany
Regent Street East No: 114	
Piccadilly West No: 48	Samuel Nock Gun Maker toHer Majestry
Piccadilly West No: 45-207	Quadrant
Quadrant West No: 59	Chris& Lucas Furrier & Ladies Cloak Maker
Quadrant West No: 65	J. Field Bookseller and Stationer
Quadrant West No: 79	Michell Ladies Simple Caps
Quadrant West No: 93-94	Patent Filter Manufacturer to majestry
Quadrant West No: 97	Richard Hall Inventor
Quadrant West No: 101	Wenbourh Boot Maker
Quadrant West No: 101	James Smith
Regent Street West No: 115	Colin Silversmith Gun Maker
Regent Street West No: 171-173	J. J. Holmes Shawl Manufacturers appointment
Regent Street West No: 233-5	Hanover Chapel
Regent Street West No: 251	J. Leonard Glover & Hosier

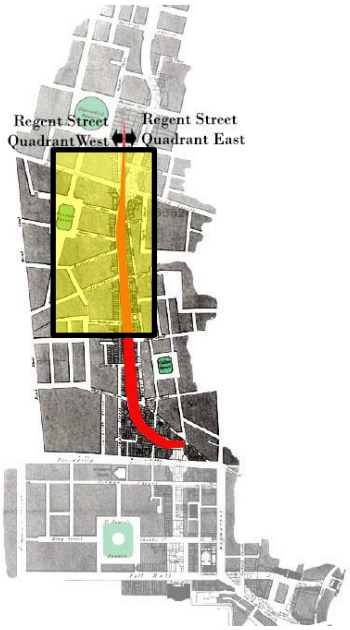
Source: http://crowd.museumoflondon.org.uk/lsv1840/ (accessed 26 Aug 2015)

Figure 3.20: Tallis's Regent Street view from Quadrant and Regent Street









Source: http://crowd.museumoflondon.org.uk/lsv1840/ (accessed 23 Aug 2015)

Hobshouse indicated that there were no major differences between Swallow Street and Regent Street in the early stages of the construction of the street around 1825 as shops were still modest. However, after the street's visual completion in 1835, both the population of the street and the rents increased. The main difference between the old and new street was that the new version offered larger, private accommodation units in the upper storeys which were rented by gentlemen. In her book, Pursuit and Pleasure, Rendell indicates that West London, including St James's Parish and Bond Street was a kind of gendered place, were patronised mainly by men. In her description of Bond Street, she says that there were gentlemen's clubs and rooms which were only welcoming to upper class men. Although there were some assembly rooms[34] for both sexes, women were only welcomed when in the company of a man. A woman who strolled there alone, would earn herself a bad reputation and blamed with corruption (Rendell 2002, p. 49-54).

Therefore whoever views 19th century Regent Street, could expect to see the shops on the ground floor and the bachelor apartments on the upper levels. That is, mixed use buildings were likely to be seen in 19th century Regent Street. It was not an arbitrary design solution that came into life in Regent Street, as population density was high, accommodation was an important and problematic issue regarding life in London. Although West Londoners were living in their mansions and private apartments, East Londoners were living in very basic accommodation or even sharing their rooms with strangers (Picard 2000, 50-67). Later, in the Victorian era, the situation would get worse, and East Londoners would need to rent seating and a hanger to sleep on as accommodation. The Regency was the time in which the Victorian era was rooted. In this chaotic existence andenvironment, situated between West and East London, Regent Street proposed a kind of solution for the accommodation problem, though merely addressing the needs of West London gentlemen. Moreover, from Piccadilly to Oxford Street, Regent Street was also home to, merchants, manufacturers, tailors, gun makers, bakers and their customers in the shops. Besides, it was a street of musicians, dancers, and guests of the Harmonic Institution. Compared with Waterloo Place, which was

[34] Assembly Rooms were important venues during the Georgian period in Britain, they were used for social dancing as well as other functions. Rules and bye-laws were developed to govern the dancing at these venues, in this paper we'll consider a selection of these rules, and consider the implications for social dancing in Georgian Britain. https://www.regencydances.org/paper025.php

dedicated to offices, tourists and gentlemen from the upper classes, Regent Street seemed much more welcoming to different classes happily encompassing the likes of workers and shopkeepers.

3.1.2.3 Upper Regent Street & All Soul's Church

In his first proposal, Nash's suggestion was following the line from Portland Place (see figure 3.22) where upper middle class people including doctors and parliamentarians lived. However, in the final project, the street was taken further East. That is, Regent's Park at the top (North) was followed by Portland Place (South) then it was tied to Upper Regent Street by All Souls Church (figure 3.21). Nash designed the second curve just by the church which followed a circular plan and had a conical roof which was an indication of the North juncture or Northern terminal of the street, also called Langham Place (figure 3.22- 3.23). As his first reference line was a residential area, Portland Place, this part of the street was designed with private residential houses (especially for Members of Parliament) and shops. (See table 4: Oxford Street to All Souls). Here, a veterinary surgeon (No: 311), a Polytechnic Institution [35] (No 309) and some manufacturers were located among the houses of Upper Regent Street (Table 4).

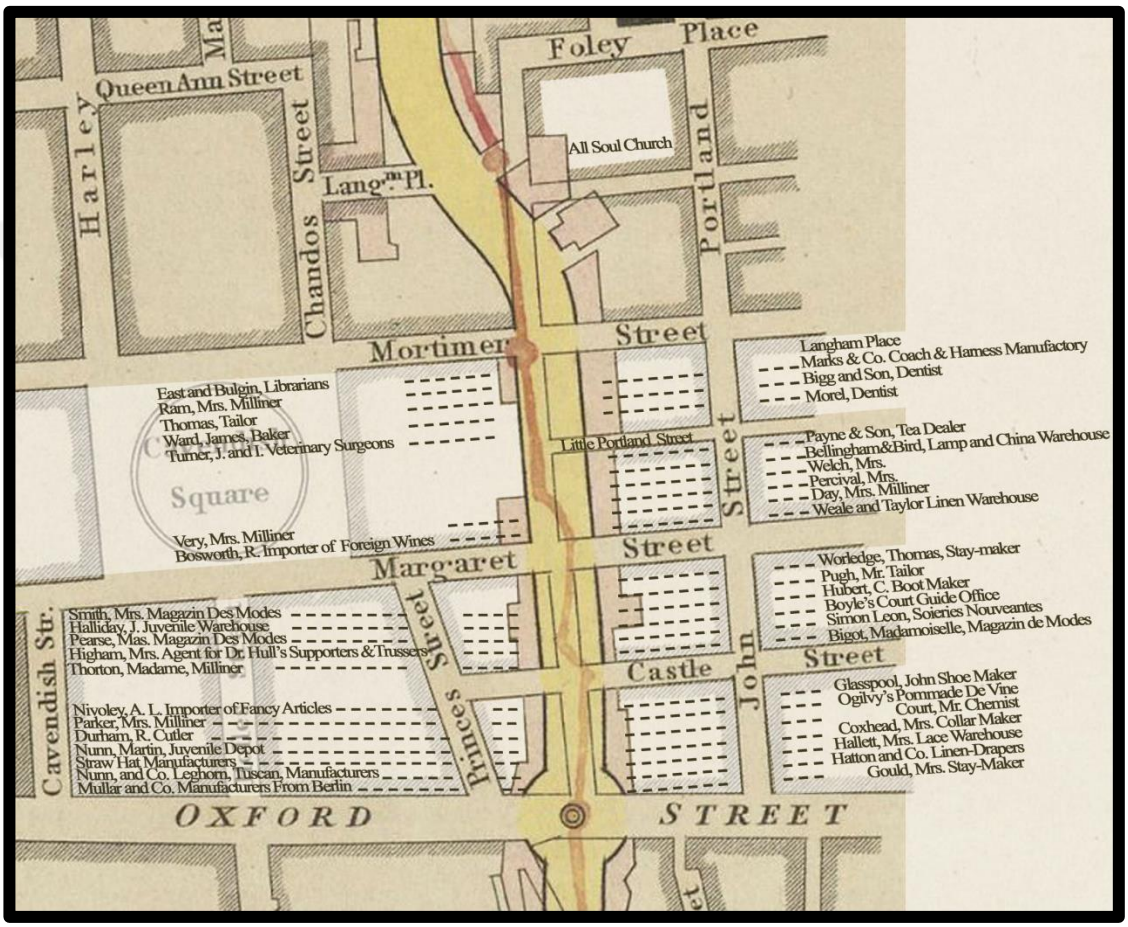
Figure 3.21: Langham Place, Regent Street, 1826.

Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=842404001&objectId=3294262&partId=1

[35] Established under the chairmanship of the distinguished scientist Sir George Cayley, The Polytechnic Institution at 309 Regent Street (1838) was created in order to demonstrate new technologies and inventions to the public and played a significant role in the popularisation of science. It is now University of Westminster. https://www.westminster.ac.uk/about-us/our-university/our-heritage

Portland Place was not affected or altered by the Regent Street project because it was only an extension to Regent's Park. Therefore a description of Regent Street did not include Portland Place in the body of Regent Street but it provided the reference axis and a junction from the park to Carlton House (figure 3.22).

Figure 3.22: Zoom into Upper Regent Street



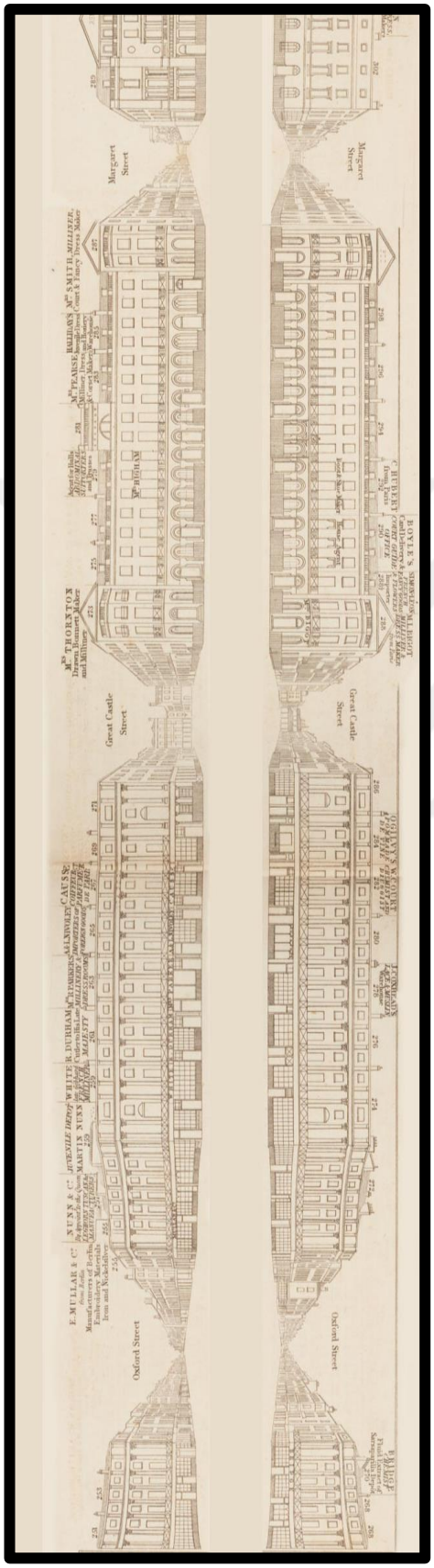
Source: http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/crace/p/007zzz000000012u00017000.html

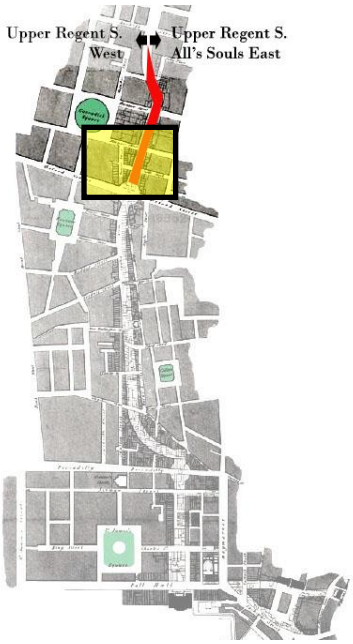
Table 3.3: Upper Regent Street-All Souls Church

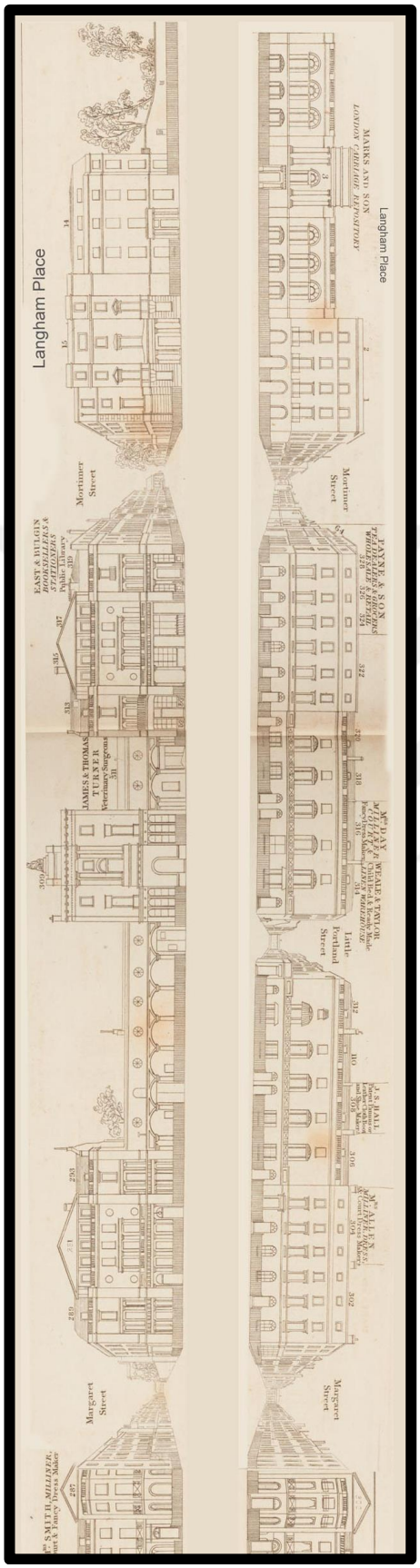
Upper Regent Street East No:288	Surgeon Dentist
Upper Regent Street East No:292	Charles Hubert Parisian Hoot and Shoe Maker
Upper Regent Street East No:298	Pierre Chantaume French Boot and Shoe Maker
Upper Regent Street East No:304	Barns and Dobbs Honiton Lace Manufacturers Reckless Milliner Howell
Upper Regent Street East No: 308	Mrs. Hopkins M
Upper Regent Street East No:308	J. Sparks Hall Elastic Boot Maker to Queen
Upper Regent Street East No:320	The London Benevolent Repository
Upper Regent Street East No:322	Mrs. Alfred Adams Milliner and France Stay Maker
Upper Regent Street West No:279	Miss Turney Milliner and Court Dress Maker
Upper Regent Street West No:309	Polytechnic Institution

Source: http://crowd.museumoflondon.org.uk/lsv1840/ (accessed 27 Aug 2015)

Figure 3.23: Tallis's Regent Street view from Upper Regent Street







Source: http://crowd.museumoflondon.org.uk/lsv1840/ (accessed 23 Aug 2015)

3.2 CONCLUDING REMARKS

From the beginning to the end of its construction, the concept of the Regent Street project was to lay an axial line between the North and South ocf central London, while eliminating from view the unwanted bodies coming from East. As the concept of the project was the first phase of space production, it was based on abstractions, drawings and geometry, but not lively performances or three-dimensional experiences. Therefore the body of the street was scanned to see what strategies and concepts were proposed for Regent Street. Since Lefebvre stated that every society produced its own space in accordance with its own social and cultural rules and norms, Regent Street was expected to meet the demands of Regency society. From the Prince Regent's perspective, the main criterion was to make London a powerful rival to Napoleonic Paris, whereas the architects wanted their names to outlive their own existences by designing a metropolitan development which would be remembered and used for decades (Anonymous 1963, p. 85-100).

Although it was a part of metropolitan improvement project that should have been dedicated to the general public of all class, from beginning to end it was devoted to the interests of the nobility and gentry, especially by Nash. However, the final outcome shows us that it was not implemented exactly as its spatial design was conceived on paper. Although the prospective visitors were from the upper classes, things did not turn out as planned. More precisely, despite being dedicated to the fashionable circles of West London and aiming to sweep away the East Londoners of Swallow Street, it emerged as a new, fashionable street where a blend of different classes of Londoners appeared simultaneously. It was a Royal passageway to Regents Park for the Royal family, and a shortcut for MPs (Members of Parliament) from Portland Place to Whitehall, a home for wealthy bachelors and a workplace for servants and shopkeepers. While many workers and manufacturers were keeping shops there, Regent Street was also a source of income for carriage drivers and porters. As Argyll Place housed a popular opera house, Regent Street was the opera stage for talents who were able to work as singers and dancers or the place of entertainment with aristocratic box and balcony owners attending the same opera. Pastries, bakeries, boot makers and tailors delivered the message that 19th century Britain was the home of production, technology

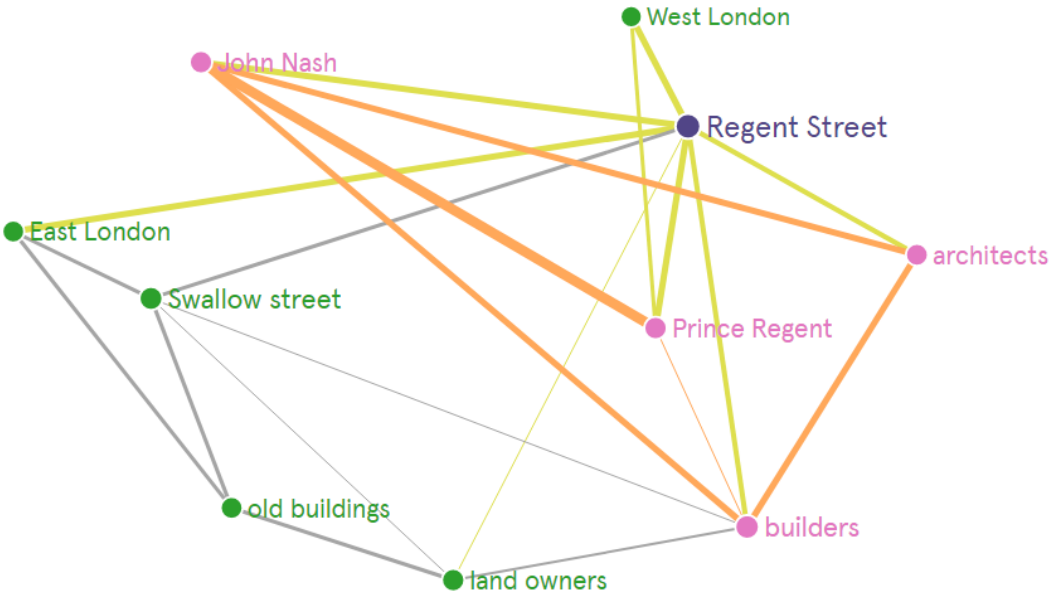
and crops. Therefore the plans for Regent Street show that it functioned as a conveyor in a North-South direction and also as a spine that held East and West orbits on its vertebrae. Whether people were from West or East London, men or women, dandies or prostitutes, ladies or beggars - they were all hosted by Regent Street. That is, the street shaped the people including shoppers, workers, beggars and visitors to its shops, windows, apartments, and activities before the people shaped their street and socially re-produced it. They would be the same people who would have a crucial role in the production of the perceived and the lived spaces since these two productions could only be possible through the actors and actants of Regent Street.

4. PERCEIVED SPACE: VISIBLE AND INVISIBLE - ACTORS AND ACTANTS OF THE STREET

In the previous chapter, Regent Street was analysed in terms of conceived space. According to the Lefebvrian approach, conceived space is also known as a representation of space because idea, ideologies, political or architectural visions are embedded in the diagram or the concept of the space, and they are visually represented in plans, maps, diagrams or drawings (Lefebvre 1991, p. 9). It also corresponds to the second space (conceptual) of Soja and the believable space of De Certeau. After analysing representations of space in drawings of Regent Street, the third chapter showed that demolishing the old and ramshackle buildings in Swallow Street and designing a new fashionable shopping street was the preferred method of both the builders and architects, with this renovation increasing the rent in this area (Arnold 2005, p. 88). Moreover, this new thoroughfare was a link that created a North/South axis to connect Regents Park (N) to Carlton House (S). The Prince Regent, architects and landowners all had different dreams and ideologies that can be seen represented in drawings, maps, or diagrams. For example, Nash intended to draw borders on the East side of the street by his buildings, while he offered them not for the workers or lower classes but to the upper class for rental profit. Although Nash dedicated the street to nobility and gentry, there were various buildings in Regent Street designated for different functions including insurance offices, shops, and private apartments. Hence, besides the mobility and gentry there were many lower and working class people ready to serve upper class members in these shops & apartments. All these people from different classes were the actors (occupants) of the street to provide continuation of the action. In other words, conceived spaced may promise numerous desires, and concepts of builders and architects, but the outcome was ultimately the creation of its actors. Although these elements (actors and actants will be mentioned later) are not emphasized in Lefebvrian theory, they always feature in the structure of his triad.

4.1 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LEFEBVRE AND ANT

Network 1 stands for this relationship amongst the elements that contributed to the development of conceived space. As Nash had a crucial role in convincing the landowners and the Prince Regent and also collaborated with other builders and developers, he seems at the core of this web. Moreover, the target was the construction of Regent Street to invite Westenders to the threshold between East and West by demolishing Swallow Street. Therefore all these human or nonhuman elements were related to each other. Their connection were either strong (bold lines) or weak (light lines) (network 1). While bold lines symbolise the actors, who played the main part in producing the street, thin lines symbolise the prompters or stuntmen that contributed to its production but was not given a protagonist role because of their social class.



Network 1: The relationship between the actors and actants in production of conceived space

Lefebvre never uses the words “actants and actors” to describe elements that contribute to the production of space. However, he silently indicates that space is a “living object" that can be reproduced by society which is made up of actors (especially in lived space). Moreover, the importance of human and non-human entities can be perceived in De Certeau’s *The Practice of Everyday Life* since he believes that space is primarily composed of bodies (Certeau 1984, p. 93). Inspired by the Lefebrian triad, Soja and his first space on the other hand, does not merely try to analyse the space, but adds some

feelings to these analyses of space (Soja, 1996). Thus, the silent indication of bodies/actors in spatial theories especially in the Lefebvrian theory of space is believed to contribute to the development of ANT (Actor-Network Theory) (Kingma 2010, p. 146). ANT suggests that space is not static, but it lives and progresses in a temporal process (this will be discussed in chapter 5). Moreover, during this process, agencies might be equally someone, something or somewhere, and they have the "will" to do something, and this "will" causes another thing to happen (Clegg & Haugard 2009, p. 126). On the other hand, Lefebvre remarks on this process that human and non-human activities are registered in lived spaces and claims that this space is more archi-textural than architectural (Lefebvre 1991, p. 118). Consequently, various actors create this texture with their various activities regarding their background. As this study concerns the relationship between body and architecture (Regent Street), and role of human and non-human entities on the production of modern space, the body as designer, thing or occupant plays an essential part in this study. Therefore ANT (actors and actants of the street) will be utilised to understand the nature of the production of space, especially the spatial triad in Lefebvrian terms as well as other theorists on Regent Street. Principally, Actor-Network Theory (ANT) was developed by Bruno Latour and Michel Callon in the 1980s, although it is usually considered as a tool instead of a true theory. It therefore does not stand for a method but rather contributes as a tool. ANT uses actors and actants as agencies to discuss the urban imaginary in terms of non-material, symbolic and physiological dimensions that construct cities (Rydin, Tate 2016, p. 112-113). Thus while agencies are composing the stories through their daily activities (according to De Certeau) ANT is used as a pen in this writing procedure or as a needle for this knitted history. Since Regent Street was a 19th-century urban production, this study will try to concentrate on these dimensions (non-material, symbolic, psychological) with their donors as agencies.

According to ANT, agencies could consist of people who are called actors; they might also be non-humans/non-living things that are actants (Latour 1999, p. 15-25). Although they are essential to unfold the nature of lived space, actors and actants are also significant elements to understand perceived space as well because such space can only be analysed by the senses or perceptions of the people, including touch, taste, sound, smell and sight. While they experience, use, reuse and adapt, these spaces through the

course of time gradually convert them into the living creatures which stand for the social production of space. In the end, it can be accepted that lived space (Social Production in Lefebvrian triad) and perceived space are inseparable because society produces its own space by viewing the existing space as what they perceive.

In his book *Global Cities and Urban Theory*, McNeill claims that: "for Lefebvre, the urban was the site for, and the medium of social relation and theorist needs to apply semiotics for decoding the urban, landscape and buildings to read representational power "(McNeill 2017, p.8). While semiotics is the system of signs, urbanists taking every single sign to understand to what extent they are active in the production process. For that reason, ANT helps to understand the complex nature of society, so it is a useful tool to add into the decoding process. ANT believes that society is the assembly of elements in which the relationship between elements, rather than the elements themselves, are the key focus (Rydin & Tate 2016, p. 4). Therefore this chapter will mainly concentrate on the relationship among the signs that were produced by the actors and actants to create a space of perception. In other words, this chapter will pick apart the knit of Regent Street and decipher the composed history of the street via ANT.

The main metaphor of ANT is the network, yet this is not static but in fact more fluid and organic. Thus further in this chapter, codes or the signs will be extracted from the bodies of agencies to present a dynamic network that constitutes the general notion or perception of the street. Then the dynamic and the fluid nature of this network will be explored in terms of perceived and lived space further in this thesis.

Otter says that: "material space was primarily a backdrop for social action" (Otter 2010, p. 43). Taking Regent Street as a 19th-century production makes it a material to be consumed, used or changed. This action could only be possible by the agencies and their performances. It is important to declare here that, Regent Street was a production in early modern society where agencies and their roles started dissolving and merging into one another. Therefore, the anthropocentric role of the human body in the production changed slightly with the advent of the power of machines. ANT therefore helps us to see how a centralised and decentralised body played a part in conceived (body was central as a patron and designer), perceived (body gradually exchange their roles with non-human agencies), and then lived space (in the next chapter human, non-human and time will be in the centre of production). In this chapter, my aim is to

analyse how Regent Street was perceived during the Regency era in the light of Latour's Actor and Network Theory and Lefebvre's formulation of perceived space. Looking back from today to the Regency period, the perception of the space in 19th century Regency London would only be received through visual or verbal media. Hence I mostly rely on visual sources which consist of architectural drawings, satirical cartoons; I also utilise a number of diaries, novels and some architectural reports.

4.1.1 Verbal and Visual Data: Perceptions Through Prints and Memories

Within the scope of this chapter, visual sources, particularly prints, will be unfolded in the analysis of perceived space. While prints are the general name of the visual productions that include portraits, architectural drawings (in books or individual sheets), caricatures and satires, patterns and sometimes maps, they also include the printed elements using different techniques.

Among the prints, satires and caricatures were the important entertainment sources in Regency Britain and most satirical prints were produced in London and were sold as individual pieces by publishers and booksellers. Satire means the use of irony, sarcasm, ridicule or the like, in exposing, denouncing, or deriding vice and folly [36]. They were therefore usually used to protest against some issue or other or send political, cultural and social messages to their recipients. In the political context, satires were believed to speak on behalf of viewers and audiences, nearly all of whom remained excluded from voting and official politics under the monarchy. There was a wide gap between the classes in England, and many of them were not able to speak publicly about their concerns; consequently, satires were the mouthpiece of the unrepresented, silent people and thus gave them a voice. In that context, satires were viwed as serving a fundamental role in supplying certain essential components in democracy and citizenship, namely; an informed public and protected and enshrined freedom (Forbes 2010,p. xiii). On the other hand, caricatures did not aim to satirise or ridicule leading figures or institutions of their day, as they only tried to entertain people by using comic effects that artistically exaggerated characters and their appearance. Moreover, the early examples of caricatures were practised in 17th century Italy as a source of pleasure, and

[36] http://www.dictionary.com/browse/satire

then English gentlemen returning from the Grand Tour introduced the genre to England in the 18th century (British Satirical Prints, British Library Online). James Gillray (1756-1815), Thomas Rowlandson (1756-1827) and George Cruikshank (1792-1878) were the major satirists who contributed to the golden age of satire in England between 1780 and 1830 (Feaver 1981, p. 1-23).

In the Georgian period, the Grand Tour was really popular among the English nobility and also some artists, but this was rarely the case with architects unless the managed to obtain the requisite financial support[37]. This tour is described as such: 300 years ago, wealthy young Englishmen began taking a post-Oxbridge trek through France and Italy in search of art, culture and the roots of Western civilisation. With nearly unlimited funds, aristocratic connections and months (or even years) to roam these countries, they commissioned paintings, perfected their language skills and mingled with the upper crust of continental Europe[38]. For these upper-class gentlemen, it was a European tour to discover their tastes in fachion, art and culture. Moreover, for the artists and architects, it was a long-term or short term travel to ancient civilisations like Rome, Greece or even Mediterranean cities to discover and study their architecture or landscape with an educational purpose. The importance of the Grand Tour for the architectural field will be discussed later, but its significance for caricatures and satires should be mentioned here.

The history of satire or caricature dates back to Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) and his grotesque sketches (figure 4.1), which were then followed by the pioneer of modern caricature, Annibale Carracci (1557-1602). The latter produced an exaggerated form of portraiture, creating a more striking image than the conventional portrait by 'loading' on the features as the origin of the word derives from the Italian word 'caricare' which means 'to load'. Then his technique became popular amongst the aristocracrats of Rome and Paris as it spread throughout Europe (Donald 1996, p. 12-14).

[37] https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b0144nvh
[38] https://archive.nytimes.com/query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage-9406EFD81F30F934A3575AC0A96E9C8B63.html

Figure 4.1: Left: Grotesque profile to the left of an old man with flattened nose by Wenceslaus Hollar, 1644- 1652. Right: Two caricature busts of old women, wearing two-pointed caps; by Leonardo da Vinci

Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=1368297001&objectId=3495143&partId=1

In the early 18th century, Italian versions of caricature began to be imported to England by gentlemen returning from the Grand Tour (Gatrell 2006, p. 227). Thanks to the industrial revolution, prints mostly concerned political issues to raise public awareness and caricatures were used for political humour (Gatrell 2006, p. 228). Marshall, in her book *The Practise of Satire in England 1658-1770*, describes the features of satire in five articles as follows: 1- it is literary art, 2- it attacks its targets…3- its targets are real- they represent, 4- it is to some extend humorous, 5- it is essentially a negative enterprise, generally seen as reflecting a sour view of human nature" (Marshall 2013, p.2). Since they were both used for public *awareness*, caricatures and satire had parallel features including their printing techniques. Engraving and etching were the methods adopted for designing a plate to create prints[39]. The etching usually began by coating a sheet of metal (usually copper or zinc) with acid resistant wax. Then the surface was scratched to design the work by exposing the metal underneath. Acid was then applied to that surface to infuse in the metal lines to create relief pattern. On the other hand, acid was not used in engraving because it was all carved by hand. Engravings could have been made of wood, silver, gold, steel or glass (Kirkbride 1903, p. 3-10). In both

[39] https://www.britannica.com/topic/etching-printing

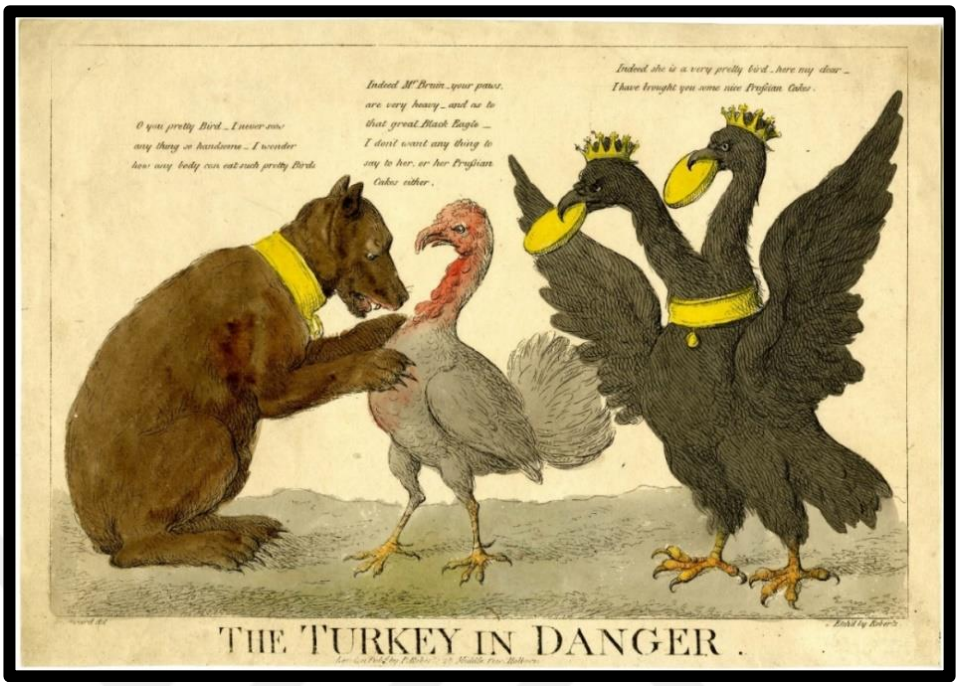
techniques, drawings were produced and copied by transfer sheets and the final products were called prints.

When Lefebvre describes his trilogy, he superimposes three phenomenological terms on three comparable terms derived from linguistic and semiotics: the conceived (le conçu)= the representation of space, the perceived (le perçu)= spatial practice, and the lived (le vecu)= space as representation. These productions are linked to each other because the production of material (conceived space) framed the production of knowledge (perceived space) and meaning (lived space) (Moravánszky & Schmid 2014, p. 31). In the end, there is no doubt that Lefebvre constructed a system of signs by using a semiotic language himself. Therefore any analysis of Regent Street referring to his triad as a conceptual framework requires us to use semiotic analyses. Hence, optical sources (all prints including architectural drawings, satires and caricatures) will be utilised to construct the production of knowledge (perceived space). Consequently, this study affirms the representative power of the images of the period and their reality. Images will be deciphered by means of the actors and actants to analyse what they represent. Additionally, these prints were created on two-dimensional sheets to render a concept or an idea, as if they are types of conceived space where idea, concept or critics of the artist were embodied with lines. Therefore, they are composed of the system of codes and symbols that are the very nature of their material production.

The historical and contextual knowledge of the Regency period will be the basis for decoding what cultural and historical signs these prints represent in their bodies. For example as in figure 4.2 of Georgian London, a cartoon might have featured an enormous bear or one wearing an official uniform, but the meaning of the bear might have been a code that was embedded in British cultural history[40] (Moores 2011, p. 14).

[40] In the 18th century Britain, different countries were described by various animals, for example, they portraited the bear for Russia, Turkey for Ottoman Empire, and Prussian Eagle for Prussia. Hence Russian Bear was the symbol of the country, not the animal itself (image 34) (Moores, 2011, 14).

Figure 4.2: *The Turkey in Danger* print made and published by George Moutard Woodward 1803



Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=92891001&objectId=1468965&partId=1

While this chapter draws a perceptional image of the street through these prints, there will also be various literary sources including diaries, books and surveys, or the captions/descriptions of the prints that will help to complete the scenes.

There are many scholars today who apply semiology and the literary text together to analyse satires and caricatures. In his thesis, *Art and Cultural Production, With Special Reference to Cartoon and Caricatures*, Tomkins uses visual images (drawings of caricatures) and literary texts (on caricatures) together to analyse satires. He believes that they should be juxtaposed and viewed side by side to understand the artist or producer with his lines (illustrations) and his inferiority (writings) (Tomkins 1983, p. 19). He also emphasises that these linguistic thoughts can be seen as the feelings, intentions, and experiences of satirists. Although analysts, who have a literary or artistic background, usually focus on the figure and text relationship during their analysis, the architectural background will be the centre of the decoding process in this study. Consequently, memoirs or statements on the street will be used as texts to support these illustrations in the analysis of these experiences, feelings, and perceptions, or in other

words “perceived space”. Fashion and architectural terminology will support one another while making an architectural analysis of the facades, visitors’ costumes and assorted street furniture.

During this decoding process of the signs, the structure of semiology that includes the sign- the signifier, the signified will be used to see how actors represent codes and symbols through their bodies, skins, costumes and movements, and actants through their function, colour and style. All these symbols will then create a network among themselves. Although all the occupants of the street are primarily viewed as individuals, this chapter intends to prove that all thse elements are tied up with each other in this network that creates perceptions and fluid connections.

4.2 PERCEIVED SPACE AND SPATIAL PRACTICE IN THE REGENCY PERIOD

According to the Lefebvrian approach, social practice converges and blends with perceived space, and only by decoding spaces can we reveal social practice. He says that: “…spatial practice embodies a close association within perceived space, between daily reality (routine) and urban reality (the routes and networks which link up the places) set aside for work, 'private' life and leisure” (Lefebvre 1991, p. 38). Consequently, analysing perceived space is possible through the daily experiences in urban places. According to De Certeau, “the memorable space is that which can be dreamed out of space. In this place it is a palimpsest, subjectivity is already linked to the absence that structures it as existence and makes it *be there* Dasein” (Carteau 1984, p. 108). Since *dasein* means *being there,* this *being there* is only a spatial practice in ways of moving into something different. The material and spatial practice of space is another name for perceived space and Soja coined the term first space for the practice of space. Thus this mobility will help to construct awareness through the time process, and it will be mentioned in lived space.

While production of space was categorised as “conceived, perceived and lived” by Lefebvre, he never separates them from each other but admits that they all overlap. He argues that abstract (conceived) space is not only a set of things like plans, maps, drawings and materials because their relationship was not enough to describe conceived

space. And yet, conceived space cannot be defined without them either (Lefebvre 1991, p. 49). On the other hand, the abstract space (conceived) is not the same space with others (perceived and lived), so it cannot be defined by perception as well (Lefebvre 1991, p. 50). Despite the fact that conceived space and perceived space correspond to the same space, perceptions and daily experiments do not describe the conceived space, as these activities are the way of clarifying perceived space.

While Lefebvre describes perceived space, he also applies *body* as a metaphor, and he declares that:

> *" as the relationship to space of a 'subject' who is a member of a group or society implies his relationship to his own body and vice versa.., social practice presupposes the use of the body: the use of the hands, members and sensory organs, and the gestures of work as of activity unrelated to work. This is the realm of the perceived (the practical basis of the perception of the outside world, to put it in psychology's terms" (Lefebvre 1991, p. 40).*

The early 19th century context will stay in the heart of this analytical process due to its undeniable role as a milestone of social transformation that was moulded by the French Revolution, Napoleonic France and the Industrial Revolution. While changing the world, these revolutions also changed people together with their vision and behaviour in parallel. Europeans had begun travelling to old civilisations especially Greece to understand their ideals, thoughts and philosophy. The concepts of liberty and human rights were developed in this self-awareness while the mechanical age began dominating Europe, especially England. In the end, imitation amongst the body-space-things can not only be considered as a visual phenomenon, it also has some intellectual implications.

In other words, a person legitimises himself by his physical body with which he socially practices and performs and sustains his title or power by trusting his circle. In this

legitimization process, he works, dresses[41] up, eats, chats and does related actions by using his body. For that reason, space also needs a body to prove its existence as well. Therefore among the body, space, and their practice, there might be an imitation (or pretence) because they all need one another's presence.

4.3 TRANSFERRING PERCEPTION VIA ACTORS AND ACTANTS

There were many actors and actants that shaped cultural transformation, who were highly effective for the production of space in Regent Street. For that reason, perceived space will obviously show that the Regency metropolis was constructed by both human and non-human entities. Moreover, it can represent the symbols of transformative effects in its spatial practice and representational structure. For example, the Grand Tour was one of the actants that helped artists and designers to learn from ancient cities and the clasical world to create their own taste. At the end of these tours, the neoclassical style was transferred and interpreted, and it was turned into an actant that affected the other actors and actants of the street including the neoclassical dresses of the ladies and the street buildings or the transformative effects of machine production that dominated Regency lives under the control of Regency gentlemen. The technology and the science developed and increased significantly the standard of living. Although these and some other events that promoted the new era seemed to stand alone, they are all connected to each other and are adductive for architecture and the body. These links between architecture and body make them familiar as they were both the production of the same era and the signifiers of "the spirit of the age" zeitgeist. Moreover, as it was indicated in the conceived space, new shops and buildings of Regent Street produced its own occupants (either upper class or lower class). Whether alive or not, all these actors and

[41] Since clothes define (architectural) spaces that cover the bodies, they also represent performance platforms for the wearers. The body can perceive these places (either in clothes or buildings) in the same way s/he performs there, or vice –verse the same body can design the clothes and architecture in a way how s/he wants to perceive it. Therefore Regency body will be taken as a performer of both clothes and built environment, then its spatial practice and perceptions will be analysed through image and action of its bodies. Furthermore, body-space-dress share the same platform to perform in (visual sources), so they imitate themselves to some degree.

actants are Regency creatures who were designed by that very same zeitgeist. In the end, one entity was the fertiliser of another in the practice of urbanisation.

Considering the parallel practice towards the body and architecture, this chapter will analyse the source of perceptions that are human or non-human actors of the street. Although various bodies acted (performed) and generated insights via these actions in the Regency period, reference of agencies will be taken specifically from the upper classes to analyse the perceived space in Regent Street. Thus a leading role will be given to the nobility in composing the story of the perceived space. There are two main reasons for choosing only the upper classes. Firstly, Nash aimed to design a modern street that whose purposes were placed under three main headings: "beauty of the metropolis", "utility to the public", and "practicability" (White 2008, p. 28). Moreover, he dedicated the street to the nobility and gentry to create a common sense that Regent Street was exclusively for the upper class. Although these three headings were the issue of conceived space, it should be remembered that conceived space does not diverge from perceived space. Hence, Regent Street will duplicate the perception of the modern world, modern bodies and their daily practices and concepts of Nash will shed light into this analysis. Secondly, when drawings or engravings are being deciphered to see daily routines in Regent Street, it will be seen that images represent mostly upper-class ladies and gentlemen, their carriages, accessories and the industrial side of Regency - inventions like gas lamps and modern buildings. While the lower classes were realistically etched in the cartoons and satires, they seem dark and unrepresented in the daily scenery of the street. For example, image 35, view in Regent Street below shows the view towards the quadrant, and it represents a segment of a particular day, with people visiting the street in carriages or on foot. Since London streets meant more than a place to walk along, Regent Street was also a platform for different actions. While some gentlemen were alone, ladies were usually accompanied by a man or another woman. They walk, stand in front of a shop window or talk to each other. However, except for the drivers of the carriages, costumes of visitors and their actions showed that they belonged to the upper class, who had both time and money, going there to spend time and enjoy the street. Eventually, the street became meaningful with its agencies that created spatial practices (mostly among the upper classes).

Figure 4.3: View in Regent Street, looking south, towards the quadrant, Piccadilly; Published by Ackermann, 1822

Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=613500001&objectId=3204888&partId=1

4.3.1 Decoding Actors and Actants of the Street

Figure 4.3 represents the actors, fashionable women wearing softly coloured dresses, and men wearing dark coloured suits and hats and both sexes shopping, strolling along, working or just passing through the street. Moreover, the actants are the carriages with their horses, gas lamps with metal frames, signs in the shop windows, and whitish buildings with their neoclassical styles. The image depicts a modern and fashionable shopping street viewe through a glance of an everyday scene. The British architect, James Elmes (1782-1862) was the surveyor and analyst of Regency architecture who wanted to create a guide for the new buildings of George IV's London by using drawings, engravings. He collected his perceptions and analyses and published Metropolitan Improvements, or London in the Nineteenth Century (Elmes, 1827). He shared his experiments and perceptions on Nash's Regent Street in 1827 as such: "*all*

the elegancies of the town and the beauties of the country are co-mingled with happy art and blissful union" (Elmes 1827, p. 22). As he described the street as "unified" and "beautiful", he shared his sensations that were produced by the signs and symbols of Regent Street. All these beautiful ladies and gentlemen with their modern clothes on recently built carriages, moving through the clean street, fashionable products and Regency buildings are all the signifiers that develop perceptions like "a blissful, beautiful union", namely the signified.

The street is the main body of the sign that holds signifiers (actors and actants) and creates the signified perceptions. Elmes's perceptions (or signified notion) that are blissful and beautiful union were created by the contribution of the actors and actants (people, building and other elements). It may therefore be assumed that the neoclassical style of ladies fashionable dresses and its harmony with neoclassical facades of the buildings contributed to the creation of this blissful and beautiful notion. Thus from now on, this study will examine perceived space through its actors and actants to demonstrate the network among them. This chapter will be like a journey to 19th century Regent Street to observe the texture of the street. While analysing these agencies, historical and contextual readings will be in the background to illustrate what ties them to each other to create general perceptions. In this process, bodies with their clothes and skins will function as a range of symbols in addition to the actants as both of them mainly signify the zeitgeist. I believe that production of space does not solely mean a physical construction of the buildings or their facades. Hence I will take the street as a whole with its actors and actants to show that perceptions are based on their entirety. Furthermore, I will try to follow this interactive and fluid relationship by choosing the visible and invisible actors and actants that are associated with the Regency body and architecture. Either clothes or the human skins will be taken as a piece of architecture while architecture will also act as a Regency body.

4.3.2 Ladies of Regent Street: Visible Actors of the Street

And the ladies are pleased their sweet face to show
Off to all when Regent Street ' shopping' they go,
And often I marvel how much they all buy-
Not one day in the week but 'a shopping' they hie!
This Regent Street quite like Rue de la Paix
And les elegants here, too, spend most of the day,
And lounging about- for what else should they do?
They admire Miss' eyes, or her hat, or her shoe (Best1830,p. 102).

The poet Best compared fashionable Regent Street of London with Rue de la Paix (Paris -1806), and he addressed their similarities in terms of the elegance of shoppers and their attire. It can be argued that this battle between England and France went even further than the Napoleonic Wars culminating in the Battle of Waterloo, as London was the biggest rival to Paris in terms of fashion and shopping as well. Furthermore, Best indicated the body of female visitors to a shopping street because fashion and shopping primarily targetted women as prospective purchasers. Moreover, beauty, grace and politeness were the principal concepts of the Regency body, and they were associated with noble ladies. Women who dressed well, moved slowly and elegantly and spoke politely mostly belonged to the upper class, and they were the source of beauty and grace. Therefore, Regent Street cannot be imagined without the existence of women and especially wealthy female bodies who were most likely to buy items to represent the grace via their fashionable bodies.

Production of this grace in the body of Regency ladies was slightly different from previous and later periods. England was at the vanguard of steam power and mass production, chiefly in textiles during the wars with Bonaparte. The French Revolution and conflicts between England and France triggered the development and concept of liberty, and the atmosphere in Europe transformed the way of thinking about freedom, self-consciousness and power (Clark, 2004, 120-268). Therefore, the conception of the body and its physical embodiment in France and England changed both visually and logically with attire and dresses were responsible for the visual transformation. 18th century (Georgian) dresses suggested heavy material and embellishment with Rococo dresses while this appearance then became an hourglass silhouette by the mid-19th century (Victorian) era. In between these two trends, the Regency era produced its own style that was distinct from the Georgian and Victorian. It was a threshold between the

frivolous (Rococo) and conscious style (giving up Rococo), and it was the era of cultural transformation. In this transition, the ideas of liberty and self-awareness became involved in the production of art, architecture and fashion (Wright 2013, p. 21). Freedom in art, architecture, and fashion was seen particularly in England and France which moved away from Rococo and its extravagant style to prove and show that they were more conscious and earnest about the world (Moores 2015, p. 73) as they believed that their style ought to express their character and personality. Subsequently, they returned to the serious and sensible philosophy of Greek and Rome by means of a neo-classic revival (Kemp, 2000, 265).

4.3.2.1 Neoclassical Outfits: Visible Actants of Perceptions

Neo-classicism idealised the values and aesthetics of the classical world, particularly ancient Greece. Travelling to old cities like Rome, Athens and Cairo, travellers (especially architects) began to learn about their governing systems and lifestyles. Therefore the neo-classical style impacted on art, architecture and fashion in a similar way (Palmer 2001, p.186). In fashion, these discoveries were concentrated into the Empire Style that was a mutual trend both in France and England. "Empire Style (Omp-ee)" was adopted from ancient Greece by taking their loose, natural, pure, white coloured dresses. In England, upper-class women favoured this style, and they were depicted with their high fashion costumes in 19th-century images. Gillray and his satire, Following the Fashion, showed that this new trend in fashion could be adopted by ladies regardless of their body shape and size (figure 4.4). The Rococo style could be read about in Darly's satire which highlighted that it was more extravagant since excessiveness in the body from head to foot were the key elements to represent power and wealth (figure 4.5). Comparing the satire of *Darly*, what is common to both images is that they both show a fat and a slim lady who follow fashion, which gives the message that the fashion is for every type of body (who can afford it).

Figure 4.4: *Following the Fashion,* Print made by James Gillray, 1794

Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=139481001&objectId=1632129&partId=1

Figure 4.5: *Long corks or the bottle companions*, by Matthew Darly, 1777

Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=76674001&objectId=1455986&partId=1

However, ladies in 1777 wore the grotesque pyramids of hair, *rococo dresses with their frills in hands and* great panniers at the back, both are gloved and hold fans, and their collars added another volume to their dresses *(figure 4.4).* On the other hand, Gillray showed that a slim and a fat lady still wore a feather in their modern hats, but they represented the *idea of awareness and consciousness in their dresses with plainness in soft and light colours and contours.*

Following this Regency simplicity, the Victorian era added crinolines to this plainness. Since the young Queen Victoria herself was a fresh, feminine figure, a puffy skirt with crinoline was believed to be feminine as was the throne she sat upon. Heath's satire shows the ritual of wearing crinoline under the dress. The name of the satire is *Question Unanswered* because a little girl asks questions such as: "why do you make yourself so like a balloon?" with no reply given by her sister. However, the hourglass figure of Victorian fashion changed the humble silhouette of Regency ladies into a less flattering spherical shape (figure 4.6).

Figure 4.6: *Questions unanswered*, made by C J Culliford, 1850-55

Source: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=1029965001&objectId=3338991&partId=1

While satire and caricatures (mostly in magazines) were the leading sources to put the limelight on Regency fashion, social and built environments were the real performance stage to exhibit these trends. One of the popular places to depict and describe the Regency style was Regent Street, where the latest fashions were available. Topographer and engraver Nathaniel Whittock shared his perceptions on Regent Street, and he agrees that Regent Street was the gayest or most joyful, and fashionable street full of ladies with their luxurious dresses. He stated:

> *"During the spring season, when the nobility and gentry are in town, the broad pavement before the shops forms the fashionable promenade. The splendour and variety of the ladies dress, the numerous superb equipages passing the street, or waiting for the visitors to the shops, with the continued animation, free from disagreeable noises, and bustle of the crowded part of the city, renders this stop one of the gayest scenes of the London" (Whittock 1836,p. 425).*

Figure 4.7: ***View of the Oxford and Cambridge Club,*** **Pall Mall,** ***by Day & Co*****, 1837**

Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=610457001&objectId=3206291&partId=1

When women bodies (actors) were extracted from the street, what can be observed through these bodies were their neoclassical outfits that created a blissful union as Elmes claimed before (figure 4.7). Regency fashion leader Beau Nash described these ladies' fashion as follows: "…*The closing year of the eighteen century was very gay with balls and assemblies as much more brilliance was observable in costumes*..." and then he referred to the spring of 1799 as "…*one of unusual splendour and dress as flying from Greek simplicity to Eastern magnificence*…" (Beau Nash cited in Hill 1893, p. 290). When Beau Nash focussed on Greek simplicity and Eastern magnificence, he pinpointed the essence and inspirational source of Regency fashion. Furthermore, when he said flying, he emphasised that the Regency style was a classical revival because its neoclassical style was a simulation of Greek simplicity and some details of Eastern cultures. For example, the outfits of ladies in figure 4.7 are called *pelisse* that was to wear outside during the winter. The interesting thing about the pelisse is its (notably) similarity to the outdoor clothes of 17th and 18th century Ottoman ladies.

Figure 4.8: Costumes Turcs Vol II, 1790 (left), Middle East & The Habits of the Grand Signor's Court, 1620, (right)

Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=345866001&objectId=3051322&partId=1

Two different Ottoman women from two different periods can be seen in figure 4.8. While one wears a wedding dress on the left, the other on the right wears a kaftan. Details show that the wedding dress was embellished with furs and combined with a decorated hat and kaftan was still simple with its buttons. Similar to the Eastern style, the Regency pelisse was like a simple kaftan that was enhanced with fur and combined with modern European hats. It seems that the fashion of the Regency lady gathered different tastes from West to East then merged and created the latest fashion with an eclectic style[42]. Clowes who was a famous owner of a Regency print shop visited Regent Street in 1837 outlined his perception of dresses like that: "*in the busy season around two o'clock till four or five views in Regent-street, the finest the newest fashion are displayed in the street*" (Clowes 1837, p. 282). Moreover, this eclectic and classic revival was the latest trend not only in fashion but also in architectural productions at the dawning of the 19th century. Although art, fashion and architecture were influenced by tihs classical revival, there was another movement which brought these disciplines even closer in terms of visual outcomes: the picturesque.

4.3.2.2 Picturesque Beauties: Invisible Actants and Essence of Grace

While Regent Street and Empire dresses of ladies were produced in the neoclassical style, they did not actually imitate each other; rather they used the same sources of inspiration by taking the essence of what they found and examined from ancient cities and their lifestyles during the Grand Tours. Thus, neoclassicism in dresses was generated by the inspiration and adaptation of the archaeological discoveries of the

[42] Interaction between East and West had already started before the 19th century becauseTurquerie undoubtedly reached its apogee during the 18th century. It provided a rich source of material for numerous novels, plays, ballet and opera; not to mention painting, architecture, costume and interiors. Turquerie's greatest impact was undoubtedly in France and Central Europe however Europe's Turquerie obsession eventually cooled to a more commonplace relationship by the 19th century. The world had grown up, the mystery all but gone. The fantasy world of Turquerie gradually morphed into a more mature, though ever prurient 'Orientalism'; a view of the Near and Middle East and North Africa that was only marginally less fantastical, but every bit as prejudiced as the Turquerie it had replaced. https://www.gdcinteriors.com/turquerie-eighteenth-century-european-fantasy/. Orientialism will be seen in the next chapter (chapter 5) as it can be follow in Victorian fashion style. Since The Prime Minister of Victorian period was Benjamin Disraeli who had visited Turkey in his youth in between 1830-31 (Blake 2013, p. 2), cultural intercation between East and West never disconnected. Thus it is believed that the court dresses of Victoria seem quite similar to moral costumes in the ottoman harem (see chapter 5) https://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/steer-clear-of-the-balkans-in-1876-disraeli-came-under-pressure-to-intervene-after-atrocities-in-the-1542177.html

statues and sculptures of ancient civilisations. Besides these figurines, architects and painters also revealed the temples and buildings in these cities which had been the stimulus for neoclassical architecture. Therefore many artists and architects drew and examined building components from frieze to frieze and column to column, and they created their modern "neoclassical and eclectic" taste, as also occurred in the world of fashion. Moreover, in the 18th century, romanticism emerged. On the Grand Tour, artists and architects were looking for the source of romantic details, and by the late 18th century the notion of the picturesque was a common definition of aesthetic beauty. Visits to these classical sites contributed to the development of the picturesque style in art especially in painting and landscape painting. For example, Turner who was one of the most prominent and famous Regency landscape painters, toured to Italy, France and Switzerland in search of grand panoramas. However, he mostly travelled around England and Wales to discover the natural and sublime[43] beauty of the country when the situation intensified and the advent of the revolutionary wars in France closed off mainland Europe[44] .

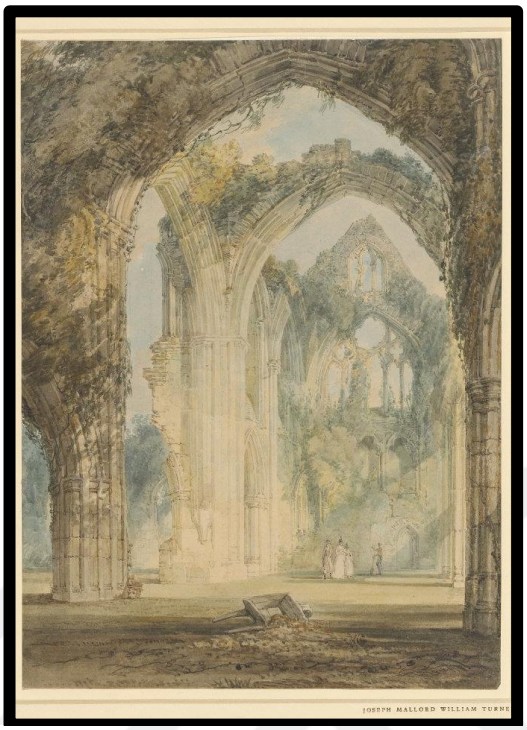
One of his works, Tintern Abbey, depicted a transept; four figures amongst the ruins which are overgrown by bushes with a truck and broom visible in the foreground. Turner showed how wrecked buildings could be part of nature and he created the sublime in his painting (figure 4.9). For landscape artists, the sublime was essentially the evocation of awe and terror, the beautiful meant soft and aesthetically pleasing, while the picturesque – literally "in the manner of a picture" – was defined as irregular, ragged and asymmetrical[45].

[43] The best-known theory published in Britain is Edmund Burke's *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757). Burke's definition of the sublime focuses on such terms as darkness, obscurity, privation, vastness, magnificence, loudness and suddenness, and that our reaction is defined by a kind of pleasurable terror. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the sublime was associated in particular with the immensity or turbulence of Nature and human responses to it. Consequently, in Western art, 'sublime' landscapes and seascapes, especially those from the Romantic period, often represent towering mountain ranges, deep chasms, violent storms and seas, volcanic eruptions or avalanches which, if actually experienced, would be life threatening. http://www.tate.org.uk/whats-on/tate-britain/display/art-and-sublime

[44] https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2012/nov/23/constable-turner-gainsborough-making-landscape

[45] https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2012/nov/23/constable-turner-gainsborough-making-landscape

Figure 4.9: Picturesque in art: Tintern Abbey, by Joseph Mallord William Turner, 1794



Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=7808001&objectId=748915&partId=1

Picturesque artists believed that the tension, horror and opposition in nature created a natural beauty, although this beauty could well be subjective. While one might find the view of rough rocks scary, others may find it magnificent. William Gilpin who introduced the picturesque to English culture in 1782, declares that, "I always have myself used it merely to denote such objects, as are proper subjects for painting "(Gilpin 1794, p. 36). Thus, picturesque was defined as anything beautiful that deserves to be painted.

Picturesque was the aesthetic ideal for the beautiful and sublime (Price, 1796,p. vii) and therefore people with their outfits, or buildings with their gardens and environments aspired to be picturesque during the Regency era. Many of the places, buildings and clothes were inspired among the ruins of the old cities in these tours because the essence and the heart of sublime beauty were found in the classics. The Georgian poet Knight can explain the very reason why classicism was used to depict picturesque in his poem *Landscape*:

" Material for the landscape may supply
And still is pleased the more, the more it views:
But cautiously will taste it stores reveal;
Its greatest art is aptly to conceal;
To lead with secret guile, the prying sight
To may, component parts may be best unite,
And form one beauteous, nicely blended whole,
To charm the eye and captive the soul,
As he who shines supreme in every art,
That guides the taste, or elevates the heart;
Whose genius, like the sun, serenely bright, eternal light;
And though successive ages roll away
Systems and systems triumph and decay,
Empires on Empires in oblivion fall,
And ruin spread alternate over all…"*(*Christie, *1794, 175).*

To state it more explicitly, architecture absorbs a variety of exotic elements and unites a number of improvements from different ages or countries in the same objects. Knight believes that, "this (process) is acceptable, and empires may fall into ruin and decay and oblivion, but the classical spirit of grace remains" (Knight 1795, 14). For that reason seeing the existence of sublime beauty and the reference to the picturesque will not be a surprise in the bodies or the buildings of Regent Street. Moreover, it is important to state at this point that England was one of the leading countries housing pieces of the ruins of ancient cities, such as the Elgin Marbles.

4.3.2.3 The Elgin Marbles: Invisible Actants and Source of the Picturesque

Although European artists and architects visited the sites of antiquity and painted them to bring back these impresions to their countries, the British played a very different role in the quick adoptation of the neoclassical Style. Between 1801 and 1805 Lord Elgin, the British ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, removed about half of the remaining sculptures from the fallen ruins of the Acropolis, Athens with the permission of the Ottoman authorities. As Lord Elgin was passionate about ancient Greek art, he transported those marbles to Britain. From 1807 onwards, he exhibited them in his temporary museum in London fora number of years[46]. Then the government initiated a debate about whether they would either buy these sculptures or send them back. British people appreciated these sculptures and reliefs as they were shocking with headless

[46] http://www.britishmuseum.org/about_us/news_and_press/statements/parthenon_sculptures.aspx

body figures, on the other hand, they were naturalistic and realistic looking (figure 4.10). As was stated earlier, the picturesque includes both beauty and the sublime, and this beauty was embedded in the ancient world and its works of art. What the marbles contained were the broken statues, friezes, columns and they represented beauty, violence, culture and extinction all at the same time.

As can be understood from figure 4.10 and 4.11, both the drawings and the marbles conveyed how the Greek fashion style was fluid, draped and light coloured, and articles such as head-dresses were avoided. Therefore, only pure white, pearl colours were used in early Regency dress until they discovered that the ancient Greeks also used bright colours mostly red and blue, or sometimes gold, and green (Breyer 1996, p. 113).

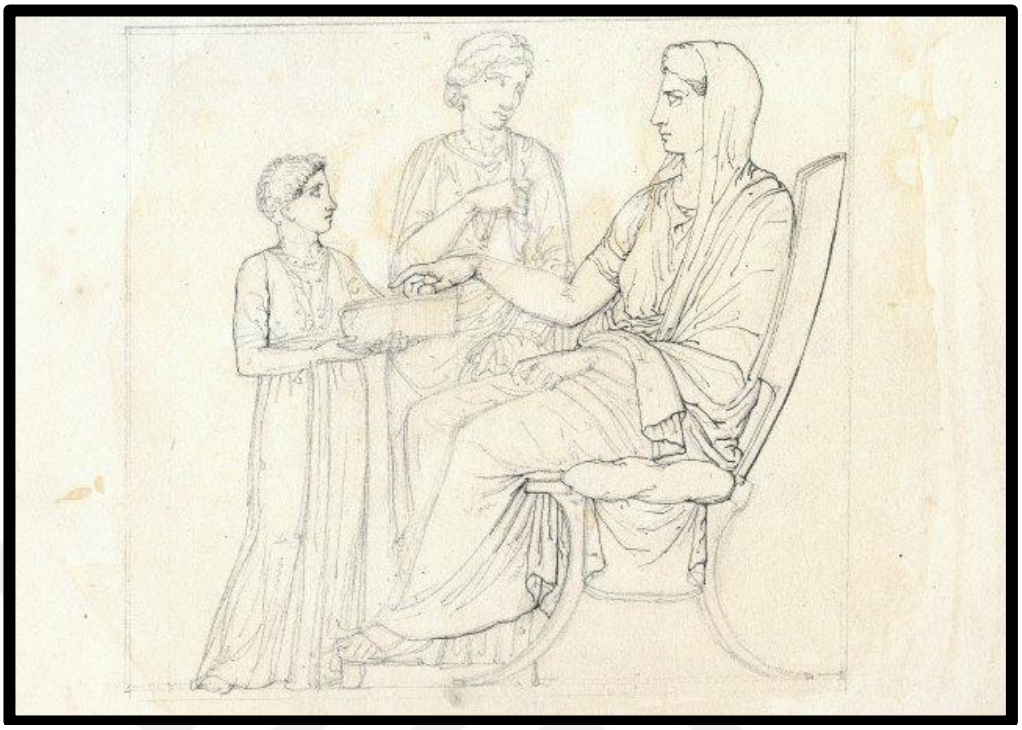
Figure 4.10: The Parthenon Sculptures, Designed by Pheidias, Culture/period- Classical Greek Date: 438BC-432BC, (acquisition date:1816)

Source: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=507103001&objectId=461660&partId=1

This opposition between beauty and the sublime was the source of the picturesque. Therefore these ruins were favoured and called the Elgin Marbles and then bought to be exhibited in the British Museum in 1817[47]. Consequently, people who had not been able to visit these ancient cities before, gained the advantage of seeing them in their own hometown.

[47] https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b0144nvh

Figure 4.11: Elgin Drawings, 1801-02



Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=1272673001&objectId=3494043&partId=1

The Regency style imitated the Greek not only to use for its latest fashions, but also for architecture and decoration by following and emulating this classical grace. For instance, Williams and his satire The Dutch Toy showed Princess Charlotte, daughter of the Prince Regent, wearing an ermine-lined robe hanging from her shoulders over a décolletée dress while her plain, curly hair worn in the typical hairstyle of Greek ladies in figure 4.12. Moreover, a chair leaning the back against the wall bore the same stylistic features as the Elgin drawings in figure 4.11 with its concave legs, an obvious reference to Greek furniture. Furthermore, the piano to her rear and the painting on the wall also indicated that art and music held a significant place in Regency society. Charlotte was a noble lady as she was one of the members of the royal family. Therefore her wardrobe with soft and pale colour dresses was an example of popular ladies' styles. Because of the economic situation of the countries, following this fashion was not affordable for the lower classes. Therefore, fashion leaders and followers were found among wealthy people such as the Royals, the aristocracy and upper-middle class.

Figure 4.12: *The Dutch toy*, by Charles Williams, 1814

Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=76827001&objectId=1480916&partId=1

Hence clothes, gowns, and hairstyles of ancient Greek were copied and worn by the upper and upper-middle class; they recognised that Greek ladies and their fashions were natural as well as transparent sometimes. This sheer beauty in marble led to several Regency ladies dressing semi-naked, and they were even depicted in neoclassical costumes without underwear[48]. When Rowlandson made his famous print Exhibition Stare Case in Royal Academy, he drew the interior of the Royal Academy as a Greco-Roman temple with the ornamental domes, on the wall in a niche a statue of a nymph disrobing, the niche was headed by entablature and friezes. He also depicted ladies half-naked wearing no underwear and showed that Regency society supported art and visited the exhibition at the Royal Academy (figure 4.13). Furthermore, the image signified that Regency people favoured art and exhibition because these places had a crucial role as a meeting place for both sexes. Rowlandson drew this meeting as an immoral encounter because of the inconsiderate behaviour patterns of the Regency ladies. However, this carefree attitude was not only encapsulated by their dress but also founded upon the idea of liberty.

[48] https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b0144nvh

Figure 4.13: *Exhibition Stare Case in Royal Academy*, by Thomas Rowlandson, 1811

Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=10042001&objectId=1348267&partId=1

4.3.2.4. Liberalism and Eclecticism: Invisible Actants of the Regency Period

From the 18th to the 19th century, a physical and mental transformation occurred in the bodies of ladies. This transmutation was assisted by their dresses that were shaped by the consciousness of liberalism. They expressed an awareness and were moulded by the grace and modernity of the classical world and reformed the ladies appearance and physical movement. 18th century women, who were wearing hugely volumed dresses with hoops, panniers and crinoline, could not be found "beautiful" and "elegant"

anymore in the Regency era. 19th century ladies did not need to get stuck in those cages that stopped their physical movement, consequences of the revolutions and wars that heightened their awareness of their physical and intellectual freedom.

While the 18th century Enlightenment restricted the freedom of female bodies, it provided a golden age for men especially in the development of science and technology. There were many male thinkers raised in Great Britain, but who interacted with other Europeans. The England philosopher Adam Smith (1723-1790), economist and historian David Hume (1711-1776) and historian Edward Gibbon (1737-1794) were the significant figures while Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729-1781) and Kant (1724-1804) were the notable German philosophers[49]. Moreover, there were several inventors that challenged the extant understanding of nature and created new scientific laws. For example, Thomas Newcomen and his early steam engine (1712) or William Murdoch and his Gaslight invention (1792) or Isaac Newton and universal gravitation (1687) are among them. Philosophers, inventors, physicians and all other scientists tried to govern and regulate nature with their devices and thoughts. However, not many women could be seen among these inventors in the scientific world as these projects were mainly carried out by men. Therefore female bodies were components of nature that were to be governed and ruled by mankind. Furthermore, men who dominated nature with their inventions and machines, controlled ladies' bodies by using their dresses as a machine that was able to restrict their movement. What the image of the Rococo dress shows (figure 4.14) is that massive dresses were worn with a corset, panniers and heavy materials which hindered women in the performance of their everyday duties until they adopted the light and modern Regency style.

[49] http://www.historyguide.org/intellect/lecture9a.html

Figure 4.14: Panniers, 18th century English court dress (1750)

Source: https://18centurybodies.wordpress.com/2013/06/05/the-fashion-for-panniers-in-the-18th-century/

Modernity in clothes allowed ladies to move freely; then there were no obstacles forcing them to stay far from their partners during dances thanks to the Duke of Wellington's dashing officers who brought the waltz from Europe to England in 1813 (Adburgham 2012,p. 3-5). Modern bodies were blessed by learning and dancing the waltz, however it could place a bad reputation upon women for having close bodily relations with their dancing partner. In her book Emma[50], Jane Austen described this intimate relationship (through her characters) between Frank Churchill and Emma while they were dancing in each other's arms and she mentioned that this intimacy was disturbing for Jane Fairfax (Fullerton 2012, p. 111).

[50] Jane Austen began Emma shortly before the hiatus in the war with France that followed on Napoleon's abdication in April 1814, and she finished it in March 1815 just at the moment that the deposed Emperor was resuming power. The peace may have been an illusory one, but if Austen wrote with the prospect of peace in view her timing was impeccable for Waterloo was history and Napoleon already on St Helena when the novel finally appeared. Indeed, at first sight the novel seems, for all its brilliance and intricacy, to be a summation of the work initially drafted in the nineties, but although the old Enlightenment motifs recur, many prove on closer inspection to have undergone a subtle sea change.
https://zodml.org/sites/default/files/%5BPeter_Knox
Shaw%5D_Jane_Austen_and_the_Enlightenmen.pdf

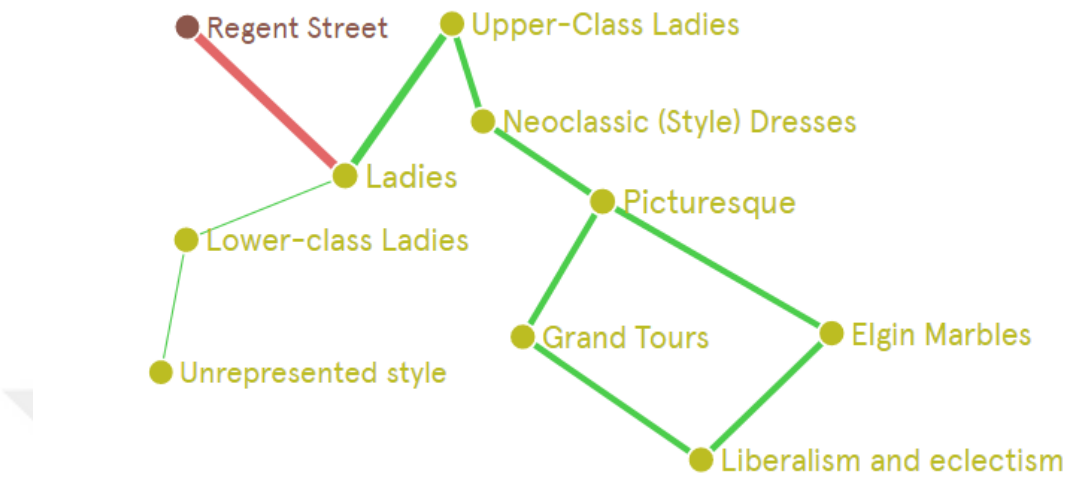
Figure 4.15: *Waltzing!* by Isaac Robert Cruikshank, 1816.

Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=1593957001&objectId=3020259&partId=1

Such an intimacy was highly inlikely with older stlye ladies' dresses, but modern Empire dresses made it possible. Cruikshank showed this affection amongst ladies and gentlemen during the dance in his satire Waltzing! in figure 4.15 (see also figure 4.13). His drawing presented three couples dancing immodestly in a space bordered by a red rope, behind which are many spectators. The breasts, shoulders and sometimes the arms of the women are bare, their skirts are short and edged with sheer lace. He highlighted the liberty in the bodies of women through their modern, decollete Regency clothes that released them, allowing them to move and display themselves and led to debauchery.

In the end, Regency ladies were transformed from the bodies in cages to early modern and free bodies. While freedom was the signifier with both their outfits and movements, it traced its origins to the Grand Tour and the Elgin Marbles. As people who visited other cities discovered their culture and lifestyle (like learning the waltz), the Elgin Marbles also allowed those who were not able to travel freely to other countries to know about these places. It therefore enabled liberated bodies to circulate freely, dance and

dress up. Network 2 represents the relationship among these signifiers that created perceptions through ladies in the street.



Network 2: Perceptions through ladies of Regent Street

The presence of these stylish ladies on Regent Street will be the signifier of various notions, (perceptions) such as ancient Greece with the Elgin Marbles, the Grand Tour, the picturesque beauty and grace. Furthermore, these signifiers were linked to liberty and personal freedom, class differentiation, war with France, the Industrial Revolution since they were the triggers, although they were not explicity represented. Moreover, all these notions would be perceived in Regent Street not only because of the women with their clothes but also due to the very nature of the creation of the street, which was the production of the same era (zeitgeist), and called upon mutual inspiration sources for its creations.

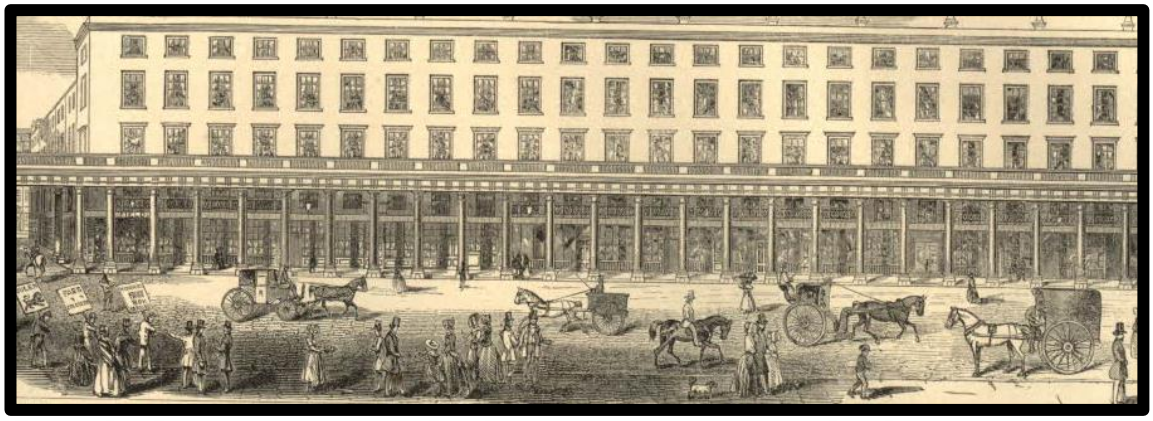
4.3.2.5. Neoclassical Buildings: Visible Actants of the Street

As previously stated, the streets of London meant more than a promenade or a link between two poles. They were like the observatory platforms for segments of daily lives and scenes of society acted out; the streets therefore were kinds of theatres that produced their own spectacles themselves. The images of Regent Street show that, where architecture was given to ladies as a stage to perform on, the neoclassical facades of the buildings match the ladies' neoclassical attire. Regent Street acted like the soft

colour dresses of the Regency ladies with its whitish stucco facades. Since the body of the street offered a place for shopping, promenading, trade and commerce altogether, its role was as a stage for a variety of people and their activities. As bodies with their secondary skins (clothes) and architecture were true Regency productions, they were influenced by the same trends that were shaped by the transitionary effect of the end of the 18th century.

For that reason, the Greek and Roman revival principles (classicism) were just as influential in the production of Regent Street as they were for fashion, while the idea of liberty or freedom, the Elgin Marbles, and the Grand Tour were still at the heart of shaping Regent Street. While the Grand Tour aided the development of the neoclassical style, the Elgin Marbles assisted architects who wanted to observe the antique details first hand. Moreover, the idea of liberty could be seen in different aspects in the architecture of Regent Street, such as providing a welcoming space for both sexes and all classes or producing a space which was designed in the spirit of architectural freedom, that is completed by free and sometimes eclectic facades of the buildings. Freedom in architecture or women's bodies was not a common notion until the Regency, especially in West London. Before Regent Street was built, the most luxurious thoroughfare had been Bond Street that was dedicated to the nobility and gentry. However, ladies were not as welcome as men in Bond Street because there were mainly masculine featuring places like tailoring shops for upper class men (Rendell 2002, p. 75). Through the development of Regent Street, various buildings cme into operation for ladies from all social classes. Although the street was proposed for the use of the upper class and gentry by Nash, the figure 4.16 clearly shows that lower class people could also be observed in the street.

Figure 4.16: The Grand Architectural Panorama of London; Regent Street to Westminster Abbey, 1849.



Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=589935001&objectId=3183584&partId=1

Here, the number of poor women seems smaller than that of noblewomen. There is a woman either a beggar or seller, extending her hand to ask money. She distinguishes herself from the upper class not only by her unstylish outfit but also by acting lonely. Since being, or walking and shopping alone in public spaces was the signifier of indecency and coarseness, that was not an appropriate course of action for upper-class ladies. Class consciousness and awareness among various groups will be mentioned later, however at this juncture a hint of this may be given in the images of the street which clearly represent the lower class physical form which expressed self-awareness among the individuals. Although Regent Street offered a space for both sexes, noblewomen usually needed to be accompanied by someone who was either female or male. Figure 4.3, 4.7, 4.17 show that the fashionable upper-class women who could come and go freely and enjoy this new thoroughfare were usually not alone and needed to be accompanied by a chaperone. Their costumes eased their rambling through the street because they were not as huge as they had previously been. (figure 4.4.,4.5)

Figure 4.17: United Service Military Club House, Haymarket Theatre, & part of the Opera Colonnade, by William Wallis, 1827

Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=607823001&objectId=3206830&partId=1

4.3.2.6 Grand Tours And Training: Invisible Actants In The Street

While freedom in the space can be followed through the movements of the visitors, it can also be observed on the façades of the buildings. The creation of the Regency architectural style was similar to parallel developments in fashion as they were both stimulated by the discoveries of antiquity[51]. Georgian and Regency architects who went abroad or observed the Elgin Marbles created their own architectural style by being aware of their stylistic freedom. From the Renaissance onwards, classical revivals had been seen in architecture, yet their style had changed by the 18th century. British architect, Sir John Summerson points out that three concepts of revivals characterise the 18th and 19th century periods (Summerson 1958, p. 92). Summerson says that:

[51] The performance in the costume making was the improvisation of the classics and their catwalk performance will be seen in the spectacle of the Regent Street.

> *"European man instead of looking back on his past as a single continues cultural stream, unhappily broken by the medieval collapse of classic values, begins to see it is distinct compartments, the world of antiquity, the medieval world, and the world of Renaissance.With the springing into the relief of these separate entities belonging to the past, three main concepts automatically emerged"* (Summerson 1958, p. 17)

and he categorises three key concepts:

> "*First, the concept of art through archaeology, that is, of the enrichment of the present by a persistent inquiry into the nature of past (as opposed to the acceptance of the traditional theory of antiquity).Second a wider concept of eclecticism, of the power to choose between styles or to combine elements from different styles. Third by the analogy, the concept of a modern style, a style uniquely characteristic of the present"* (Summerson 1958, p. 17).

At the end of this chapter, I will try to identify whether these three concepts can be seen in Regent Street or not. Although the Grand Tour and Elgin Marbles as invisible actants led to the evolution of these concepts, architects were the main actors that transformed them by harnessing the effects of industrialisation and the notion of liberty. Until the late 18th century, architects, builders and supervisors were not separate from each other. Thereafter the responsibilities and roles of builders, architects and designers were shared. It was followed by the establishment of the Institute of British Architects in 1834 (Worsley 1991, p. 1). In fact, the history of the Institute can be traced back to 1773 when a group of architects (who would later become Regency architects) published a pamphlet entitled *An essay on the Qualification and Duties of an Architect*. We can learn about the content of architectural education of the period from English architect George Dance's (1742-1825) instructions: the first year or two covers 'practice rules of geometry and arithmetic, improving himself in drawing', in the third year 'drawing all plans correctly, sections, elevations and all edifices, instruction of mechanics, hydraulics and perspective', and in order to form their architectural taste, 'these architect candidates could be sent to abroad' (Worsley 1991, p. 9). As travel was the key part of their education, many young pupils trained especially in Rome, Greece and Egypt to study the architectural monuments and masterpieces (Worsley 1991, p. 11). Moreover, the architectural education of classism was strenghthened by the publication

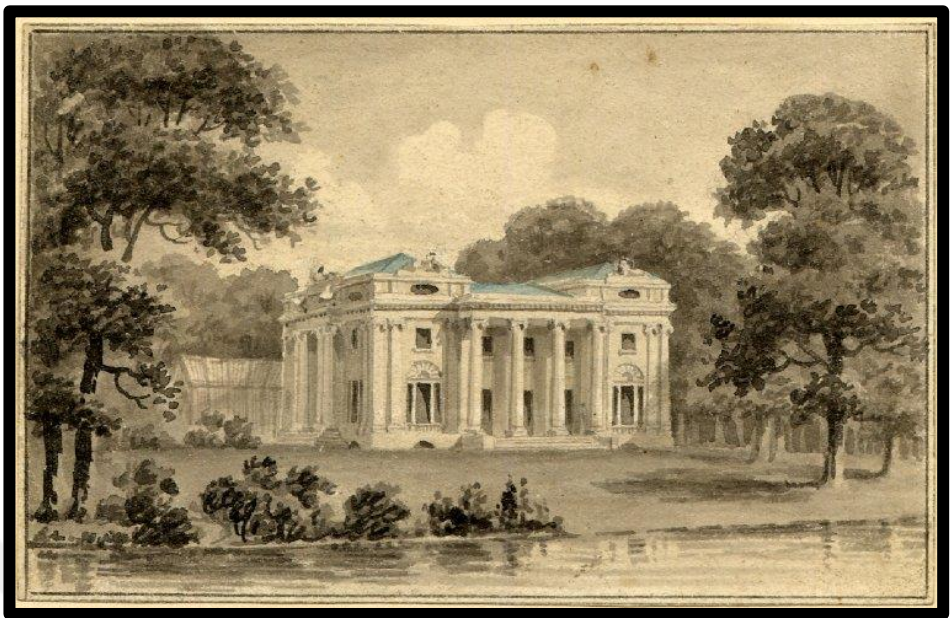
of several books as well. For example, James "Athenian" Stuart's *'the Antiquities of Athens'* (1748), Peter Nicholson's *'Architectural Dictionary'* (1819) and *Alberti's Architecture*, Sir William Chamber's *'A Treatise on the Decorative Part of Civil Architecture'* (1759, then revised in 1791), John Carter's *'the Ancient Architecture of England in 1795-1814 (set of the British, Roman, Saxon, Norman Areas'* were among them (Worsley 1991, p. 4). Having taken this education and read these books, Regency architects headed towards architectural revival and eclecticism as they created their own style via their knowledge from ancient principles.

Nash (1752-1835) the designer of Regent Street, was the former pupil in the office of Sir Robert Taylor[52] (Fazio & Henry, 2006,713). Sir Robert was influenced by his journey to Rome in 1742 when he first encountered antiquity for himself. He had a great library in various languages where pupils examined and studied ancient styles[53]. Working with various architects who trained and learned about classicism, Nash was capable of drafting designs in various styles including gothic neoclassicism (even though there is not such a proof that shows Nash went on the Grand Tour) (Dabundo 2009, p. 404). In addition to architects and developers, picturesque landscape gardener Humphrey Repton assisted Nash in improving his understanding of the picturesque (figure 4.18) (Smith 2001, p. 31).

[52] Sir Robert Taylor (1714–1788) trained first as a sculptor but by the time he was forty he turned to architecture, a career in which he became far more distinguished. He was a designer of great originality who specialised in building relatively small and compact country houses and villas for rich merchants and bankers, with elegant variations on Palladian themes. https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/sir-robert-taylor-17141788-216418#

[53] http://blogs.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/taylorian/tag/sir-robert-taylor/

Figure 4.18: View of a mansion in a park, Southgate Grove, Middlesex; Drawn by Humphrey Repton, 1752-1818



Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=277272001&objectId=747123&partId=1

4.3.2.7. Eclectic facades: visible actants of the street:

In the full panorama of Regent Street, numerous buildings were given different facades that could easily be viewed from beginning to the end of the street. The freedom in the architectural style and the various facades were the signifiers of Regency architectural education and collaboration. As mentioned in the production of the conceived space, Nash had to collaborate with several architects to carry out the construction of the street. Although they were contemporary colleagues who had been educated by a master who had been trained in the classics and travelled to ancient cities, each created his own eclectic style that all together made the façade of the street eclectic. For example, James Burton was the chief builder, and he was responsible for Waterloo Place (1815-1816) in front of Carlton Place (House of Prince Regent), Lower Regent Street (1817-1820), and also the land above the Quadrant (1820) (Arnold 2005, p. 85). Elmes shared his thoughts on the views from Waterloo place as such: "*Waterloo place and this part of the street is grand and effective as a whole, rich in composition and mind but sadly*

defective in elegance and correctness of details. It is a reformed Italian but still below Grecian Purity" (Elmes 1827, p.122). His perceptions and confusion was mainly based on the features of the facade that represented the nature of neoclassicism with its mixed and eclectic style. Although the Greek atmosphere is predominant all over the street, Elmes's perception can be traced back to the Italian Opera House, which was located in the Southern Terminal of Waterloo Place that was designed through Repton and Nash's cooperation.

Figure 4.19: Italian Opera House, London, by Anonymous

Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=607822001&objectId=3206799&partId=1

Figure 4.19 shows the Italian Opera House that had an eclectic façade with of arches, arcades and colonnade. The rectangular windows included pediments on the first level with two solid projections, whereas the very similar windows did not have pediments on the third level. Moreover, decorative friezes can be found in the middle-front screen. Ladies can be seen in white attire that were finished with modern hats and shawls. These shawls were also inspired by visits to the East, and referred to Eastern magnificence. Therefore eclecticism can be witnessed in parallel in both the faces of

the ladies and the architecture around them. The diary of an American lady describes this modern atmosphere and the whiteness that subsumed all other hues as follows:

> *"The opera house occupies the corner of the Hay Market and the Pall Mall: it is a very large, and handsome structure, and shopped in its colonnades and arcades. A little beyond the top of the Haymarket (where everything is sold but Hay) is Regent Street, a long, spacious, and rather winding street, the architectural boast of Western London; very fine in parts, and very startling too but all stucco stucco stucco!"* (An American Lady on Wood, 1843,7).

She mentioned that Regent Street housed a healthy commercial existence in West London. Although it was given its name because of hay that had been sold there, she also specified that there was no hay sold in the Hay Market after Regent Street was built and transformed the old dirty neighbourhood into a modern developed urban area. Moreover, her perceptions, though not favourable about the white stucco façades that she felt were overused, emphasised the sheer whiteness of neoclassical architecture.

Figure 4.20: Waterloo Place, Carlton House, by Thomas Sutherland, 1817

Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=607623001&objectId=3206442&partId=1

The whiteness of the façades had also been commented upon and referred to by Elmes. Moreover, he stated that: *"Waterloo place forms a capacious opening, like that of a fine*

estuary opening from the sea and forming the mouth of a great river" (Elmes, 1827, 120). Waterloo place was situated on the corner of the West End and the Houses of Parliament; therefore, this was designed and built to be a grand terminal. When this area was a part of Swallow Street in the past, it was narrow and full of market spaces, however as the image shows, following the construction of Regent Street, Waterloo Place became the best spot to observe the boulevard from Carlton House to the Quadrant, Piccadilly. Figure 4.20 is a view from Carlton House, looking down the long street with grand buildings on either side; the streets are fairly busy with carriages and men on horseback, and some elegantly dressed pedestrians stroll along the pavements. In this atmosphere of Waterloo Place, the constant movement of the crowds gave the impression of a great river to Elmes.

There were two monumental buildings in Waterloo Place that can be seen in figures 4.20, 4.21, 4.22. The first was Duke of York column that was designed by Benjamin Wyatt, and erected in 1833 as a memorial to King George's brother the Duke of York. He was the commander-in-chief of the army during the war against Napoleon, so the monument also stands for the defeat of Bonaparte (Harvey, 1998, 56). I believe that it may well have been easier to see and perceive this monument from a distance as it seems higher than the other buildings. It was an eye-catching monument, which would always remind the populace of the victory at Waterloo, as it wassituated in the middle of the street (figure 4.21) that was the contemporary rival of the shopping streets of Paris. This part of the street was transformed into an exhibition area of outstanding figures because other heroes and their statues would be added in time and form a collection of great historical people in the 1830s (Inwood 2012, p. 148).

Figure 4.21: The Duke of York's Column, Athenaeum and United Service Clubs, by Anonymous

Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=613534001&objectId=3205008&partId=1

The second monumental building at Waterloo Place was St Philip's Chapel (built from 1819-20) that was designed by George Stanley Repton who had become a pupil of Nash in 1795. It featured a Greco-Roman style, as can be seen in figure 4.22 ,that indicates the trend of applying archaeological research conducted abroad. Images show a while coloured, plain and symmetrical building that had a tower in the centre of the roof. Doric entrance columns with their bases and pedestals created the portico, and they supported the pediments. Moreover, triglyphs upon the architrave can be perceived. Square lintels were used as segmental pediments accompanying the windows of the entrance level. Furthermore, there was a unity in colour and style with adjacent buildings. The houses on either side of the way were elegant buildings stuccoed in imitation of stone. Whittock observes that "*the Street is of equal width and houses uniform in height and consequence, but of the various style of architecture. On the West side is the Philips Chapel an elegant Doric building capable of having fifteen hundred persons*" (Whittock 1836, p. 424). Fashionable carriages and shoppers contributed to this theatrical view with their modern appearance.

Figure 4.22: St Philip's Chapel, Regent Street, 1827

Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=613527001&objectId=3204975&partId=1

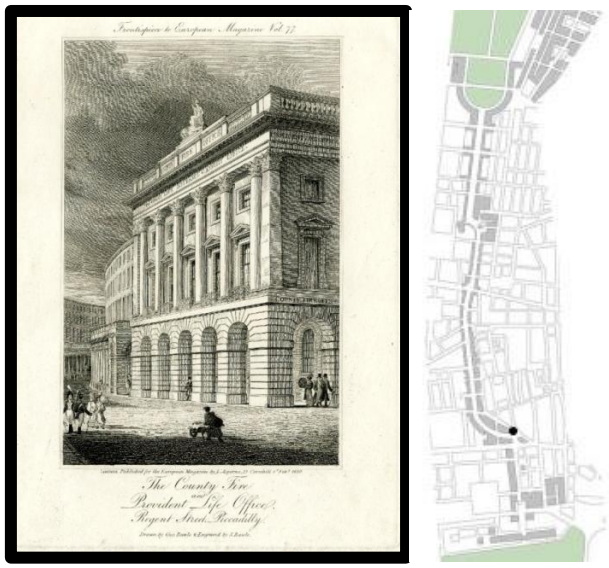
The Southern terminal of Waterloo Place (Lower Regent Street) was Piccadilly Circus that tied Lower Regent Street to the Quadrant. At this junction, Nash collaborated with Robert Abraham for the development of the County Fire Office in 1819 (Richardson 2001, p.43). Image 55 shows that it was a Greco-Roman style building that acted like a joint between the Quadrant and Piccadilly Circus. Darton mentioned this edifice saying that:

> *"The building is surmounted be a colossal statue of Britannia, behind which is an observatory, affording a view over London and the surrounding villages; the purpose of which is, that on an alarm of fire, the managing directory may ascertain the position in which it lies, and send engines, which are kept at the back of the building "(Darton, 1828, 86).*

His impression givem uss a clue that, the buildings of London were still endangered by fire because of the narrow streets and timber houses. On the other hand, the Fire Office was located at the end of Waterloo Place, and its alignment gave an opportunity to use this open and wide space (Lower Regent Street) to place the watchtower. Moreover, I believe that the fire office was one of the monumental buildings of the street not only

because of its Greco-Roman style but also due to its size and fire observation tower that was tall enough to detect fire over vast vistas of the city.

Figure: 4.23: The County Fire and Provident Life Office, Regent Street, Piccadilly, Samuel Rawle, 1820



Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=882138001&objectId=3307163&partId=1

The figure 4.23 shows the fire office and part of the Quadrant. The arcade at ground level and Corinthian pilasters across the front façade recall visits to Italy (and the Roman style). The sign of "County Fire Office" can be read from the balustrade on top and there is a statue in the middle (see also figure 4.24). Corinthian pilasters extended through two levels, and there were rectangular windows with triangular lintels on the first level, and plain on the second, projected from among the pilasters. There were ladies next to the building who were probably shoppers while there was another woman figure with a wheelbarrow, almost dark and imperceptible in the middle front. There were also two soldiers standing to the front left with the Quadrant curling away on the left.

In this junction, Regent Street diverged to the left towards the splendid buildings, and County Fire Office situated on the right side. Moreover, it drew a segmental circuit which was called the Quadrant as shown in figure 4.24. This portion of the street was particularly elegant, both sides of the road having continuous Doric colonnades

supporting a proper entablature. The flat roof of these porticos formed a promenade for the inhabitants. At the termination of the Quadrant, the colonnade ends. That part of the street was filled with elegant buildings; apartments the ground level of which were highly-ranked shops (Whittock 1836, p. 425).

Figure 4.24: View of the Quadrant in Regent Street, with the County Fire Office on the right 1833, by Anonymous

Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=613498001&objectId=3204883&partId=1

Situated between Lower Regent Street and Regent Street, the Quadrant was the exclusivework of Nash as both developer and architect. He mirrored his Regency eclectic style in his designs for this plot. The Quadrant was designed to accommodate two curved, single-pieced terraces and carved in the Greek and Egyptian style (Newman 1997, p. 488). Although the street extended from Carlton House to Regents Park, it had curved segments within it. I believe that these curves made Regent Street different from other shopping streets because they created a spectacle akin to a stage set and a unique atmosphere with their colonnades and shelters (figure 4.24). Darton described his experience in the Quadrant as such:

> *"Regent Street is one of the most striking and gay streets in the west end of London and is thought by some to be the most singular and magnificent line of streets in the world. The quadrant is a very fashionable walk: the shops and pavement on either side of the road under an elegant colonnade, which is supported by 140- cast iron pillars" (Darton,1828,85).*

Regency magazines of the time also commmented upon it as a singular or unique street, (and its colonnades were supported by iron pillars running along each side), underneath which the foot passengers walked, and the shops had a similar character to the shops of arcades (Penny Magazine 1837, p. 282). Moreover, a Regency diary, which was written by an American lady, found it to be like a theatre and compared it with Broadway. She says that "from storms a shelter, and from heat a shade; the supporting pillars are placed at regular intervals at the edge of a wide trottoir; the effect is the same as that produced by the successive awnings in Broadway; the appearance much finer" (An American Lady on Wood 1843, p. 7).

I believe that the façades of the classical buildings created a theatrical background for ladies and gentlemen who turned it into a catwalk for their fashionable clothes. Regent Street was a spectacle where scenographic performance could be undertaken by human and non-human bodies, and their everyday life practices were shaped and defined through this performance. Thus the street became a stage to see and to be seen (figure 4.24). Accordingly, it was not a surprise seeing a Regency gentleman- a dandy who strolling there as Willis described it:

> *"Walk in a little farther than to the Quadrant. Here commences the most thronged promenade in London. These crescent colonnades are the haunt of foreigners on the lookout for amusement, and of strangers in the metropolis… you find a town dandy getting fidgety after his second turn in the quadrant while you will meet the same Frenchmen there from noon till dusk, bounding his walk by those columns as if they were the bars of a cage" (Willis, 1806-67, 555).*

Besides proving shelter or protection and a dramatic background for the pedestrians underneath, it also served as a meeting point and watching platform from the upper levels. This watching platform would become a more explicit function by the time course it had developed into aresidential area, and this future role can be gleaned from Regency surveyor, White referring to (the awareness and surveillance aspect of) the Quadrant:

> *"...Such a peculiar convenience to those who require daily exercise. The Ballustrades over the Colonnades will form balconies to the Lodging-rooms over the Shops from which the occupiers of the Lodgings can see and converse with those passing in the Carriages underneath, and which will add to the gaiety of the scene, and induce single men, and others, who only visit the Town occasionally, to give a preference to such Lodgings"* (White, 1814, XLIX).

As it was asserted before, the female body was freer than ever before with its simple clothes and movements in the urban realm. Regent Street provided a welcoming atmosphere for both sexes to please their sensual and visual desires in these surroundings. Image 57 illustrates people looking around on the balcony of the Quadrant. Moreover, it provided a shelter for the ladies and gentlemen underneath, and the ground was covered by stone to avoid the mud (that will be mentioned later in this chapter).

While products and goods satisfied their needs for consumption, conversation or sometimes flirting with other sexes pleased their emotions. Dart, a Georgian and Victorian academician, pointed out that Regent Street (in the early 19th century) could be imagined as a space that was ruled over by three urban graces: mobility, sexuality and shopping. More specifically, it was also envisaged as a place of visual consumption and display, where bold bachelors would "see and converse with" fashionable young ladies in passing carriages, and where the values of freedom and opportunism would be paramount. Freedom and opportunism were intended to epitomise the finished street, but they also ended up characterising its construction which was conducted throughout in the most piecemeal, improvisatory fashion (Dart 2012, p. 146).

Figure 4.25: The Westminster Dairy in the Quadrant, by George Scharf, 1825

Source: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=434944001&objectId=736127&partId=1

While products and goods satisfied their needs for consumption, conversation or sometimes flirting with other sexes pleased their emotions. Dart, a Georgian and Victorian academician, pointed out that Regent Street (in the early 19th century) could be imagined as a space that was ruled over by three urban graces: mobility, sexuality and shopping. More specifically, it was also envisaged as a place of visual consumption and display, where bold bachelors would "see and converse with" fashionable young ladies in passing carriages, and where the values of freedom and opportunism would be paramount. Freedom and opportunism were intended to epitomise the finished street, but they also ended up characterising its construction which was conducted throughout in the most piecemeal, improvisatory fashion (Dart 2012, p. 146).

Nash was the creator of this freedom and opportunism in the street and these concepts can even be discerned in the eclectic and free facades of the buildings. Coordinating different designers and builders, Nash blended his architectural skills (neoclassical background) and knowledge (of Romantic and Picturesque landscape). Thus, Nash was believed to be the very founder of Regency Architecture with Gothic, Palladian, Egyptian, Italian and Picturesque beauty (Fox 2014, p. 81). As he blended various styles

he achieved a scenographic and theatral atmosphere in the street. Due to the exclusive colonnade of the Quadrant, this segment of the street produced an "unusual continental feel by shielding pedestrians from the elements" (White 1814, p. 21). Here, elements refers to unwanted climate factors including mud and rain, and White drew attention to the requirements of pedestrians who could continue their shopping, gossips, or rambling in inclement weather. It was widely said that the Doric collonades of the Quadrant evoked memories of the ancient Greek forum and theatre. This dramatic atmosphere led to Nash being called the creator of *theatrical architecture* (Richardson 2001, p. xvi) as a stage for the actors of Regent Street.

Figure 4.26: Regent Street, looking towards the Quadrant, by Thomas Shotter Boys 1842

Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=819066001&objectId=3250830&partId=1

Above the Quadrant, Regent Street was largely developed by Repton again while Samuel Baxter built only around Oxford Circus (Arnold 2005, p. 84). Oxford Street was one of the most crowded shopping streets that was mostly visited by lower class East Londoners. Figure 4.26 shows the crossroads of Oxford Street and Regent Street, where people from various backgrounds can be viewed. A beggar is leaning against the

corner of a shop on the right while fashionable ladies and gentlemen are shopping and walking through the street. There are also two men who are in front of the carriage, trying to pull the wheel from right to left. Thus figure 4.26 represents the mixture of West End and East End in the junction between the streets of Eastenders and Westenders.

Although Nash designed much of the plans and facades in this area, architect John Soane was responsible for only no. 156 to 172 of Regent Street, between the years 1820-21 (Richardson 2001, p. 42). Another monumental building in the street, St George's Chapel was designed by C.R. Cockerell (1788 -1863), who went on the Grand Tour on 14 April 1810 and echoed his Greek revival style in this spiritual place. Figure 4.27 shows the twin-towered chapel designed by him that included an enormous entrance with Ionic porticos, with a dominant presence in comparison to neighbouring buildings.

Figure 4.27: St George's Chapel, Regent Street, 1827, by James Tingle

Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=778025001&objectId=3250740&partId=1

Idiosyncratic interpretations of revivalism by all these designers, though principally Nash, Repton, Sloane, Cockarell and Baxter had contributed to the eclectic architecture

of the street displaying a sort of suspended harmony that was generated by their individual styles. Therefore, the street symbolised this coordination through its eclectic façades and came to be considered *a blissful union,* even though it was shared among these designers.

Figure 4.28: *Nashional taste!!!*, 1824, by George Cruikshank

Source: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=166865001&objectId=1651333&partId=1

All Soul's Church (1822-25), was the Northern terminal above the interchange with Oxford Circus (Upper Regent Street). Nash designed the second curve of the street here after the Quadrant. He provided a circular colonnade to western end of the church to create a bend there (**Allinson 2006, p**. 89). The church and its spinning top were satirised by cartoonists. Cruikshank criticised the architectural style of Nash with a satire entitled *Nashional taste!!!* (figure 4.28) . He described the work in his poem: "*Providence sends meat, the devil sends cooks, parliament send funds but who sends the architects*?" Cruikshank's words were not the only criticisms of the church, to highlight one of many more, in 1828 entertainment magazine *The Mirror* commented:

> *"among all other specimens of contemporary building, none has excited more animadversion than All-Souls…to our eye, the church itself, apart from the tower is perhaps, the most miserable structure in the metropolis,- in its starved proportions more resembling manufactory, or warehouse, than the impressive character of a church"* (Percy & Timbs 1828, p. 66).

Nonetheless, Elmes claims that it had a singular originality and he declared that:

> *"…it is really productive of beauty, in form and proportion. Nor am I disposed of, now my eye has become somewhat used to the daring novelty, to object to the Gothic innovation of the impaling spire… Mr Nash, bold originality of his singular tower and spire really possesses much intrinsic beauty of form…*" (Elmes 1827, p. 97).

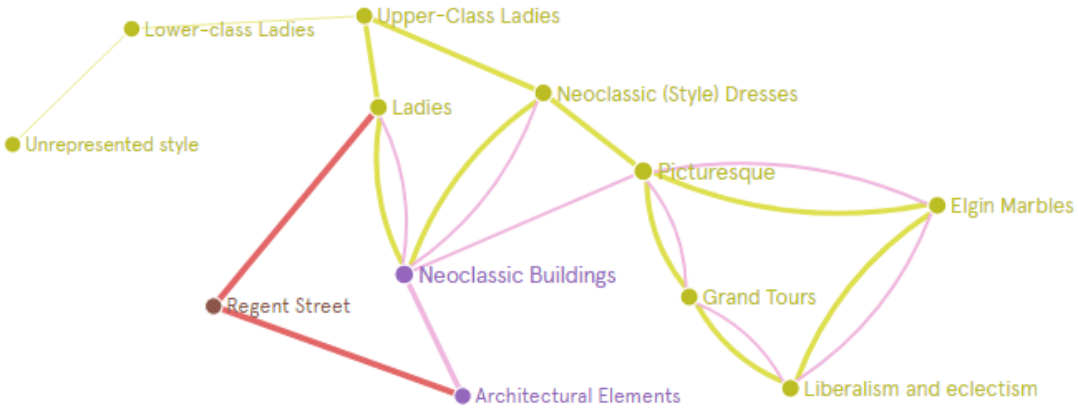
I hold the view that figure 4.29 displays a picturesque church with its white Ionic colonnade (beauty) and horror spiral roof (sublime). It shows the eclectic style in extremes with its tripartite facade that projected a Greco-Roman entrance on the first level, a balustrade and the tower on the second and the gothic roof in the third.

Figure 4.29: View of the east side of Langham Place, Regent Street, with the church in the centre, 1825

Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=778018001&objectId=3250878&partId=1

There might be various reasons for Cruikshank's satire but it should come as no surprise that the spiral roof should be the main target and the satire particularly focussed the conical roof (figure 4.28, 4.29). From Carlton House to All Souls, the street epitomised the neoclassical revival with its Greek and Roman inspirations, however here for the first time the roof championed the Gothic revival. The classical revival was considered as a modernist approach that ignored medieval and gothic rules, which also symbolised a return to the humanist Western philosophy of antiquity. With its gothic details, All Souls left itself open to ridicule. Nash was an influential character in deciding and designing the facades. However, there were also other architects who designed public/private buildings of the street by using their own neoclassical interpretations. They decided on the building form in relation to the idiosyncratic functional requirements of specific building problems (Gelernter 1995, p. 174). Durand indicates that "beauty appears naturally when one occupies oneself with disposition (the careful arrangement of functional parts)" (Durand in Gelernter 1995, p. 189). Therefore neoclassical architects used the same geometric shapes or architectural elements (colonnades, plasters, orders) however they employed different combinations, which resulted in a variety of forms, and created their own personal blends. St. Philip's Chapel by Repton, St. George's Chapel by Cockerell, All Souls Church were three monumental and religious buildings that representeed the noclassical and geometrical approaches of their designers. As previously mentioned, Summerson indicated three concepts of neoclassical revival that are the archaeological, the eclectic and the modernist approaches. The Elgin Marbles, the Grand Tour, architectural education and cooperation were the signifiers of the archaeological and eclectic style of Regent Street. It should also be indicated here that the modernist approach was made possible by new industrial materials that eased the construction of these monumental buildings as will be seen later in this chapter.

From Carlton House to All Souls, Regent Street symbolised various notions because of its numerous signifiers. Each of these signifiers meant that all the actors and actants of the streetwere related to Regency women's bodies. Network 3 represents this connection among Regent Street, ladies and buildings.



Network 3: The production of perception through female bodies and architectural elements

Taking Regent Street in the centre, ladies were the actors while architectural elements were the actants. Some links worked in double-ways (curvilinear lines) to represent the interaction between buildings and clothes regarding their source of production and imitation. Therefore the network functions as a system of signs. Neoclassical facades (signifiers) of the buildings and the clothes of ladies were consequences of the Grand Tour (signified) and the Elgin Marbles (signified) also inspired the architects and painters to adopt the picturesque attitude (signified). Moreover, freedom (signified and signifier) was not only about the freedom or the action of body movements (disposed of restrictive dress features) but also about the eclectic façades (signifiers) that were achieved through the nature of architectural education (signified). While collonades (signifiers) were architectural elements, they were the main actants of the theatrical atmosphere (signified). Moreover, balustrades (signifier) and the balconies (signifier) were the places for both sexual pleasure and dining activity (signified) in the lodgings. All in all, signifiers and signified between the outfits and the buildings created a network that constituted an early stage of total perception.

4.3.3 The Man in the Street: Visible Actors of the Street

While ladies left extravagant Rococo dresses behind and adopted new English gowns, noblemen also followed the same pattern by giving up their own particular style. The late Georgian era bore witness to the "macaroni", the highly affected and contrived men's fashion (wearing Rococo style clothes) and was followed by the upper class fellows in the mid and late 18th century (DK 2012, 152). The macaroni style was developed by the young English men who had visited Italy on the Grand Tour and brought their fashions back to England (Findler 2009, 30). Images of the macaronis show that they were wearing embellished socks on their short leggings and shirts that had frills on their arms and collars; very similar to details of rococo ladies' dresses and they wore an exaggerated and excessive headdress and make up. Therefore, all these costumes gave the impression of a masquerade and femininity more than fashionable gentlemen as can be seen from the satire of Dawe (figure 4.30) entitled *The Macaroni, a real character at the late masquerade*.

Figure 4.30: The Macaroni, a real character at the late masquerade, by Philip Dawe, 1773

Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=100871001&objectId=1478826&partId=1

In the Middle Ages, masquerades had first appeared in Italy, and then this trend became popular in England after the Grand Tour since the masking encouraged people to feel a sense of release and relief from their everyday existence. The term masquerade simply described dressing as a particular character and displaying wealth and social position by donning fancy dresses (DK 2012, p. 158). The very reason for a need for such masking and relaxation was the sexual orientation of 18th century macaronies. Although the macaroni was the symbol of a fashionable man, he also portrayed "a kind of animal, neither male nor female, a thing of the neuter gender" (Shipley 1955, p.404). Concerning the aforementioned neuter gender, macaronies scandalised society that struggled to comprehend how they could appear to be neither one thing nor the other.[54] Their dubious sexuality is highlighted in a section of a poem "the Vauxhall Affray":

"But Macaronies are a sex
Which do philosophers perplex;
Tho' all the priests of Venus's rites
Agree they are Hermaphrodites" (Dudley 1770, p. 46).

Although the discussion of the places in which macaronis appeared is the subject of another study, it should be declared that they were usually seen in taverns around the Old Bailey (East London) that were called "molly houses". Moreover, they were upper class gentlemen who lived around St James, Pall Mall and White Hall in West London, so their private apartments were also meeting places for them[55].

Figure 4.30 represents a man with graceful movements and a soft gaze, but the description of macaronis as animals came not only from their strange appearance, but also from their unseemly behaviour in public. Seeing macaronis wearing two watches was not surprising because they loved excess (Burney 1892, p. 30-70) and they were widely seen as in the following terms: "he was a sort of powdered wheaten with cheese, coarse, rude and rustic" (Shipley 1955, 404).

As a reaction against this and just as women's bodies had benefitted from the democratic ideals of the Enlightenment, men too soon after found the freedom to express their clothing tastes in a simpler and more subtle style. The leader of this

[54] https://hydra.hull.ac.uk/assets/hull:10544a/content
[55] https://www.vam.ac.uk/blog/out-in-the-museum/18th-century-queer-cultures-1-the-macaroni-and-his-ancestors

fashion movement was George Brummell (1778-1840) (Ian, 2005, 1-30), better known as Beau Brummell who defined male fashions in the Regency period. His rejection of the ornamentation and colour were proof of his opposition to the extravagant style of the macaronis. Figure 4.31 represents his (Brummell) full dress or modern Englishman suit with his invention of full-length trousers that he achieved through extending the knee breaches and stockings of Macaronis (in figure 4.30). Brummell used mainly blue, black- buff, white, dark colour coats, polished boots and elaborately knotted cravats. His style was called dandyism and Brummell was the first man who described his taste as “less is more” (Ian, 2005, 1-10).

Figure 4.31: Dandy Style of Brummel

Source: http://hfebooks.com/bath-time-with-beau-brummell-by-libi-astaire/

He was also known as a catalyst for “the Great Masculine Revolution” because Regency men were able to represent their prestige and power by means of their modern fashion style (DK 2012, p. 152). Brummell’s complete opposition to make-up and effeminate appearance, typified by the macaronis, produced a more rugged, Regency masculine style. Brummel was the father of Regency man with his manly appearance that had a modern and mechanical look with dark coloured suits and a white shirt, and his trend

was followed by the gentlemen of Regent Street. Figüre 4.31 shows the modern Englishmen (dandy) wearing their hats, dark coloured modern jackets and full-length trousers while shopping and talking to each other in the street.

Besides being a role model for contemporary Englishmen, Brummel also contributed to the production of an architectural space to see and to be seen in, reinforcing the exclusiveness of the modern and mechanistic world of Great Britain. It was the bow window that represented industrial England in the façades of the buildings.

4.3.3.1 Bow Windows of Regency London: Visible Actants of Exclusivity

During the industrial age and the Napoleonic wars, politics and economics were the main issues discussed among upper class men. Besides sharing political views, they also exchanged their tastes and styles within their private spheres (Rendell 2002, 1-23). Gentlemen's clubs played a crucial paty in this exchange. White's Club and Brooks's (at St James's Place, very close to Bond Street and Carlton House) were the most popular among them. However, these were men only establishments that forbade the presence of women's bodies. Gentlemen gathered there to gamble and talk about politics, culture and even fashion (see interior in figure 4.32) (Smith 2011, np.). Brummel was at the heart of this exchange, and he was a prominent figure at White's Club where he was a member. Indeed by the year 1811, White's Club had been redesigned to exhibit a bow window facing St James's Street. When the window was added to the front façade of White's, it was dedicated to Brummell and called "Beau Bow" (Klimczuk & Warner 2009, p. 236).

Figure 4.32: The Bow Window at White's

Source: https://www.regencyhistory.net/2012/11/the-rise-and-fall-of- beau-brummell-1778.html

In figure 4.32 & 4.33, the window appears to be the very heart of communication as it let Brummell survey the street, favouring or insulting his companions passing by. A poem was written to depict a story of the Beau window at White's club:

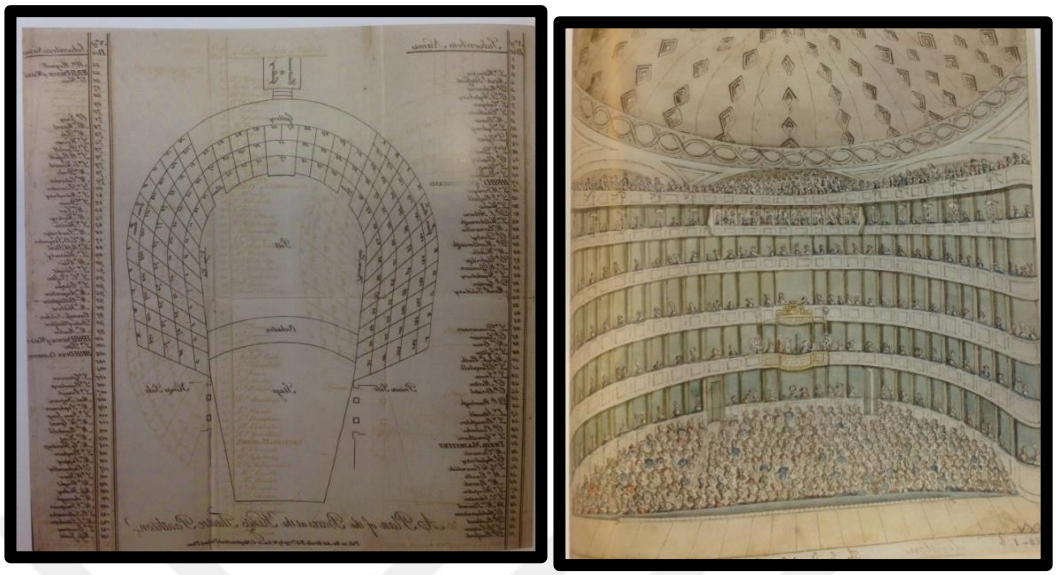
Shot from yon heavenly Bow, at White's
No critic-arrow now alights
On some unconscious passer- by
Whose cape's an inch too low or high;
whose doctrines are unsound in hat,
In boots, or throwsers, or cravat (Bourke 1892, p.193).

Figure 4.33: White's Club, St James's, London

Source: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/destinations/europe/united-kingdom/england/london/articles/surprising-history-of-london-chocolate-houses/

The bow window was an element that was one or two stories high, and as it neared the pavement, was often painted black (Butts 1866, p. 957). Despite being called the "Beau bow" this architectural feature was believed to send a visual "go away" message because these spaces were "members only clubs" for upper class gentlemen (Kendall 2008, p. 28). That priority was cited by an old Duke who was sitting near the bow window and enjoying the rainy day while, "watching the damned people get wet" (Klimczuk & Warner 2009, p. 239). Moreover, being seen by the public validated someone's exclusiveness (Li 2008, p. 52). Eventually, being on street level provided a space to see pedestrians with a wider perspective for fashionable elites who wanted to be seen by the general public in this transparent designated area. More importantly, this transparency facilitated greater awareness of each other in their everday life experiences of modern culture. A similar exclusivity can be found in the balconies and boxes placed in opera houses.

Figure 4.34: Plan (left-a) and section (right-b) of an opera house



Source: Barber, P., Cline, Roger, Saunders, Ann, & London Topographical Society. (2012). *London : A history in maps / by Peter Barber ; with notes on the engravers by Laurence Worms ; edited by Roger Cline and Ann Saunders.* (Publication (London Topographical Society) ; 173). London: London Topographical Society in association with The British Library.

Figure 4.34 represents the plan and the elevation of the opera boxes. Classes were sitting in these boxes in accordance with their place on the social ladder. The lowest level (the stalls) corresponded to the lower classes while the highest level (the boxes) for the upper class. In each box, the name of the family who hired it for a season was written. Although there was this sharp architectural separation amongst the classes, this huge volume still gave ample opportunity for both lower and upper class people to see and be aware of each other. While opera was a spectacle in itself, its spatial composition was an additional spectacle that was composed through human bodies and their behaviours. On the Regent Street scale, bow windows operated rather like the Quadrant (balustrades over the colonnades) as being a viewing spot, yet there was one vital difference; bow windows also situated the viewer under the spotlight (as it did to Brummell himself) just like an actor on the stage. These individual boxes provided the elevated superiority upper class men sought so as to see clearly and be seen just as easily.

There is no doubt that Regency men were the patrons of the Regency world. They were the owners of factories or engines in this industrial realm. They were the politicians who governed the country or generals and admirals who led the armed forces at war.

Brummell's dandy style was perceived to be literally, the possession of those who controlled military service (Myerly 1996, p. 42). Moreover, uniform evoked the idea of service for society; therefore the modern apparel of Englishmen indicated the wearer's willingness to serve. Furthermore, there were two main political groupings in the Regency era: The Whigs and The Tories. Therefore the sharp geometry that stood in opposition to the Rococo style was also a further marker of having a specific (certain and sharp) political view. Eventually, by being aware of the conflicts and uncanny situation of the world, Regency patrons combined a certain seriousness of their uniform dress with machinery and politics, they then adjusted their attire by taking Brummell as a model. His dandy style was adopted to seem more manly and practical. Beau Brummell was therefore the symbol of a modern Englishman; he stood for the machine age with his bow window, and a simple, modern and sleek appearance. Willis called this modern appearance "silent", adding that:

> *"Gentlemen and men are now prepared to study their species in a highest fashionable phase that of nice persons at the West End. The expressive Word quiet is its current London signification as it defines the dress, manner, bow, and even physiognomy of every true denizen of St James and Bond Street gentlemen"* (Willis 1806-67, p.556).

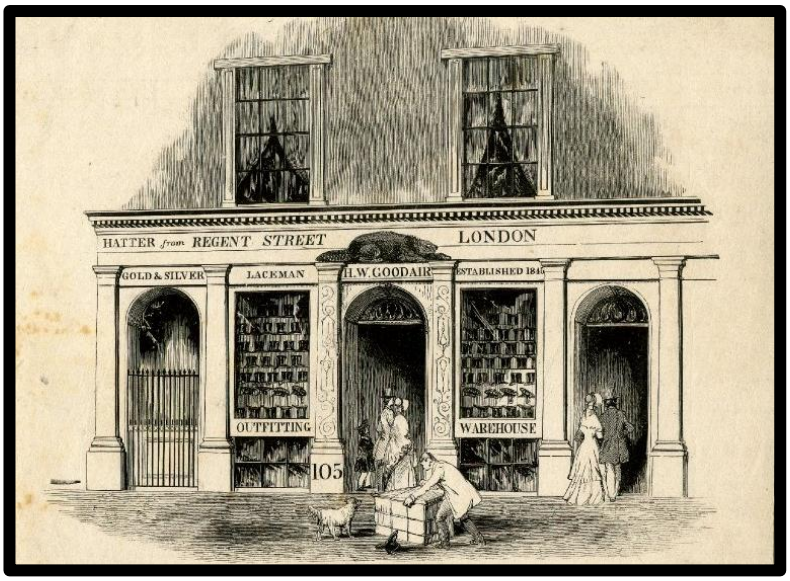
The silence simply refers to the opposite of Rococo with its frivolity, thus more taciturn upper class men were reflected in the simplicity of their apparel (Myerly 1996, p. 148). Their coats, hats and manners were therefore sufficient to mark this quietness in the caricatures and satires.

Regent Street bodies followed the same configuration as modern Englishmen, and it turned into a practical machine that contained mixed use buildings and exhibition spaces for industrial goods as well as in the facades of the buildings that had bow windows and transparent skins. Firstly, buildings were designed as mixed use apartments to answer the need for machinery and functionality. Houses were like machines because the practicality, silence and functionality of male clothes had been reflected in the architecture. During the late Georgian and Regency eras, the upper class were living in their mansion houses in the West End. These were houses with three or four floors, and different users occupied each floor. While the servants used the ground or lower ground level, the upper level was used for children and sometimes as private

rooms for ladies. There was a hierarchy in accordance with the status of the family members. Therefore, the householder (the man) had his room and office on the uppermost level. Distinctlively, Regent Street offered residents the opportunity to live in private apartments instead of in separate houses. Moreover, Regent Street also followed the pattern of the hierarchical ladder in West End houses and adopted their living style into its mied use building programme. Thus it is important to state that these private apartments were still arranged according to the established social order because the ground or lower levels were the service places or the shops while upper levels were occupied by wealthy bachelors.

The silence of the men refers the modern and simple appearance of the dandy that was the opposite of distracing details of the Rococo style. This modernity and silence were mirrored in the neoclassical stucco white facades and seemingly almost invisible glass windows. The practicality of the street was achieved by designing the shops on the lower level and putting the private apartments or offices on the upper levels. As mentioned before, the balustrades and the balconies were the social spaces or the public places for the visitors who would meet and chat there.

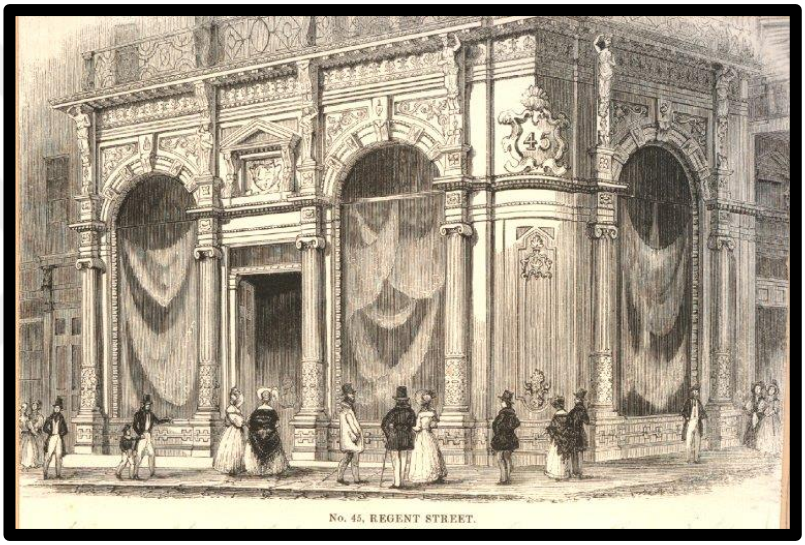
Figure 4.35: Hatter from Regent Street London 1845-89, by William Dickes



Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=985145001&objectId=3355450&partId=1

Secondly, the street aimed to be a stylish thoroughfare to sell the latest goods. For example, Figure 4.35 shows an exclusive shop window that exhibited a popular variety of the Regency hat through the glass. The top hat was an essential element of men's fashion, and it was a Regency production. The Regency goods were also a symbol of the power and production in industrial Britain, hence the shop window displaying them as a work of art. What can be perceived from the images of Regent Street is the transparency of its façades, especially on the shop levels (figure 4.35- 4.36).

Figure 4.36: No. 45 Regent Street, by Anonymous, 1840-1850.



Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=613488001&objectId=3204872&partId=1

Figure 4.36 shows the huge arched windows and ionic pilasters that were completed with statues on top and created a metal framed balcony on the upper level. Ladies and gentlemen created black and white scenery with their fashionable outfits. The White dresses of the ladies embodied the Empire style that had been inspired by ancient Greece accompanied with shawls from the East. While ladies would wear bonnets, men wore hats and hold walking canes to complete their dandy appearance. What is evident from the images is that, the glass was a layer that signified both borders and the borderless. Firstly, transparency blurred the boundaries between inside and outside for the buyers who were seduced by the fashionable goods behind the glass, but needed to get inside to touch them. Secondly, the glass was a real border for the lower class who

need to educate and satisfy their eyes from behind this sensitive breakable glass boundaries. On the other hand, glass provided an exhibition space for the products in the shops but also helped shoppers inside the shops to see or gaze out at the people strolling in the street. Moreover, people who stood in front of the shop windows could also stare back at the fashionable catwalk on the move by using the mirror effect of these glasses that created a spectacle.

Black painted shutters, and huge, rectangular or sometimes even circular windows are in the corners. They indicated the exclusiveness of the shoppers, the street and the products on sale there *(Palmer 2001, p.186).* On his visit to Regent Street, Willis perceived this exclusiveness and he declared that:

> *"One of the quarters of the Regent Circus seems by one window a series of the glass plate, only divided by brass rods, reaching from ground to the roof- window panes twelve feet high, and four or five feet broad. The opportunity which this immense transparency of front gives for the display of goods is proportionately improved, and in the mixture of colour and fabrics to attract attention there is evidently to a small degree of art- so harmonious are the colours and yet so gorgeous the show" (Willis, 1806- 67, 538).*

Figure 4.37: Regent Street, from the Quadrant, by William Tombleson, 1828

Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=778026001&objectId=3250738&partId=1

Besides modern and transparent buildings, Regent Street was also the passaage way where Regency carriages travelled along or sometimes just stopped for the passengers to have a conversation. Figure 4.37 shows people who were looking at the shops through the windows, and fashionably dressed pedestrians having a chat on the left. These ladies dresses on the left depict *summer fashion* which had double hem ruffles which did not sweep the pavement, so ankles were visible. Ladies did not wear a coat but instead wore ashorter length Spencer jacket that would usually match with their hats. Men wore their slightly heeled shoes, instead of winter boots, that would expose their long line breeches (trousers). They wore light colours, probably white silk shirts under dark coloured jackets and used their walking canes while strolliong along. A reflection of this modern and mechanistic look of men can be seen in the substantial metal frames of the windows, and the metal works in the balconies on the domes to the top of the building on the left. There is the man wearing ragged clothes on the right (completely different from men's fashion) and carrying something in his back. Next to him, two Doric columns in the right foreground can be seen contrasting with the dark silhouette of the porter. At this point, it should be mentioned that, various actors who belonged to the working class or lower class of society could be seen in Regent Street. However, many images represented them in dark colours, rough lines and almost invisible silhouettes (figure 4.19- 4.23). Therefore it seems like both Nash and illustrators dedicated the street to the nobility and gentry. There is another lower class member in the same image, a boy sweeper in the middle, begging for money from a gentleman crossing the street, and he appears really similar to the porter with his dark representation. Carriages in the street strengthened the view of modernity and machinery, and there was the hustle and bustle that was created by transportation in the street. A visitor to London, Clowes shared his observations:

> *"…rows and carriages are drawn up at the age of each pavement, loungers on foot or horseback, or whirling their cabriolets along, pass up and down, at the doors of many the shops form ostentatiously, place by the considerate shopmen, on which footmen recline, in liveries various hues…*" (Clowes 1837, p. 282).

However, these carriages did not belong to ordinary people. Nash allowed the carriages to travel from St James's (West London) to Regent's Street (Gardner 1998, p. 150). He

satisfied the nobility and gentry by not allowing vehicles used by the lower orders to enter the street and it was decided that: "*new street will be open at all times…except Waggons, Carts, Drays or the vehicle for the carriage of goods, merchandise, manure soil and other articles, or Oxen Cows, Horses and Ships, in any drove or droves*" (Arnold, 2005, 92).

While the dirt of East London and its heavy vehicle traffic for goods were kept away from Regent Street, the upper classes were allowed to go there not only with their carriages but also with their dogs (Punch: Or the London Charivari, 1845p. 28). Moreover, dogs were also the indicator of their social status because pet owners were obliged to pay dog taxes. In the same image (figure 4.37) shown above, dogs can be seen in a daily scene of the street. Additionally, there was the veterinary office in upper Regent Street to serve the upper class and their well bred pets. Since dogs or other pets are non-human beings, seeing them with their owners while out walking on the Regent Street was an important signifier of the production of a modern metropolis.

It would not be too far-fetched to claim that the street created its own carnival atmosphere when all these elements (actors and actants) came together. Although the images usually represented polite and ordinary lives in the street, some visitors shared their bad memories that arose from the chaos in the street. An American girl tells about her unwanted experience in Regent Street:

> "*I was soon undeceived; for when I first walked along Regent Street, and some of the streets adjoining it. I was annoyed beyond a pen's telling by glance after glance poked under my bonnet. I felt wearied, worried, and afraid, that vague kind of fear so wretchedly depressing- a lady does not know what it is exactly, she has to apprehend and so dreads everything. When afterwards I complained, Mr Mortimer accounted for the persecution I suffered by saying these inquisitive persons were not gentlemen- gentlemen must be scarce in those parts, then..."* (An American Lady 1843,p. 7).

She felt that the street was a kind of connective spine that held vulgar East Londoners and polite West Londoners together. Although Nash had done all he could to eliminate East Londoners as much as possible and limit access from the East, there were no real boundaries that blocked the poor from entering Regent Street. Therefore as memories and images show there have always been a variety of diverse people from different

classes who were aware of each other's presence in the street. Moreover, it was previously analysed in the images of the street that, there were many actors from lower classes that were represented by dark etches and ragged clothes and they give the impression of being outsiders. For that reason, these unwanted bodies of East London will be situated in the network of actors and actants even though they create a weak connection with this network compared to the dominance of upper class.

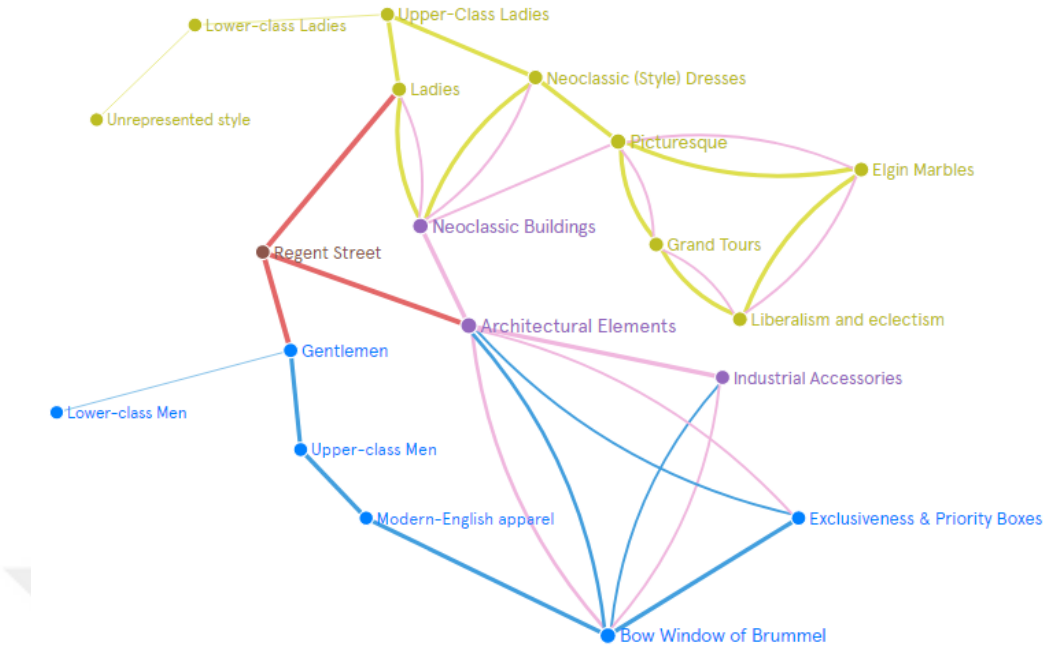
4.3.4 Accessories of the Bodies: Visible Actants of the Street

In 1818, The Prince Regent ordered gas lamps for the first time to illuminate the area in front of his door on Pall Mall at the beginning part of Lower Regent Street. Furthermore, images of Regent Street show that there were plenty of lights installed all over Regent Street following those on Pall Mall. While large and exclusive bow windows provided bright shops and interiors during the day, thanks to the recently acquired gas lamps, the street could remain bright at night as well.

Willis shared his feelings on the gas lamps: "*If I may judge by my own experience and by what I can see in the streets, all these night splendour out of doors empties the playhouses- for I would rather walk Regent Street of an evening than see ninety-nine plays in a hundred...*" (Willis 1806-67, p. 538). He preferred being a part of Regent Street with its illuminated joyful atmosphere, although gambling houses were in fact the most popular entertainment places among Regency upper class men. He then added that:

> *"..and so think, apparent the multitudes of people , who stroll up and down the clean and broad London sidewalk, gazing in at the gorgeous succession of shop windows, and by the day bright glare of the illumination exchanging nods and smiles- the street ,indeed, becoming gradually a fashionable evening promenade, as cheap as it is amusing and delightful"* (Willis, 1806-67, 538).

He emphasised that money was not necessary to be on the street and enjoy it, probably because he knew the necessity of having money for gambling. Thus the free amusement and delightfulness of the street was on ofer to all classes and all these elements (actors and actants) of the street came together as people, through their mobility, the lighting and fashionable goods on sale that created a street festival.



Network 4: Links connecting Regent Street and its female actors

In the end, Regent Street *signified both grace and beauty* with its neoclassical facades that could be understood as a parallel development with the popularity of ladies' neoclassical gowns. Moreover, it also became a practical and functional place with multifunctional and mixed use buildings that remind us of the transformation in male clothes and the Brummel style. Since the gas lamps, carriages and wide window frames symbolised the machine age of industrialised England, the street produced a *perception of modern and practical space*. Although the elements that contributed to us sensing the space seem relativelly unrelated to each other, Network 4 gradually began to spin a web that represented the relationship between the actors and actants. Also, this net will be the principal source of the observations at the end of this chapter.

4.3.4.1 The Absence of Powder and Wigs: Visible Actants of Actors

From the 18th to the 19th century, both men and women changed their identity via their costumes and behaviours. Clothes were becoming modern, casual and practical while attitudes changed towards a heightened self-awareness. As stated before, freedom and liberty were the main reasons for these revolutions. The idea of democracy was more

perceptible from visual or physical representations of the bodies through dresses, accessories and knowledge of hygiene. As mentioned previously, both women and men eliminated many useless decorations from their clothes and adopted modern and functional clothes. Moreover, they also eliminated unnecessary substances that covered their skins like powders and wigs despite the fact that white powder and wigs were the favourite tools for masking their dirty appearance and smell. Figure 3.38 shows the ceremony of masking the body and hair that was popular among the upper class and this process took place like a ceremony in their houses.

Figure 4.38: ***The preposterous headdress, or the feathered lady*****, by Matthew Darly, 1776**

Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=112681001&objectId=1478871&partId=1

Even though these were fake and unhealthy utensils that made bodies sick and gave them an unrealistic look were necessary to cover their bodies which were unhygienic and dirty because of the inconvenient toilet and bathing conditions of England at that time. While toilets meant nothing more than chamber pots that would be emptied by throwing the contents out of the window in East London, wealthy people usually used a closet for their stool excretrions, hiding them under the staircases (McCormack 2015, p.144). Furthermore, images show that the toilet also meant the ceremony of powdering and putting on wigs as the bathrooms in upper class houses consisted of a washbasin with limited water. This ceremony began with the help of servants who used sweepers to clean the body of their master. Their social status can be perceived by the differences in their clothes in figure 4.39. Servants helped to cover the body and face with white powder and imbue the wigs with perfumes. Since both bodies were visible in the image, the servant differentiates herself through her clothing and the service she is also doing, the mistress does not interact with her servant and she is reading[56] something instead. Many of the wigs were dark colours, so their whiteness came from the powder. This toilet process aided West London residents to give the pretence of being clean. The drainage system and sewage pipes were directly flowing into the River Thames due to the poor conditions of the drainage system which over the course of time led to the development of more sophisticated sanitation systems placed inside the home and disposed of more hygienically.

[56] As Regency upper class were well educated, they were writing and reading in contrast to lower class.

Figure 4.39: Progress of the Toilet -The Wig, by James Gillray, 1810.

Source: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=147734001&objectId=1641916&partId=1

4.3.4.2 Sewer Systems: Invisible Actants for Hygiene

In this period of rapid transformation, people also became more aware of the reality of their lives. Powders and wigs were rejected firstly by King George III (the father of the Prince Regent). This refusal to use them was a great act to rehabilitate the body and prepare it for better conditions. This improvement was necessary for such a country whose population increased in line with rapid industrialisation as severe illnesses threatened the cities as their populations swelled due to migration from the countryside. As a matter of fact, in East London cholera broke out in 1832 because of the poor living conditions and the dirtiness of the River Thames. Years before this epidemic, Nash had identified the necessity of the development of a drainage system for London, and he proposed a new sewage system throughout his new street as a part of metropolitan development (figure 4.40). After cholera, and the stench of London, the government

finally proposed new sewers that were an extension of the Nash's Regent Street sewers (The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal 1847, p. 137).

Figure 4.40: Sewer system being installed in Piccadilly (intersection between the Quadrant and Lower Regent Street)

Source: Webb, R., Toht, BD., 2001. *Daily Life in Ancient and Modern London*, p.43 Runestone Press, USA: Minneapolis.

A healthy and clean street was obligatory because Regent Street was the new rival of Napoleonic Paris in a number of different aspects including exhibiting the latest goods, architecture and technology. Moreover, London was the most crowded city because of internal migration, consequently the city was in great danger of epidemics breaking out and its rapid spread among the citizenry. Situated between dirty the streets of Soho and the wealthy streets of Mayfair, Nash's sewer system was utilised by all classes in Regent Street.

4.3.4.3 Pavements on the Street: Visible Actants of a Slippery/ Nonslip Street

Regency bodies improved their skin condition by applying hygienic treatments for cleaning them. Parallel to the human body, Regent Street also produced *perceptions* of a *clean body* via its utilitarian design and sewer system. However, because of the climate

and the carriage horses, the street needed to be covered and swept regularly. As this cleaning activity was taking place in a street in West London, East Londoners assumed that cleaning was a matter of the upper class, they did not intend to imitate them in the streets of East London.

Figure 4.41: *Wet Under Foot,* by Thomas Rowlandson, 1812

Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=189071001&objectId=1660098&partId=1

What marked out women from East London (working class) was that they wore *patten shoes* to elevate them above the filth and the grime of the streets, while fashionable ladies abandoned them and wore stylish shoes in Regent Street (figure 4.41). Moreover, there was the street sweeper which was working to clean Regent Street that can be seen in the figure 4.37. Additionally, Regent Street was covered with wood to provide a clean thoroughfare for people to walk along(London Mechanic's Gazette 1845, p. 51). However, during the winter, wood caused several accidents because of its slippery surface. This wooden pavement was replaced bt a granite stone pavement which was

believed to be safe and more efficient at absorbing the filth (Wood pavement reports, 1827).

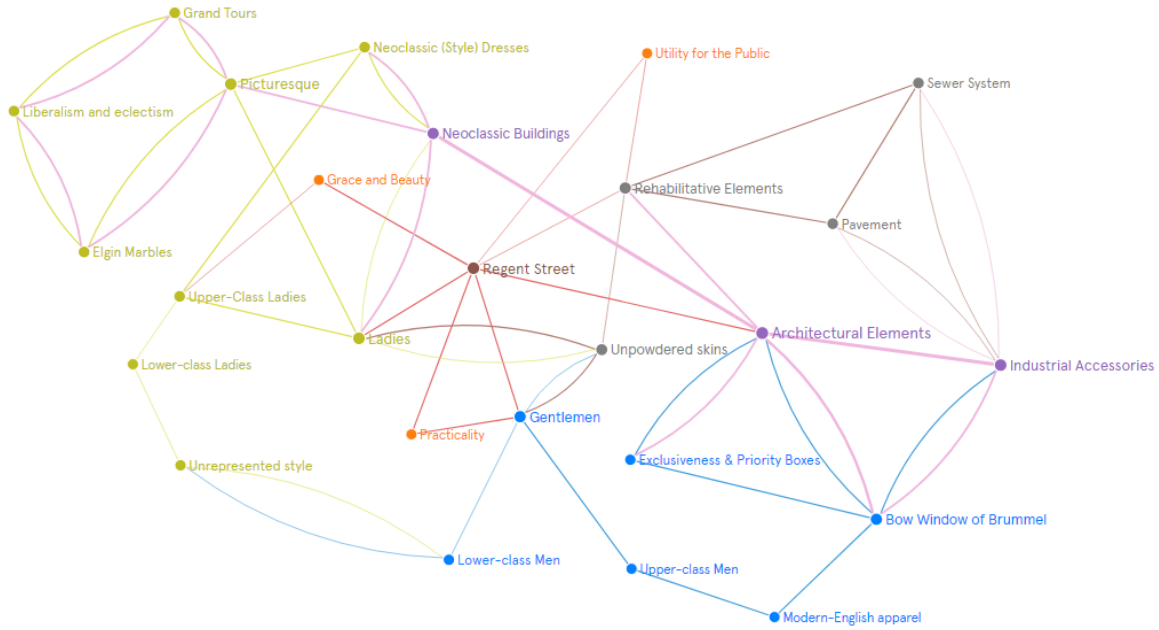
The artificial skin of the body was an actant that was used to decorate or adorn the bodies of actors, creating perceptions of health, safety and hygiene, while gas lamps (signifiers) were the actants to create the bright and safe environment. Moreover, clean streets (signifier) that provided a hygienic environment (signified) can be attributed to both the pavement (signifier) and the sewer system (signified).

4.4 ON THE NETWORK OF PERCEPTIONS

There are various signs to be extracted from the actors and the actants in Regent Street. Although they individually stood on the street, our perceptions are produced by the totality of them. Moreover, among all these elements, there are strong or weak ties which will be demonstrated here.

As was previously suggested, Regent Street will be taken as a system of the signs. Consequently, the semiotic approach will be applied to decipher this urban space and its buildings. Saussure schematized the system of the sign with three mainstream inseparable components, which are the signified, the signifier, and the sign (Saussure, 1959, p. 73). In Regent Street, buildings, people and street represent symbols on their skin and facades, structure and function. Having these symbols makes Regent Street the sign, at the same time they are signifiers that create the signified. Throughout this chapter, figures of women, men, and non-human elements in Regent Street were taken to analyse what as signifiers they denoted through their bodies. It was discovered that Regency images tried to create perceptions through the agencies that were related to the nobility and gentry. Therefore many of the images specifically emphasised the ladies with their neoclassical dresses and gentlemen with their modern suits. Likewise, the use of glass and metal and other industrial materials were particularly represented in these images to emphasise the power of industrialisation in Great Britain. Although there were various lower class people identified, they were mostly depicted as silhouettes with their presence pale and subsidiary. At the beginning of this chapter, I argued that agencies were chosen among the upper class as they afford to acquire and display the latest fashion. Moreover, Regent Street was the newly constructed fashionable

thoroughfare that was dedicated to the nobility and gentry by its architect, Nash. However, after the analysis of these images, I realised that many of the illustrators and the visitors (who belonged to the upper-class since lower class were excluded by not writing a diary) also represented or described the street by agencies that were not related to the lower class. Since historical, cultural and political issues were embedded in the Regency bodies as signifiers, contextual and historical readings were used to unearth the signified. Furthermore, images and illustrations are taken as the sign, and language (literature or the texts) is just a signifier that is dominated by the sign. During this deciphering process, the in-between role of the Regency period has been attentively traced. For example, comparing the Regency body of previous and later periods showed that the skin condition of the previous period (the Georgian era) was found to be transformed significantly. The wigs and powder of the Georgian era did not exist in the Regency period anymore because there were invisible sewer and sanitation systems that could be signified from the hygienic environment. While this new infrastructure served the West End, by that time, it was soon taken and extended all over London. The sewers as a signifier of Regent Street signify hygiene. Thus the healthy skin of both sexes was the signified. In the end, Regent Street (sign), created its actors and actants (people, furniture, buildings, animals) which are the signifiers of the street perceptions that are the signified.



Network 5: Spinning the net among the agencies of the Street

All these agencies in the street were the production of Regent Street while they were also the producers of the perceived space of the street. Even though actors and actants have various signifiers and signified, they are actually inseparable elements of the structure of perceived space. When Regent Street was placed at the centre of this network 5, it aimed to symbolise the main body of the street that held agencies regarding the nobility and gentry. There were four particular elements that stand for actors and actants: ladies (were coded with light green), gentlemen (blue coloured), architectural elements (lilac coloured) and rehabilitative elements (grey coloured). When upper class ladies were taken as key signifiers, I have begun stitching together the network among their signifiers and the signified. As their outfits were the spatial productions that created perceptions, the neoclassical dress was classifed as an important signifier. Then production of the neoclassical spatiality of the ladies fashion was analysed through theoretical and historical readings to discover what they signified. Picturesque was the early concern of this neoclassical style, and it was framed by the Grand Tour, and the Elgin Marbles (signified). While these were signified by the Picturesque they were also the signifiers of the eclectic dress and freedom of the body. The link among these signifiers and the signified were drawn by a bold, light green colour to represent the strong connection between them. When architectural elements (buildings) were added to this system, they shared the same signifiers, and the signified neoclassical (spatial) attire of ladies as spatiality of both were based on a classical revival. There are again bold, lilac coloured links based on the Picturesque, Grand Tour and Elgin Marbles creating a mutual relation among the architectural elements and ladies bodies. Therefore curvilinear links represent the signifiers and the signified that were mutual in different actors and actants. Then upper class men were put into the system, yet they did not directly connect to the signifiers or the signified of the ladies. The spatiality of the gentlemen clothes was determined by Beau Brummell and his modern Englishmen style. Therefore Brummell and his simple, modern dress were the signifiers of the modern and mrchanised world. Besides being the signifier of the bow window of White's club, he was also signified with the Bow or the Beau window as well. The conduct of Brummell indicated how a bow window was the signifier of exclusiveness and it signified the power of the machine age that was ruled by

Englishmen. Unsurprisingly, the mechanical and functional aspects that were associated with males were linked to Regent Street itself. Industrialisation (bow window, metal, glass) was the common signifier for both gentlemen and the buildings of Regent Street. Moreover, the exclusiveness and exhibiting features were common in their own nature. The bold blue coloured link tied the industrialised men with industrial accessories of the street. As human skin is one of the most protective and spatial elements, it should not be ignored at this point. After the Regency era, the skin of both sexes (rehabilitative elements) was added to the network, at that point, it interconnected all many irrelevant elements to each other. Since the Regency upper class rejected wearing powder and wigs by favouring the development of a sewer system, they produced a healthy and clean outer world (from their skin to the building, building to the neighbourhood). Therefore the absence of the powder on the skin was a common signifier that concerned both sexes. The absence of dirt and mud can be demonstrated in the clean pavement of Regent Street that was the signifier of the sewer system and the signified of this hygienic place although it cannot be perceived from the images. Thus the bold grey coloured links created the strong connection among the sewers, pavements and Regent Street whereas the light grey and light blue coloured links created a relatively weak connection among males, industrial and rehabilitative elements. These links correspond to the relationship among bow windows, gas lamps, sewers, carriages and Englishmen mirroring the cleaner pavements. The lower class females and males complete the framework of these analyses, however they were linked to this system weakly. As stated before, the general perceptions were produced by the fashionable agencies in the books and images, however I did not want to ignore the existence of the lower class in the street and the network of perceptions. Therefore the links were drawn light and undecided.

The network also indicates the creation of three targets of Nash through these agencies. The orange coloured links show that the rehabilitative elements of the street dominated the utility of the public, while the neoclassical style provided beauty for the metropolis, whereas the practicality was ensured by the functionality of machinery life.

The network shows that there are numerous signifiers and signified in relation to Regent Street. Before analysing the production of these bodies (human and nonhuman), these agencies seem separate from each other. Nonetheless, they are interconnected with one

another regarding what they *stand for* that can be explained by Barthes‘ semiological approach. In his book, *The Elements of Semiology (Lavers and Smith, 1983),* Barthes offers two distinctive planes; denotation and connotation, developed by the linguist Louis Hjelmslev (1899-1965). The first order or denotative statement concerned the literal, first order meaning of the words that are made up regarding the statement. The system of denotation for Barthes is adopted from Saussure's schematics that include signified, the signifier, and the sign as mentioned above (graph 1). Saussure says that "sign can only be expressed by signified with its own reality" (Saussure 1959, p. 115-6). For example, for an image of Regent Street it does not matter what colour it is; whether black or white, blurred or sharp focused, because "the sign" would not change because of these effects. Thus, the denotation will be "the street" yet all these effects are called connotations. In other words, what is perceived from the first sight and the glance is denotator. As a result, the denotation of a thing (object, image, place) has always been delivered from its outward appearance without adding any substance, or subconscious meaning. In his reading on the Eiffel Tower, Barthes describes the tower as such: "*The tower is an object, which sees, a glance which is seen.....utterly useless monument...The tower looks at Paris... is an original monument... overlooks not nature but the city..."* (Barthes 1997, p. 20-70). In the further readings, it can be understood that the Eiffel Tower means a lot for Barthes who is a Parisian, a visitor, a viewer of Eiffel. However, in the system of denotation, Eiffel is a building or a tower. Eiffel is not more than a tower in the system of the sign.

When the relation between the plane of expression (used/ selected words) and the plane of content (the literal meaning of the statement) are changed, *connotations;* second-order meaning can be found. Barthes says that: "the first system becomes the plane of expression or signifier of the second system. The first is a system in which the plane of expression is itself constituted by a signifying system" (Allen 2004, p. 51). Regarding Barthes, images of Regent Street signifies numerous meanings with their building facades, street pavement, window frames, gas lamps, carriages, ladies dresses, gentlemen clothes and more. Moreover, all these elements sometimes signify each other or share what the signified or the signifier is.

4.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

During the analysis of the perceived space, actors and the actants of Regent Street were interpreted through what they connote through their bodies and how they were associated with connotations from Regent Street. At each step, actors and actants and their signifiers were individually analysed to understand what or how they signified something. The very reason for applying actors and actants was to decipher the street from codes and see the main source of perceptions in the space. Since ANT was a tool that provides a network between human and nonhuman beings, it was used to dissolve the mixture of these beings in there, dasein[57]. It was found that there were various perceptions that link the agencies of the street. Although these agencies seem like they were all Regency bodies, in reality, all agencies were either produced by the street or products of the previous period and society that was the generator of both the Regency period and Regent Street. For example, the 18th century industrial revolution triggered a machine age that eased the production of goods. Either for business or pleasure, people took advantage of shipping transportation and traveled more widely, so that the Grand Tour became popular amongst wealthy people who also supported artists to take these tours. People who returned from these tours brought back references from both the East and West. From Lord Elgin to Turner, classicism was favoured, so art, architecture and fashion were nourished by a neoclassical framework. While buildings and ladies fashion were designed with parallel aspirations to antiquity from Greek and Italy, new materials were also adopted to create an eclectic style. The transparency of the building was parallel to see-through dresses of females. Men, on the other hand, preferred to seem more like a machine with their modern and engine inspired outfits. Brummel was the leader of this fashion, and he was also popular because of his beau window at White's club where the projected window gave the opportunity to see and to be seen through this spectacle. Bodies were changed on the outside by their costumes and appearance. Furthermore, they soon began changing from the inside through attempts at hygienic regulation, such as laying street pavements, sewage system and installing gas lamps.

[57] Heidegger introduces the notion of *Dasein* (Da-sein: there-being). One proposal for how to think about the term 'Dasein' is that it is Heidegger's label for the distinctive *mode* of Being realized by human beings For Dasein is not to be understood as 'the biological human being'. Nor is it to be understood as 'the person'. https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/heidegger/

These regulations were for the sake of the West London, however by the time East Londoners also received the benefit from them, it raised public awareness of the importance of public sanitation. Although Nash designed the street for the nobility, the Regency era saw the birth of early modern society that had already begun being aware of each other and what was happening across the metropolis. Shops especially heightened this awareness because there were numerous lower class bodies working as servants to maintain shopping, cleaning and transportation activities. Thus the numerous actors and actants of the street, were not independent because the production of the spatiality in their bodies imitated the same sources that tied them to each other. Those ties came together and knitted a surface or composed a story via their bodies. While Lefebvre calls this knit as a perceived space which was the inspiration for Soja's first space, De Certeau called it memorable space since it was the space of feelings and experiences. While ANT is the tool for this knit, actors and the actants were the colourful threads in the network (or knit). In the end, by using mutual connotations among actors and actants who will be the designer of social production of the space (lived space) in the next chapter, perceived space created a visible network where individuals gradually become more apparent to each other in Regency London.

5. LIVED SPACE: TRANSFORMATION OF THE STREETSCAPE

'Space and time appear and manifest themselves as different yet inseparable'.

Lefebvre, Production of space, 1991, 175

In the third chapter, Regent Street was investigated through maps, drawings, and diagrams to understand the representation of space (conceived). Then perceived space (representational space) in Regent Street was explained through symbols, perceptions, senses and drawings in the fourth chapter. Besides these two spaces (perceived and conceived), Lefebvre also mentioned the existence of lived space that is the assemblage of the conceived, perceived spaces and a time process that was fiollowed by society. Thus the aim of this chapter will be to study the lived space through the social production or reproduction in Regent Street.

Lefebvre described the social production process as such: "If space is produced, if there is a productive process, then we are dealing with history; here we have the fourth implication of our hypothesis. The history of a space, of its production qua 'reality', and of its forms and representations, is not to be confused either with casual chain of 'historical' (i.e. dates) events or with a sequence whether teleological or not, of customs and laws, ideals and ideology and socio-economic structures or institutions (infrastructures)" (Lefebvre 1991, p. 46). When the construction process begins, the production of the space also accompanies it. Therefore from the first sketch of Regent Street, it was being reproduced by the users who received and perceived it and by the actors and actants who changed and altered the street. Thus the street has been alive since 1818 through its interaction with the actors and actants who were the source of production of the concepts or the perceptions. Both conceived and perceived spaces are the chain of this historical sequence, they follow one another diachronically which means that the production process has been non-linear. In the end, the street became a living organism, and its lifespan stands for the lived space. It should be remembered here that, there was a dichotomy between the Regency social classes, and Regent Street was situated in between the hell of East London and heaven of West London. These

class differences created a social confrontation that appeared in the 19th century, as did Regent Street. Lefebvre called such contradictions forces which affected the living process of the space as such:

> *" We may not be sure that the forces of production (nature; labour and the organization of labour; technology and knowledge) and naturally, the relations of production play a part- though he have yet not defined it - in the production of space….. it results from contradictions in the social relations of production which cannot fail to leave their mark on space and indeed to revolutionize it. Since each mode of production has its own particular spaces, the shift from one mode to another must entail the production of a new space"* (Lefebvre 1991, p. 46).

West and East Londoners both collaborated to create their own space on Regent Street despite their differences and each of them was the producer of space in Regency society. Despite the fact that East Londoners were not visible in the analysed drawings (conceived space - Chapter 3) or literature (perceived space - Chapter 4), they contributed to the social production of the street.

Therefore, the production of new space in Regent Street cannot be analysed only by studying upper class West Londoners, as plenty of East Londoners actively participated in the formation of this lived space. Throughout this chapter, the production of a new space in Regent Street will be examined again through the actors and actants of both East and West Londoners. However, this chapter does not aim to repeat the actors and actants that were mentioned before as if they were new actors. Instead, it aims to investigate how those actors and actants that we see in the production of space, had a role in altering and reproducing Regent Street. Lefebvre stated that every society produced its own space and it could not be understood by only one group of people or a thing in the space or the literature they left (Lefebvre 1991, p. 31). For that reason, both East Londoners and West Londoners will be taken as forces of production that changed and produced a new space in Regent Street with regard to their particular way of life. In that respect, lived space will exhibit the early 19th century social bodies as a medium that communicated in and to society and performed in a specific space within a specific time period. Time is the primary source for production of space as an act of living needs the time process for any live organism or here for space. Then, ANT will demonstrate a

new network between actors and actants that belonged to the Regency upper and lower classes, and it will show the visible and invisible ties among people and things an also among different groups and various ages. This interdependency between lived space and time finds a place for itself in ANT, since ANT proposes the social, historical and sometimes cultural network among actors and actants. Latour believes that buildings are not static projects but dynamic ones that were created, changed, lived, and then died or were restored (Latour 2008, p. 80). He indicates the necessity of seeing the sequences that show the living process of the buildings. He believes that if there was a mechanism that captured each moment of the buildings and their living process, people would see that these buildings were alive. In this chapter, I would like to focus on a specific time period to capture the living process of Regent Street. While the beginning will be taken as the date the street was born, 1818, and the end will be 1848 when the first deconstruction was started in the Quadrant by the removal of the arcades. Since time is an important input, I am not planning to take these dates to be significant in themselves, rather, to place them in their historical context I will take them to signify the end of the 18th century and beginning of the 19th century, to reveal and understand what this era and its society stood for in history. Although this thesis takes Regent Street as a case study, this chapter especially focuses on the examination of the Quadrant. There are a few reasons of this special attention. First of all, it is the only part of the street that was both designed and built by John Nash. He designed this junction as a barrier to prevent the entry of the people who came from the dirty streets of Soho and provided an exclusive atmosphere with its great shelter for West Londoners at the same time. Moreover, it provided a theatrical background for the people who wanted to see the latest fashions and to be captured in the gazes of others. Moreover, this was the segment of the street that was deconstructed for the first time in the history of Regent Street. The Quadrant experienced the full life cycle of a place that was born, lived and died. For these reasons, it can be considered a subject matter that manifested the rapid transformation of a lived space.

Figure 5.1a, 5.1b, 5.1c, 5.1d: Regent Street Quadrant from 1818 to 1848

Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=684738001&objectId=3198829&partId=1

As stated in the previous chapter, people perceived the Quadrant as a singular and unique place as it provided a curvilinear connection between Regent Street and Carlton House and therefore worked as a joint between the North and South axis of the street. Furthermore, the Quadrant was a junction for East and West Londoners, even though Nash and his colonnades created a boundary that separateded East Londoners and their dirty streets from the main development. Division of the classes and the pulling down of the old buildings of the poor to build it left Nash called a housebreaker. His Quadrant was "no less than 120 feet wide and palatial six-story shops and residences on both sides- between aristocratic London in the West and plebeian London in the East" (White 2007, p. 24). Moreover, the Quadrant provided a dramatic atmosphere with Doric shaped columns and the shelter made this part exclusive as it was protected from bad weather. However, by the 1840s, this protective shelter had begun protecting the bodies of East End prostitutes. Since the street was designed for the West End – the upper-class circle, the bodies of the Eastern poor were not welcome and especially the women of this particular trade. In general, lower class people who were working on the street, who were depicted as almost invisible in the early drawings and caricatures, became more visible as time passed. Figures 5.1a-d above show visitors to the street had changed between 1818-48. While there were only upper class dandies and ladies in its early years (figure 5.1a), the lower classes and their carriages or lower middle class soldiers were visible in the later drawings (image 5.1b-c-d). The very reason for this change was that London witnessed more immigration in the Regency period, and accordingly the poor were getting poorer while the rich were getting richer towards the end of Regency as the city stood at the threshold of the Victorian era (Hill 1969, p. 20-21).

Thus the demolition of the Quadrant corresponds to the dawn of the Victorian age. In history, many monarchs and leaders gave orders to change the system that had preceded

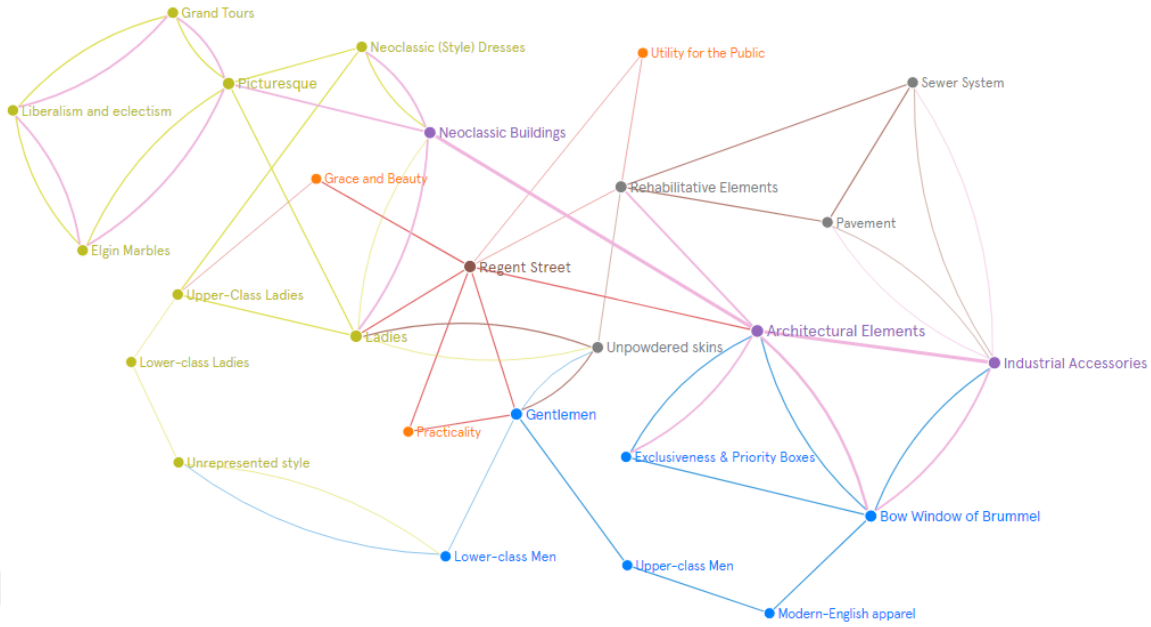
them, or they announced new rules or regulations to prove their legitimacy, and following the Regency, the Victorian era very much fitted this model. Victoria was a female ruler, and she was in the early stages of her life when she came to the throne. Contrary to the Price Regent and his excessive spending on food, fashion and entertainment, The Queen was well aware of the how the lavish lifestlye of her uncle, George IV (the Prince Regent) had contributed to the national debt and she wanted to ssignal she she was to reign in a very different manner. Therefore, the conflict in style between the two monarchs should be taken into account during this chapter as it focuses on the transformative process that covers the years between 1818 and 1848 (Rappaport 2003, p. 186). The conflict between Victorian and Regency London in terms of social transition and transformation in clothes and the governing systems may also be deciphered while reading the production of lived space in the Quadrant.

5.1 Transformation of the Network

According to the network 4 shown in the previous chapter, analysing the Regency illustrations displayed and demonstrated an interlinked web of connections amongst the various social lived and unlived bodies.

As discussed before, Regent Street was depicted as a noble space where the presence of the upper classes was desired, whereas the lower classes were excluded. However, this chapter will convey that in explaining the social production of Regent Street, it will not only focus on the upper classes since Regency society consisted of numerous classes, each of which was detailed in the second chapter.

Regarding the importance of the time process in lived space, the transition from one space to another can also mean transition from one era to another. As has been always reiterated in this research, the Regency was an era of self-indulgence, entertainment, beauty and luxury in accordance with the Prince Regent's very own inclinations. Thus his street was there to show off, compete with other notions (especially in France) and a place to perform in this fashion spectacle.



Network 5

On the other hand, the Victorians main concern was more about the development of a modern metropolis and paying off the national debt incurred during the Regency[58]. Therefore spatial transition in Regent Street or reproduction of the street corresponded to the transition from one monarch and era to another. Thus the necessity of the spatial reproduction of the Quadrant could not have been a random choice, but a social and political act. Furthermore, as indicated in the second chapter, the Napoleonic Wars and the Industrial Revolution made Regency and Victorian London transitional periods in the history of the world. When the Regency caricaturist Pierce Egan published his illustrative book "Life in London, Ramble and Sprees through the Metropolis[59]" he had already proclaimed Regency London to be a modern metropolis and illustrated life within it. Therefore from now on, this chapter will analyse the transitional state of the Quadrant while taking into account the concept of modernity and metropolis. Finally,

[58] The Victorian era of the United Kingdom and its overseas Empire was the period of Queen Victoria's rule from June 1837 to January 1901. The era was preceded by the Georgian period and succeeded by the Edwardian period. Some scholars would extend the beginning of the period—as defined by a variety of sensibilities and political concerns that have come to be associated with the Victorians—back five years to the passage of the Reform Act 1832. This was a long period of prosperity for the British people, as profits gained from the overseas Empire, as well as from industrial improvements at home, allowed a large, educated middle class to develop.

http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Victorian_era

[59] British Library, online https://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/tom-and-jerry-life-in-london

unlike in previous chapters, by placing the Quadrant on centre stage, this chapter will trace the dissolving borders and barriers among classes and the actors and actants shown in network 5. Moreover, it will take Regency society as a modern metropolitan community and analyse it to answer how a metropolis or modern city produces its own space and spectacle and what the relationship between modernity and the spectacle in Regent Street was before concluding this research.

5.2 THE QUADRANT AS A LIVED SPACE

When Soja described the spatiality, historicity and sociality of the space he uses the notion of a third space that he coined himself (Soja, 1996). He believed that the third space could be interpreted as *other* and *significantly different* and he asserted that " I described the critical method used by Lefebvre and Foucault [60] as "thirding", a deconstruction of prevailing binary logic and the creation of a third, an alternative, a significantly different logic of perspective" [61]. More explicitly, the notion "third" concerns the fluidity of spaces with the constructing and reconstructing of identity, and the space where identity is not fixed and as such is the feature of any kind of spatial existence[62]. De Certeau used the term dream spaces to define where a new and carved version of the old space merged and made that space an infant. Both spaces corresponded to the Lefebvrian lived space and he explained it through perceived space (representational space) because lived space (social production) was an extension of the spatial practice (perceived space) through the course of time. As he pointed out:

> *"Representational space is alive: it speaks. It has a valid kernel or center: ego, bedroom, dwelling, and house or: square, church, graveyard. It embraces the loci of passion, of action and living situation and thus immediately implies time. Consequently, it may be qualified in various ways: it may be directional, situational, or relational because it is essentially qualitative, fluid and dynamics.* (Lefebvre 1991, p. 42).

[60] Soja refers Foucault's Heterotopia in *Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias.* http://web.mit.edu/allanmc/www/foucault1.pdf
[61] https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/1600910X.2002.9672816?journalCode=rdis20
[62] http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/184562/14/9_chapter3.pdf

For that reason lived space is produced by the same actors and actants of the perceived space. Besides time processes, what differs in lived space from perceived space is the phenomenon of visibility. For example, although these actors and actants that joined the street had already existed before, they might have been silent or invisible in the early years of the street. Moreover, visibility was also the main issue of the Quadrant, since it was designed to exhibit the latest goods prominently as part of the spectacle of West London.

The Parliamentary Papers of 1846 demonstrated that there were several reasons for the removal (interruption to fly) of the Quadrant. The first of these was that, "congregation of the low and vicious has so far injured the reputation of the Quadrant, and obtained for it an unfortunate notoriety, that we have good reason to believe many ladies are deterred from visiting it, to the serious injury of our trade", referring to the vice and prostitution taking place in the shelter of the Quadrant. Hence it was not a safe place for respectable, decent women (Parliamentary Papers 1846, p. 511). The second reason was about the upper level apartments of the Quadrant in which bachelors or dandies were living, declaring that,

> *"we know that the letting of the apartments is not generally of that class, who willingly reside in any other part of Regent Street; but unfortunately, too frequently the upper part of the houses in quadrant are let to such persons and such purposes as tend very materially to depreciate the value of the adjacent premises"* (Parliamentary Papers 1846, 511).

Since Regency gentlemen were largely addicted to gambling and billiards, their gaming houses were often housed in the apartments of the Quadrant. Moreover, many of these dandies were using their flats for extramarital or illicit love affairs and the colonnade of the Quadrant was a good place for such men to hunt the bodies of prostitutes. The third reason was that, "colonnades excluded the light that was necessary for the goods and columns prevented their shops from being distinctly seen by the person riding on the carriages" (Parliamentary Papers 1846, p. 511). Although Regent Street was built using the glass and iron that represented the new industrial materials of Great Britain, people soon discovered that these materials did not suit their function in the Quadrant. While it was built to provide a place to see (goods, items and modernisation), it barred its

visitors and their eyes from feeling and sensing the spectacle and exhibitionist atmosphere of the street.

As the main reasons for the removal of the Quadrant had already been given in the Regency records, this chapter will not try to explain what those reasons are. The aim of this chapter is to explain how the reproduction of Quadrant was linked to modern society and modern spectacle in the first place, since the fundamental problem was the immoral activity taking place in and around the Quadrant, with the arcade of the Quadrant acting as the primary actant that provided a shelter for the prostitutes while upper class men who lived in quadrant using their bachelor lounges to support the trade. Because of the triumvirate of arcades, dandies and prostitutes the Quadrant was found guilty of vice and so was forced to change or be sentenced to death for the sake of morality. Within the scope of this chapter I will aim to focus on the evils (actors and actants) of the Quadrant to discover their role in this modern spectacle. I will examine each of them historically and analyse the relationships amongst them first and then try to find out where they had the detrimental role in their performance and deserved to be dismissed from the daily spectacle.

5.3 THE SOCIAL EVILS OF THE QUADRANT: ARCADES, GENTLEMEN AND PROSTITUTION

When the Quadrant was blamed for prostitution, the main problem was its arcaded colonnade that provided shelter for females allowing them to hide and sell their bodies. However, neither the arcade nor the prostitution was a new phenomenon in the history of England, and especially of London. Moreover, from very early times London's arcades had always played host to trade and exchange with prostitution included amongst them. The city had always borne witness to taking a woman's body as a marketable product to buy and sell, it had never been a surprise to see them underneath the shelter of an arcade while waiting for their next customer. Although using female bodies as a commodity had not been treated as a serious issue before, this situation became a social problem when it took place around the Quadrant, which was supposed to be dedicated to the upper classes. Thus first I will try to take readers on a short tour to show the arcades, gentlemen and prostitutes of London that caused the execution of the Quadrant. Further, in this chapter the relationships among arcades, gentlemen and

prostitution, and how this triangular network became embodied in the Quadrant will be exposed.

5.3.1 The Arcades of London

Although modernist theorists such as Walter Benjamin, Louis Aragon and Andre Breton have associated arcades with Paris, these architectural spaces could actually be seen in 16th century London (Hutchison 2010, p. 33). London was founded as a Roman city, and was then the centre of communication and commerce due to its location by the Thames (Rasmussen 1961, p. 18) Moreover, it was protected by the walls erected by the Romans since it stocked the commercial products of the city (Rasmussen 1961, p. 20). Although during the Roman period commerce was always took place in the centre, marketplaces were not seen until the 16th century when Lombard Street became the traditional meeting place for merchants to conduct their business. English historian, (best known for his survey of London) John Stow describes the situation of trading until the 16th century as such:

> *"merchants and tradesmen, as well as English and strangers, for their general making of bargains, contracts, and commerce, did usually meet twice every day, however these meetings were unpleasant and troublesome, by reason of walking and talking in an open street, being there constrained to endure all extremes of weather, or else to shelter themselves in shops"(* as cited in Hibbert & Weinreb 2008, p. 689).

Then, from 1565 to 1568 the first Exchange was completed (Hibbert, & Weinreb 2008, 690). The mercantile city was the intersection of Poultry,Cheapside, Cornhill and Lombard Street where the Royal Exchange was built (Margetson 1971, p. 13). Figure 5.2 shows the interior The Royal Exchange from its big entrance. It was the financial centre for trade on the Strand in the City of London, designed as a two-story gallery around a courtyard (Hutchison 2010, 33). Bankers, merchants visited the arcaded courtyard for financial exchange.

Figure 5.2: Byrsa Londinensis, vulgo The Royall Exchange of London, by Wenceslaus Hollar 1644

Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=738655001&objectId=3238987&partId=1

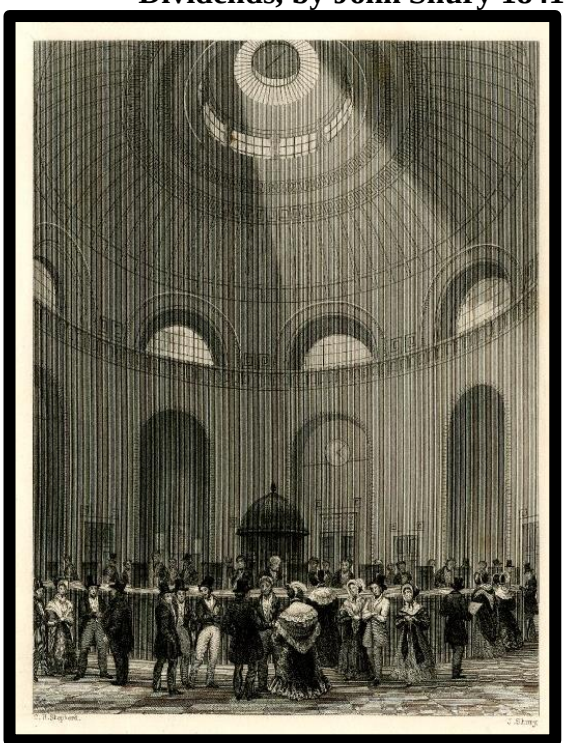
A new Exchange building (figure 5.3) was built on the western side of the Strand in 1709 because of the fire in 1666. Figure 5.3 represents the new building that was internalised the courtyard and placing an arcaded walk around it. There were two rows of shops and a central corridor on the ground floor and three rows of shops on the upper floor (Hutchison 2010, p. 33).

Figure 5.3: The Royall Exchange of London (second) by Anonymous 1670-1720

Source:
www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=739004001&objectId=3239059&partId=1

Why the Royal Exchange is important here is because the stylish gentlemen of the West had hardly been to the East, or the City, however, the Strand was the place where East and Westenders would meet (Margetson 1971, p. 12). The character's of Egan's book are to be found at the Royal Exchange or The Bank (1694) which was another place for trade (Margetson 1971, p. 15). What is common to both the Exchange and Bank buildings was their arches which were reserved for financial transactions and trade, and were frequented by people from different classes. In the 17th and 18th centuries, these buildings were the places to gather for various bodies from different classes for commercial and economic interactions. It will be mentioned later in this chapter that, interaction among different classes and their bodies created awareness of one another. This awareness made each class more visible to each other and such visibility formed the basis for modern society and metropolitan life in the Regency. Thus, it can be understood that this very early sample of interaction could only be seen in commercial centres where exchange and conversation took place among the social classes.

Figure 5.4: The Rotunda, Bank of England. Payment of Dividends, by John Shury 1841-44



Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=1073032001&objectId=3409224&partId=1

Exchange buildings were open to a wide variety of commodities that were sold by different retailers of international trades including dresses, perfumes, accessories and millinery rather than foods which were purchased elsewhere. Following the early arcaded buildings, new arcades were turned into marketplaces for the luxury goods destined for the upper classes. Thus Hutchison claims that the Parisian arcades that are still known today were the latest and most modern adaptation of those early English shopping areas (Hutchison 2010, p. 33). For example, Jardins du Palais Royale (1781-86) is described as a Parisian arcade prototype with its quadrangle arcaded ground level and shops around it. Parisian arcades were not only shopping areas but also meeting places for the bourgeoisie. Galleries du Bois, the Passage Feydeau (1791) and Passage du Caire were the earliest Parisian passages for shopping (Hutchison 2010, 33). Things came full circle when in a very similar style to those luxurious Parisian examples, Nash and Repton designed the Royal Opera Arcade (at the southern end of Regent Street) (1815-17) and then Samuel Ware followed suit with his Burlington Arcade (1818-1819). Both of them were to serve the upper classes not only for shopping but also for social encounters with their peers. Burlington Arcade especially, which was built for Lord Cavendish, was protected by guards to provide a safe and exclusive place for the Regency elite to shop and meet each other undisturbed. Image 86 shows ladies with luxurious dresses and furs, gentlemen in dandy apparel walking around the shop windows and gazing through the windows. The bow windows were used to present the latest fashions. Interior of Burlington Arcade reminds us the eclectic style of Regency architecture with its roofs, skylights and colonnaded entrance. Figure 5.5 demonstrates that men were also interested in shopping just as much as women were.

Figure 5.5: Interior of Burlington Arcade, London, by Anonymous 1820-50

Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=1164956001&objectId=3425259&partId=1

Similar to Burlington Arcade, the Quadrant was also another exclusive arcade that met the needs of uppeer class shopping (figure 5.6). From the earliest times to the construction of the Quadrant, the history of arcades in London shows that arcaded buildings had been connected to trade and business.

Figure 5.6: Ladies &gentlemen in the Quadrant Arcade 1822

Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gal lery.aspx?assetId=613496001&objectId=3204879&partId=1

However, the Quadrant soon started to see some changes in the way that it was used, though it was originally conceived and built as a shopping area by Nash. Furthermore, this place specifically aimed to draw the upper classes as the Prince Regent wanted to be surrounded by his friends (Murray 1996, p. 2-5). It is obvious that 19th century England was a patriarchal society governed by the power of men (Hill 1969, p. 20-25) who were always the rulers and the owners of industrial England. Depending on the drawings, prints and texts it may be claimed that the early visitors were mostly Regency men (gentlemen and dandies). They were the patrons of London's fashionable world and the controllers of space to a much greater extent than ladies were. Moreover, gentlemen could indulges their passions by spending excessive amounts on their clothes, gambling and betting on boxing bouts. For that reason, one may say that dirty and dim places that were rented by these dandies or upper-class bachelors, could not be eliminated and became part of everyday life around the Quadrant.

5.3.2 The Gentlemen of London:

During the reign of the George IV, London was notorious for vice and sources of immoral entertainment because the pleasure seeker Prince had favoured any form of personal enjoyment including such ills as gambling, boxing, and prostitution (Margetson 1971, p. ii). The Prince Regent, later George IV, and his dandy friends were widely known for their various lovers and addiction to gambling (Murray 1996, p.6). and many wealthy men lost their money and even their lives because of their debts. One such was Beau Brummell, the fashion leader of his age and after whom the Beau Window at White's club in St James's was named. White's and other clubs were popular places for gambling, and Brummell lost all his money in sight of that Beau Window while gambling. He therefore had to flee to France in May 1816 (two years before Regent Street was built) where he died on 39 March 1840[63], and in his final days had become mad and penniless (figure 5.7).

[63] http://tweedlandthegentlemansclub.blogspot.co.uk/2011/07/remembering-brummell-beau.html

Figure 5.7: ***Brummell as an old man***

Source:https://www.regencyhistory.net/2012/11/the-rise-and-fall-of-beau-brummell-1778.html

Having left the country two years prior to the construction of Regent Street, he was never able to perform on the thoroughfare himself. However, he left behind in his wake many dandies who followed his attitude, style and behaviours. As Brummell was a person addicted to beauty and pleasures, he demonstrated many of the aspects of a narcissistic personality.

A BBC documentary series, "Beau Brummell: Dandy" examined Brummel and his lifestyle from their historical perspective and concluded that from beginning to end, Brummel tried to pursue a luxurious lifestyle with his excessive expenditure, in particular on clothes. When Brummell was invited to Carlton Place by the Prince Regent, he wanted to learn what Brummel thought about Prince's own fashion style. Although Brummel disliked his fashion tasted, he tried to be polite and described the Regent's style as "overdressed." Brummell then invited the Prince to his morning dressing ceremeony at his own house and the following day, there were many English men including the Prince Regent present to watch him putting on his dandy clothes. Brummell was first seen naked, and he exhibited his body until he got fully dressed[64]. He did not seem shy or disturbed by the audiences because he actually enjoyed being

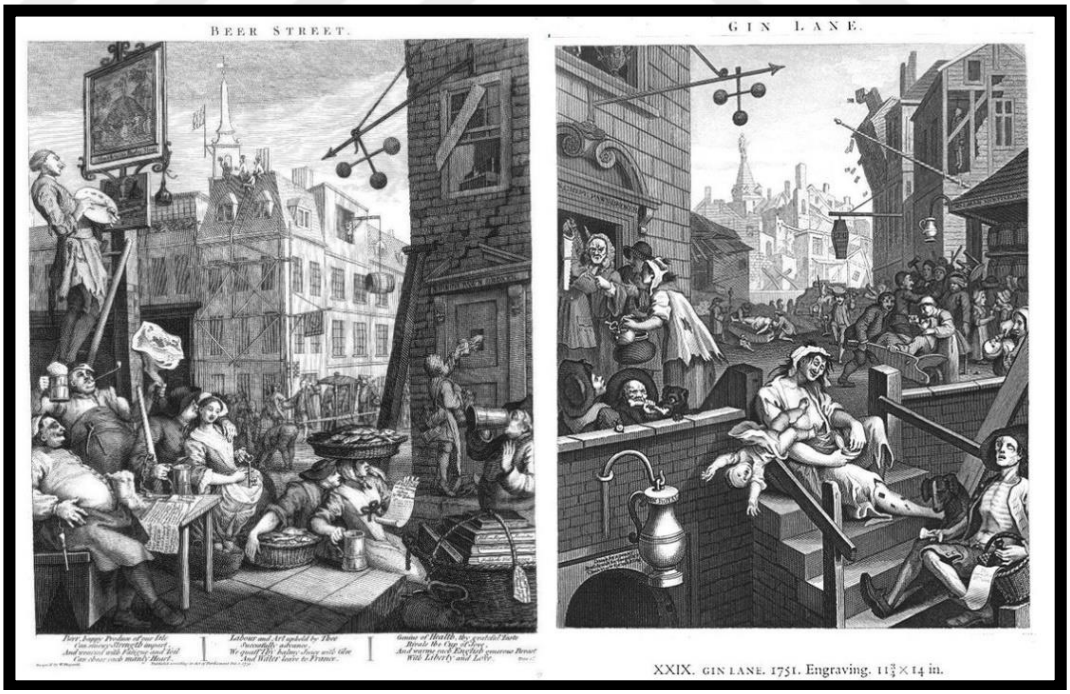
[64] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C7CRWGPlYfE

watched by them. It was an example of mirroring the body, referring to the body which is associated with its own surface on which materials or ornaments can be displayed (Rendell on Fyfe 1998, p. 85) and here stood for a narcissistic body. His fashionable and the modern tastes made him the representative figure of his class, a type Bourdieu described as: "taste a class culture turned into nature, that is, embodied help to shape the class bodies" (Bourdieu 1984, p. 90). Rendell believes that spaces that are designed for shopping are significant urban spaces since they were built to display tasteful bodies, in addition to being the venue for the flaunting of leisure time and money through their "conspicuous consumption" to other man and women (Rendell on Fyfe 1998, p. 85).

In that respect, Brummell chose different objects to satisfy him as his clothes were the objects of desire that gave him a desirable look. Secondly Bond Street and gentlemen's clubs (especially White's club and its Bow Window) were the desirable places where he satisfied himself by being surrounded by luxury shops and his exclusive window. Third, his lovers (men or women – he was believed to have been bisexual) who loved and amused him (Kelly 2006, p. 204). Therefore he created a pattern for dandyism that involved being fashionable, surrounded by luxurious places and shops to see and be seen in, and having multiple lovers for self-satisfaction rather than for forming lasting and mutually supportive relationships. He and his friends mostly spent their time in the West London gentlemen's clubs for the purposes of entertainment. As mentioned in previous pages, by the 17th century West Londoners had started visiting East London for trade and exchange, however those visits were mostly limited to commerce up until the 19th century where the history of modernity is rooted. Sennett, in his book "Flesh and Stone: The Body and the City in Western Civilisation" outlined a story of the cities and civilisations through people and their bodily experiences. He argued that modern urban societies were constructed with an awareness of other memebers of society who could been seen and touched. To explain this intimate relationship he turned to th 18th century prints of Hogarth; "Gin Lane and Beer Lane". In 1751, William Hogarth depicted the drinking habits of Georgian London in two prints that are very famous today for those studying 18th and 19th century London, one of which shows Gin Lane, and the other Beer Lane. Regarding this thesis, Hogarth's prints can be evaluated from various aspects such as life in East London, places of pleasure before the Regency, the drinking culture in London, and representations of 18th century London in print.

However, the very reason why these prints are important here is that they show us two different urban spaces in the same city. According to Sennett, Beer Street is a good example of social connection and orderliness since bodies were sitting close to each other, with people touching and hugging one another's shoulders. On the other hand, Gin Lane represents the disorder in urban spaces because, "there is no corporeal sensation of one another or the stair, benches, and buildings in the city" (Sennett 1996, p. 20- 21). It is really obvious that Sennett associated the order or disorder of urban places with their lived mobile and immobile occupants including people, buildings, streets and furniture. In another words, Sennett evaluated the urban with its actors and actants and the physical and intimate coherence among them (figure 5.8). He placed particular attention on their proximity, physical appearance, physical distance and interactions with each other. As can be seen in Howard's images, stones were used to build early ancestors of modern urban spaces which forced people to touch each other. Thus Sennett described modern Western cities as places where human bodies were aware of one another's flesh and physical presence (Sennett 1996, p. 21).

Figure 5.8: Beer Lane (left) & Gin Lane (right)



Source: http://leilahoustonart.weebly.com/blog/beer-street-gin-lane

Taking the notion of *awareness* into account, 18th century Georgian London was an early step towards early modern Regency London. The number of taverns, gin houses, and coffee houses increased in parallel with the number of people who moved to London because of the 18th century Industrial Revolution. Many of these places were located in East London as it was a source of work and entertainment for the lower classes (Penny Magazine 1837, p. 131) However, by the arrival of the following 19th century, Regency dandies and gentlemen had started to frequent these dim houses for pleasure and entertainment. This transition led the production of Egan's book[65] *Life in London* (1823) in keeping with the production of the metropolis since awareness started with this mobility. In Egan's book we see characters (Tom, Jerry and Logic) in series of spaces including a carnival, masquerade, opera, marketplace and their houses. What is interesting in these places is not only the performances taking place there, but also the agencies who accompanied Tom, Jerry and Logic. In other words, spaces were represented by accessibility for the public since some of them were only affordable for the upper classes. It is therefore important to describe what the terms public or private mean and how they were embodied in the Regency.

When Tom, Jerry and Logic visited the East London slums in search of cockfighting, masquerade balls and taverns, they established an intimate relationship with East Londoners via talking and touching them. *Masquerading it among the cadgers in the black slums, in the Holy Land* represents three characters visiting East London to join the masquerade party in slums where smoke, food and drinking habits can be seen in figure 5.9. An old crone carrying crutches descends into the cellar via a ladder (this place can be even on an underground, basement level). There is a black fiddler with a wooden leg, playing his fiddle. At the head of a long table is a crippled dwarf, wearing a top hat, sitting on his wheeled platform. Although West London already adopted gas lighting, especially at Waterloo Place, Regent Street (see chapter 4), the only source of illumination in this scene were the candles. While other characters were sitting at the

[65] Described as 'a faithful Portraiture of High & Low Life' from the West End to the East End, Pierce Egan's comical monthly publication *Life in London* was one of the popular sensations of its day. The central characters – Tom, Jerry and Logic – were well-heeled young men about town, keen to see 'a bit of life' in the poorer districts of London. Their escapades and misadventures were largely autobiographical, being drawn from the lives of Egan himself and his illustrators, George and Robert Cruikshank and Isaac Richard.

table to share dinner with the others, Tom is seen touching a ragged ballad singer under her chin.

Figure 5.9: ***Masquerading it among the cadgers in the black slums, in the Holy Land*** **from** ***Life in London*** **by Pierce Egan 1823**

Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=140354001&objectId=1639369&partId=1

Lowest life in London, Tom and Jerry (figure 5.10) also seems similar to the previous image, however here some other upper class gentlemen are recognisable through their high quality top hats. Here again, different ethnicities and classes are seen dancing, singing and eating together.This means Tom, Jerry, and Logic symbolised those of their class who visited slums and they appeared as fully-fledged Regency upper class male dandies. As previously mentioned in this chapter, the interaction between the two sexes from different classes began with Regency gentlemen who were visiting slums to have fun or visit their lovers before perhaps taking them to West London.

One of these images (figure 5.11) shows their courtesans Kate & Sue in *'Tom & Jerry catching Kate & Sue on the sly, having their fortunes told'.* This time, the characters were hiding behind a curtain to listen to what a fortune teller was saying to their lovers. While the outfit of the fortune teller appears old and shabby in fitting with the interior of the place, the two female prostitutes were dressed in modern attire since they were

provided with money by their gentlemen. Apparently, strolling upon the streets of East London made lower class women more visible to upper class gentlemen wishing to have intimate relationships with them.

Figure 5.10: *Lowest 'Life in London'* Tom, Jerry and Logic among the unsophisticated Sons and Daughters of Nature at 'All Max' in the East from *Life in London*

Source: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=140350001&objectId=1639378&partId=1

Figure 5.11: *Tom and Jerry catching Kate and Sue, on the sly, having their fortunes told* from *Life in London* by Pierce Egan, 1820

Source: https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/work/24278/

A further interaction is seen in figure 5.12 *Tom & Jerry sporting their blunt on the phenomenon Monkey, Jacco Macacco, at the Westminster Pit.* Since no female body is shown here, it seems likely to be depicting a men only place. Although it represents lower and upper-class male bodies in the same frame, most of the upper-class men were sitting very close to each other on the lower level while lower class men were watching them from up above. As they paid money for a bet, they had priority to watch the fight at closer quarters. After the interaction in The Bank and The Royal Exchange, this time male bodies met each other to have fun together. Although interaction was limited, the image clearly shows that both classes were aware of each other through their sharing of a common interest

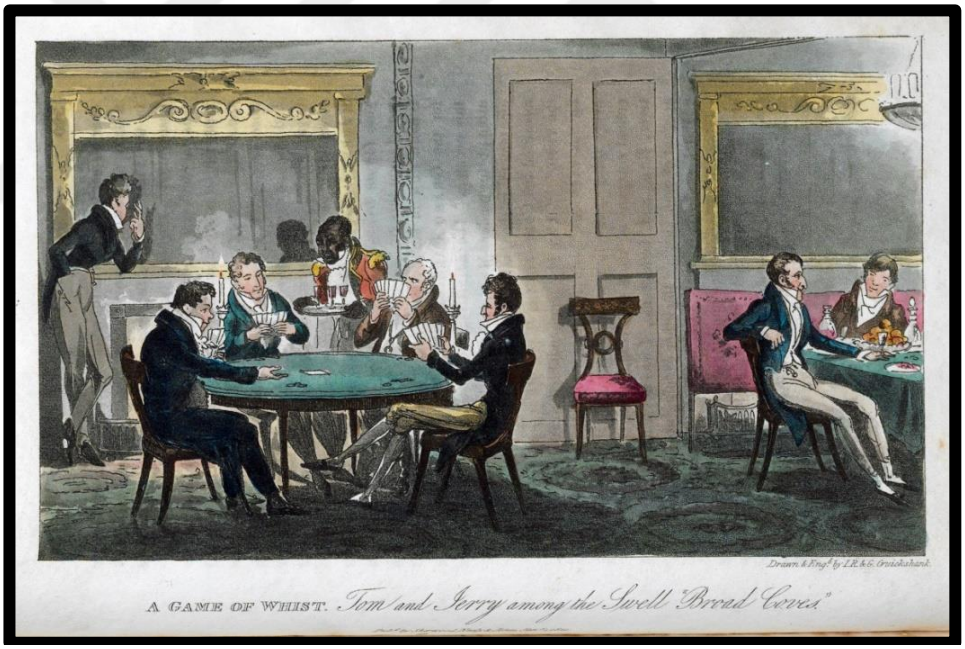
Figure 5.12: ***Tom & Jerry sporting their blunt on the phenomenon Monkey, Jacco Macacco, at the Westminster Pit*** **from** ***Life in London*** **by Pierce Egan, 1820**

Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=165889001&objectId=1650395&partId=1

Towards the middle of the 19th century, some of the places in the Quadrant were also used as gambling and billiard houses again for the entertainment of upper-class Regency men, particularly bachelors (Spofford & Gibbon 1888, p.161). As mentioned before, the source of many complaints about the Quadrant was the prostitutes plying

their trade under its shelter, but another reason was the gambling and betting takng place in the gentlemen lounges. The difference between the gambling dens in East and West was the level of privacy the space offered. Although both were indoor activities, East London accommodated different classes, while the West excluded lower class men as was the case in "A Game Of Whist" (figure 5.14). It is therefore possible to claim that Regency public and private space definitions were not based on inside-outside activities but on who and where they were congregating. Figure 5.14 shows a gentlemen's club where upper class gentlemen were gambling in a private indoor venue. The details tell us that it was once more a *men only space* which was decorated in the neoclassical style (chapter 4). They are seen eating, drinking and talking to each other with a sevant present to attend to them in his uniform.

Figure 5.13: ***A Game of Whist, Tom and Jerry among the Swell 'Broad Coves,*** **from** ***Life in London*** **by Pierce Egan, 1820**



Source: http://britton-images.com/product/tom-jerry-among-the-swell-broad-coves/

As Tom, Jerry and Logic were the representative characters of Regency dandies, they also represented the bachelors who rented apartments in the Quadrant. Although figure 5.13 does not depict a lounge in the Quadrant, it might be taken as representative of how they looked like. Since the spaces of the Quadrant were used for both public and private activities, I assume that many of these interiors either from West London or the

Quadrant were reasonably similar. For example, "An Introduction" illustrates the gentlemen having fun with their courtesans in their bachelor lounge (in West London), and in figure 5.14. neoclassical furniture and costumes symbolised upper class tastes while the piano and pictures showed the importance of art in the houses of the rich.

Figure 5.14: ***An Introduction Gay moments of Logic, Jerry, Tom and Corinthian Kate*** **from** ***Life in London*** **by Pierce Egan, 1820**

Source: https://www.art.com/products/p12060672-sa-i1507142/i-robert-george-cruikshank-an-introduction-gay-moments-of-logic-jerry-tom-and-corinthian-kate-from-life-in-london.htm

Although the Prince Regent did not conceive of Regent Street as a place of sexual and immoral activities, he also did not stop them from happening as he greatly depended on ladies for his own private lfe as well. Caricaturist JL Marks etched and published his work "Quite Well Again"[66] to describe King George IV after he had recovered from a serious illness, between the Duchess of Richmond (left) and Lady Hertford (right) as he enjoyed himself with his lovers. As is seen in image 96, George IV is shown displaying his ravenous hunger for food, love and passion to satisfy his fat body. Since pictures of the Royal family were hung behind him, they were probably seated in one of George IV's palaces.

[66] "God save the King!" was engraved by Marks alluding that he recovered from his illness.

Figure 5.15: *Quite Well Again* by Jl. Marks 1820

Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=110892001&objectId=1601233&partId=1

Since many of these bachelors were dandies favoured by George IV and had hsi tacit backing, they dared to change the Quadrant into a centre of pleasure. Similar to Brummell and his lovers, Regency dandies used their flats in the Quadrant for illicit love affairs. In the Regency era, the cost of the female body was cheap, and London was recognised as such: "All the pleasures of the flesh were available to a man with money, and the elasticity of upper-class morality during the Regency" (Kloester 2005, p. 126). Regardless of their social background, men could afford to purchase and control the body of a woman with the titles of the women trading their bodies varying according to the socio-economic status of the men whom they served. From the high-class courtesan who met the needs of the upper classes to the streetwalker affordable for lower classes, women were readily available to satisfy debauched or hedonistic man (Kloester 2005, p. 130). When Casanova visited London, he was impressed by the ease by which such pleasure could be found, observing,

> *" I visited the bagnios where a rich man can sup, bathe and sleep with a fashionable courtesan, of which there are many in London. It makes a magnificent debauch and only costs six guineas… We went to see the well-known procuress Mrs Wells and saw the celebrated courtesan Kitty Fisher who was waiting for Duke of – to take her to a ball... she had diamonds worth 5.000 francs…she had eaten a banknote for 1,000 guineas on a slice of bread and butter that very day"* (Casanova cited on Emerson 2003, p. 64).

As the bodies of courtesans were on the market to hire or rent as a product showed, sex and pleasure had always played an important role ever since Roman times up to the transformation and reproduction of the Quadrant. Moreover, the exhibition of and trade in female bodies in arcades were always related to each other.

5.3.3 Ladies of Pleasure in London

As was previously stated, gentlemen and the arches of the Quadrant were blamed for vice and prostitution. While arches were linked to trade, regency gentlemen were directly connected to these structures since it was an era of production and commerce in a male dominated nation. Prostitution was another source of trade that was also seen in the streets or under the arches of London. Further in this chapter, prostitution in London and its relationship with arcades will be explained to complete the triangular relationship of arcades-gentlemen-prostitution in the Quadrant.

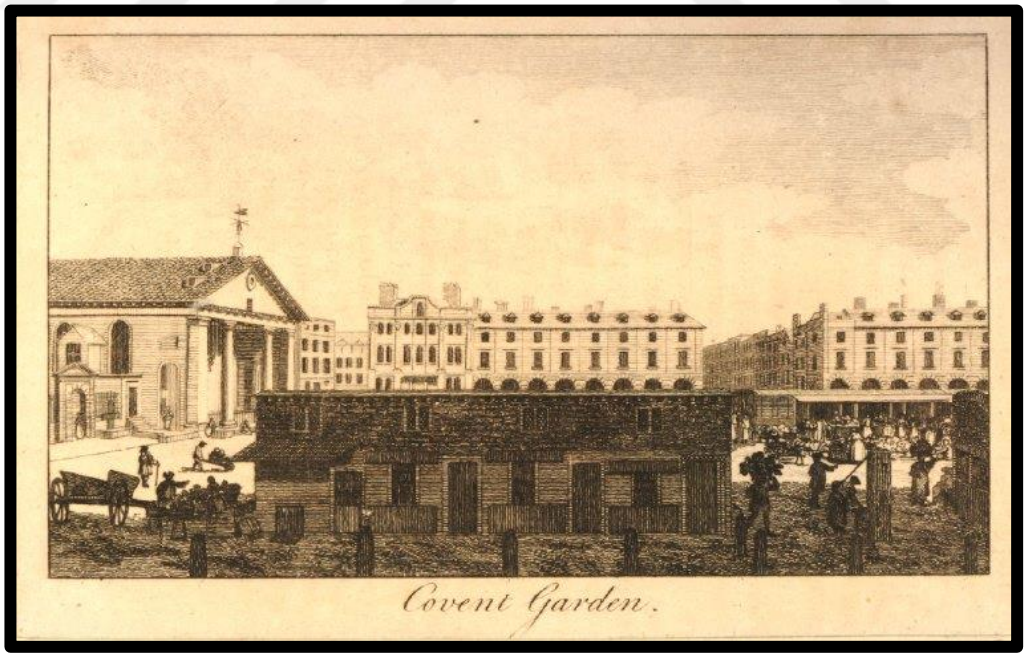
The very reason for rapid rise in the number of prostitues in 19th century London was immigration. As mentioned in the second chapter, the Regency was the threshold where Georgian England passed to Victorian, and pre-modern to modern society. In this revolutionary age of English history, many mostly poor immigrants, moved to East London. This immigration continued throughout the era until Victorian London became more crowded than it had ever been in the early 19th century. For that reason, "daily and nightly such a shameless display of prostitution" could be seen in London (Alpert 1849, p. 39).

Many of the labouring poor had Irish or Jewish backgrounds, and they were living in the slums of East London (Borrego & Ruiz 2011, p. 39). Although prostitution increased throughout the country in the 19th century, London saw a much greater growth in the sex industry and women trading in the city. There were two distinct signifiers of increased sexual activity that could be found in London: the first was disease and the second was trade. The British historian Ackroyd argued that London

had always been a city famed for sexual activity. Consequently, the discoveries of a Roman model of the phallus in Coleman Street, a later haven for Lollards and Puritans, and an architrave depicting three prostitutes and erotic celebrations connected to Saturn and Priapus were not a coincidence in this city. He also indicated that seeing 'a short stone pillar of Hermes' with erect penis 'prepuce painted a brilliant red' were by no means rare. Moreover, arches and brothels were related to each other besides being related to commerce (Ackroyd 2001, p. 370).

1241 was the first time when Smithfields and Cock Lane were designated red light districts where prostitution was the predominant trade as medieval London aligned itself with the reality of a world of brothels and bawds. (Ackroyd 2001, p. 371). With regard to the 18th century, the Strand and Covent Garden had become the areas synonymous with sexual vice as they were filled with houses of pleasure and Mollie houses (for homosexuals) (Ackroyd 2001, p. 375). Figure 5.16 shows Covent Garden Market where people were walking and carrying their items to sell. St Paul's Church is situated at the western entrance to the market that was surrounded by arcaded buildings.

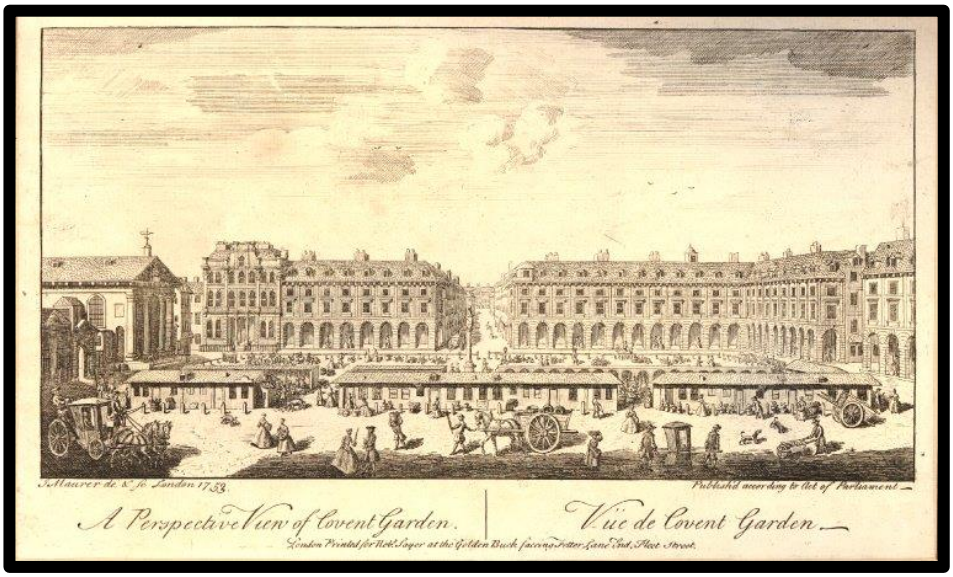
Figure 5.16: Covent Garden, 1756



Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=706537001&objectId=3225156&partId=1

As mentioned above, the Strand was at the heart of commerce in London but in the 18th century it had been turned into a centre of sexual trade from being a centre for the sale of industrial goods. Dr. Johnson shared his memories of this new Strand with the following words, 'As we walked along the Strand to-night, arm in arm, a woman of the town accosted us, in the usually enticing manner. 'no, no my girl, it will not do" (Johnson on Boswell 1791, p. 138). He sought to explain both the courage and immorality of the woman who wished to seduce him. Situated in close proximity to the Strand, Covent Garden was also the primary market for everyday products until the 18th century. It was built as a square surrounded on three sides by tall terraced houses that opened onto to a courtyard in the 17th century. Figure 5.17 shows these houses that were completed in 1639 and their front doors opened out onto vaulted arcades. This courtyard, or the Piazza, was one of the most popular residences for wealthy and aristocratic families. The market came into existence in 1656 with the stalls selling flowers, fruits, roots, and herbs, and then gradually coffee houses started to appear around them in 1748 (Ackyord 2001, p. 208). Again in figure 5.17, carriages represent the lower class that wore ragged clothes and used old carriages and St Paul's Church, which still stands on the same site, can be seen on the left.

Figure 5.17: A Perspective View of Covent Garden 1873 by J Maurer



Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=706538001&objectId=3225155&partId=1

By the 18th century, the well-to-do had moved to West End, and many of their former houses were converted into bathhouses or brothels. While the market was still there, the upper-class had left their once exclusive places to a world of dirt, disease and commerce. The trade in the female body inspired a rhyme that belonged to the 18th century which contained the line "I had to go to London town and buy me a wife" (Ackroyd 2001, p. 370).

Figure 5.18: A Sun Flower and a Blue Belle, by Anonymous, Covent Garden 1801

Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=92287001&objectId=1468112&partId=1

Covent Garden should be mentioned here for two main reasons. Firstly, it was the marketplace that served both West and East Londoners and was geographically close to Regent Street. Secondly, it was very similar to the Quadrant spatially because its colonnades provided shelter both for the vegetable stalls and bodies of females. Figure 5.18 depicts two Covent Garden prostitutes wearing a hat and holding an umbrella under the shelter of the arcade while St Paul's Church is still recognisable in the

background. One of the Regency Bboks, *Sketches of London Life and Character* mentions the district in the following terms,

> *"... Numerous distinction in the purchasers the well petty dealer, whose equipage exhibits various stages of rickets; the hawker, with a truck or donkey-cart, whose stentorian voice will familiar cry of " green gooseberries", " all a –growing all a-blowing", "cherries round and sound" lastly the stalls woman and the flower –girl-she of the "two bunches a –penny"(Kenney* cited on Gavarni 1849, p. 44).

Figure 5.19: Covent Garden, 1721-1798, by: Thomas Sandby

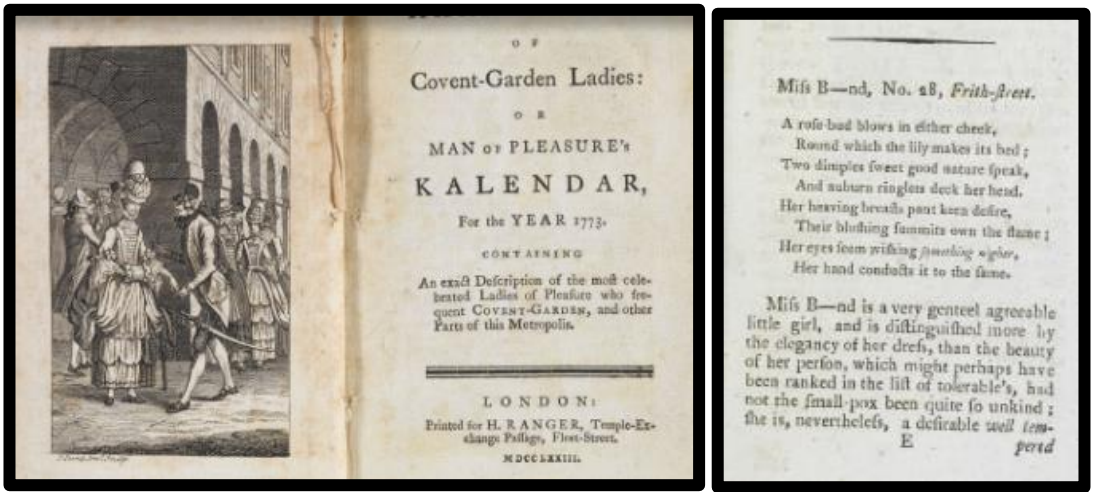
Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=268001001&objectId=749395&partId=1

Some of these figures can be distinguished in figure 5.19. While St Paul's Church filled the background, two women were leaning on the arcade and selling their items. A beggar on the ground can be seen dressed in rags while an old lady passed by carrying her baskets from the marketplace to the arcade. Needless to say that the structural character of the pillars of the arcades provided a place to hide and lean on for both the market sellers and also the flower girls (prostitutes).

Sir John Fielding, the magistrate of Bow Street Police Court, called Covent Garden "the great square of Venus" because from the 16th century to 18th century, it was the centre of the sex industry in London[67]. During the day it was the market for a variety of goods including vegetables and flowers, but at night it was the centre of theatre and sexual entertainment (Schwartz 1983, p. 77). Furthermore, the first theatre of the London Theatre Royal (1732) and the second Theatre Royal (1809) were both opened in Covent Garden[68].

The relationship between vice and theatre was no coincidence because it was believed that a modest lady could not possibly dance or play on stage, but an immoral woman or prostitute would have no such concerns. The foyer of a theatre was like an exhibition space for these shameless girls and the historian Murray says that, " the theatre was simply an arena for social life, for flirting, seeing and being seen: the play whatever it was, and whoever was acting, come a poor second" (Murray 1998, p. 220). Therefore whether on stage or in the lobbies, the female body was still the target of male gazes for entertainment.

Figure 5.20: Harris's List of Covent Garden Ladies, a 18th-century guide to prostitutes



OF

Covent-Garden Ladies:

OR

MAN OF PLEASURE'S

KALENDAR,

For the YEAR 1773.

CONTAINING

An exact Description of the most celebrated Ladies of Pleasure who frequent COVENT-GARDEN, and other Parts of this Metropolis.

LONDON:

Printed for H. RANGER, Temple-Exchange Paſſage, Fleet-Street.

MDCCLXXIII.

Miſs B—nd, No. 28, *Frith-ſtreet.*

A roſe-bud blows in either cheek,
Round which the lily makes its bed;
Two dimples ſweet good nature ſpeak,
And auburn ringlets deck her head.
Her heaving breaſts pant keen deſire,
Their bluſhing ſummits own the flame;
Her eyes ſeem wiſhing *ſomething nigher,*
Her hand conducts it to the ſame.

Miſs B—nd is a very genteel agreeable little girl, and is diſtinguiſhed more by the elegancy of her dreſs, than the beauty of her perſon, which might perhaps have been ranked in the liſt of tolerable's, had not the ſmall-pox been quite ſo unkind: ſhe is, nevertheleſs, a deſirable *well tem-*

E *pered*

Source: https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/harriss-list-of-covent-garden-ladies-an-18th-century-guide-to-prostitutes

[67] http://www.coventgardenmemories.org.uk/page_id__34.aspx
[68] http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol35/pp9-29

Covent Garden prostitutes were called spells or flower-sellers, which were the daily jobs of some of them. Various women were listed as Covent Garden prostitutes, and they were detailed with appearance, fees and skills that they specialised in. The list of Covent Garden Ladies between 1757-95 was first published by John Harris in which 120 to 190 female sex workers were recorded (figure 5.20) Harris earned the reputation of being, "pimp-general to the people of England" as he supplied both women and men for the sex trade in Covent Garden[69], with many of these girls in their twenties and born outside of the capital. A song also described the female body as a short lived and ephemeral item of the exhibition destined to fade and perish,

Virgins are like the fair flower in its luster,
Which in the garden enamels the ground…
But, when once plucked, 'tis no longer alluring,
To Covent Garden 'tis sent (as yet sweet),
There fades, and shrinks, and grows past all enduring,
Rots, stinks and dies, and is trod under feet (Gay 1986, p. 54)

By the end of the 18th century, Covent Garden had lost its popularity and with it, its prostitutes. Many of them died from syphilis, or spread out toother parts of the city to find a better place to ply their trade. Thus their appearance in West London corresponded to similar developments in Regency London. These women were used to living and working amongst commercial goods in the marketplace. Therefore, it made perfect sense for them to choose West London's newly built arcades as a place to wait for their clients. The West End's fashionable Burlington Arcade and Nash's Quadrant were both exclusive places where Regency people could find whatever they needed in terms of the latest fashions and where Regency men could also expect exhibits of the human and sexual variety. Therefore neither the Quadrant nor Burlington Arcade could sustain their initial fame and purpose since both were soon occupied by courtesans (prostitutes) seeking upper class gentlemen. Rather like Egan's characters, bachelors were to be seen entertaining their lovers both in their private realm or in public spaces. The streets of West London were therefore no strange or forbidden domain for the ladies of pleasure.

[69] https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/harriss-list-of-covent-garden-ladies-an-18th-century-guide-to-prostitutes

It is clear that Nash already knew the potential that pillars had to hide the dirt and unwanted bodies behind their imposing bulk, he therefore thought that small changes in the form of the designs, such as having rounded columns would be a solution (Rendell on Hutchison 2010, p. 35). As he had always declared, his was a street for the nobility, but he had probably foreseen that it might be conquered and reclaimed by the lower classes. Nash thus created the Quadrant using rounded Doric columns with a circular scheme instead of a rectangular shape more suited to those who lived their life in the shadows. Nonetheless, what he could not envisage was the unpredictable movement of a modern metropolis where social interactions and awareness of others were the true protagonists. What took centre stage was the desire of people of all classes to see and touch each other to the detriment of Nash's expressed aim of the elimination and ignorance of the lower classes. Ultimately the arcades and colonnades of the Quadrant became the workplaces and symbols of prostitution starting from 1830s. The New Monthly Magazines described the new position of the street by declaring,

> *"the most glaring exhibition of marketable beauty in following lines "Regent Street, is the Western Exchange; here come foreigners, countrymen city men, men about town- it is the lounge where all go, where all move slowly, where all meet; and, as a necessary consequence, here is the most glaring exhibition of marketable beauty: is the British slave market. For this reason joined too, perhaps the hungry look of the exiled foreigner, forever treading its pave, and also a somewhat pretending and hollow attempt at show in the shops, Regent Street has ever an air of the painful to us" (New Monthly Magazines 1833, p. 439)*

There is no doubt that, until the Victorian era, the history of London had witnessed strong relationships among trade, commerce, arches, prostitution and gentlemen. Moreover, neither Regent Street nor any other public spaces had to be reconfigured due to immoral activities. As was mentioned in the second chapter, even after the Great Fire of London, the city was reconstructed along exactly the same lines of its previous layout without changing the city plan. However by the Victorian era, the Quadrant had become a pressing issue for government and the public because of the prevalence of immoral activities there.

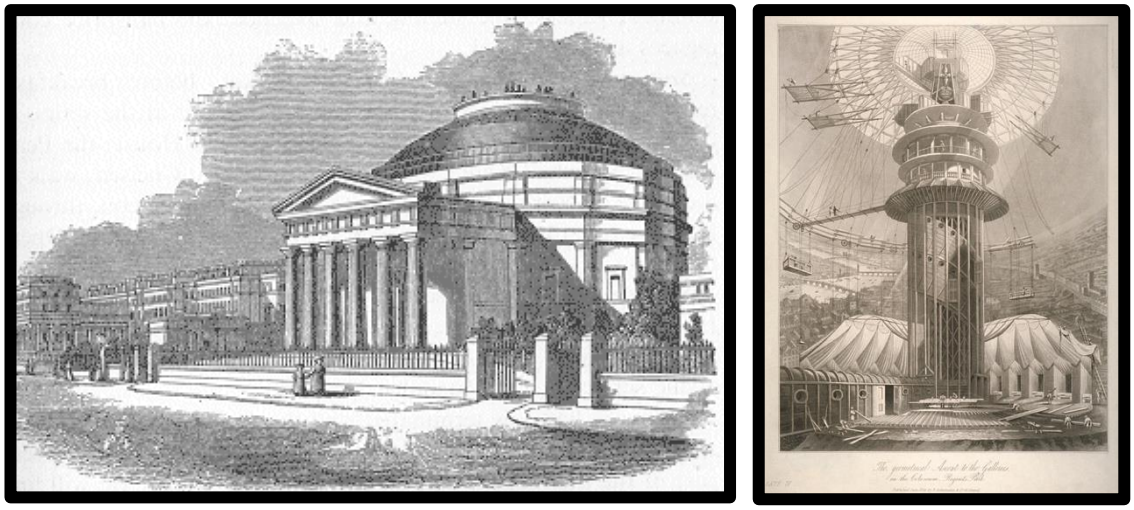
5.4 PRODUCTION OF A NEW SPECTACLE

Spectacle is part of dramaturgical and theatrical terminology to describe "an unusual or unexpected event or situation that attracts attention" [70] . It should be remembered that streets of late 18th and early 19th century London were public spectacles for visual display and consumption (Rendell on Fyfe 1998, p. 79). Regency London was a society dependent on visual culture whether it was opera, theatre or caricatures as previously highlighted. Since society mostly consisted of illiterate people, visual sources were mainly used as a source of entertainment. Although many of these lower and uneducated classes were in the East of the city, there were also many public spaces in the West End where pleasures and satisfaction were delivered via looking around; for example, promenading, shopping and watching performances. Therefore early 19th century London sought to enhance bodily display as an intrinsic element in public life and entertainment (Rendell on Fyle 1998, p. 84).

There was a vast array of visual consumption on offer in the Regency period and especially in Regent Street: the Colosseum, the Diorama and the Cosmorama were three outstanding places of visual entertainment. Numerous optical and visual entertainment sources intrigued Regency society and their eyes. Firstly, the dome of the Colosseum (also known as the London Colosseum) was built in 1827 in Regent's Park upon which a giant panoramic representation of London was painted by E.T. Parris, was presented (Margetson 1971, p. 91). The building in figure 5.21 was designed by Decimus Burton; its substance was brick, faced with cement and tinted to imitate stone. The interior was judiciously divided into a saloon, where works of art were exhibited and there were also galleries for viewing the splendid panorama of London (Anonymous 1851, p. 97). The picture showed "the quiet, rural and cheerful scenery" and "immense bustle and business belonging to the River Thames" in the circular gallery of the dome (Margetson 1971, p. 92).

[70] https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/spectacle

Figure 5.21 (left), 5.22 (right): The Colosseum, Regents Park and its interior



Source: http://www.victorianlondon.org/entertainment/colosseum.htm

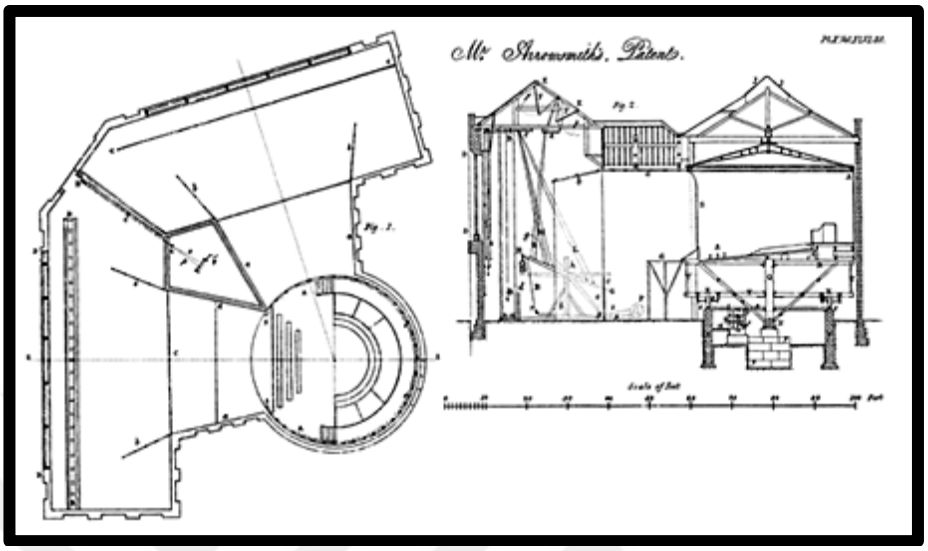
While the Colosseum was an exhibition place for this static London panoroma, the Diorama housed another optical illusion where different cities were represented through great panoromas (Margetson 1971, p. 92). The book *Metropolitian improvements* describes it as follows,

> *"pictures, or scenes are viewed from a very elegant circular theatre, with pit, boxes and passages, through an opening, decorated by a proscenium. While the opening in the theatre is before one picture, the whole body of the audience part is slowly moved round by some admirable machinery below, and the spectators, seats, attendants and all, are moved imperceptibly round, from the Mary Chapel of Canterbury Cathedral to the lake of Lausanne, or from the city of Rouen in France, to the interior of Rosslyn Chapel in Scotland" (Anonymus, 1829, 80-81).*

As figure 5.23 represents the plan and the section of the Dioroma, it seems like a precursor of the cinema with its big and scenographic atmosphere.

Compared to the Dioroma and its panoramas, cosmoramas were a version of two other visual exhibitions that included a series of small lenses inserted into walls for the purpose of peeping at images of paintings behind them as shown in figure 5.24 (Gaudreault & Dulac 2012, p. 40).

Figure 5.23: John Arrowsmith's Diorama Patent, British Patent No. 4899, Plate X in The Repertory of Arts, Manufactures and Agriculture (London), April 1825, 2nd series, Vol. XLVI (No. CCLXXV)



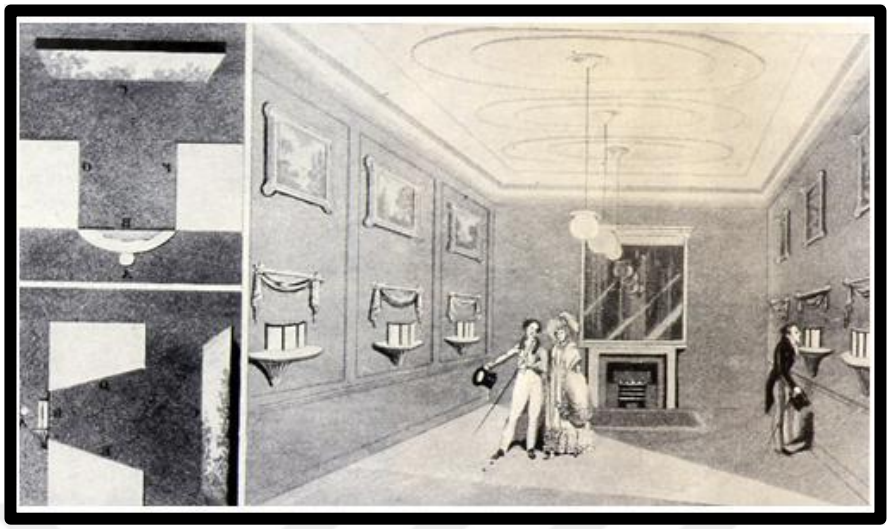
Source: http://www.midley.co.uk/diorama/Diorama_Wood_1_1.htm

The Cosmorama, named from the Greek (Kosmos, world; and orama, view, because of the great variety of views), allowed for the exhibiting of the streets through peepshows with a quality of pictures. Pictures were placed on convex lenses that were behind wooden windows (peepholes), correcting the errors of appearance related to proximity (Timbs 1867, p. 25). Mogg's *New Picture of London* mentions the Cosmorama in the following terms,

> "The Cosmorama, Regent Street, presents correct delineations of the celebrated remains of antiquity, and of the most remarkable cites and edifices in every part of the globe. The subjects are changed every two or three months; it is, altogether, a very beautiful exhibition" (Mogg 1844, p. 195).

Regent Street, the Quadrant, and Piccadilly all proposed cosmoramas that were primarily for exhibiting views of remarkable historical scenes that had taken place in a variety of world cities (Cunningham 1850, p. 235).

Figure 5.24: Example of a cosmorama cabin



Source: http://www.isikozdal.com/panaroma.htm

I would like to emphasise the sheer variety and levels of voyeuristic experience on offer on Regent Street at that point, that extended from peeping at female bodies at the Quadrant to getting pleasure via looking through the holes of dioromas and cosmoromas. Among the numerous cimages exhibited, one of the most significant to me was "the Slave Market, Constantinople" (figure 5.25).

Figure 5.25: *The Slave Market of Constantinople* by Sir William Allan 1839

Source: https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/5659/slavemarket-constantinople

Since exhibiting Constantinople through the peephole enabled Londoners to have an idea about the East, they could now compare their own city with Istanbul (Constantinople). "*The Slave Market of Constantinople*" was painted by Sir William Allan whose work was first exhibited in 1839 in London (figure 5.25). Allan had travelled to Constantinople, so his painting was believed to represent accurately his personal experiences; an Egyptian slave merchant is shown selling a Greek girl to a Turkish Pasha on horseback. The girl who turned to her distraught family contrasted with the relaxed group of men about to be served tea[71]. Thus Punch magazine denounced the shelter of the Quadrant as being no different to the slave market in Allan's painting (Punch vol: 12-15). Moreover, while these paintings seen through the peephole, to some extent, educated people about life overseas, they also seduced them with exotic images of people and scenes of the East. Witmer shared his experience in Regent Street with these words, "Such eyes! Complexion! Hair! As I have seen offered for sale in Regent Street! Talk to Turks and their slave market!" (Witmer 1853 , p. 29). Obviously, Witmer, a visitor to the street was shocked by the attractive bodies on sale in the Quadrant, though his comparisons with the Turks may well have been based more on the painting mentioned above than direct personal experience.

Although both places were called slave markets because of the action of selling bodies, they were actually slightly different from each other in terms of their architectural typology and their marketing strategy. In the Ottoman Empire, the sources of slavery were war and sea piracy. People were acquired as a slave as the property of the government, and they were bought and sold as a commodity with their price determined according to their ethnicity, age and ability. Men were called Kul, Mamluk or Gulam, while women were called Cariye, Halayık, Esire or Mamluke (Tarihenotdus, online). While Cariye (women only) were sold in the Grand Bazaar, Atik Bedesten (cevahir bedesteni), slaves (men and women) were sold in the market, Yeni Bedesten-Sandal bedesteni, and there was another Kervainsarie (again, an arcaded building) behind Cemberlitas called Esir Hani. Architectural historian Ayverdi explains that "The Esir Pazarı Hanı (Slave Market) was located beside the Mosque of Atik Ali Paşa, in the Tavuk Pazarı (Chicken Market) (Ayverdi 1974, p. 579) showing that women's bodies was sold in the Ottoman Bazaar or marketplace. While Esir Pazarı was a two-storey

[71] https://www.nationalgalleries.org/art-and-artists/5659/slave-market-constantinople

building with one huge door, it had 300 rooms that were shared among sellers to keep their slaves in and the building had a courtyard where bodies were sold at the auction. Many of the girls were brought there by their families to sell them to join Ottoman palaces as a member of the harem. Therefore non-Muslims were prohibited from Esir Hanı as their beliefs decreased the value of the slave (Engin 2002, p. 247). For that reason, the painting of Allan (Ottoman Slave market image 99) may not represent the real slave market in Ottoman Istanbul, as Sir William Allan's entry to the bazaar would almost certainly have been prohibited. Nonetheless, his painting was a production for the satisfaction and consumption of a London audience, both shaping and confirming the Regency view of an exotic East.

Nonetheless, the importance of the slave market here is neither to emphasise the Grand Tour to Eastern Europe nor the cultural interaction between nations. The main reason for mentioning the slave market is to ask why Regent Street and the Quadrant was so ready to denounce itself as being like "a slave market in Constantinople"? There is no doubt that Quadrant played a central role in the commercial life of Regent Street because of its architectural beauty with protective shelter and proximity to West London. So why should such a famous and fashionable place be likened to an Eastern market? Furthermore, why would its reputation be the origins of its reconstruction? Such questions will be the answered while concluding this chapter.

Figure 5.26: The Quadrant, 1848

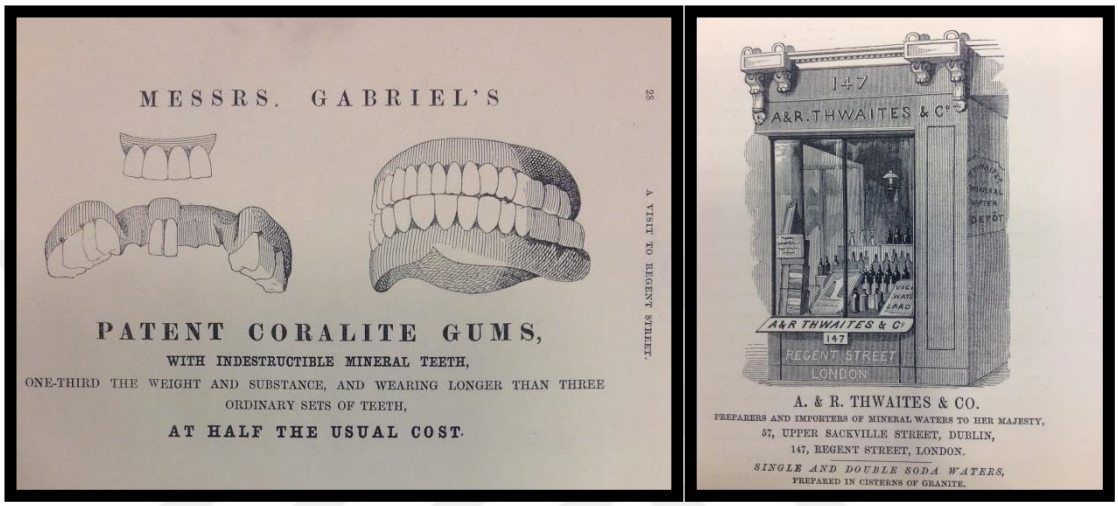
Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=613504001&objectId=3204884&partId=1

Before the Napoleonic war, Bonaparte called England, " a nation of shopkeepers" to describe a country which was not ready for battle, since it was primarily interested in commerce and its industrial power that built its shops and windows as in figure 5.26 (Notes and Queries 1865, p. 191). To Napoleon's mind, industrial London was a city to exhibit what it produced and was fundamentally a space for the spectacle of industrial goods, which found a certain confirmation in The Great Exhibition in the Crystal Palace in 1851. However, considering mass production and the power of the media that we followed through caricatures and publishing, 19th century London is more appropriately described in the definition of spectacle outlined by Guy Debord. Although Debord was a 20st century theorist, his theory was based upon 19th century Marxism that analysed the socio-economic conditions of the Regency and Victorian eras. Basically what Debord argued was that 20th century mass media has become the main spectacle and instrument for capitalism to distract and manipulate the masses. Regarding the value of the product, the 19th century was the era when Marx (1818-83) and the concept of capitalism were widely discussed. It is important to say that Karl Marx lived in Soho from 1851-56, just behind the East of the Quadrant and just after the removal of the Quadrant[72]. Therefore what he experienced and observed in this commercial and mercantile London unquestionably shaped his philosophy and thoughts. Marx said, "The wealth of societies in which the capitalist mode of production prevails presents itself as an immense accumulation of commodities[73]". Debord constructed a link between spectacle and economy by paraphrasing Marx by stating, "In societies where modern conditions of production prevail, all of life presents itself as an immense accumulation of *spectacles*. Everything that was directly lived has moved away into representation" (Debord 2009, p. 24). Considering the fact that the Regency was dependent on visual culture (whether illustrations or other spectacles) Regent Street was a platform that was produced as a spectacle in an entirely different scale. It was an early version of modern and capitalist space where economy and spectacle were merged together as can be seen in figure 5.27. For example, architecturally it promised a place to exhibit fashionable and industrial products via transparent windows of theatrical buildings. Furthermore, it used the power of publishing and advertising to contribute to commerce and marketing companies' latest goods, besides using the shop windows as a

[72] http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/blue-plaques/marx-karl-1818-1883
[73] https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/ch01.htm

media source. In the pamphlets, magazines and newspapers of the time, we see a variety of shops in Regent Street which denoted using the power of media strategies to publicise notices, advertisements and public relations (PR).

Figure 5.27 (left), 5.28 (right): The advertisement of a dentist in Regent Street & the advertisement of a store for mineral water at 147 Regent Street



Source: Nicoll D., 1856. *A visit to Regent Street, London.* London: Henry Vizetelly, printer and engraver

In that respect, in *Metropolis and Mental Life,* Simmel stated that a modern metropolis of the 19th century reduced the relationship amongst people to "how much" questions. The answer could only be given in monetary terms that placed all purchasable objects on the same plate. (Simmel 1950, p. 13-15). For that reason, the only criterion that differentiated the human body from the nonhuman body would be its price or value. Thus the spectacle of the Regent Street actually used women's bodies not as slaves, but as a commodity that was sold with other industrial goods. These bodies were not to perform an authentic or orientalist role but to display the range of products that you could find and buy in this spectacle. According to Debord, "that which appears is good, that which is good appears" (Debord 2009, p. 26). Thus anything that was seen on the bodies was fashionable and it signified the ability, in financial terms, to buy them. Anything that was visible as a market product whether it be female body or object there might be someone to was able to afford it. The Regency publisher Willis described the bodies in the Quadrant with following words:

> *"the western side of the Piccadilly is the thoroughfare of the honest passer-by: but under the long portico opposite, you will meet the vice every degree and perhaps more beauty than any other pave in the world. It is given up to the vicious and their followers by general consent. To frequent it, or to be seen loitering there at all, is to make but one impression on the mind of those who may observe you" (Willis 1846, p. 555).*

When Willis said that, "the vice every degree and more beauty than any other pave in the world", he apparently referred to the prostitutes who visibly lounged under the colonnades of the Quadrant. Consequently, the visibility of the female body was a source of trade and commercial advertising in the 19th century London metropolis. Debord insisted that "The Spectacle is not a collection of images, but a social relation among people, *mediated by images" (Debord 2009, p. 24),* which is to say that the spectacle actively alters human interactions and relationships, with images and the media then writing narratives for us. As such, the media could manipulate people, their beliefs aspirational needs. Thus any news in the magazines, or other media sources of the 19th century was both a means of advertisement to increase sales, and hence profits, or a way to manipulate people's thoughts and ideas. This was exactly how the reproduction of the Quadrant ocurred through the flexing of the muscles of Victorian media. Considering the fact that Regent Street was a production in itself, it was visited, used and consumed by its consumers. As time passed, necessities changed since people and their demands had also altered. Therefore the street was an industrial good that was needed and demanded alterations to create an updated version of it. While any degree of debauchery had once been desired in the Regency, it had to give up its place for Victorian ethics. From the Regency to the Victorian age, the morality of ladies had become more important as Queen Victoria was the physical embodiment of the throne: timeless and trustworthy. She preferred wearing soft coloured dresses with voluminous skirts to represent her youth and morality. Then Victorian ladies followed their Queen as a fashion leader and the Regency Empire dress was forgotten. Among these new soft coloured dresses, there was only one specific colour that was ignored and derided; red was the colour coded representation for prostitution and vice (Nead 2005, p. 63). Image 108 below displays the colonnades of the Quadrant with the lady in red encapsulating immoral activity and prostitution.

Figure 5.29: The Quadrant, Regent Street 1838

Source: Fearnside, W., 1838. *The History of London, illustrated by views in London and Westminster, engraved by J. Wood. Edited by W. G. F. and (in continuation) by T. Harral.* London

Certain aspects of Victorian fashion are demonstrated in figure 5.28, published in the year when Queen Victoria was enthroned, as it shows two women on the left, one of whom was wearing a red dress walking in the Quadrant while two other ladies were travelling by carriage. Their dresses reflected the Victorian style with balloon skirts that hid the shape of their bodies (contrast this to the Regency loose and transparent dresses). The outfits of the occupants reveal that there were different working groups or social classes blended in the Quadrant. Soldiers in uniform and the beggars or workers can be identifed through their clothes.

Professor Linda Nead, and her lecture "Fashion and visual culture in the 19th century: Women in Red" demonstrates that 19th century culture can be read through a series of visual signs. Women's dresses and appearance especially, were the great signals of a moral language[74]. She explains that the colour red quite simply signified immorality. The very reason to define them through their outfits and appearance is that Regency

[74] https://www.gresham.ac.uk/lectures-and-events/women-in-red

ladies were supposed to be as modern and silent as Regency men in their neoclassical, simple and light dresses that were completed with graceful and polite movements. Moreover, Victorian ladies were still silent and modern with light and soft coloured dresses as well. However, if women "possess such large stores of gold and jewellery and array themselves in velvet and satin, they are a portion of the fallen daughter of Eve" (Self 2003, p. 1).

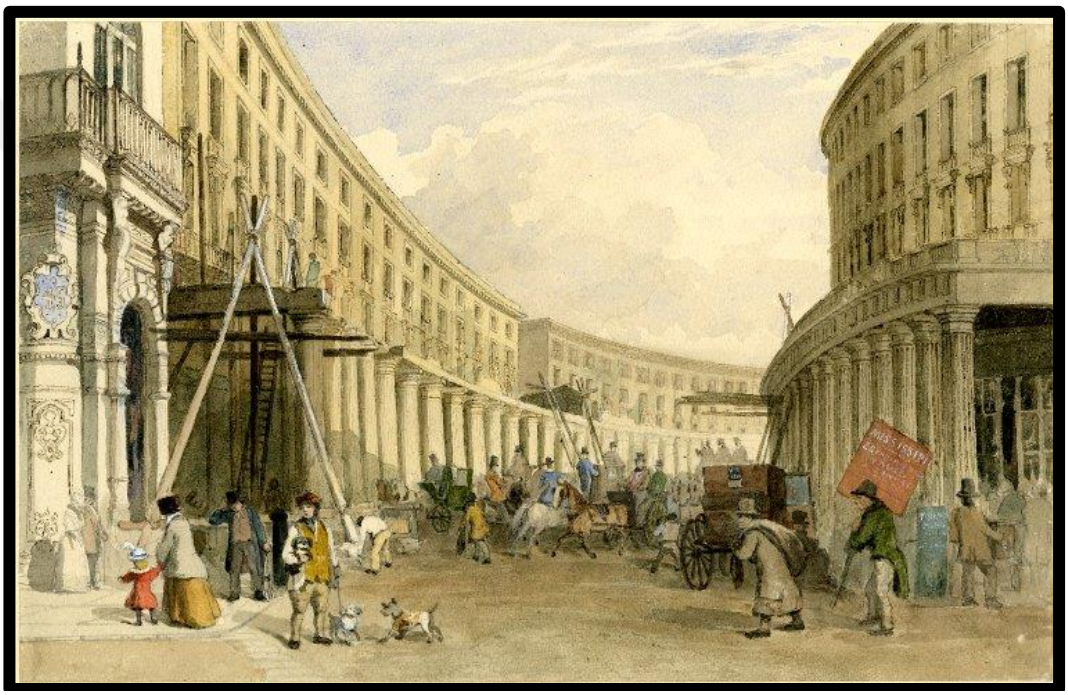
An important point here is that the media started showing unwanted bodies or situations in the Victorian era that were not viewed as so disturbing in the Regency. Besides illustrations, governmental reports and Victorian magazines like *Punch* also published complaints about the immorality of the Quadrant. One of the tenants of the Quadrant, J Field said that:

> *"I am but too anxious to have the opportunity of expressing to you that I consider it to have been the cause of that part of Regent Street being so decidedly inferior, for business purposes or letting, to the other portion of Regent Street; I also wish to state that the covered way is the cause of more vice being endangered than any other street. In what another part of Regent Street will you find so many small and petty shops? Moreover, my opinion is, that if the covering was entirely removed, the Quadrant would be as good, or better than any other portion of Regent Street"* (Field cited on Parliamentary Papers1847, p.169).

Another tenant, John King, shared his criticisms and gave the number of other supporters for removal in his letter as follows, "houses no: 81, 83 89 in Quadrant, Regent Street form a part, to express their approbation of the removal of the colonnade which they considered beneficial for the neighbour" (Parliamentary Papers 1847, p. 173). J.B. White refers to the removal of the colonnade and wrote that, "I think it would greatly improve the value of this property by inducing a better class of tenants to inhabit some of the houses, to whom the Colonnade has afforded a shelter for gambling and prostitution" (White cited on Parliamentary Papers 1847, p. 167). Many of these complaints by the 1840s directly referred to vice in the Quadrant. It only took thirty years for Regent Street, more specifically, the Quadrant to become the location for immoral activities. It was a painful and disappointing new situation for those who remembered it as a fashionable and noble place. Finally, letters of complaint and criticisms were answered by the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Woods with agreement for the demolition and deconstruction of the Quadrant in 1848 as can be seen

in figure 5.30. However, it is quite uncertain as to who was the real owner of the media and main manipulator that lay behind the pressure to start the reconstruction of the Quadrant. It might have been Queen Victoria herself who was not satisfied with her uncle King George IV and his reputation, or perhaps was worried about her own reputation as a role model for her nation. It might have been the traders or patrons who supported the government and needed to generate more income from the land of the Quadrant.

Figure 5.30: Deconstruction of the Quadrant 1848

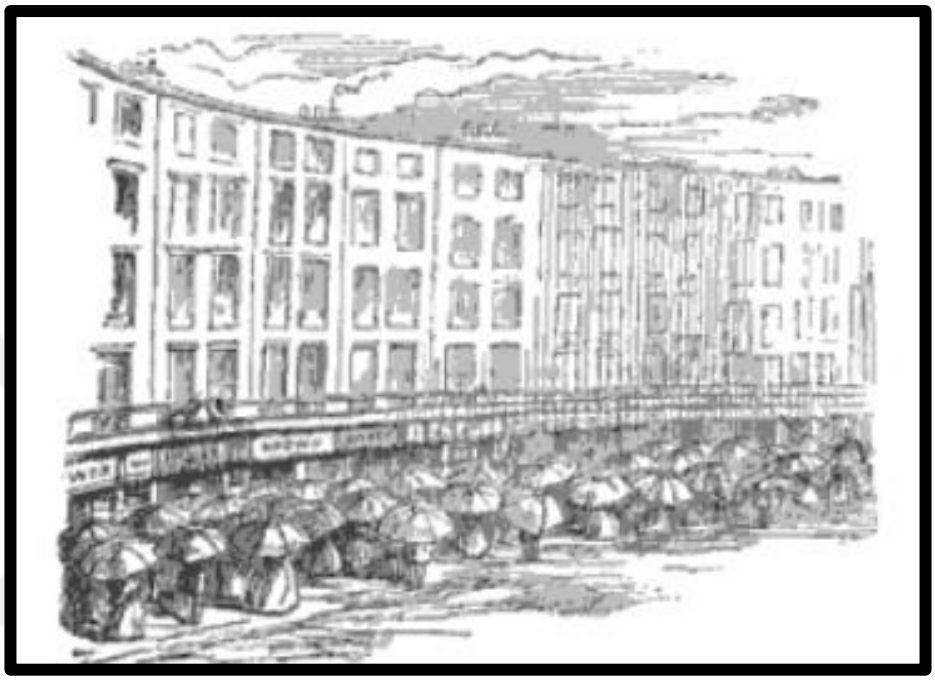


Source:
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=684738001&objectId=3198829&partId=1

Although this removal was not appreciated by those who used to enjoy the shelter it provided on a rainy day, it created another spectacle and an advertisement source for the media. Punch magazine published a piece entitled “THE ROOFLESS QUADRANT” in which the new Quadrant had become a “Shower-Bath.” As people got wet on the rainy days, Punch said that, “hoped that next time we walk under the Quadrant, the Glass above our head will point to dry” (Mayhew& Taylor 1848, p. 26). In another volume, Punch criticised the roofless Quadrant again, and it published a sketch to describe a

"movable colonnade" consisted of the people and their mobile umbrellas. Figure 5.31 shows that individuals who used to walk under the colonnade paid homage to the memory of the arcades and only walked under where the invisible colonnadeso had once stood (Punch vol: 12-15, 270).

Figure 5.31: Punch: the fall of the Quadrant



Source: The Punch Magazine, Punch; Vol XIV, 1848, Fleet Street: London

5.5 NETWORK ASSEMBLAGE

Lefebvre stated that a society, who used a space, had its own symbols and meaning can can be traced back in history. Historical readings are therefore the key to understanding the reproduction of space. For that reason, when a society produces its own space, it actually does so based upon what it owned, what it needed and what was embedded in its culture.

Network 6: showing the relationships between actors and actants

Network 6 demonstates how each member of Regency and later Victorian society were assembled together and linked to each other. This assemblage was anchored in their Roman roots, dating back long before the Regency. Customs, traditions, building systems and lifestyles all are deeply entrenched in a country's history as the components of society (actors and actants) are linked to each other even if they may seem irrelevant. Network 6 represents the relationship between bachelors and prostitutes and how this relationship was facilitated by the Quadrant and its arcade. Although Regent Street was dedicated to the upper clasess, society produced its own space and users in this part of Regent Street. In the end, both sexes and all classes were inextricably tied to each other because of political, cultural and historical reasons.

This chapter has looked at the street with its actors and actants to have an idea about its historical meaning and significance. While Regent Street or specifically the Quadrant was an object to observe, we can see that shopping and commerce had always played a central part in the development of London from when it was a Roman city. Moreover, the relationship between arches, arcades and trade was also based on the structural system of the Romans (since they built these buildings with arches and domes in their

own style). Furthermore, vice and the prostitution had become firmly embedded in traditional life of London, its commerce and commercial spaces. While all arcades had the potential the function of providing shelter for the shopkeepers of goods including female bodies, they differentiated themselves via their materials, techniques or tectonics. Evidently the tectonic relations corresponded to the spirit of the age. The cast iron columns of the Quadrant and huge glass windows of the shops represented the modern and industrial side of England. Nonetheless, industrial aspects of the buildings were the second most common source of complaints leading to its demolition. Thisis because iron caused the Quadrant to expand and its wide shelter blocked windows from receiving sunlight and created a dingy and dark atmosphere. Modern history critic Mark Wigley refers to 19th century Regency architecture as timid and unimaginative and calls those Regency architects cowards. Since industrialisation allowed them to use new material and techniques, they had the opportunity to develop new architectural or structural styles. However, Regency architects preferred an adaptation of traditional styles including the Roman, Gothic and Greek, and their architecture ended up with eclectic but distinctly backward looking style. Therefore, according to Wigley the architecture in the Regency and Victorian eras expressed their "fear" instead of modernity. Furthermore, Wigley believes that the whiteness of the facades masked their indecision and acted as a disguise because painted stucco facades were not there because of necessity but because of the desire to seem like the Elgin Marbles (Wigley 2001, p. 20-60). Therefore neither the building styles nor the choice of colour was a coincidence in Regent Street. Thanks to the Grand Tour and a neoclassical education, or training with Nash, his colonnades in the Quadrant seemed characteristically similar to a Roman arcade whose pilasters or engaged columns are attached to piers carrying an entablature. The arcade in Regent Street was used not to expand the gap but to provide a covered walkway for access to the row of shops. Moreover, that space around those rounded columns was the favourite place for the Regency dandies to see and to be seen. Hence, the theatrical effect of the Quadrant triggered the arrival of the dandies to come and exhibit themselves as well as providing prostitutes with a suitable workplace and a host of clients. While dandies satisfied their narcissistic feelings through exhibiting their bodies, prostitutes used the dark and protective shelter of the Quadrant which was really similar characteristically to the places of vice in London dating back to Roman

times. However, what is invisible in this network is the fact that Regent Street was neither a branch of this network nor the main dominator of this network, the invisible thing is that, Regent Street was designed to perform a a real spectacle since daily life and everyday usage of the space was achieved through the bodies of the performers (actors and actants) as De Certeau said. The actors and actants contributed to commercial and capitalist activity to display modernity besides writing the conceived and perceived space. However, this network put them all on a two dimensional plane where their interaction can only be symbolised by lines, but the crucial thing is understanding the meaning of those lines that are like capillary vessels in a living body. Since vessels and blood are the main networks for circulation and mobility in the body, vessels of the network should be taken as vessels that were performing in touching, seeing, exchanging and sharing the performance for the life cycle of Regent Street. Thus the street has a network system where each member directly or indirectly interacted since modernity brought visibility and awareness into the public realm. They were all the producers of the street and the producer of the modern spectacle where awareness was in the head role.

5.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

For the Quadrant, vice and sex were given for the fundamental reasons for its demolition with the darkness falling on the window displays because of the colonnades being mentioned as a secondary factor. However, it took a specific time process for it to become preceived as an evil space. Nash had never factored into his plans that visitors and users from East London would have anything to do with this famous and noble street. He intentionally designed his street to act as a border for the East as he aimed to create a physical boundary to keep out the poor, and aimed to do so by constructing the arcade and colonnades of the Quadrant. He invited the nobility and gentry to see and be the latest fashions in Regent Street, and the Quadrant provided private balconies and bachelor apartments on its upper levels. These noble ladies and gentlemen were the visible actors in the early years (see chapter 4). However, the street had already been silently used by East Londoners. Remembering the previous chapter, there were many servants, street sweepers, drivers or beggars who performed on the street and they were

necessary to maintain the services in the shops and the appearance of the street. Proportional to the continuous growth in population of the city, the number of East Londoners performing on the street increased as well.

The increasing influence of bachelors or gentlemen of the Quadrant who were addicted to gambling (cards and billiards), triggered vice and debauchery; but these were also gentlemen who were really familiar with the streets of East London. As mentioned before, upper class gentleman could be seen on the Strand and Covent Garden due to commercial reasons, and vice was included in their commerce. The working girls of Covent Garden and the Strand were more than accustomed to the gentlemen of West London. A sharp and precise boundary thanks to Nash's vision with its unified continuous shelter of the Quadrant was meant to create an exclusive atmosphere but it did not turn out that way. On the contrary, making a dark and dim place was an unfortunate and unforeseen part of the project that had direct consequences on how the Quadrant was to be used. Underneath the balconies of the Quadrant, it was too dark for the shop windows to display their wares, in time they were to become more disturbing and distractive because of those unwanted bodies for sale that exhibited themselves in front of the shop windows. Besides being a sign of trade and money, arches and the arcades were the symbols and representations of vice and prostitution not only because of their form but also because of their usage in history from Roman London to Covent Garden Market. Regarding the importance of historical reinterpretation, Lefebvre suggested that, "We should have to look at history itself in a new light. We should have to study not only the history of the space but also the history of the representation, along with that their relationship- with each other, with practice, and with ideology" (Lefebvre 1991, p. 42). When prostitutes relocated and spread from the Strand and Covent Garden to the streets of West London, they once again found arcades and arches to advertise their trade and allow them to conceal themselves when required. Lefebvre stated that "history would have to take in not only the genesis of these spaces but also, and especially, their interconnection, distortions, displacements, mutual interactions and their links with the spatial practice of the particular society or mode of production under consideration"(Lefebvre 1991, p. 42). Therefore choosing the arcades and a shopping street of West London, namely Regent Street, to examine and decipher was not an arbitrary decision. While it tried to present a profile of a clean and exclusive street, it

was also used and visited by all classes of society with the passing oftime. Trading the female body, buying, selling and using it as a product should not seem a surprising activity that took place in the Quadrant of Regent Street, the development that had promised to sell all the latest fashions in every conceivable form.The reputation of the street had changed from the exclusive thoroughfare and singular and unique shelter of the Quadrant of 1818 to a place of vice and prostitution of the 1840s.

In *Flesh and Stone* Sennett described that, awareness and visibility had played an important role in 19th century London. Regent Street and the Quadrant were a leading social spectacle where the power of the nation was exhibited through the products on sale there. Since Marx had witnessed this capitalist playground which was on his own doorstep, he could have been inspired by the commercial life of London when he penned Capital[75]. What is clear with Regent Street is that it presented how modernity was shaped by the public which was in turn manipulated by the media for the sake of consumption and mass production. Thus the reconstruction of Regent Street should also be taken as a marketing strategy of a new performance or spectacle that was underway with the advent of the Victorian era.

[75] https://www.theguardian.com/books/2013/jun/26/karl-marx-nineteenth-century-life-review and also https://www.google.co.uk/amp/s/amp.ft.com/content/04afaf98-57d3-11e6-9f70-badea1b336d4

6. CONCLUSION

The Industrial Revolution in Great Britain was a time of tremendous population expansion and numerous inventions. Moreover, the country's cities grew with new roads and buildings appearing with great regularity. All these developments made early 19th century London a convenient space to investigate the emergence of a modern metropolis. Regent Street, which was constucted during the Regency Period (1811-1837) on the orders of the Prince Regent, had a significant role in understanding the dynamics of this transformation because it produced its own social and political body. Baudelaire and Benjamin believed that modern cities and their new patterns produced a new way of living and prodded urban walkers to discover these places for their own delight and pleasure. In that respect, 19th-century modernity constructed bodies from inside to out, to make them gaze or to become a target of others' gazes. By considering the performance and appearance of the bodies in the different roles they undertook in Regent Street, I took the street as a case study while adopting a role like a flâneur to observe how bodies appeared and interacted in Regent Street and its production.

Since the body metaphor stands for both human and non-human bodies, I specified three main characteristics of a body that performed in the production of Regent Street, a thinker, an emotional or a memorial figure, and an aging or evolutionary system. Each of these corresponded to one phase of the Lefebvrian spatial triad since the appearance of the each of these bodies was providing different insights into each production. The body was a ruler and thinker or intellectual who ordered a space or designed it (Chapter 3), an emotional figure with motions and emotions that moved, ate, tasted, wore, listened, worked and eventually perceived and experienced the universe through their actions (Chapter 4) and was an organism which lived, evolved and died through the course of time (Chapter 5). For each separate term, I analysed the production of space in Regent Street in three ways mainly referring to Lefebvre as well as De Certeau and Soja. The first phase was its conceptual and architectural stage that was produced by the human intellect, the second was its usage and experiences of the human body and its movements, and the third was its lifespan with performative bodies and intellect upon it. These phases corresponded to conceived, perceived and lived space according to the Lefebvrian triad, and they also corresponded to the believable (conceived), the

memorable (perceived), and the primitive (lived) functions ascribed by De Certeau, while Soja called them first (experimental), second (conceptual) and third (lived) space. For each chapter, the body had a different role, but it was always at the centre of this production. I briefly summarised the Regency era in the second chapter, in Chapter 3 King George IV, his architect John Nash and his collaborators were examined to see how the concept of the street was architecturally designed in two-dimensional spaces (maps, drawings and diagrams).

The aim of the production was mainly to show the modern and industrial power of the country with its developments in the construction of its cities, while promoting commercial spectacle that would compete with Napoleon's Paris as much as its dedication to the nobility and gentry in industrial London. Since Napoleon thought that England was only a nation of shopkeepers, he underestimated how dangerous England would be as an enemy in battle. However, the prolonged combat between the two nations was not only founght on the battlefield, but also in the lives and architecture of their two respective capitals. London was therefore to be redesigned to make it as spectacular as Napoleonic Paris. Thus Regent Street immediately made the Prince Regent and his London metroplolis more prominent and highly regarded than ever before by other nations.

In that respect, to show the new urban patterns and developments I analysed maps and drawings, to clarify the scope and scale of the new urban plan for London. Just as Boudleire described a street full of visitors with their costumes and movements (a women and her pearly dress and slow movements), I became a mobile body to perform in Regent Street so as to see its bodies, movements, and objects and to illustrate visual networks among these contributors that helped me to narrate the story of the street. To do so, ANT was my tool to knit together the network from conceived space to lived space. Accordingly, ANT first helped me to comprehend and reveal the relationship amongst generators of space such as its patron (the Prince Regent), architects (Nash, Burton, Soane and others), developers, builders, landowners and tenants. Then in the second phase, an intellectual body has been taken to be the explorer through their daily performance in the city. So I continued knitting together my network, while perceiving architectural space through bodies with their skins, costumes, movements, buildings and behaviours, as outlined in Chapter 4.

Since bodies were signifiers that stand for signs, semiotics aided me to decode them. Male dominance of the Regency economy and politics was linked to their appearance with the machine-like look of the dandy style. They represented modernity through their full-length trousers, white shirts and dark coloured jackets, and their bodies became mobile machines. Although women did not seem as modern as men in terms of their appearance, their modern attire was the signifier of early modernity with their lightness and fluidity in which they could move more freely in contrast with heavy, 18th century dresses. I observed neoclassical buildings with their eclectic stucco facades that were the reference point for the Empire dresses of Regency ladies, sourced on the Grand Tour. Also, learning to dance the waltz from Germans and practising it with modern outfits was a good example of how the Grand Tour, cultural interaction and modern bodies were aligned and intertwined. Moreover, this chapter enabled me to touch upon the gender issue in Regency society as an auxillary discussion in relation to masculine (patriarchal) spaces like gambling houses and gentlemen's clubs where women's bodies were not invited although they became slightly more apparent due to their mobility within the metropolis (for example in the Bank building in East London). Thus the performance of perceived space was established by the perceptions and displays of human and non-human bodies in the spectacle of Regent Street.

After that in Chapter 5, I looked at Regent Street as a live organism that was born in 1818, grew up while being experienced and consumed by various agencies until it became older, and in certain segments, died. In 1848 the colonnades of the Quadrant were pulled down and I view this demolition as a death and the end of its lifespan. The role of ANT here was both describing the new actors that played a leading role in this transformation while knitting together them into the existing network with regard to the time they appeared.

For example, perceived space concerned the actors who used the street and generated memories. They were mostly from the upper class since the notes and illustrations mostly depicted and described them more clearly. However, users of the street had changed slightly from perceived to lived space and by belonging to various classes, a process that took about fifteen years. When Latour (1991) said "give me a gun and I will move all buildings", he was clearly referring to the importance of time as an actant

that has a role in the transformation of space and that makes space alive and dynamic or even mobile.

In the fifth chapter I searched for the reason why the Quadrant was demolished and Regent Street was required to be redefined. Since prostitution and the bachelor lounges of the Quadrant were the main cause for this alteration, I explained this process through how society took control over and produced its own space. Even more evidently, it was the process by which lower class bodies and immoral (prostitute) bodies became visible in this West London street, and this awareness was the main cause of the complaints. With the enthronment of Queen Victoria, patriarchal Regency had shifted to matriarchal, which created its own spatial imprints like the deconstruction of the Quadrant.

By considering the relationship between time and space, this chapter also dealt with the transformation of space in terms changes in politics and government. Since the architectural production of Regent Street was a political performance from the very beginning of its construction, I tried to understand what kind of spectacle it promised for its political bodies (remembering Arendt's (1958) political bodies) with its reproduction. Referring to Debord and his seminal book, Society of Spectacle, I tried to analyse Regent Street as a society of spectacle where the media and politics were the main powers that used and manipulated modern cities and where society acted as a mere marionette to present a puppetry performance. While invisible strings used prints and news to change public awareness, it took the role of the puppeteer to reproduce its own spectacle.

Following all the analyses I have made thus far, what I would like to mention here is the relationship between the notion of the spectacle and the modern metropolis, and where Regent Street stood in this phenomenon. As it was previously seen in Chapters four and five, the concept of a modern metropolis was closely associated with both the public and private spaces of East and West London (the Royal Exchange, the Burlington Arcade, gentlemen's clubs, bachelor lounges etc.). Also in Egan's book (chapter 5), visual scenes were depicting both public spectacles and private spaces to inform society, both literate and illiterate. While concluding this thesis, I will try to comment first on increasing awareness within Regency society, particularly Regent Street itself, through visibility, by seeing and being seen; secondly, to what extent Regent Street offered public and private spaces and what bodily performances took place there to emphasise

the role of the Regency period in the transition of encounters between actors and actants in the light of the previous chapters.

The dramatic population increase at the beginning of the 19th century in London led to a widening gap between the social classes and the city was separated into different groups including the aristocracy, the working class and the lower class. While the upper class mainly occupied West London, the working and lower classes were in the East and the City where London was first established in Roman times. This separation was distinctly drawn on London maps and also on the clothing of Londoners in the illustrations of that period (Chapters 2 and 3). In the early prints of Regent Street, (Chapter four on perceived space), the lower classes were depicted as dark and unrecognisable in order to distinguish them from upper classes that were more prominent and colourful since the street was dedicated to the nobility and gentry. The very early versions of flâneurs were ramblers who walked through the city for pleasure. Ramblers who were performing in each corner of the metropolis mostly belonged to the upper class, an had the right and the money to enter any space. Thus, the readers can see these bachelors as ramblers, who walk like a spy through this adventure. As Sennett described modern Western cities as places where human bodies were aware of one another's flesh (Sennett 1996, p. 21), Regent Street can be taken as a prosperous place where modern Regency society was constructed by seeing touching and being aware of each other.

In addition to that, what made Regency London a modern metropolis can also be explained through its commercial and early capitalist aspects. Sennet in his essay, Metropolis and Mental Life, described the metropolis through its monetary economy because:

> *"the many-sidedness and commercial activity have given the medium of exchange and importance which it could not have acquired in the commercial aspects of rural life… money is concerned only with what is common to all, with exchange value which reduces all quality and individuality to a purely quantitative level. All emotional relationship between persons rests of individuality, whereas intellectual relationships deal with persons as with numbers, that is, as with elements which, in themselves, are different, but which are of interest only insofar only as they offer something objectively perceivable"* (Simmel 1903, p. 12).

The modern metropolis named people according to their position in the economy as servants, merchants, buyers or working class, middle class or upper class, in the Regency. Therefore multiple places presented various spectacles in which social classes could create an intimate and intellectual relationship with each other. Hence, awareness meant being conscious of the position of the self in the public realm by always taking money into account to classify people and their role in this spectacle.

As can be understood from the works of current and preceding scholars, there is still an ongoing debate in search of the meaning of public and private space. What is clear about this discussion is that human bodies and their statues or roles in society have a central role to describe and categorise the public/private realm. Russell defined the meaning of public and private space in her book *The Politics of Public Space in Republican Rome*. Since Latin domi stood for "in" and foras for "out", domestic and private places are associated with "in" while public spaces are with "foras or forum". Moreover, the forum did not have a single proprietor since it was a space of visibility and surveillance (Russell 2016, p. 43-44). On the other hand, Hénaff and Strong described private space (or in) with people who were acknowledged as having the right to establish criteria which have to be met by someone else to enter it. For example, private meetings or ballrooms are described as spaces where the right to enter is proscribed and decided by those who have established who may enter. Therefore statutes, ownership and standards separate private spaces from the public that are open to anyone. By considering being in or out and how to meet criteria to get in through visibility and surveillance, public and private spaces can be followed in Regent Street where the upper and lower class met and interacted with each other, or where both classes were seen together without interaction or where only upper-class members performed with intimate contacts and friends. In light of the previous chapters about the production of social space, I will now comment on how public or private Regent Street was.

In addition to the public spaces like opera houses, shops and exhibitions (dioramas), Regent Street consisted of shops on the ground level and private residences and offices on the upper levels. Therefore it covered various dimensions of both public and private spaces. As stated previously, the Regency public and private spaces were not based on whether activities took place inside or outside, but the true criteria were related to which

social classes were excluded (most of the time, according to their wealth). Rendell, in her book, *Pursuit of Pleasure: Gender, Space and Architecture in Regency London*, scrutinised gendered spaces in Regency London. She also indicated that the meaning of public and private was not related to sensuality and intimacy or inside and outside since activities might change location from inside to outside (Rendell, 2002, p. 24). Her book deals with gender issues by analysing space according to the presence of both sexes in these places. In this present thesis, in addition to gender issues, I tried to analyse the same spaces to comprehend social interactions between the classes so as to investigate awareness and bodily relationships in different architectural locations of Regency society. For instance, upper class men had the freedom to interact freely in the streets of both East and West London, whereas this freedom could not be utilised by lower class men because they could not afford the activities took place in the West, nor even sometimes in the East. Moreover, many of these activities excluded upper class ladies for moral reasons, while lower class women had more freedom than upper-class women in such respects.

The level of privacy was changing from activity to activity since sometimes sources of pleasure were only available to those who could afford it. The upper classes were able to buy goods, enjoy shopping and dine; having money was the entrance ticket to perform in the private activities like wine tasting and gambling. This priority made Regency spaces more private than public. We must consider that many shops on Regent Street were only addressing upper class needs, consequently activities in those shops could only be performed by upper class bodies. It may even be said that Regent Street was a quasi-gender neutral place accessible for both ladies and gentlemen and could be claimed that shopping was essentially a class based activity. While being a public activity for the upper class, shopping was only a spectacle to watch from a distance for the lower classes.

Another example to epitomise this public/private dichotomy was the bachelor lounges in the Quadrant. Those units did not only facilitate intimate relationships, but they were flexible to adapt to performances. As was previously mentioned in the Chapter five, the bachelor lounges of the Quadrant were used as love nests that were visited by ladies from East London. Also many of these flats were gambling houses which were only avalible for those who had money.

Rendell explains that, indoor and outdoor venues were flexible and that this very flexibility intersected public with private, or vice versa (Rendell, 2002, 24). For that reason, shops were neither fully open to everyone nor flats enirely exclusive to any one group. Moreover, it is important to rememeber that Regent Street was a lineated space itself and buildings were only elements to describe that path. As a path, spine or artery, it specified an axis that took human bodies from the city to Regent's Park in the North. Thus even if the buildings and shops were private or semi-private, the body of the street was an open place that ended with another open place, Regent's Park.

Nash's decision to have a park at the end of his magnificent Street was not a random choice, as Sennett argued, modern cities were constructed in a similar way to our understanding of the human body and making discoveries through it. He highlighted a particular book; *Exercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis et Sanguinis in Animalibus* (1628) (Latin for "An Anatomical Exercise on the Motion of the Heart and Blood in Living Beings by William Harvey (1578-1657) to explain the relationship between the parallel developments of the human body and cities. Harvey's book explained how blood was pumped around the body, and he proved the "double circulation"[76]. Harvey's discoveries were used to develop 18th century urban spaces by taking blood circulation as a reference point and the respiration of the lungs as a necessity for a human being (Sennett 1996, p. 22). Moreover, along with blood circulation, skin was found playing an important role since it also allows the body to breathe through its pores (Chapter 4). Therefore the skin played a specific part in the use of hygienic treatments and dressing of the body. These treatments can be followed in Chapter four as neoclassical dresses, toilets and pavements, which were the actants of perceived space in the Regency. Cotton, silk and muslin were worn more loosely, while streets were covered with granite flagstone to keep them clean them from urine and faeces since England had the opportunity and capacity to develop its fabrics and stones in industrial factories. London was the first place where this new urban infrastructural establishment was developed, which helped with the free breathing of healthy human bodies. English parks were really important for the public not only for health concerns and for getting fresh, air but also for communication and entertainment purposes. When Regent Street was first proposed, it included plans for Regent's Park as a Royal park at

[76] He explains blood circulates from the heart to lungs then returns to the heart to re-circulate in a closed system.

the North end of the street. However, Nash suggested the park should be a place for the upper classes since there were many private villas designed for rent for private usage, while the Colosseum (see Chapter 5) offered an exhibition for those who wanted to see a huge panoramic view of London.

As Rendell emphasised, the flexibility of public and private in the Regency was both indoors and outdoors. A similar approach could be seen in other parks in London such as Hyde Park, Green Park and Vauxhall Gardens that were open to the public, however the upper classed could rent residential units surrounding them to use for their own private occasions such as using the park for sport, hobbies, private picnics, tea parties and balls in those parks.

I believe the images that I have selected from the beginning until the end of this research reveal that the Regency metropolis symbolised unity coupled with variety at the same time. A gap between the social classes did not mean the full separation of the public and private realms since they all became aware of one another because of the *mobility* on offer within the city. For that reason, I would like to underline *mobility* as another important keyword of this research besides *awareness and seeing* and *touching* each other. If there had been no movement from East to West and West to East, this awareness and contact would not have been so effective. The necessity of mobility triggered more nuanced and developed social relations and interactions. People satisfied their curiosity about the other classed by seeing their life or places they frequented. Moreover, it sewed the seeds of greater communication, which was the most important skill for trade to prosper.

Evidently, Regent Street was an urban project that eased mobility in the city, despite Nash's initial concept of limiting the access from the East, I can now confidently say that Regent Street performed like a small scale metropolis in itself with its own public and private spaces. It was like a vein, an artery which pumped the bodies inside to reach the lungs, Regent's Park. It was a clean, respiratory place that was nurturing healthy bodies. Each of its buildings was like the vertebra of a spine with their multifunctional flexibility. The shops on the ground floors and houses on upper levels invited lower class and working class inside to serve an upper class clientele where they naturally met and communicated for the sake of commerce. Multifunctionality enabled a range of private living units in the shape of bachelor lounges to be used for private meetings,

billiards, gambling and love affairs with mistresses or prostitutes that also challenged the meaning of private and contributed to the transgression of public/private dichotomy. There were offices, hotels, dioramas, exhibitions, opera houses and a music hall that merged to form public spaces with people from various backgrounds and nations. Therefore the body of Regent Street was a metropolis that included both a public and a private space in itself.

Regent Street cannot only be described as a public or private space but also as a creator of a blasé attitude where individuals saw too many different things all together that were produced and supplied. Simmel explained that *blasé* is a metropolitan attitude whose essence is indifference towards the distinction between things. Not in the sense that they are not perceived by the senses as is the case of mental dullness, but rather that the meaning and the value of the distinction between things, and consequently of the things themselves, are experienced as meaningless (Simmel 1976, p.14). A wide range of products were linked to "how much questions" that melted the separation between objects and subjects or clothes and prostitutes that were sold on Regent Street. Whatever was sold there, whether flesh or food, contributed to the reputation of the street where a vast array of products were available for buyers. Therefore, Marx and his Capital can also be traced to the metropolitan body that was Regent Street. Although the reproduction of the street corresponded to the political transformations from Regency to Victorian London, I believe that it was not only a political act, but also a production of a new spectacle which was a new marketing strategy rather than an ethical decision, since prostitution had always been a familiar subject for London and its shelters. For that reason, the shelter of the Quadrant was demolished to provide another spectacle and as a marketing tool that needed its own "how much?" question for reconstruction, while this reconstruction also generated new audiences of its own.

Consequently, I discovered that role of human and non-human bodies had blended in the Regency since both of them contributed to the production of space with their presences. As the Industrial Revolution inserted machines and demanded objects like Marxist fetish objects[77] into our lives, modern cities were conceptualised by humans,

[77] The idea of the fetish has a particular presence in the writings of both Marx and Freud. It implies for these two theorists of the social, a particular form of relation between human beings and objects. In the work of both the idea of the fetish involves attributing properties to objects that they do not 'really' have and that should correctly be recognised as human. Marx's account of fetishism addresses the exchange-value of commodities at the level of the economic relations of production.

perceived through both human and non-human entities and reproduced for human and non-human bodies. As an early version of this urban production, Regent Street was designed by Nash under the auspices of the Prince Regent (human actors). The perceptions of the street were mainly based on the buildings, goods, furniture and industrial inventions (non-human entities), human emotions and perceptions excepted. The everyday process of the street was essentially concerned with the maintenance of commerce and exchange via the buyers and sellers of goods. It was therefore a very good example of capitalist society that reproduced the space for this maintenance. At this point, it can be deduced that modernity and modern cities produced not only visible human bodies like ramblers, walkers or flâneurs, but also visible and even mobile (exchangeable) non-human bodies. . That is why I relied on ANT as a useful instrument to show this interaction among different bodies rather than trying to prove the superiority of human beings. It can be concluded that the creation of Regent Street was a production of an early modern, social and political spectacle where different bodies merged and dissolved into each other. Thus public/private, indoor/outdoor, morality/ immorality, buyers/sellers and all others became aware of each other, though they were never specifically or officially separated from each other .

Arendt's (1958) discussion on the political body asserted that our liveliness was linked to our visibility in the social realm because our mobility and performances in the cities were not only to see but also to be seen by others. Since visibility was a condition to prove self-presence and even dependence, it was valid for early 19th century London. Thus the city became a society of spectacle to show its power in commerce and its economy and to be viewed as the financial capital of the world.

While I reread the history of this early modern city and the lifestyles of Regency London, I tried to revisit its architectural settings by referring to Regency prints and diaries. Therefore it was a beginning for me in learning how to approach and analyse visual data to reach academic, and more importantly, architectural outcomes. Since there are rich archives at the Victoria & Albert Museum - Print and Drawings and the

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https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/68098.pdf It consists of Marx's having seen human relations underneath relations between things, revealing the illusion in human consciousness which originated in the commodity economy and which assigned to things characteristics which have their source in the social relations among people in the process of production. https://libcom.org/library/i-marxs-theory-commodity-fetishism

British Museum - Prints Collections, this research can be expanded from the Regency to later periods in order to read architectural history through its images.

The theoretical framework of this thesis was supported by various thinkers and philosophers including Lefebvre (Spatial trilogy), De Certeau, Soja, Latour (ANT), Barthes- Strauss (Semiotics), Freud, Marey, Marx, Sennett, Debord and others. It used ANT (actor-network theory) as a tool to read and reveal the networks between various human and nonhuman entities that contributed to the production of space and were necessary to weave society together as a cohesive text. As I had to scan and skim the Regency sources as much as possible, I realised that gender appears to be one of the most controversial and fruitful areas of research, and I refer readers to Rendell's comprehensive work that focuses on gendered spaces in the Regency. Although I tried to hint at the importance of this issue, I haven not fully focused on gendered spaces in Regent Street. For that reason, I think that shops, apartments, offices, carriages and all the other objects that helped me to knit together the network in Regent Street can be used to analyse gendered spaces for further research.

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Figure 2.14: Left: Cornucopia, Right: Steel Collar
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Figure 3.8: Regents Park, Swallow Street and West End
Greenwood, C., Crace, F., 1827. *Map of London, from an actual survey made in the years 1824, 1825 & 1826 / by C. and J. Greenwood;engraved by James & Josiah Neele, 352 Strand.* London: Published by proprietors, Greenwood, Pringle &, 13 Regent Street, Pall Mall. Permission by British Library Map and Manuscripts Achieves, Unpublished.

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http://archslidetest.blogspot.co.uk/2011/01/regent-street-urban-plan.html (accessed 12 Jan 2015)

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Figure 3.22: Zoom into Upper Regent Street
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Figure 3.23: Tallis's Regent Street view from Upper Regent Street
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Figure 4.3: View in Regent Street, looking south, towards the quadrant, Piccadilly; Published by Ackermann, 1822
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Figure 4.4: Following the Fashion, Print made by James Gillray, 1794
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Figure 4.5: *Long corks or the bottle companions*, by: Matthew Darly, 1777
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Figure 4.13: *Exhibition Stare Case in Royal Academy*, by Thomas Rowlandson, 1811
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Figure 4.14: Panniers, 18th century English Court Dress (1750)
https://18centurybodies.wordpress.com/2013/06/05/the-fashion-for-panniers-in-the-18th-century/ (accessed 16 Apr 2016)

Figure 4.15: Waltzing! by Isaac Robert Cruikshank, 1816.
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=1593957001&objectId=3020259&partId=1
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Figure 4.17: United Service Military Club House, Haymarket Theatre, & part of the Opera Colonnade, by William Wallis, 1827
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Figure 4.18: View of a mansion in a park, Southgate Grove, Middlesex; Drawn by Humphrey Repton, 1752-1818
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Figure 4.19: Italian Opera House, London, by Anonymous
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Figure 4.20: Waterloo Place, Carlton House, by Thomas Sutherland, 1817
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Figure 4.21: The Duke of York's Column, Athenaeum and United Service Clubs, by Anonymous
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Figure 4.24: View of the Quadrant in Regent Street, with the County Fire Office on the right 1833, by Anonymous
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Figure 4.27: St George's Chapel, Regent Street, 1827, by James Tingle
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Figure 4.32: The Bow Window at White's
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Figure 4.34: Plan (left-a) and Section (right-b) of the Opera
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Figure 4.35: Hatter from Regent Street London 1845-89, by William Dickes
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Figure 4.40: Sewer System installing in Piccadilly (intersection between Quadrant and Lower Regent Street)
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Figure 4.41: *Wet Under Foot*, by Thomas Rowlandson, 1812
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Figure 5.2: Byrsa Londinensis, vulgo The Royall Exchange of London, by: Wenceslaus Hollar 1644
http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=738655001&objectId=3238987&partId=1
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Figure 5.7: *Brummell as an old man*
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Figure 5.15: *Quite Well Again* by Jl. Marks 1820
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Figure 5.20: Harris's List of Covent Garden Ladies, a 18th-century guide to prostitutes
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Figure 5.21 (left), 5.22 (right): Colosseum Regents Park and its interior
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Figure 5.27 (left) 5.28 (right): The advertisement of the dentist in Regent Street & the advertisement of store for mineral water in 147- Regent Street
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Figure 5.29: The Quadrant, Regent Street 1838
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Figure 5.31: Punch: the fall of the Quadrant
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