War and the City: Impact, Consequences and Perception of Britain Defence Program on the London Urban Fabric Within the Napoleonic Wars Until Today

Maritza Prosdocimi

Independent Researcher, Como, Italy

Email address:
maritza.prosdocimi@gmail.com

Abstract: The article aims to trace the modalities, causes and effects of the presence of military barracks in London's urban factory by exploring the historical context in which the urgent need to reorganise the British army and defence structures in view of a possible invasion by Napoleon originated. The contingency also provides an opportunity for the government to intervene in the national identity question by helping to forge the rhetoric of martiality in which the barracks typology participates by exasperating the ambiguity of the national programme and the rhetoric promulgated. At a time when Europe is shaken by the French Revolution and with growing concern observes the increase in hostility on the part of France, Britain, tried by the loss of its American colonies, becomes a protagonist in the theatre of war that will shake the continent for twenty years. At the same time, the concrete threat of invasion by Napoleon with his Armée des côtes de l'Océan calls for a sudden logistical reorganisation of the land army that includes the adaptation and construction of defensive architecture as well as housing the military forces. This effort participates in a programme of a national character aimed at centralising the different psychological, as well as social and political lines, with the objective of appeasing the animosities and fears that agitate the Nation and, at the same time, exploits the state of war as a conveyor of collective sentiments capable of corroborating British identity and welding the myth of the nation to that of naval military power. In doing so, the government strategy determines a phase of British architectural production still divided between the punctual intervention on the single factory and the foundation of the urban discipline capable of operating on the London grid on a large scale. The search for a national architectural language, the commissioning of monumental works as well as the promotion of urban planning works is capable of restoring the glorious image of the capital, however, seems to overshadow another presence, of equally architectural and symbolic value yet indispensable to the contingent military needs as to the programme of national cohesion, namely the barracks. Ultimately, without deepen the specific architectural typology of barracks, the article defines the historical trace by which, at the end of the 18th century, the military device, now assimilated by London's urban culture, entered the city, appropriating the places of greatest symbolic value.

Keywords: Napoleonic Wars, Martiality, Nationalism, Barracks, Urban Planning

1. Introduction

Summarising the years of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars with reference to the British perspective is a difficult task. It is a context strongly determined by the state of war in which Britain is a protagonist - in which the balance of its military strength is confirmed, contested between a weakness of the land army compared to naval power - and experienced in the transformation of the collective national sentiments brought together by the fear of Revolution to the fear of invasion and which, in the light of all the implications of intellectual reworking and contemporary public debate, can be organised on three levels: the political, the economic and the psychological ones.

In political terms, the work of the Tory party, condensed in the hands of William Pitt since 1783, is confronted with the urgency of organising a shield system of defence against the possible consequential social effects of the revolutionary waves that deflagrate from France towards the continent as far as the colonies, by means of a general tightening of legislation

[1], the need to define a defensive strategy against the aggressiveness of the French army and, at the same time, in terms of domestic policy, to hold firm against the attacks of the other great protagonist of the public affairs, Charles James Fox, leader of the Whig opposition. The iron fist adopted by the prime minister also has consequential effects on economic policy. In order to cope with the rising costs of the war, the government inaugurates a period marked by the issuing of new and varied taxes, the Blue Devils [2] destined to wear down John Bull, that, as the iconographic metaphor repeatedly elaborated in coeval prints shows, translates into a generalised and transversal malaise. The result is a climate of social control, aided by martial rhetoric and patronised by sovereign George III who, scarred by the loss of the American colonies and undermined in his health, sees in Pitt's management the only solution capable of preserving the integrity of England.

From a strategic point of view, the instances promoted by the government run on a thread potentially detrimental to its own stability, were it not for the fact that the spectre of regency, capable of destabilising party balances, combined with the strong psychological pressure stirred up by the climate of high war tension manages to preserve the institutional order. With the exception of the brief Addington government, for over twenty years there were three constants: the leadership of the nation assigned to Pitt and the Tories, an exasperated war climate and the growing military threat from France, England's hereditary enemy [3].

The encounter between these levels constitutes the condition for building unity as much as control of the nation, implementing an implicit national programme that finds its own legitimacy in the state of war, and it is possible to detect a parallelism with the interventions imposed on the urban fabric of London, on a scale as extensive as it is capillary, if one wants to understand them as participants in the scheme aimed at corroborating the construction of a national identity image based on a rhetoric of war, namely heroism.

2. Threat of Invasion

2.1. Perception of the Danger

"[…] even when the French fleet for a while sailed the Channel it was not starvation but invasion that we had to fear, and the danger soon passed. And so it was again in the Napoleonic Wars. The fact that our island grew most of its own food and also commanded the paths of the ocean was the dual basis - Of Britain's calm felicity and power." [4].

The threat of invasion, in the years between 1795 and 1815, caused Britain tremendous concern in terms of national pride as much as actual awareness of its military capability.

The eventuality of a conquest by the foreign enemy is something that the nation has repeatedly faced, but it is from the Seven Years' War, thirty years earlier, that the danger is not so near and concrete. What is singular in the context under examination is that, while in 1795, the danger of invasion is interpreted as an eventuality and defensive operations are understood as purely preventive, the French initiative of 1803

is well established. While British intelligence is on constant alert, France has no interest in keeping the invasion a mystery [5].

The news, in fact, spreads abruptly also aided by the numerous prints that, without going into detail on this far-reaching theme, reflect the outburst of a general hysteria and the need to exorcise its effects. What is essential to note is the variation in the themes represented: initially subjects captured from the infra-national context and of a mostly political-social character, then veering towards an explication of anti-French sentiments through a satirical mockery of danger and participating, in fact, in a system of latent or involuntary propaganda immediately endorsed by the government and exasperated by the allegories of the seraphic John Bull against the neurotic Little Boney.

One fact must also be remembered: if the Egyptian Campaign ended in a shared victory between England and the Ottoman Empire, the scale of the enterprise demonstrates the extent of the aggression achieved by France and, by now, the identification of the nation in the figure of Napoleon with his army. Similarly, for England, the outcome of the campaign is the occasion to identify its champion initiating a process of veneration of Admiral Nelson, confidence in its sea army and, following the ferocious conduct demonstrated at Jaffa, a distortion in the perception of the figure of Napoleon who changes from a fearsome general to a ruthless commander whose actions determine the definitive corruption of every revolutionary principle [6]. It becomes evident that the crasis between representation and nation incorporates an essential and turning point in the collective perception of the facts, namely that revolutionary ideals - the inalienability of human rights and equality - have now been overturned and, in fact, the reasons for the conflict consist in opposing the expansionist aims of Napoleonic, and no longer revolutionary, France.

2.2. Defence Program Meets Architecture

The British nation prepared for the imminence of war on its own soil, a circumstance averted since the Glorious Revolution, and it did so in a muscular manner: in logistical terms - the sudden relocation of the arsenals, militarily - the reorganisation of the army and the relative placement of soldiers, and in concrete terms - the construction and extension of defences and structures of a military nature, thus going through a decisive phase in its architectural as well as urban planning.

The affirmation of typologies - residential and military, the leap in design scale from the single estate to the portion of the city, the encounter between engineering and urban planning disciplines aimed at producing new responses to the pressing needs of the defence programme on a national scale find substance and modalities framed by the rigid English bureaucratic-administrative machine supported by political as much as economic strategies, demonstrating the programme's attachment to the architectural world with the consequent urban planning traces discernible in the explication of an attitude proper to the phenomenon of war, that is, defence.

3. Organising the Defence

3.1. The Brief Peace of Amiens

The year 1802 was determined by the signing of the Treaty of Amiens between Great Britain and France, both desirous of a truce, but the peace accorded was fragile and the only objective capable of guaranteeing it was to give the powers time to reorganise themselves militarily and strategically until the declaration of war by England, unnerved by the persistent acts of French demonstrations of hostility, just the following year looming over a conflict on the economic level, the control of trade routes, and therefore of a maritime nature. In fact, the years especially characterised by the threat of invasion were those between 1803 and 1805 which coincided with a French confidence in expansionism on land and sea and Napoleon's desire to radically confront Britain by organising an amphibious operation from the English Channel.

3.2. Unstable Internal Politics

In the meantime the fall of the Pitt government, resigned following the sovereign's lack of support for the issue of Catholic Emancipation - promised by the prime minister in the context of the signing of the Acts of Union in 1800 and aimed at unifying the English and Irish parliaments and, especially, unifying their armies [7] - made way for the new government led by Henry Addington. Despite the brevity of his mandate [8], Addington was faced with the responsibility of having promoted the peace treaty, where the Pitt government had worked in the opposite direction, with the scepticism of the nation regarding the terms of the Peace, with the ephemeral continental balance marked by the French aegis, with the continuation of the economic policy aimed at guaranteeing the necessary revenue for military expenditure and the strengthening of the Navy.

However, if the new government is criticised for having placed Britain in a defensive position compared to the security shown by France, the most relevant aspect of Addington's handling is that of having foreseen another danger besides that of invasion, namely the possibility of social unrest resulting from the landing of enemy soldiers [9]. Defence becomes, therefore, necessary and indispensable in terms of the conflict as much as the social implications for the nation.

In the governmental instability, in the collective tension and in the light of scandals involving military and political figures [10], unity is found in the common and transversal danger, guaranteeing its national character.

3.3. The Architecture Role

On a social level, a phenomenon of patriotic afflatus occurs which, as we shall see, will have repercussions in the urban planning contingency and coincides with the formation of voluntary armies, as redundant as they are dangerous to the balance of internal control and with repercussions also in architectural terms. There is the affirmation of typologies to contain the exponential increase of the army, barracks as arsenals, the displacement of planning and engineering efforts in coherence with the increase of the threat: from the Kent coast between 1803 and 1808 to those of Essex and Suffolk between 1809 and 1812 [11] with a progressive placement of structures towards London, from the eastern suburbs to the heart of the capital. This was the moment when the potential of the urban factory as a showcase capable of condensing and conveying messages as symbolic as they were national was realised.

In practical terms, the defence of the coastline, coupled with the reorganisation and expansion of the military apparatus and the fear that London might be Napoleon's ultimate goal, provides the opportunity to bring portions of the army closer to the city for defensive purposes as much as preventive against the subversive climate there.

4. The Military Device and the City

4.1. The Movement of Defence from Coasts to the Capital

At the dawn of the invasion, England delineated its forces on two fronts: the army on land, the result of a race to stem the unpreparedness stemming from its status as an island and historically not predisposed to infantry military clashes, and the navy, which although plagued by scandals of financial mismanagement was instead established and recognised on the continent.

The programme of reorganisation on a national scale, guaranteed by the parallel economic policies, is oriented in two directions: that intended for the coordination of the logistical apparatus and that aimed at managing the army. The first, of a bureaucratic nature, is under the close supervision of the Board of Ordnance, a body destined to control and replenish the arsenals, intensify territorial sounding instruments through a drastic increase in the activity of monitoring and returning territorial maps [12], intensify or restructure defence structures. The second, as much logistical as governmental in character, is subordinate to the War Office, aimed at resolving the fundamental issue of the management of armed resources as well as anticipating and containing possible social unrest linked to a sudden swelling of the population whose rearmament presents the urgency of control and containment.

From the coast to the city, different architectural typologies imposed themselves, from the affirmation of the martello towers to the adaptation of the training camps, from the design of the Royal Military Canal to the reinforcement and expansion of the arsenals, with particular concentration on the Woolwich Arsenal [13] due to its size and strategic position with respect to the access route on the Thames as well as its proximity to the capital and, above all, the intensification of the construction of barracks and stables in a meeting between military and civil genius as well as between architectural and engineering disciplines. The result is the dissemination of military structures on the ground with an ambivalent character: as territorial as it is capillary and with a course that from the south-east coast, reasonably the first to have to counter France's amphibious operation, touches Woolwich to reach

the heart of London.

4.2. Ordering the Army

In comparative terms, the military preparedness of the two nations is unequal: the sudden interventions combined with the naval build-up, economic stability and political order reveal a great distance between England and France. But the latter possesses a fundamental weapon, namely confidence in its army, ordered and framed once the tensions linked to the imposition of the levée en masse promulgated by the Convention in 1793 had been resolved, such that Napoleon can count on men prepared for battle on land and, above all, dedicated to the cause [14].

As mentioned above, arming the nation, and thus contemplating the logistical aspect of the management of military resources, has a strong social implication, as two major alignments now coexist on British soil, the regular army and the volunteer army, the coexistence of which generates a consuming clash of polarised perceptions and identities between governmental centralisation and local communities.

A hundred and thirty thousand soldiers permanently stationed on British soil were joined, in the last years of the 18th century, by almost double the number of volunteers to reach, at the threshold of the invasion only a few years later, almost five hundred thousand [15]. The volunteers, who flocked from all over the British Isles, were motivated by a patriotic spirit, the hope of social redemption or the mere desire to seek their fortune. If on the one hand, therefore, the regular soldiers had to be brought up to date and prepared, on the other hand, the question opened up of how exactly to employ the remaining forces, which, if up to then they had been employed as local militia and an instrument of loyalist control, were now militarily unprepared to face life in the field. Coupled with this is the latently volatile and subversive character of the volunteer forces, mostly consisting of small and medium-sized land-owners, and built on two main prerogatives: a strong attachment to the local community of origin and an explicit class resentment towards aristocratic power.

The strategy identified to stem any possible unruly outbursts, the source of tense government debate, consists of incorporating the volunteers into the army in a centralisation of their control. However, the plan contributes to the increase of what had already been foreseen as the problematic nature of the identity character of the volunteer forces: the tension between the professional military dimension and that understood instead as an *amateur tradition* [16], the disorganisation of each of these corps lacking cohesion and unity, the dispersion of their patriotic character as a symbolic affirmation of municipal authority. Where the need for reinforcement of the military fringes borders on the spectre of the levée en masse, with a revolutionary and French flavour, the imposition of military order and hierarchy over the social one seems to be the only way to corroborate the ideology of the people's war as a justification for the militarisation of British society as a mass military organisation developing the armed nationalism [17].

4.3. Britain Prodromes of Social Unrest

Meanwhile, the turn of the century also brought the government apparatus face to face with the emergence of popular protests of various origins in a general intensification of the process of social awareness. If in these acts are discernible the prodromes of the class struggles that, from 1819 with the Peterloo Massacre, will be structured into a critical issue that can no longer be postponed [18], it is already in 1780, with the Gordon riots, that the government, intervened harshly by implementing strategies aimed at stemming every possible outbreak of revolt through actions that, on the contrary, contributed to the exacerbation of discontent and the opening of a breach in social as much as political cohesion [19].

In summary, 19th century Britain was born in the concern: fear of social uprisings and riotous outbreaks, fear of insubordination by the large armed force on the ground and, above all, fear of invasion.

4.4. Perception of the Army

In this context, the role of the army is reinforced, which, as we have seen, is as much local as national in nature. Regardless of being employed on the battlefield, in the colonies and on the continent, or more concretely, in the urban spaces theatre of revolt [20], the army is made up of men who, although 'tamed' and prepared for military life according to a process of disciplined alienation, belong to the British social fabric despite being denied coexistence with the civilised world in a stasis of mutual distrust.

A perception also began to emerge that there could be two types of army: the land army, hated by the population as a reflection of tyrannical governmental power due to the coercive nature of its employment, and the sea army, the object of lyrical admiration. Such a comparison is due, as anticipated, to the introduction of the army in the civil environment in relation to the suppression of sedition, contributing to separating the image of the heroic sailor, immolated for the good of the fatherland, with that of the military employed as an urban control device in a perceptive dichotomy in which the naval reality will prevail since it is on this that British, national and imperial glory can be built [21].

The lack of perceptive objectivity with regard to the land army must, however, be identified in the national militarisation programme undertaken in which the separation between the life of the military and that of the civilian as well as the denial of emotional ties participates in maintaining the necessary discipline, thus fostering a general distrust. The issue of military housing in terms of construction and sanitation thus emerges [22]. If until that time barracks consisted of alternating communal spaces, from kitchens to storerooms, via dormitories, the reorganisation of the army presupposed a new design attitude combining logistical objectives with symbolic ones, including the need to match the barracks typology with the urban context, by identifying in the use of local materials - again with a view to a national programme subject to the effective availability and use of

economic resources - and in the adaptation of volumes to buildings in the vicinity, a strategy for concealing the military microcosm enclosed therein by means of an appropriate treatment of the façades. In fact, if barracks turn out to be an architectural typology strictly based on the function they perform, with defined spaces organised on orthogonal geometries - parade grounds, lodgings for men, horses, kitchens, warehouses, etc., [23] - becoming independent and impermeable devices projected into the urban fabric in a formal updating of the military citadels of medieval origin, the attention devoted to their mimesis in the urban fabric is strong and assisted by the treatment of their *limes*, that is, the walls that enclose them, where the openings of windows and doors, as well as the access roads, the only moment of explication of the intended use, participate in the ambiguous programme of eclipse of the soldier and, at the same time, of affirmation of the military device in the city. In fact, in the period between the 1790s and the 1820s, even after the war was over, the city would see numerous barracks built or renovated according to a concentric arrangement towards the nerve centres of the capital, from Knightsbridge to Westminster, passing through the areas including, and adjacent to, Marylebone Park.

4.5. City as Theatre of Power Demonstration

But if in 'logistical' terms it is possible to say that the bureaucratic machine is timely, what does the presence of military types mean in terms of its impact on urbanity with the consequent perceptual repercussions?

Right from the start it appears crucial, as delicate as it is, to resolve the seam of the barracks, by their very nature refractory to the outside world, with the urban spaces chosen for their construction where the dividing line between the idea of security and control is becoming increasingly thin. It must also be emphasised how the design of specific buildings for military life is intertwined with the great urban works that at the same time affect the metropolis, participating in the programme of national cohesion traced between the need for internal governmental stability in order to be able to direct its efforts in foreign policy and the abatement of any possible social tension. The city became the theatre in which to organise the construction of the new national identity in a meeting of propagandistic and public interest objectives where urban beautification began to shape itself according to a specific programme of nationalist affirmation parallel to British victories.
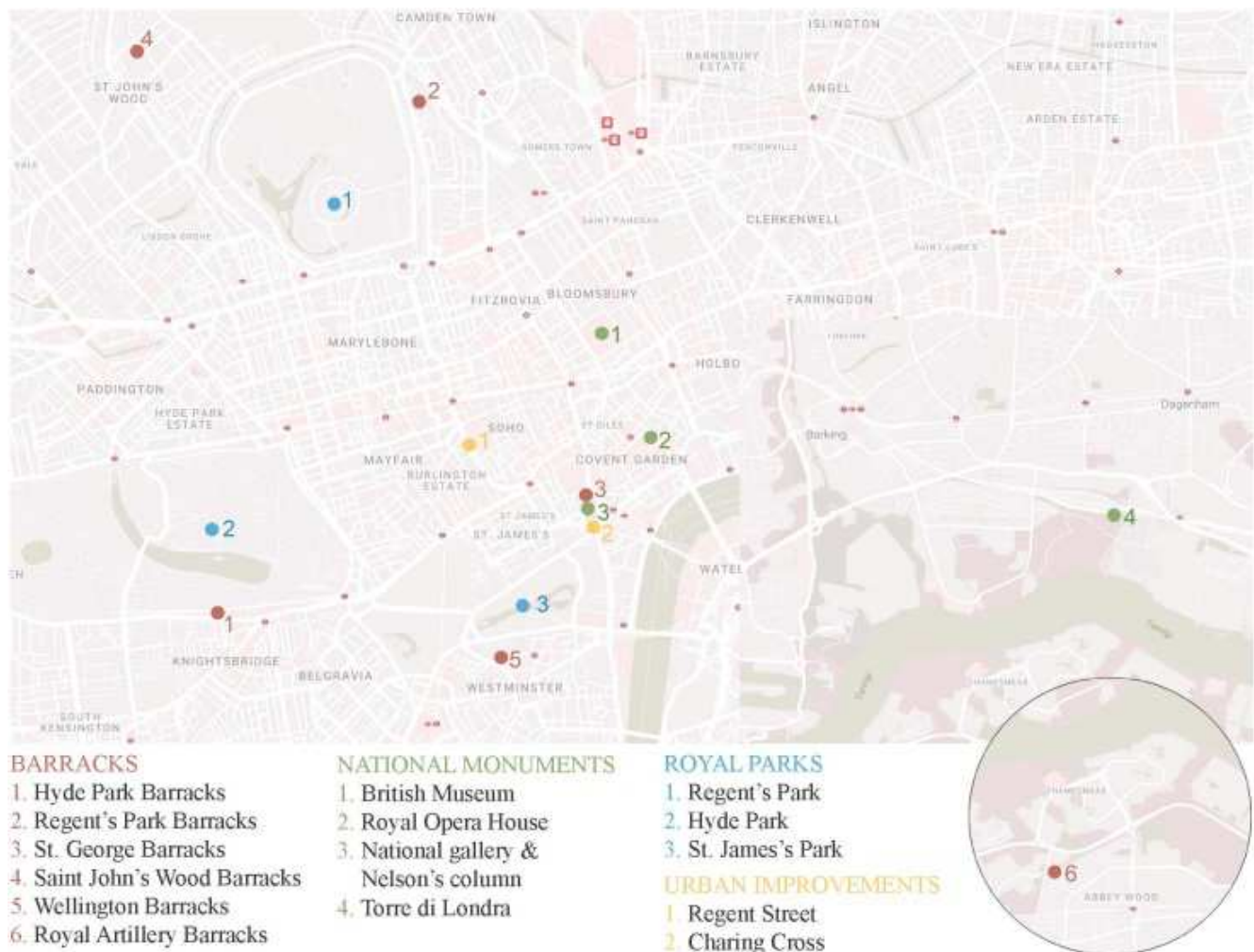

BARRACKS
1. Hyde Park Barracks
2. Regent's Park Barracks
3. St. George Barracks
4. Saint John's Wood Barracks
5. Wellington Barracks
6. Royal Artillery Barracks

NATIONAL MONUMENTS
1. British Museum
2. Royal Opera House
3. National gallery & Nelson's column
4. Torre di Londra

ROYAL PARKS
1. Regent's Park
2. Hyde Park
3. St. James's Park

URBAN IMPROVEMENTS
1. Regent Street
2. Charing Cross

Figure 1. Topographic layer of London urban fabric.

5. A Muscular Topography

5.1. Dawn of Nationalism

It is possible to find the genesis of the concept of nationalism in Rousseau's ideas: an organic vision of spiritual crasis between the sovereignty of the people and the fatherland capable of uniting into a single body where the necessary conditions for its survival is the agreement to obey the political authority created for the people themselves in the name of common liberty. From here, the various theories unfold, individually declined, on the nature of the state, the people and what the bonds capable of uniting them towards the idea of nationhood can be and, once these bonds are defined, whether the nation can be understood as a separate and finite entity or, instead, must meet with other nations towards a cosmopolitan synthesis capable of guaranteeing the survival of humanity [24].

In this critical operation, the reformists of the Enlightenment agree on the need to stop the war between nations by understanding it as an unnatural or corrupt state. The speculative constant remains in the search for legitimacy to the idea of unity, the body-state, and how this can relate to forms of power. The thesis that national consciousness is a nineteenth-century phenomenon inextricably conditioned by the French and Industrial Revolution is well established and it is with Jacobinism that the nexus between people and nation becomes crucial in exporting the values of the Revolution outside of France just as it is the phenomenon of population urbanisation that plays a part in the breaking down of the linguistic frontiers of the national population. In this context the term nation begins to take on its current connotation with particular regard to the power of language where in France, for example, favouring a national language over the variety of regional dialects coincides with the effort to 'fuse citizens into a single mass' [25].

5.2. Monuments to the War

In the years under examination, it is the state of war, and the new forms it takes, that marks the transition between theoretical production and philosophical elaboration of what states actually try to implement, stimulated by contingent events. What stands out, in fact, is the thought of Hegel, witness of the second half of the period of mutation of the European geo-political order, agnostic with respect to the idea of perpetual peace and tending to identify in the state of war a natural condition for relations between states and necessary to the welfare of the state itself. This is because it is with the state of war that the population's perception of the government's actions and very existence can sharpen, contributing to the strengthening of the community [26].

And it is according to the unifying principle, in the will to create anthropic masses and in the centrality of government that the wartime contingency in which states find themselves guarantees the warring and implementation of nationalist programmes constructed and justified by the state of war, its forms and the heroes it produces.

The European powers, in particular Prussia, France and England, turned their efforts towards updating their military systems through reforms of armies and more inclusive military honour systems while promoting, in parallel, the construction of war memorials aimed at glorifying the outcome, or the advocate, of a specific act of war. The case of Saint Paul's, destined to become the British Pantheon - from 1789 at the behest of George III and Pitt- the Hessendenkmal - commissioned in memory of the sacrifice of the Hessian troops to liberate the city of Frankfurt from the French in 1792-, the Parisian Panthéon - as such since 1790 - or Napoleon's significant re-appropriation of the spaces of the Hôtel des Invalides, are examples of how the conflict transcended the battlefield to reach the capitals which, like the architecture they guard, are charged with moralising and evocative values as mirrors of national values [27].

5.3. Martiality Within the Urban Environment

At the height of European, intra- and extra-national tension, where beyond the survival of individual nations and the very paradigm of the monarchical system is refuted, the British programme of national aggregation understands the importance that the capital city can return as an *image* capable of reinforcing the governmental and representative sphere, utilising the pathos of collective character provided by the state of war and thus intervening on the *spirit of the nation* [28] by fostering the crasis between the arts, architecture and the central programme.

However, if the evolution of aesthetics promoted by the arts and its patrons, along the lines advocated by the government, is capable of triggering a process of national consensus through the synthesisation of commemorative culture and the use of heroic iconography in an explicit manner - exalting a kind of lyricism proper to the deeds of arms, as seen, civic and military life is categorically kept at a distance with an ambiguous concealment operation.

In fact, the introduction of martiality into the urban environment is not new, but this was accompanied by a distinctive trait, namely the temporariness of its use - on occasions with coercive or celebratory overtones, resulting in a transient presence. But the tangibility of the military machine constituted by walled structures, the increase in their construction and, by extension, the permanence of the army, is poorly digested, agitating a reception at odds with the assimilation of the architectural language that, on the other hand, simultaneously began to adorn the capital. The ultimate objective thus relates to the need to legitimise a collective and glorious narrative inferred from the state of war and, at the same time, deny the everydayness - and dignity - of the life of the one who actively guarantees this narrative in the first person, namely the soldier [29].

5.4. The Example of Marylebone Park Barracks

In the light of this antinomy - the need for martiality and the

glorification of the hero versus the rejection of the militia and the soldier - it is possible to relate it to a peculiar fact related to the capital's redevelopment works promoted in the first decade of the 19th century and destined to disrupt London's urban physiognomy, from Marylebone Park down to Charing Cross.

These were created with the intention of giving London the magnificence and elegance required for the Metropolis of an Empire, and in so doing to intervene on the urban layout and how much in the definition of a style of buildings capable of satisfying the great national objective aimed at the glory of the country [30]. The message is clear and John Nash, the architect awarded the project, procures two plans [31] that reflect the guidelines set out in the competition notice, issued in 1810, which demonstrate his predisposition to intervene on the city with the intention of restoring a single monument.

But if at the same time the architectural leadership of the capital is in the hands of the three 'Attached Architects' [32] and is oriented towards dotting the urban grid with episodes of national monumental character, it is in Nash's project that the ambiguity of the urban splendour programme emerges.

In the northern portion of the park is set an area, almost insignificant compared to the size of the huge royal estate, aside for the construction of barracks and stables. The choice did not go unnoticed and, indeed, became the subject of parliamentary debates [33] that resulted in the barracks being moved out of Marylebone Park. The dispute revolves around the equivocal nature of the government's position, which in promoting redevelopment works for the benefit of the city and the public actually seems to want to impose its military presence, sealing the link between military power, the governing body and the monarchical institution, the latter shaken by years of extreme fragility.

Regardless of the course these town-planning works will take, this episode is emblematic in its ability to express the contradictions included in the national programme on an economic, governmental and symbolic scale.

5.5. Habituation to Martiality

Observing the topographical layers that qualify and overlap on the London grid of the early 19th century, it is possible to read the traces of the national programme initiated in wartime and that is made explicit between the ambition of splendour and logistical necessity, uniformiser adaptation and concrete feasibility determined by evidence: the wartime climate entered the design practice demanding spaces dedicated to the army and justifying the consequent doubt as to the meaning of the architectural intervention: it was either a public work or a military work impermeable to the public but imposed on public space [34] crystallising in the physiognomy of a monument to martiality, eternal and unapproachable.

The theatre of war in which Europe finds itself, allows Britain to implement its programme of national amalgamation by adopting a strategy based on the search for the hero to commemorate, on the image of the capital capable of galvanising the nation and equally habituating the population to martiality so that they can live with the military apparatus on a daily basis in an attitude that persists to this day.

6. Militia Performance from Yesterday to Today: The Consolidation of an Order

6.1. The Example of Hyde Park Barracks

'War is a mere continuation of policy with other means' [35], and two British buildings, commissioned in the late 1950s and completed in the early 1970s, seem to confirm this judgment. I mean the Hyde Park Barracks and the British Embassy in Rome. The buildings, although with different functions, participate in a unified discourse, creating a parallelism with an attitude already discerned: exploiting the opportunities of architectural solutions to convey values of national identity. In the case of the British Embassy, being a building partially accessible to the public and in fact a monument to diplomacy, the messages to be conveyed must also speak of relations with states, of mutual respect, of foreign cultures and policies and, at the same time, emphasise the symbolic presence of the host nation on foreign soil. As for the Hyde Park Barracks, intended to house a regiment of the Household Cavalry - given the role of the regiment housed there and its proximity to Buckingham Palace - the peculiarity of the messages conveyed by these Barracks moves back and forth between functionalist clarity and representational ambiguity. The mighty and dense massing of the entire complex clashes with the soaring residential tower, demonstrating the immense effort introduced in amalgamating the barracks with the urban factory facing it as much as in resolving the relationship with the park front where we find the ceremonial entrance emphasised and treated in such a way as to maintain a masculine, and in this sense eloquent, character [36]. The pediment, sculpted by Earp and salvaged from the previous Victorian-era barracks, resting heavily on the new piers creates an element whose material sense and symbolic value brings together the entire discourse around urban military structures.

'It is for soldiers. On horses. In armour'[37]. This is how Sir Spence responds to the many criticisms he has received about his project, and yet the criticisms are about the style adopted, the architectural choices, the relationship between the building and the park, in terms of regard for the latter. But it is precisely in Sir Spence's assertion that it is possible to discern the British national programme initiated at the end of the 18th century.

6.2. Consolidation of the Program

The contrast between the ephemeral magnificence and the permanent magnificence brought about by the eventuality of the ceremony versus the permanence of the monumental building has a unique impact on the London urban factory in terms of the identification of paths suitable for processions as well as the organisation of spaces capable of containing the event [38]. If back in 1794 [39], the Pitt administration took steps to anticipate and quell any semblance of a seditious act and with that, basically, imply how every site was intended as a place of seditious assembly to justify the invisible presence of urban militia, yesterday as today, however, the martial

presence that accompanies the celebratory event or daily ritual is contemplated in another spirit: consensual, incurious and, today, touristy.

Recently, the passing of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth has been able to focus and draw the attention of the globe to the British Isle in a meeting of collective pathos and indiscretion. But, the most peculiar effect to contemplate has been how the countless newspapers have had the need to meticulously depict the route of the processions that unfolded in the days of mourning concurrently up to the climax of the event with the State Funeral hosted by the British capital. Schemes on orthophotos or three-dimensional graphic renderings on the scale of the city or of the buildings - beyond walls usually impermeable to most - combined with meticulous timelines supported the need to satisfy the *hic et nunc* of the spectator crowded beyond the gates, in the streets or sitting in a café with an electronic device in hand. A media resonance as unquestionable and necessary as it was built on the edge of voyeurism. But what happened correctly participates in a stupor-building process that the scenic backdrops of the city of London have been able to guarantee over the centuries, consolidating an impregnable dichotomy between representation, suggestion that only the deployment of martial grandeur knows, even today, how to restore, and chronicle. The socio-psychological implications stirred up by participation in this event cannot be examined exhaustively in this article. What is important to emphasise, however, is the immutability of the representations [40] linked to this type of event founded around the British royal family - coronations, weddings or funerals, such as to corroborate two principles: the monarchical institution entrusted to a rigorous spectacle refined over the centuries thanks to the imposition of the urban deployment of the army, and the identification of social order as security of the state and confidence in the immutability of the eternally repeatable.

The military apparatus that transcends the walls where it is relegated and in the name of its function of security and order, consolidates the ultimate aim of the programme that arose in the Napoleonic wars, namely the control of the nation through a martial representation based on the certainty of the eternal immutable, between superstition - the ravens of the Tower - and the very nature of the British nation [41], in a process that has gone beyond the pure maintenance of tyrannical control, as understood by Fox's parliamentary group, and is expressed in the sense of preservation of the state.

7. Conclusion

'*Non è cosa alcuna che addorni piu le piazze, e i riscontri delle strade che gli archi, posti in testa d' esse strade. Conciosia che uno arco non è altro che una porta che sta sempre aperta. Io credo certamente che l'arco fusse trovato da coloro che allarganno i confini de loro imperii.*' [42].

We have seen how the renewal of the capital was regulated by a national programme capable of leading to a monumental topography overlaid by the martial one towards the imposition of a system of symbolic urban control well marked by the parallel between the toponymy of the new spaces as well as of the buildings - Wellington Barracks, Trafalgar Square, Wellington Arch or National Gallery - and the theatre of war within which they were conceived. Just as the programme of national cohesion drew sap from the state of war, favouring a process of commemoration capable of exploiting the heroic imagery and moral ambiguity that emerges from the won/winner polarity - where for Klausewitz victory is such when the annihilation of the enemy is achieved.

A quasi - moral as spontaneous question now arises of how the soldier, including the figure of the veteran, can forcibly coexist in a world unwilling to accept the memory that his very presence shakes, thus leaving the barracks suspended in their perception as catalysts of oppression and as a reminder of an uncomfortable memory that is not victory but war. If the answer is not easy to find, it is indeed not the intention of this article to find it.

The relationship between war and architecture is, of course, well-established, just think of the large body of studies dedicated to architecture between World War I and World War II and, of course, post-WWII architecture. But the intent of this paper is to stress the connection between the state of war and the discipline of town planning as well the urban environment. Admitting the existence of an analogy between war and the city when these are understood as collective phenomena as well as anthropological products and, as such, considered as spontaneous and inevitable results of human nature, it is during the long period of conflict that invested Europe between the French Revolution and the Restoration that the phenomenon of war and urbanism reached a key moment of their immanence in light of the fact that both underwent a fundamental turning point, namely their formal definition through the explication of their respective disciplines, thus being transformed from spontaneous to programmed phenomena.

It is therefore considered fundamental to set up an investigative method for the study of town planning of this period that is able to observe and move within the context of the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars understood as detonators of an irreversible process in European history, as much as world history, according to a perspective capable of considering and condensing every phenomenological line derived from the complexity of the period under examination to such an extent as to shift the study of the history of town planning from the contemplation of architectural episodes to the re-elaboration of the processes determining their existence.

Acknowledgements

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