

GOLD

**PROCEEDINGS OF THE
SOCIETY OF ARCHITECTURAL HISTORIANS
AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND
VOL. 33**

Edited by AnnMarie Brennan and Philip Goad

Published in Melbourne, Australia, by SAHANZ, 2016

ISBN: 978-0-7340-5265-0

The bibliographic citation for this paper is:

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“Does not the glorious East seem to be transported to our shores? Perth’s Golden Mosque (1905).” In *Proceedings of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand: 33, Gold*, edited by AnnMarie Brennan and Philip Goad, 22-32. Melbourne: SAHANZ, 2016.

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DOES NOT THE GLORIOUS EAST SEEM TO BE TRANSPORTED TO OUR SHORES? PERTH'S GOLDEN MOSQUE (1905)

In 1893, a special correspondent for The Bendigo Independent mocked the exotic camel trains plying the route from Geraldton to the Coolgardie gold fields: "Does not the glorious East with its mosques and gilt tipped minarets and the abundance of its life, its color [sic] and its motion seem to be transported to our shores."¹ The remarks were prompted by a public announcement describing the services of Faiz and Tagh Mahomet which extended to camel sales and hire. While the correspondent derided the unlikely image of a Victorian prospector astride a newly purchased mount, the observations highlight the fortunes of the Mahomet brothers who struck gold in the west. Faiz was a cameleer whose entrepreneurial debut was assisted by a £1000 loan from Sir Thomas Elder, a pastoralist and philanthropist who first brought camels and camel handlers to Australia in significant numbers in 1865. Drawing on his personal wealth, Faiz played a key role in the foundation of the Perth mosque begun in 1905 (heritage-listed in 1995).² Archival documents reveal a galvanising leader who collected funds to build the mosque, in short order, from more than 200 cameleers of diverse South Asian origin scattered throughout the interior; a pan-continental and transcultural enterprise demonstrating the fluidity and plurality of the frontier economy and society at the time. Moreover, analysis of the mosque, from its Timurid origins to the gilt tipped mouldings, connects the mosque to what architectural historian Stephen Dale has described as "the golden age of Perso-Islamic culture."³ While the relationship between Australia's remote mineral deposits and the material wealth of the city is well recognised, the aim of this paper is to appreciate the pioneering efforts of lesser-known entrepreneurs, like the Mahomet brothers, and to understand the significance of the Perth mosque for this far-flung Muslim community whose crucial exploits fuelled Australia's gold fever in the west.

Golden Country

“This is golden country all right!” declared Patrick (‘Paddy’) Hannan in June 1893.⁴ Hannan, and a couple of other Irish gold-diggers, had been exploring the ridges north of Mt Charlotte in the vicinity of present-day Kalgoorlie, in search of the elusive mineral when they had stumbled on one of the richest finds in Australian mining history. Gold had already been discovered in Western Australia in the Kimberley and Southern Cross in the 1880s, and in 1892, just a year before, another rich find had been declared at nearby Coolgardie. But Hannan’s even greater find was the signal that the next great Australian gold rush was on. In the initial days after Hannan’s claim had been lodged, more than 750 men trekked eastward to Kalgoorlie in the grip of gold fever.⁵ During this period the Crown Colony of Western Australia had already prioritised the search for gold, with an eye on the government coffers and the potential opportunities for further economic development. However, as Hannan later recalled, the most pressing issue facing all prospectors was “the water difficulty.”⁶ Equipment and tucker were also high on the list of priorities. However, the construction of a pipeline to provide the Goldfields region with a steady and permanent water supply was not commenced until 1895, and only completed eight years later, in early 1903.⁷

For more than a decade, therefore, procuring water and maintaining a lifeline from the coast to the goldfields, by which all manner of other essential goods were supplied, was absolutely critical to the logistical and economic feasibility of developing the mines and burgeoning towns of the goldfields. Circumstantially, it was migrant cameleers from the Indian subcontinent who were substantially to fill this crucial role. Seasoned by years of comparable service and experience in the exploration and economic expansion of the interior frontiers of southern and central Australia, between the 1860s and 80s, established camel entrepreneurs, such as Faiz and Tagh Mahomet, were among the first transport contractors upon the scene, followed by hundreds more of their brethren who soon began to arrive with new shipments of camels, imported directly to Western Australia throughout the 1890s.

Despite the extent and significance of these camel-borne services in the economic history of Western Australia, and the relative dependency upon them of early settlements, the impact and place of the so-called ‘Afghan’ and predominantly Muslim cameleers has not been accurately assessed in previous histories of colonial pioneering and settlement; accounts of the western Australian gold rush in particular, where the interests of ‘white’ teamsters often clashed with those of the ‘alien’ cameleers.⁸ Yet, just as the fortunes claimed in the goldfields stimulated the urban economy, so too, the success of Muslim entrepreneurs underpinned modest establishments which bound the city to the interior including the foundation of a permanent congregational mosque in Perth (1905). This paper examines the Perth mosque and the agency of the cameleers who financed it from the original perspective of architectural and urban history. Through this examination, the mosque emerges as an increasingly confident expression of identity. Based on fresh archival research, biographical data and recent fieldwork, this paper offers an important counterpoint to prevailing narratives of marginalisation to reveal a building that was realised through the agency of the so-called ‘Afghans’ and necessary engagement with the local community, and the place it represented for this tiny migrant group in the social and economic fabric of a new city and nation.

The fantasy of a white Australian history is contested by the evidence of such deeper histories of contact as Regina Ganter contends.⁹ It is critical to challenge fixed hierarchical notions of belonging to appreciate the contributions of Muslims in colonial Australia and their legacy. To do so, this paper examines the transcontinental links between the arid interior and the city; colonial pioneers of British descent and ‘Afghans’ (who were an ethnically and linguistically diverse group, many of whom were actually British subjects hailing from a broad geographic region straddling Afghanistan as well as the Northwest Frontier and the Punjab Provinces of British India).¹⁰ In so doing, this paper aims to enrich knowledge of this important but neglected community that signalled the crucial arrival of Muslims in Australia.

To interpret these ‘deep histories of contact,’ this paper draws particularly on the important work, based on wide-

ranging archival research, oral histories and material artefacts, of historians Christine Stevens¹¹ and Philip Jones¹², as well as entries in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Jones's work, in particular, has generated a detailed biographical list of more than 1,200 cameleers. Importantly, these studies highlight the specific contributions of the cameleers to the process of European exploration and territorial expansion. In Western Australia, cameleers played a significant role in the development of infrastructure, including the transcontinental railway line between Kalgoorlie and Port Augusta (in South Australia), the construction of the rabbit proof fence and the Canning stock route. After 1890 they maintained the lifeline for prospectors in the Eastern Goldfields through the cartage of water, food, equipment and timber via the critical woodlines (that provided building materials for mining site works and fuel for the fresh-water condensers.¹³ [Fig 1] The significance of the physical place-making of the cameleers was acknowledged in the listing of the mosque on the Western Australian State Heritage Register in 1995 (Place Number 02156). However, none of these studies substantially link the biographical data to the mosque, nor do they examine the mosque in relation to Perth's urban fabric or the golden architectural heritage of Central Asia, which is the goal of this paper.



FIGURE 1 Western Australian Government water condenser, Coolgardie c. 1895, fuelled by timber supplied by cameltrains. The water was also distributed by cameleers (Image courtesy of State Library of Western Australia).

A Golden Debut: Faiz and Tagh Mahomet

Sir Thomas Elder (1818–1897), the wealthy South Australian pastoralist, was the first entrepreneur to import camels to Australia in significant numbers.¹⁴ His recognition of the importance of expert camel handlers was the key to his success. In 1865, Elder imported 124 camels and 31 cameleers from Kandahar, Kabul and Sindh.¹⁵ Faiz Mahomet (1844c.-1910), was appointed as *jemadar* (or foreman) to Elder's camels on the *Blackwell* which arrived in Australia from Karachi, December 31, 1865.¹⁶ Faiz was well established as an experienced cameleer who had worked on the telegraph line linking Karachi to Baluchistan before being appointed as a *jemadar* to over 500 men working at the Karachi wharves.¹⁷ Faiz (and his younger brother Tagh) hailed from a wealthy family and he was connected by marriage to the Emirate of Afghanistan which emerged from the Durrani Empire; his wife was the Amir's first cousin.¹⁸ This was known as the Last Afghan Empire, founded by Ahmad Shah Durrani with its capital at Kandahar, Afghanistan. [Fig 2] With the decline of the Durrani dynasty, Dost Muhammad Khan became Amir of Afghanistan (1826-1839 and 1845-1863, whose death was even lamented in the *Hobart Mercury*),¹⁹ followed by his son Sher Ali Khan (1863-1866 and 1868 to 1879). [Fig 3] Like many cameleers from this region, Faiz and Tagh Mahomet played a key role in transport, communication and haulage within and between vast pastoral stations and settlements.²⁰

Faiz maintained the appointment of *jemadar* at Elder's camel stud at Beltana for more than a decade before pursuing his own business ventures. No doubt due to Faiz's loyal service, Elder approved a loan of £1000 in 1888, at 10% interest, to purchase camels at a sale in Farina. By 1889 Faiz and Tagh owned 112 camels and employed 14 handlers. Following a prestigious year-long contract to supply the northernmost telegraph stations beyond Oodnadatta, the Mahomet brothers established branches of their business to manage their ventures in burgeoning transport hubs as far-flung as Marree, South Australia, and Geraldton in West Australia by 1892. By this time their enterprise encompassed 736 camels and 92 handlers. Assisted with further loans from Elder, the Mahomet brothers established themselves as both carriers and breeders, with lucrative results. While they were the largest camel carrying company in Australia in the early 1890s, sales of their camel progeny and equipment were crucial to the entrepreneurial debuts of other camel carrying companies. Unfortunately, transactions between the Mahomet brothers and other entrepreneurs led to unpaid debts and concomitant disputes. The coincidence of a period of severe drought, which compromised camel breeding, ultimately led to the financial demise of the Mahomet brothers.



FIGURE 2 Figure 2 'Shuja Shah Duran of Afghanistan in 1839' by James Rattray (1818-1854). (The British Library, Online Gallery, viewed 10 September 2015. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Shuja_Shah_Durrani_of_Afghanistan_in_1839.jpg#/media/File:Shuja_Shah_Durrani_of_Afghanistan_in_1839.jpg. No known copyright restrictions).



FIGURE 3 'Dost Mahomed Family', 1879 [Descendants]. Yakub Khan, grandson of Dost Mahomed (1793-1863) and son of Sher Ali Khan (1825-1879, the likely cousin of Faiz Mahomet's wife) is pictured in a white coat. The photo was included in an album of rare historical photographs depicting people and places associated with the Second Anglo-Afghan War (1878-80). (The majority of photos were taken by John Burke (1843-1900) and Sir Benjamin Simpson (1831-1923). No known copyright restrictions).

Lifeline in the Goldfields

Despite these issues, confidence prevailed and the Mahomet brothers had established themselves in the Western Australian goldfields by 1892, although they had possibly opened a goods depot in Menzies, WA, as early as 1890.²¹ As noted by *The Bendigo Independent* special correspondent, their services were advertised widely.²² Their intent was to service the remote arid mining settlements that lacked any services or infrastructure, most significantly, a supply of fresh water. Trading as Faiz and Tagh **Mahomet**, the maverick brothers set up camel pads and shops from Coolgardie to Geraldton. [Fig 4] Their success led to the purchase of 240 acres of land at Geraldton and town allotments and buildings in Cue, Day Dawn, Coolgardie, Kalgoorlie, Victoria, Port Victoria and Southern Cross.²³ However, their most significant base was Coolgardie. *The West Australian* records substantial purchases of land in 1894.²⁴ Numerous gold claims are documented at Coolgardie and nearby Menzies; evidently Faiz and Tagh were struck by gold fever.²⁵



FIGURE 4 Faiz and Tagh Mahomet Business Premises, Cue, Western Australia. (Image courtesy of the Royal Western Australian Historical Society).

The brothers were highly regarded in the region and beyond “as honest and humane businessmen.”²⁶ Reports of their exploits were popular news items throughout Australia.²⁷ Faiz was recognised, in particular, as a respected leader of the Durrani Afghans. He received a gold medal from the Amir of Afghanistan for his charitable acts and leadership.²⁸ The Amir’s endorsement likely reflected on the Mahomet brothers’ early efforts, together with “The Mohammedans of Perth” to purchase land upon which to build a mosque which, although unsuccessful, garnered Australia-wide attention.²⁹ In 1895, the Mahomet brothers sought a government grant to purchase land, initially without success. It would be another 10 years before sufficient funds were collected to purchase land, independently of any government assistance. This generated further media interest, and preparations to begin construction (estimated at £1,500) was reported with a plea for funding from the general public.³⁰

Emulating a Golden Age

The inland economy resulting from the toil of Australia’s hardy pioneers was inextricably tied to the fortunes of the city. Just as Elder and other pioneers financed the construction of civic, religious and commercial buildings in the city, the toil of the cameleers in the outback generated critical funding for the Perth Mosque. Detailed records exist that list the names of the remote cameleers and local merchants who contributed funds for the Perth Mosque, particularly those working in the Western Australian goldfields, which were collected by Faiz Mahomet and amounted to nearly five-sixths of the total donations.³¹ Contributions by Victorian Muslims are also recorded—a testament to the inland communication network that the cameleers pioneered. Appeals for funding were made to potential overseas Muslims, “who may be interested in the welfare of their brethren in this State, and in the progress of the Religious Institution established here.”³² The success of these appeals is unknown. These detailed records can be attributed to the erudition of Muhammad Hasan Musakhan, a Tarin Afghan of Sindh, who was the founder, treasurer and secretary of the mosque. Musakhan was educated at the universities of Karachi and Bombay; he then worked as a schoolteacher in India and a bookseller in Perth. In time he would become the spokesperson for the Western Australian ‘Afghans’ and he rallied contributors in Perth while Faiz collected money in the interior.

Faiz was paid £40 for his travelling expenses and the individual contributions are listed by Musakhan in detail in *The Annual Report* (1906). The report listed the name of the contributor, their profession and provenance. The list was further organised according to the place in Australia where they were working. Notably, not all the contributors were camel carriers or camel owners. The lists identified a poultry farmer, a gardener, a draper, the superintendent of the Perth Night Patrolling Company, a tailor and the champion wrestler Abdul Kadir Shaikh. Further contributions are attributed to Fateh Mohamed Khan and Hakim Khan, Punjabis from Melbourne as well as Mohamed Saleh of Colombo, Cingalie. Contributions were received from Bengalis and a Malay and even two Sikh camel owners, Jamal Singh and Fal Singh, who contributed £5 and £10 respectively.³³ These diverse trades provide further evidence of the variety of contributions made by these men in the colonial era whilst demonstrating the ethnic and religious diversity of the pioneer Muslim community and their interactions with other minority migrant groups from South Asia.

The Mosque was built in Northbridge on the corner of William Street and Robinson Street. At the time this was a well-to-do area, unlike the marginal position occupied by the earlier Adelaide Mosque begun in 1889.³⁴ The land was located a few blocks away from the new Busy Bee Arcade (Perth’s first shopping arcade constructed in 1894 on the corner of James Street and William Street), where Punjabi Indian Hoffiz Mohammed Hayat (a trustee of the mosque together with Musakhan in 1906) managed his Drapery Establishment. The parcel of land comprised 4 lots (16 and 19, N11, and 17 and 18, N12), each measuring 33 x 83ft.³⁵ [Fig 5] The details of the land purchase and the building costs were recorded by Musakhan in the annual report. A plan and specification was attributed to Din Muhammad, architect, who was paid the balance of fees of £15 7s. 6d.³⁶

Plans were passed at Perth Council and the mosque was declared a legal entity in 1906 under the Associations Incorporated Act (1895 WA). On November 13, 1905 (15th Day of Ramadan 1323 Hijri) a foundation stone was laid by Faiz Mahomet. The ceremony was attended by Eliot “who took keen interest in the supervision of the buildings and through whose valuable assistance and advice a great saving in expenses was made.”³⁷ The first stage, built of brick, comprised a prayer hall with ablution facilities on Lot 16 and a brick structure and a brick cottage with 3 rooms a kitchen and an open meeting hall on Lot 17. Accommodation was subsequently added. As in the case of Adelaide, the Perth mosque offered a place of refuge for elderly cameleers as they lived out their final years.



FIGURE 5 Location of Perth Mosque, corner of William Street and Robinson Street showing the 4 town lots (dotted line) purchased and the location of the earliest structures (red) constructed on site. The mosque faces William Street. Image composed by authors.

The subsequent priorities were identified as follows: completion of the entrance hall, committee rooms, a library and reading rooms, and a fountain and cistern for ablution at the foot of the steps, plastering of the wall on the east side verandah at the entrance and ornamental work to the exterior. The total sum was estimated at £1000. A madrasa was constructed in 1915 and a substantial tank is documented in the *Mirror*.³⁸ The provision of the library and reading room were critical to fulfil the vision articulated by Musakhan in 1906, expressly to communicate knowledge about Islam to non-Muslims in Perth; “in order to enlighten all those gentlemen who often want to know whether we belong to the Roman Catholic or Protestant Church, or whether we worship the sun, the moon, the stars, the fire or other material objects.”³⁹ Sayed Jalal Shah, a visiting cleric from Karachi who preached at the mosque in 1915, was evidently impressed with the relative novelty and splendour of the building which he described as a two storey structure with glazed French windows and electric lighting that glowed at night like a lantern.

Detailed expenses are listed for the cost of bricklayers, carpenters, plasterers, painters, the plumber, the foreman, as well as details about the water account, insurance, plans and supervision, religious books and tracts, drain account, electric light account, and a shed for builders’ tools. These wages and contracts provide firm evidence of the engagement of services completed by local tradesmen. Costs of building materials comprise the damp course, sand and concrete, gold paint, turpentine, galvanised iron sheets, mouldings, plaster of Paris, timber joinery, stone and marble slabs and the cost of the inscription on the foundation stone, in Urdu, by Wilson, Gray and Co. £15. Metal panels and iron stays for the top of the mosque are attributed to Fred Metters and Co. at a cost of £3. The gold paint cost a total of 5s. 6d..⁴⁰ Throughout the process of design and construction, positive relations between the small ‘Afghan community’ and Anglo-Australians were evident and Musakhan explicitly acknowledges “the great blessings of protection, religious tolerance, and peace which we enjoy, as we do here, under the benign flag of the British nation.”⁴¹

The most striking feature of the Perth mosque is the façade [Fig 6]. While no documents record the decisions that shaped the original design of this mosque, analysis of the stylistic features strongly suggests emulation of the late Mughal architecture of the Indian subcontinent.⁴² This creative period has been described as a golden age, particularly under Shah Jahan (r. 1628-58), whose lineage, as a Mughal emperor, can be traced to Genghis Khan and Timur (or Tamerlane, founders of the Mongol and Timurid empires respectively,⁴³ Mughal architecture has a similar lineage whereby Timurid and Uzbek forms and motifs – shaped by the legacy of Persian architecture and gardens – in turn, influenced the evolution of Mughal architecture which fused with Hindu building traditions in the crucible of the Indian subcontinent.⁴⁴



FIGURE 6 Perth Mosque, commenced 1906. Photograph by E.L. Mitchell. (Image courtesy of the State Library of Western Australia).



FIGURE 7 Badshahi Masjid, Lahore Fort Complex, Lahore, Pakistan. Lithograph by Dickinson Bros. 1854. (Image courtesy of Harvard Fine Arts Library, Digital Images and Slides Collection).

The central entrance of Perth's tripartite façade was aligned with the axis of the original courtyard and it led to a rectangular prayer hall with a *mihrab* (prayer) niche oriented to the west while the strong connection between the architecture and the garden continues Indo-Persian building traditions. Comparison of the façade and the interior decorative features with Mughal precedents reveals strong similarities. Detailed drawings would have been required to communicate the desired architectural features to the local Anglo-Australian building contractors (including the bricklayers, Whitmore, Kay, McReady, Hendon and Bates; and the plasterers, Haynes, Miller, Wurz, Lakee and Lavelle).⁴⁵ Their work, in particular, is evident in the construction of the tripartite façade, constructed of rendered brickwork, with its prominent entrance that is punctuated externally and internally by symmetrical, orthogonal bands, in relief, which are decorated with central medallions. In Mughal monuments such devices served to relieve the monotony of stone facades and balance their proportions.⁴⁶ The typical crenellated parapet was punctuated at the ends by the use of a *guldasta* (decorative spire); a combination which was increasingly common in late Mughal architecture. The entrance per se, while lacking the depth of a traditional Indo-Persian *iwan* (or transitional portal), captures the purpose of such an element which Mughal architects used to signal a prominent structure (mosque, mausoleum, madrasa or gateway to such complexes), to attenuate the monumental scale of the structure in relation to the city, and to serve as a transitional space between interior and exterior or sacred and secular functions. There is a strong similarity, for example, between the façade of the Perth Mosque and the eastern entrance of the Badshahi Mosque, Lahore, built by the emperor Aurangzeb (r. 1658-1707, following Shah Jahan) in 1670.⁴⁷ [Fig 7] This brick structure, devoid of the opulent use of sandstone, marble or *pietra dura* which was common in earlier Mughal monuments (from Fathepur Sikri to the Taj Mahal), constructed by an emperor who was known for his austerity after Shah Jahan's extravagance, still bears the typical features of the tripartite façade, with its orthogonal composition, crenellation and *guldastas*. We know very little about the 'architect' of record of the Perth Mosque, Din Muhammad. But it is probable that he was an 'Indian' cameleer of the same name listed in Faiz Mahomet and Musakhan's careful record of the subscribers to the mosque building fund, who would have been familiar with the architectural language of the Mughals. Whilst this tradition had culminated in the austere monuments of Aurangzeb's Lahore, it had also been diffused widely and remained a living tradition in the building of minor mosques in the northwest of India well into the nineteenth century.



FIGURE 8 View toward *mihrab* niche, Perth Mosque, 2015. (Photograph by author).

Compelling indications of a direct and informed transfer of this late Mughal design and building tradition to early twentieth-century Australia can be observed in the interior decorative features of the Perth mosque. Mughal interiors often exhibit the application of rich, colourful ornamentation (particularly in geometric compositions), especially in the execution of cornices and ceiling planes in contrast to the more subdued wall planes which continue the orthogonal compartmentalisation of the exterior façade. In Perth, colour is applied to painted interior mouldings, the gilt-tipped niche [Fig 8], the ornate cornice, and the geometric pressed metal ceiling [Fig 9 and Fig 10], a combination which is depicted in the study of Ahmad Shah Duran’s audience hall mentioned above. While these comparisons require further study, the parallels are substantial enough to suggest emulation of The Last Afghan Empire. As such, the intent to design a mosque which emulates the Mughal architecture of the Indian subcontinent, with its prominent *iwan* (of sorts) which engages with the city, is a significant expression of a proud architectural heritage and a statement of confidence for this pioneering migrant community in the early 1900s.⁴⁸



FIGURE 9 Pressed metal ceiling, Perth Mosque, 2015. (Photograph by author).



FIGURE 10 Cornice detail, Perth Mosque, 2015. (Photograph by author).

Conclusion

Faiz and Tagh Mahomet drew considerable media attention for their enterprising efforts in the Australian interior. However, the evocation of the "glorious East" by *The Bendigo Independent's* special correspondent suggests an other-worldliness which belies the workaday engagement of these Muslim entrepreneurs. At the same time, the notion of gold-fever captures the excitement and anticipation associated with Midas' fortune that rarely matched the grim realities of life in the diggings. Through the fundamental provision of food and water, amongst their many services, Faiz and Tagh Mahomet literally fuelled this gold-fever in Western Australia; just one example of the myriad activities which enabled the exploitation of Australia's mineral wealth. In this context, this modest study of the Perth mosque demonstrates the currency of relations between the Muslim community in the city and the vast network that connected this diverse group toiling throughout the inhospitable interior. The study suggests that the development of the inland economy was inextricably bound to the material development of the city, not least the mosque, complicating prevailing representations of an isolated, rootless 'Afghan' community. The Perth Mosque emerges as a modest but vital space to serve the needs of the Muslim faithful in the city. Moreover, the enterprising business arrangements between Thomas Elder and Faiz Mahomet – among others – belie the fantasy of the 'white' conquest of the Australian interior, underscoring a richer history of inter-cultural contact and collaboration. Mahomet's toil as a camel carrier and breeder as well as his pious travels to collect donations throughout the goldfields enabled the construction of a small but unexpectedly refined mosque that emulated the golden age of late Mughal architecture. Yet, more than just a statement of religious values and pride, and possible nostalgia for home, the evidence indicates that the Perth Mosque was a locus for the communal cohesion of Australia's earliest Muslim pioneers that continues to lend its immutable material substance to the fact that Islam has long been woven into the fabric of Australia's cities, as well as the infrastructure of the outback.

Acknowledgements

This paper arises from an Australian Research Council Linkage Project (2013-2016, LP 130100859) titled *The Architecture of Australia's Muslim Pioneers*. Dr. Peter Scriver and Dr. Katharine Bartsch are the Chief Investigators. The project is undertaken in collaboration with Partner Investigators Dr. Philip Jones, Senior Curator, Anthropology, South Australian Museum and Dr. Abdur Razak Sopian, International Islamic University of Malaysia (IIUM) together with Research Associate Dr. Md. Mizanur Rashid, University of Adelaide. We acknowledge Md. Noorizhar Ismail, PhD Candidate, IIUM, for his assistance in reviewing drawings obtained from City of Perth and City of Vincent which document the Perth Mosque.

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- 23 A. J. Koutsoukis, "Faiz Mahomet (1848-1910)."
- 24 "Government Land Sale in Coolgardie," *The West Australian*, November 16, 1894, 7.
- 25 Geological Map of Coolgardie, 1897; Topographical Map of Menzies, North Coolgardie Gold Field and Geological Map of Coolgardie, 1899.
- 26 Layman and Fitzgerald, *110° in the Waterbag*, 362.
- 27 Their renown is acknowledged in "Faiz and Tagh Mahomet," *The Weekly Times*, Melbourne, Vic., September 10, 1898, 46.
- 28 "Coolgardie and Afghanistan," *The Daily News*, Perth, May 15, 1897, 4; *The Daily News*, Perth, May 17, 1897, 4; *The Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners' Advocate*, May 29, 1897, 12.
- 29 *Evening Journal*, Adelaide, 1891, 5; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1891, 9; *Brisbane Courier*, 1891, 5; *South Australian Register*, 1891, 5.
- 30 "News and Notes," *The West Australian*, 4 September 4, 1905, 4.
- 31 Musakhan, *The Mohammaden Mosque of Perth*, 18.
- 32 Musakhan, *The Mohammaden Mosque of Perth*, 3.
- 33 Musakhan, *The Mohammaden Mosque of Perth*, 11.
- 34 Bartsch "Building Identity in the Colonial City," 247-270.
- 35 The total cost for the land purchase was £680 3s. in 1904. Musakhan, *The Mohammaden Mosque of Perth*, 6.

- 36 A plan and specification was attributed to Din Muhammad, architect, who was paid the balance of fees of £15 7s. 6d. John Eliot, architect, was paid £5 5s. for supervision of the project while the surveyors, Crossland and Hardy, were paid £4 4s.. Faiz himself donated £50 toward the fund in 1904 and subsequently £9 in 1905-6. The total contributions, exceeding 1000 pounds, were supplemented by rent collected from the cottages on the west side of the mosque. Musakhan, *The Mohammaden Mosque of Perth*, 12. See also Schinasi 1980, 22, Stevens 1989 190. Jones and Kenny, 174.
- 37 Musakhan, *The Mohammaden Mosque of Perth*, 17.
- 38 "An Hour in Perth's Mosque. A Peep at Islam's Holy of Holies," *Mirror*, Perth, September 6, 1924, 11.
- 39 Musakhan, *The Mohammaden Mosque of Perth*, 4.
- 40 Musakhan, *The Mohammaden Mosque of Perth*, 13.
- 41 Musakhan, *The Mohammaden Mosque of Perth*, 1.
- 42 To date, we have not been able to source the original drawings prepared for the mosque.
- 43 Stephen F. Dale, *The Muslim Empires of the Ottomans, Safavids and Mughals* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 47. Radhey Shyman Chaurasia defines a golden age of Mughal architecture under the emperors Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jhan in *History of Medieval India: From 1000 A.D. to 1707 A.D.* (New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers, 2002), 327. Ram Nath highlights the reign of Shah Jahan as a golden age in the *History of Decorative Art in Mughal Architecture* (Motilal Banarsidass, 1976), 9; and more recently Ebba Koch, *Mughal Art and Imperial Ideology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 203-228.
- 44 This seemingly irreconcilable fusion between Hindu and Muslim architectural traditions is discussed in detail by Bianca Maria Alfieri, "The Classical Mughal Period I: Akbar (1556-1605)," in *Islamic Architecture of the Indian Subcontinent* (London: Laurence King, 2000), 203-225.
- 45 Musakhan, *The Mohammaden Mosque of Perth*, 14.
- 46 This tripartite composition with the features discussed can be observed on a monumental scale at Akbar's Tomb, Sikandra (1613), for example, or the Jami Masjid, Delhi (1656).
- 47 For a recent, comprehensive overview of the dynasty see Annemarie Schimmel, "Historical Introduction," in *The Empire of the Great Mughals* (London: Reaktion Books, 2004), 21-64.
- 48 The legacy of Mughal architecture was continued by architects under British Raj within and beyond India (such as the works of A.B. Hubback in Singapore and Malaysia). However, there are no known examples, to our knowledge, which are comparable in Australia.