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INDIA IN THE *ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS*

1857-1906



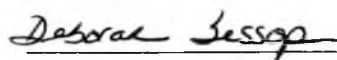
by

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A thesis presented for the degree of
Master of Arts (Asian Studies)
at the Australian National University

1986

This thesis is the result of my original research as a scholar in the Asian History
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INTRODUCTION

Victorian newspapers and periodicals were so important, a contemporary writer declared that journals moulded Englishmen's views "to a far greater extent than they are by those of any personal friend or even any leading statesman."¹ One scholar asserts, "It is a truth universally acknowledged that Victorian journalism was the peculiar means through which the life of this complex period was recorded and through which the whole range of its issues was debated."² Unfortunately there has been no scholarly study of the presentation of India based on such British sources.

We have selected the *Illustrated London News* for our study because it was the first popular periodical in the world whose appeal depended primarily on pictures and it was Britain's first regularly illustrated weekly to direct itself to family reading. The *Illustrated London News* promised to give its readers news of the world at a time when international coverage was influenced and moulded by social and technological changes in Britain. It promised "to keep continually before the eye of the world a living and moving panorama of all its actions and influences:"³

Is there peace? then shall its arts, implements, and manufactures be spread upon our page. The literature - the customs - the dress - nay, the institutions and localities of other lands, shall be brought home to you with spirit, with fidelity, and we hope, with discretion and taste. Is there war? then shall its seats and actions be laid naked before the eye. No estafette - no telegraphy - no steam-winged vessel - no overland mail shall bring intelligence to our shores that shall not be in the columns of this journal.⁴

¹J. Boyd Kinnear, "Anonymous Journalism," *Contemporary Review*, 5, 1867, p.324.

²Michael Wolff, "Why RSVP?," *Victorian Periodical Newsletter*, 8 April 1970, p.4.

³*Illustrated* 14 May 1842 p.1. References to the *Illustrated London News* in footnotes will be prefaced by *Illustrated* and followed by the date and page number.

⁴*Illustrated* 14 May 1842 p.1.

The Journal's stress on illustration was innovative and timely, and coincided with the development of photography. Changes in wood engraving and photo-chemical reproduction affected its graphics as it incorporated photographs into its illustrations. In addition to their use in the Journal, illustrations were worked up as separate oil paintings or watercolours and exhibited, published in books, pirated by other periodicals and used in lecture tours. Their exposure and influence extended beyond the *Illustrated*'s pages. The *Illustrated London News* was widely imitated and by 1892 both an American edition and an Australian edition were printed.⁵

The *Illustrated London News* has been printed as a weekly since its beginning in 1842. In 1879 its art editor commented that it "will prove of the highest value and interest to the future historian,"⁶ and it continues to be mined for its engravings by students of the Victorian period who are often unaware of the pictures' origins or contemporary use. It is probably one of the best preserved popular periodicals of the Victorian period.

Despite its cultural importance, the *Illustrated London News* has received little academic attention. Whether because it is a pictorial periodical or because it occupied a position between the daily press and the Sunday papers,⁷ there are no scholarly studies of the history of this journal.⁸ Unfortunately its offices were bombed during World War II and all editorial notes and original drawings were destroyed. In addition to the lack of studies about the *Illustrated London News*, few works discuss visual sources about India during the nineteenth century, even though it was a period when visual documentation gained prominence.

⁵Paul Hogarth, *The Artist as Reporter*, London: Studio Vista, 1967, p.15.

⁶*Illustrated* 23 August 1879 p.158.

⁷Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution*, London: Chatto & Windus, Ltd., 1961, p.193.

⁸We know of one unpublished PhD thesis which describes its first decade: Ann Hofstra Grogg, "The *Illustrated London News* 1842-1852," Indiana University, PhD thesis, 1977

This study examines the presentation of India in the Journal between 1857 and 1906. It analyses some of the popular images of India, discusses its goals for coverage of India, and suggests ways in which the focus reflected British interests of the time. The period between 1857 and 1906 has been chosen both for its historical importance in British-Indian relations and for its significance in pictorial journalism.

The period between the 1857 Mutiny and Curzon's viceroyalty witnessed growing separation and misunderstanding between Anglo-Indians⁹ and Indians, while newspapers in Britain imagined that they were bringing the Empire closer through coverage of events in India. It was a period of Indian nationalism and growing resentment toward British administration; a time when Britain directed its energies to a wide variety of interests and issues concerning India. The period is also significant in the history of pictorial journalism. It represents the high point of black and white illustrations since after 1906, colour reproduction began to dominate. After the period, press agencies became stronger and the role of the special correspondent diminished. By the turn of the century, half-tone reproduction became standard and the snapshot was used for news photographs.¹⁰

This study is important in part because it reveals a valuable source and focuses on unexamined visual material. We hope also to provide an understanding of some of the patterns established in the past century which formed the basis for current communications and news coverage.¹¹ Edward W. Said acknowledges the importance of news reporting by quoting a journalist at the beginning of *Orientalism* and he continues, "So far as the Orient is concerned, standardization and cultural stereotyping have intensified the hold of the nineteenth century academic and imaginative

⁹In this study "Anglo-Indian" refers to an English man or woman resident in India.

¹⁰Estelle Jussim, *Visual Communication and the Graphic Arts: Photographic Technologies in the Nineteenth Century*, New York: R.R. Bowker Co., 1974.

¹¹A.N.J. Den Hollander, "Countries Far Away - Cognition at a Distance," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 9(4), 1967, p.362-376 shows how today's classifications and judgements are based on past perceptions.

demonology of the 'mysterious Orient.'"¹² Our limited look at one nineteenth century source may contribute to an understanding of past perceptions and to the background of the news coverage of India.

The rise of the popular press helped to establish a more uniform view of India. Research suggests that "the logical trained occidental person avoids or reduces information that creates cognitive dissonance,"¹³ and that "man acts so as to restore equilibrium in his system of belief."¹⁴ Various theories show that homeostasis and equilibrium are essential communication needs,¹⁵ and it is generally agreed that the press plays an important role in this "assimilation" of material to familiar frames of reference."¹⁶

Our analysis of the *Illustrated*'s role in this process suggests that certain stereotypes of India were presented in its coverage. Our use of this term is guided by three factors: "its simplicity; its immediate recognisability (which makes its communicative role very important,) and its implicit reference to an assumed consensus about some attribute or complex social relationships. Stereotypes are in this respect prototypes of 'shared cultural meanings.'"¹⁷ This need for homeostasis and the role of stereotypes may help to explain why particular features of India were conveyed to

¹²Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978, p.26.

¹³Den Hollander in *Comparative Studies*, p.370.

¹⁴R.A. Bauer, "The Obstinate Audience: The Influence Process from the Point of View of Social Communication," *American Psychologist*, 19, 1964, p.322. Bauer provides references for related research.

¹⁵Harvey Glickman, "Viewing Public Opinion in Politics: A Common Sense Approach," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 23(4), 1959 p.502; Daniel Katz, "Psychological Barriers to Communication," *Mass Communications*, Wilbur Schramm (ed), Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1966, p.316-328; Ned Lebow, *White Britain and Black Ireland*, Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, Inc., 1976 uses Festinger's cognitive dissonance theory for his study of the nineteenth century British view of Ireland.

¹⁶Katz in *Mass Communications*, p.318.

¹⁷T.E. Perkins, "Rethinking Stereotypes," *Ideology and Cultural Production*, Michele Barrett *et.al.* (ed), London: Croom Helm, 1979, p.141.

readers in spite of the Journal's stress on accuracy, its use of new technology and the presence of correspondents in India.

Our study is based on a page by page examination of the *Illustrated London News* for the fifty year period. Of the possible total of 2611 weekly issues, this analysis is based on 2585 in addition to supplementary numbers commemorating special events. The main collection used is housed in the National Library of Australia, Canberra, Australia. We have also consulted copies in the State Library of Victoria, Melbourne, Victoria and the Metropolitan Reference Library, Toronto, Canada.

Features of the Journal selected for study are its lead articles and editorials; book reviews; articles; sketches, engravings, photographs; and descriptions. For the purposes of this study, "India" refers to Pakistan, India and Bangladesh. It does not include Sri Lanka, Nepal, Burma, Tibet or Afghanistan though reference to these areas may be made for clarification. It does not include Indians resident in other parts of the world.

Source materials are found primarily in the Journal itself. Contemporary sources include memoirs of artists and correspondents, newspaper histories, letters and biographies of people in India, and other periodicals. Throughout this study the *Illustrated London News* has been abbreviated to the *Illustrated* which was one of its contemporary short forms. Typographical errors have been corrected while inconsistencies in spelling have been retained.

Our chapter divisions attempt to indicate some of the major themes relating to India which were emphasised in the *Illustrated*. This thematic approach allows discussion of cultural factors which may have influenced the topics of coverage and it permits reference to specific subjects in more than one context.

Chapter I introduces the *Illustrated London News*, its features and aims for Indian coverage. It describes its sources of information about India, some of the people responsible for the news and it shows how military concerns specifically helped to shape the general approach to news reporting. Chapter II gives special attention to the visual presentation of India by placing pictorial sources within a nineteenth century

context and shows that photography was an important and innovative cultural technique for recording India.

Chapter III and IV examine the *Illustrated's* emphasis on the themes of travel and religion. We shall see some of the beginnings of tourism and how European attitudes to nature affected the depiction of India. Christian evangelicalism and its influence on descriptions of indigenous religions are also discussed.

The role of Government is featured in Chapter V. It shows that stress on "spectacle" determined much of the *Illustrated's* political coverage. This chapter includes relations between the British government and Indian rulers and their depiction as subsidiary extensions of British rule. Chapter VI indicates a connection between reportage and war by outlining military conflicts depicted in the Journal. Hunting and sport are discussed as related features of warfare. The depiction of India's hill tribes are considered through the British desire to explore, expand and govern the sub-continent. Chapter VII extends this focus on control to India's natural resources, and shows that technological changes reinforced the British value of progress. We show how educational institutions and exhibitions encouraged an outlook based on this value. In short, this thesis attempts to indicate the major features and emphasis of the *Illustrated* in its coverage of India and tries to relate these perceptions to dominant ideas and events of the period.

Particular gratitude is extended to the Department of Education in Canberra for its kindness and assistance while administering the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan award which enabled us to undertake this research.

Helpful and encouraging correspondence has been received from many people sharing interests in this area of study: Professor R.A. Huttenback, Professor A.J. Greenberger, Professor J. Broomfield, Professor B. Cohn, Dr. A. Hofstra Grogg, Dr. J. Wagner and Dr. M. Distad. Information has also been received from the Australian National Gallery, National Gallery of Victoria, Museum of London, Victorian and Albert Museum, the National Army Museum and the Royal Photographic Society.

We especially wish to thank Dr. J.T.F. Jordens, Dean of the Faculty of Asian Studies, Australian National University for his warm and patient supervision. Dr. Jordens's steady encouragement, sound advice and constructive comment provided insights that improved the revisions and were instrumental in the completion of this thesis.

CHAPTER I

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

To understand the focus of the *Illustrated London News*, it is necessary to examine its sources of information about India and some of the constraints and opportunities presented to it by the changing technology of the times. It is also important to consider some of the regular features of the publication through which this information was offered to its readers.

The *Illustrated* strongly criticised public disinterest in India and claims, "we have obstinately refused, as a nation, to give to the affairs of India, a thousandth part of the attention they demanded."¹ It detected "a certain negative interest which seems to characterise all our tendencies towards our Eastern Empire"² and admits, "there is no denying that there has been in most of us a strange confusion of ancient misapprehensions and more recent information, a total incapacity, or an obstinate unwillingness, to take a comprehensive view of this wide and exhaustless subject."³

The Journal tried to counter this negative attitude with references to the British people's "great inheritance,"⁴ and promotes "that magnificent appendage of empire - the noblest ever held by any State or Potentate recorded in ancient or modern history..."⁵ The

¹*Illustrated* 28 Nov 1857 p.521; also 10 April 1858 p.357; 31 July 1858 p.95; 8 Oct 1859 p.336; 18 August 1860 p.153; 16 March 1872 p.254. Lack of interest in Indian affairs in Britain is mentioned by Eric Stockes, *English Utilitarians and India*, London: Oxford University Press, 1959, p.xii; George Bearce, *British Attitudes Towards Indian 1784-1858*, London: Oxford University Press, 1961, p.181f.; Christine Bolt, *Victorian Attitudes to Race*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971, p.203.

²*Illustrated* 10 April 1858 p.357.

³*Illustrated* 28 Nov 1857 p.521.

⁴*Illustrated* 31 July 1858 p.95; also 6 August 1859 p.119.

⁵*Illustrated* 25 July 1857 p.81.

Illustrated wanted readers to take more active interest in Indian affairs and to further this aim, it presents its own role and importance:

... this Journal, which has the good fortune, now for so many years, to mark with the combined power of pen and pencil the great historical features of the age - to become the reflex of the body of the time - has this week devoted a large space to descriptive and pictorial illustrations of India. In its character as a household institution in this country, it will probably have thus fulfilled an expectation and satisfied a demand.⁶

It also comments on the role of the general press in forming public opinion through publication of diverse views from different sources:

The British press comprises more than the newspaper. It is by the press that men of authority and knowledge... speak to the public... It is through the press that candidates for Parliamentary honours give utterance to their sentiments; and it is through the press, whether in the shape of the daily or weekly journals, of pamphlets or of volumes, that any one who has anything to communicate gives his knowledge or his advice to the public, and contributes his quota to the general enlightenment.⁷

The *Illustrated* wanted to contribute to this enlightenment by making its readership more familiar with the policies, problems and people of India.

The Telegraphic Cable

The Journal depended upon official despatches, private letters, Indian newspapers, and correspondents for its news about India. It has been estimated that with extension of the telegraph, the time necessary to transfer information from England to India and back was reduced from two years to the same day between 1830 and 1870.⁸ Another historian

⁶*Illustrated* 28 Nov 1857 p.521.

⁷*Illustrated* 12 Sept 1857 p.257. George Gerbner, "Toward Cultural Indicators: the Analysis of Mass Mediated Public Message Systems," *The Analysis of Communication Content: Developments in Scientific Theories and Computer Techniques*, George Gerbner et.al. (ed), New York: Wiley, 1969, p.125 may help to explain the *Illustrated*'s role: "The creation of both the consciousness and the social structure called public is the result of the 'public-making' activity appropriately named publication. 'Public opinion' is actually the outcome of some sort of eliciting and sharing private views through their publication... Publication, as a general social process, is the creation and cultivation of shared ways of selecting and viewing events and aspects of life."

⁸Daniel R. Headrick, *The Tools of Empire*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981, p.129f.

concludes, "Even more important than goods, information was the life blood of European imperialism,"⁹ and in particular, the telegraphic cable "was more important than the steamship or railway since it carried *information* overseas thus facilitating the centralisation of facts and figures and the concentration of economic and military power."¹⁰ The British government embarked on a plan to create a telegraphic system which would operate entirely from territory which it controlled.¹¹ At the end of the century, the French government noted, "England owes her influence in the world perhaps more to her cable communications than to her navy. She controls the news, and makes it serve her policy and commerce in a marvellous manner."¹² Military and political motives, especially concerning India helped to determine cable routes which in turn affected the type of news¹³ conveyed to people in England.

⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁰Ronald Hyam, *Britain's Imperial Century 1815-1914*, New York: Harper & Row, Inc., 1976, p.108. Also Lucy Brown, "The Treatment of News in Mid-Victorian Newspapers," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 27, 1977, p.26.

¹¹*Illustrated* 21 August 1858 p.168; P.M. Kennedy, "Imperial Communication and Strategy," *English Historical Review*, 86, 1971, p.728-752; J. Saxon Mills, *The Press and Communications of the Empire*, London: W. Collins Sons & Co., Ltd., 1924, p.253.

¹²Kennedy in *English Historical Review*, p.748 quoted from R. Henning, Die deutsche Seekabelpolitik zur Befreiung vom englischen Weltmonopol: *Meereskunde*, 6. Jahrgang, Heft 4.

¹³Joseph J. Mathews, *Reporting the Wars*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957, p.223; Thomas Palmer, "Military Technology," *Technology in Western Civilization*, Melvin Kranzberg *et al.* (ed), New York: Oxford University Press, vol.1, 1967, p.495f.; William Russell, *My Diary in India*, London: Routledge, Warne and Routledge, vol.II, 1860, p.286; Mel Gorman, "Sir William O'Shaughnessey, Lord Dalhousie and the Establishment of the Telegraph System in India," *Technology and Culture*, 12, 1971, p.588.

Official announcements¹⁴ had priority over these new lines which offered a fresh link between comment originating in London and mail sent from India. There was growing belief that distance no longer hampered communication¹⁵ as news agencies began to select and order news for subscribers (including newspapers in India).¹⁶ Provincial papers were provided with "stereotyped leader, features, London letters and so forth"¹⁷ whereby news became more uniform,¹⁸ and tone and style simplified.¹⁹

The telegraph extended a predominantly British world-view through international communication channels. It was also an important feature of the nineteenth century goal to conquer nature. It represents "the abstractions of time and space and motion" which were

¹⁴Mathews, *Reporting the Wars*, p.219 suggests, "There has surely never been a more remarkable form of public communication than the official dispatch. For the better part of two centuries it was characterized by a basic sameness, an adherence to a limited and stereotyped pattern, regardless of the language in which it was composed, the time it was written, the conditions of warfare described, the literate or illiterate qualities of the composer."

¹⁵Peter Mudford, *Birds of a Different Plumage*, London: Collins, 1974, p.259 reports that as contact between England and India increased, the relationship between Indians and English in India became more distant. Russell, *My Diary in India*, vol.i, p.188 observed, "It seems as if the facility of communication with England deorientalizes men - they acquire less of the habits of the country and retain more of those of their own." David Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance: the Dynamics of Indian Modernization, 1773-1835*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969, p.8 considers it the Bengali intelligensia's "good fortune that the distance between Britain and India was great..."

¹⁶Information about the influence of press agencies can be found in Alan J. Lee, *The Origins of the Popular Press*, London: Croom Helm, Ltd., 1976, p.152; Margarita Barns, *The Indian Press: a history of the Growth of Public Opinion in India*, Allen &Unwin, 1940, p.313; Harold Herd, *The March of Journalism: the Story of the British Press from 1622 to the Present Day*, London: Allen &Unwin, 1952, p.180; Brown in *Transactons*, p.27.

¹⁷Lee, *Origins*, p.152.

¹⁸Williams, *Long Revolution*, p.192. This point is made also in Bern Dibner, "Communications" *Technology in Wester Civilizations*, vol. I, p.452-468.

¹⁹Williams, *Long Revolution*, p.196f.; Lee, *Origins*, p.121.

central to the value of progress and its subsidiary postulates.²⁰ In spite of some inconveniences,²¹ the *Illustrated* fully supports the cable network. With the laying of the Transatlantic Telegraph, it reported Science's triumph over Nature and the removal of time and space limitations:

There was, even after the cable had been successfully submerged, a reasonable ground of fear that the immense super-incumbent mass of water acting upon the great length of wire might produce mechanical and chemical results inimical to the continuity or efficiency of the electric current; and for a few days the telegraphic messages were of a nature to augment that fear, and to read to the too daring intellect of man a lesson of its own weakness when put into competition with the great forces of Nature. But happily the fear has been shown to be without foundation. The lisping telegraph has spoken plainly. The new born child of Science has passed its infancy, and speaks as man, or rather as angels should speak, and thousands of miles are as nothing to its speed, its continuity, and its completeness.²²

With the telegraph, the *Illustrated* sees "India united to England by a firmer bond than statesmen have ever imagined or Parliament enacted."²³

Book Reviews and Publications

The Journal also gained information about India from books presented to it for review which it shared with readers through its Literature and New Books columns. Between 1857 and 1906 the *Illustrated* published approximately two hundred book reviews about India. More than 25% of the titles suggest military and hunting topics. Other subjects are travel, politics and history, commerce, religion, language, and fiction. Through reviews, the *Illustrated* tries to "convince the reading public that India is not only of supreme

²⁰Lewis Mumford, *The Pentagon of Power*, New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1964, p.127,204.

²¹*Illustrated* 29 August 1857 p.214 notes that an official despatch from India was vague and confused and that functionaries were unable to make a plain statement in intelligible English; also 4 July 1857 p.1; 1 August 1857 p.110.

²²*Illustrated* 21 August 1858 p.168

²³*Ibid.*

importance to the Empire (which we all acknowledge) but (what few of us really believe) that it is a country of very great interest to all intelligent Englishmen."²⁴

Reviews emphasise a book's utility or educational value: speculations about Indian resources are "sound and useful," a travel account is "instructive," zoological descriptions are "highly instructive," a history book is "deeply instructive," and a book about sports in India is "full of instruction."²⁵ In addition to reviews, specific publications are quoted or recommended to readers in the Journal's descriptions of illustrations.

Lead Articles and Editorials

A lead article appeared weekly on the front page under the *Illustrated London News*'s banner until 1865 when this article was occasionally shortened and placed on the back of the first page, permitting a full-page illustration to appear under the banner. After 1872 lead articles were gradually discontinued and editorials directed readers' attention to social and political issues.

The *Illustrated* rarely addressed controversial subjects or took an extreme political position. Its style was oratorical and impassioned, striving for reconciliation and consensus in public affairs.²⁶ The first editorial stated the paper's refusal to align itself with one political party and supported the view that "practical utility" should test legislative measures.²⁷ In her analysis of the paper's first decade, Grogg concludes that the political

²⁴*Illustrated* 4 July 1903 p.12; also 14 Jan 1860 p.28; 20 April 1861 p.380; 26 Nov 1881 p.527; 19 June 1886 p.672.

²⁵*Illustrated* 24 July 1858 p.80; 26 Nov 1870 p.550; 26 Oct 1867 p.466; 22 Oct 1881 p.407; 26 May 1860 p.492.

²⁶For example, *Illustrated* 1 August 1857 p.105: "... the next Overland Mail to India will carry out the intelligence - which is certain to be salutary wherever it is known - that no squabbles of parties at home, no differences of opinion in Parliament, and no useless recriminations upon past errors, real or supposed, will interfere with the unanimous determination of the Government, the Legislature, and the people of Great Britain to maintain, at all costs and at all hazards, the stability of our Indian Empire."

²⁷*Illustrated* 14 May 1842 p.10. The principle that "practical utility" should determine legislation was repeated 22 Nov 1845 p.321 and the original editorial was quoted to reaffirm this position 6 July 1867 p.6f.

stance was respectable, usually non-controversial and of little importance in the context of the publication's emphasis on illustration.²⁸ Issues raised by the 1857 Mutiny were discussed from 1857 to 1859 in editorials. Between 1873 and 1877, famine was the main topic with isolated editorials commenting on specific government actions. Parliamentary decisions were occasionally criticised but the *Illustrated* strongly supports legislative reform.

As more space was devoted to illustrations and photographs, editorial comment was curtailed and eventually discontinued. Grogg concludes that by the middle of the nineteenth century, the tone of lead articles and editorials followed the illustrations by depicting "celebration of England's virtues and achievements..."²⁹ rather than providing a critical look at reforms. We shall see that by the end of the century, pictorial presentations virtually dominated textual comment.

Travelling Artists

During the 1850s and 1860s the *Illustrated* printed sketches and paintings by artists who had travelled in India before the 1857 Mutiny. They often followed an artistic tradition attracted to "picturesque" and "exotic" features of the East. The Journal engraved entries for the Royal Academy and "characteristic sketches of a few of the manners, habits, and customs of the natives of India."³⁰ Subjects include temples, bazaars, royal portraits, animal performers and seascapes.

These pictures, engraved by the *Illustrated* for contemporary events, could be used for purposes divorced from artistic intention and accompanying descriptions can emphasise visual features to promote a particular understanding of India. Stress on a picture's veracity was to reinforce the truthfulness of the text.

²⁸Grogg, "The *Illustrated*," p.244-248.

²⁹*Ibid*, p.248.

³⁰*Illustrated* 16 Jan 1858 p.31.

Some of the travelling artists who contributed were Marshall Claxton, William Carpenter, Jr., Joseph A. Benwell and George Montbard.³¹ Some who illustrated books and views for public exhibit were known particularly for their "Eastern subjects." During the century, artists who concentrated on news topics were specifically hired by journals to provide pictorial reportage.

Special Correspondents

"Special correspondents" shared a particular view of India, determined primarily by the role they played for their papers. Earlier studies show that the designation of "special correspondent" or "war correspondent" was affected by the advent of professionalism³² and the *Illustrated* acknowledged the War Office's "official recognition of the class which has produced a Russell, a Forbes, and a Melton Prior..."³³ One scholar notes, "News correspondents and photographers became respectable military camp followers, and no campaign, however small, escaped detailed coverage."³⁴ He associates this acceptance with growing military interests in the nineteenth century and the need for public support: "More competent weapons and production techniques to meet great military needs proved to be only the most obvious demands of the industrialized society at war; there arose further

³¹Biographical details can be found in Simon Houfe, *Dictionary of British Book Illustrators and Caricaturists 1800-1914*, Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, revised 1981; H.L. Mallalieu, *Dictionary of British Watercolour Artists up to 1920*, Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 1976; C.E. Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., (1908) reprint 1968 ; Christopher Wood, *Dictionary of Victorian Painters*, Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, revised 1978.

³²Jerome H. Buckley, *The Triumph of Time*, Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1967, p.58 concludes that the search for knowledge in the nineteenth century demanded specialised knowledge to the exclusion of general concerns which led to the concept of professionalism in a variety of spheres throughout Europe. See Mathews, *Reporting the Wars*, p.242; Knightley, *The First Casualty: from the Crimea to Vietnam, the War Correspondent as Hero, Propagandist, and Myth Maker*, New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovick, 1975, p.39.

³³*Illustrated* 1 Oct 1904 p.474.

³⁴Palmer in *Technology in Western Civilization*, p.497.

the requirement for homogeneity of outlook and purpose among the populace."³⁵ The *Illustrated* fully endorsed the role of the press in maintaining this homogeneity whereby correspondents identify with soldiers³⁶ and record their accounts in a personal and involved manner.³⁷

The idea that special correspondents were primarily a British institution,³⁸ given status and recognition in military affairs led to a cohesive and re-inforcing outlook. George Henty of the *Standard*, Archibald Forbes of the *Daily News*, J. Drew Gray of the *Daily Telegraph*, William Russell of the *Times*, and William Simpson and Melton Prior of the *Illustrated London News* knew each other and the *Illustrated* printed their descriptions of India,³⁹ featured them in its illustrations,⁴⁰ and reviewed their books.⁴¹

³⁵*Ibid.*

³⁶*Illustrated* 19 Sept 1857 p.286 reports "The press in a righteous and popular war is like the trumpeter or the standard-bearer in an army; it both inspires courage and keeps it up to the mark, not of mere duty, but of zeal and devotion."

³⁷Thomas F. Boyle, "Sensational Novels and Sensational Newspapers: Subversive Elements in Victorian Culture," PhD thesis, New York University, 1976, p.136 concludes, "There can be no doubt that newspapers had become subjects of their own coverage, principle actors as it were, in the tale they told. The next step was to overtly intrude on the stage, in the person of the special correspondent." See Robert Wilkinson-Latham, *From Our Special Correspondent*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd., 1979, p.32,84,136f. A good example is *Illustrated* 19 Feb 1876 p.174.

³⁸Mathews, *Reporting the Wars*, p.52,130,147,241. This was especially true for coverage of imperial wars.

³⁹*Illustrated* 5 March 1859 p.229; 29 Dec 1866 p.631; 4 Dec 1875 p.562; 1 April 1876 p.330; 1 July 1876 p.19; 28 Dec 1878 p.602.

⁴⁰*Illustrated* 7 March 1874 p.219; 4 Jan 1874 p.1; 9 August 1879 p.121; 15 April 1876 p.3 supplement.

⁴¹In addition to books by Henty, Gay, Russell, and Simpson, the *Illustrated* reviewed works by Colonel Meadows Taylor who was correspondent for the *Times*, Lionel James of Reuters, F.H.S. Mereweather of Reuters, Burleigh of the *Daily Telegraph* and Steevens of the *Daily Mail*.

With the increase in nineteenth century warfare, particularly in the British Empire,⁴² war correspondents catered to popular fictional interests. One author contends that imperial expansion "provided wars sufficiently distant as not to be too distressing, but successful enough to sustain confidence, with occasional setbacks to maintain tension. It provided opportunity for sometimes vastly imaginative tales of foreign lands, disguised as news."⁴³ A contemporary scholar criticised this style of reporting but considered it necessary for Britain since "it still yields ample evidence of the important national service that newspapers can do in ways that would not otherwise be trodden."⁴⁴

The relationship between newspaper coverage and fiction at the time is significant because the news and the stories were often written by the same people and there was not the distinction between them as may be imagined even though the *Illustrated* strove to provide accurate and realistic reportage of India. Kipling is perhaps the best known British writer of fiction about India who was also a reporter.⁴⁵ E.J. Thompson was a journalist who wrote novels and history books about India.⁴⁶ Curiven became editor of the *Times of India* in 1877 and published fiction in London journals.⁴⁷ Archibald Forbes of the *Daily*

⁴²Wilkinson-Latham, *From Our Special*, p.72.

⁴³Lee, *Origins*, p.161; also mentioned by Brown in *Transactions*, p.33.

⁴⁴H.R. Fox Bourne, *English Newspapers*, New York: Russell & Russell, vol.2, (1887) 1966 reprint, p.378. The national service was to inform the English public of political and other affairs abroad. Bourne considers such correspondence "may be nearly the liveliest and most instructive reading offered to them." However Mathews, *Reporting the Wars*, p.140 says that most correspondence "repeated clichés time after time, year after year, and managed to make their battles sound very much alike whether the scene of fighting was the mountains of India or the Sudanese desert."

⁴⁵He worked for the *Civil and Military Gazette*.

⁴⁶Shamsul Islam, *Chronicles of the Raj: A Study of Literary Reaction to the Imperial Idea Towards the End of the Raj*, London: Macmillan Press, Ltd., 1979, p.45-62; Benita Perry, *Delusions and Discoveries: Studies on India in the British Imagination 1880-1930*, London: Allen Lane, 1972, p.164-202.

⁴⁷Bhupal Singh, *A Survey of Anglo-Indian Fiction*, London: Oxford University Press, 1934, p.109 n.1.

News was hired because he impressed an editor with his fictional descriptions of battles, and he wrote a novel about the 1857 Mutiny which attracted the *Morning Advertiser*.⁴⁸ George Henty, who represented the *Morning Advertiser*, the *Morning Post* and the *Standard* stopped reporting to write juvenile books in which fictitious episodes were set against factual backgrounds.⁴⁹ He prided himself on historical accuracy and his books were used by teachers in Canada, Australia and New Zealand.⁵⁰ In a review of two of his books, the *Illustrated* reported that the tone was "occasionally a little heavy no doubt from the author's desire to instruct as well as amuse."⁵¹ Melton Prior of the *Illustrated* became Henty's friend and met Kipling during the Transvaal War around 1899.⁵² The *Illustrated* acknowledged to a certain extent, that problems could arise from confusing popular fiction with academic theories, but it defended the writer's license on the basis of "amusing the fancy."⁵³ Consequently, newspaper reportage shared features in tone and style with fiction which affected the presentation of India.

⁴⁸Knightley, *The First Casualty*, p.42,45.

⁴⁹Wilkinson-Latham, *From Our Special*, p.90f.

⁵⁰Guy Arnold, *Held Fast for England: G.A. Henty, Imperialist Boys' Writer*, London: Hamish Hamilton, Ltd., 1980, p.19.

⁵¹*Illustrated* 14 Dec 1901 p.929.

⁵²Melton Prior, *Campaigns of a War Correspondent*, London: Edwar Arnold, 1912, p.307; Peter Johnson, *Front Line Artist*, London: Cassell Ltd., 1976, p.76.

⁵³*Illustrated* 15 Dec 1888 p.710: "If certain grave critics have deemed it their duty to object to these interesting tales on the ground of their lack of consistency with ascertained facts of geography and ethnology, or with the conditions of human character and behaviour under any conceivable social influences, it is a sufficient answer that they are not intended to satisfy the scientific critics, but to amuse the fancy." Brian V. Street, *The Savage in Literature: Representations of "Primitive" Society in English Fiction 1859-1920*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975, p.169 states, "it is the use of academic theories as a framework for popular fiction, rather than in specific borrowing, that scholarly ideas are given general currency, especially since the examples which illustrate them are usually more vivid and hence memorable than those of the anthropologists themselves." See also D.C.R.A. Goonetilleke, *Developing Countries in British Fiction*, London: Macmillan Press, 1977, p.250f., Kenneth Graham, *English Criticism of the Novel 1865-1900*, Oxford Clarendon Press, 1965, p.12-23; Boyle, "Sensational Novels," p.125.

The Journal based its reportage on accuracy and realism. It supported a group of "eye-witnesses" in the form of special correspondents who were to maintain standards of fidelity and veracity. Yet it is often impossible to detect any difference in outlook between the news about India generated in London and that sent from India.⁵⁴

William Simpson, originally commissioned to paint Indian scenes for a publishing house, became one of the first special correspondents for the *Illustrated London News*. His career shows the transformation from travelling artist to war correspondent. Simpson combined cultural topics with his military assignments and was individually credited with bringing India to the notice of the *Illustrated*'s readers.⁵⁵ He spoke of his role as a special artist in newspaper articles and at public lectures:

... I have at all times felt that I was not seeing for myself alone, but that others would see through my eyes, and that eyes unborn would, in the pages of the *Illustrated London News*, do the same. This feeling has at all times urged on my mind the necessity for accuracy; and I trust that those in the future, either the historian or the archaeologist, who may refer to the subjects I have contributed, will find no reason to doubt their faithfulness.⁵⁶

Simpson echoed the *Illustrated*'s belief that its record was accurate and whether he was sketching architecture, scenery, or warfare, the Journal praised his ability to draw unfamiliar and complex subjects.⁵⁷

Melton Prior was also sent to India and he covered "no less than twenty-five campaigns and revolutions before his death in 1910."⁵⁸ While in India for the Tirah

⁵⁴Allen J. Greenberger, *The British Image of India 1880-1960: Study in the Literature of Imperialism*, London: Oxford University Press, p.1969 p.5 suggests there is "little difference between the writings of those who were most familiar with the area and those who knew it only through secondary sources." Louise K. Barnett, *The Ignoble Savage: American Literary Racism 1790-1890*, Westport: Greenwood Press, 1975, p.187 reaches the same conclusion.

⁵⁵*Illustrated* 25 Dec 1875 p.3 supplement; 21 March 1874 p.283; 3 June 1876 p.550.

⁵⁶*Illustrated* 14 May 1892 p.604.

⁵⁷*Illustrated* 3 June 1876 p.550.

⁵⁸Johnson, *Front Line Artists*, p.78.

campaign in 1897, he submitted sketches about the plague in Bombay and returned to India in 1902 for the Imperial Durbar in Delhi. Prior epitomised "the correspondent as soldier" and enjoyed sending sketches of himself and other correspondents in danger.⁵⁹ It was not uncommon for the Journal to print pictures based on Prior's sketches which had been redrawn by Richard Caton Woodville, Jr.

Although Woodville travelled for the *Illustrated*, he was primarily a home-based studio artist who specialised in redrawing rough sketches sent to the Journal by other correspondents. In addition to his work as an illustrator, Woodville painted large canvases of British imperial wars, said to have been admired by Queen Victoria.⁶⁰ In the same tradition as Archibald Forbes and Melton Prior, Woodville was identified through a military metaphor: "... the handling of this artist's brush is so intimately associated with the drawing of the sword. No war-painter of the century has imparted more truth, realism, and dramatic action to stirring deeds than he has on canvas."⁶¹ Woodville accompanied Prince Albert Victor to India in 1889. In his memoirs, he muses that it is "sad that the Indian should despise his beautiful native arts, and always hanker after becoming Europeanised and filling his houses with the rubbish of the Early Victorian era..."⁶² while his paintings depict England's greatness and Imperial dominance.⁶³

Other special artists who contributed to the presentation of India, either through correspondence or as artists working in London were Samuel Begg, Frank Dadd, H.C. Seppings-Wright and A. Foresstier. Sketches and information were also supplied by people stationed in India, often in a military or administrative position. Military personnel

⁵⁹*Illustrated* 18 Dec 1897 supplement; 25 Dec 1897 p.914.

⁶⁰Johnson, *Front Line Artists*, p.160.

⁶¹*Illustrated* 7 Dec 1895 p.1 supplement.

⁶²Richard Caton Woodville, Jr., *Random Recollections*, London: Eveleigh Nash, 1914.

⁶³*Illustrated* 7 Dec 1895 p.1 supplement.

who acted as correspondents held various ranks and were members of different regiments. Political correspondents included collectors, deputy commissioners and members of the Staff Corps. Engineers, surgeons and railway personal also supplied pictures. It is not always clear if the correspondents were directly responsible for their submissions or if their material originated elsewhere.

Summary

In this chapter we have seen that the sources of information for the *Illustrated* were amongst the most diverse and advanced of any popular periodical in the world at the time and that it heralded what would become a new concept of journalism in terms of its pictorial focus. This would dominate to become one of the most significant features in the future as photo-journalism. As important as these contributions were, the *Illustrated* was also, in some sense, to shape the administrative concept of journalism itself, particularly through its use of the telegraph which would evolve into news services and through its reliance on special correspondents which were used to promote the veracity and reliability of eye-witness accounts. By the twentieth century, such institutions would govern the concept of world news.

We have also shown how the sources available to the Journal were conveyed through regular features and engravings to its readers and thus became sources for their understanding of India. These included textual comment and artistic renderings. The *Illustrated* regarded its pictorial coverage to be its greatest contribution as "The nations of the world are learning to despise distance, and to become, as a necessary consequence, better acquainted with each other."⁶⁴ Its engravings were to provide such acquaintance.

⁶⁴*Illustrated* 9 July 1859 p.31 Mills, *Press and Communications*, p.123 reports that the Second Imperial Conference resolved that cheaper communication was needed for "educating public opinion and in maintaining a good understanding between all peoples of the Empire."

CHAPTER II
PICTORIAL PRESENTATIONS

The *Illustrated* emphasised that its pictures were its most important feature and that they transcend the boundaries of language.¹ It congratulated itself for being an "Educational code, and a cheap and popular school. None can overestimate the teaching of the eye."² At its commencement, it saw its role as offering "instruction in a pure and virtuous form and administer[ing] to the gratification of innocent and civilising taste a pictorial reflex of the history, and manners and the adventures of the age."³ The Journal was "putting the seal of art upon.. the authenticity of news.."4

The *Illustrated* saw no conflict between the desire to give readers authenticity and the need to express purity and virtue. Mason Jackson, the Journal's art editor explained, "Faulty or objectionable portions have been left out or subdued, and perhaps a point in the sketch that is quite subordinate is brought forward and made to form a prominent part of the picture. All this has been done without doing violence to the general truth of the presentation..."⁵ Despite the fact that the *Illustrated*'s pictures are not necessarily what

¹*Illustrated* 30 August 1879 p.207.

²*Illustrated* 14 May 1892 p.579. *Illustrated* 8 July 1845 p.321 centres such teaching on "our material well-being and our social advancement." *Illustrated* 14 May 1892 p.579 celebrates the Journal's jubilee "with the conviction that it has done the State some service."

³*Illustrated* 10 Sept 1842 p.278.

⁴*Illustrated* 8 July 1843 p.22; also 13 Dec 1890 p.743.

⁵*Illustrated* 30 August 1879 p.206. Repeated in Mason Jackson, *The Pictorial Press: Its Origins and Progress*, New York: Burt Franklin, (1885) 1969 reprint, p.317-320.

they pretend to be,⁶ these two values of realistic portrayal and virtue no doubt influenced the readers' reception of the illustrations.

Realism⁷ and virtue guided the narrative tradition in both writing and pictures during the nineteenth century and every picture was to tell a story.⁸ Even if the content referred to places or times far away, "the Victorian artists tended to choose their historical and exotic themes with an eye to their present-day relevance."⁹ This was particularly true for those who drew for pictorial periodicals which were the most influential source for presenting contemporary themes.¹⁰ It has been suggested that, "Looking at the world through the medium of pictures thus became a habit in the first half of the nineteenth century, and as the pictorial means of information and entertainment grew more sophisticated and better adapted to mass public consumption, the bombardment of visual and specifically pictorial

⁶See Grogg, "The *Illustrated*," p.56-60; Johnson, *Front Line*, p.146-149 describes one of the more blatant examples of shift in emphasis for propaganda purposes during the Boer War.

⁷"Realistic representation" has been a goal of Western art since at least the renaissance. See Julian Hochberg, "Pictorial Functions and Perceptual Structures," *The Perception of Pictures*, Margaret Hagen (ed), New York: Academic Press, vol.2, 1980, p.47-93; Jussim, *Visual Communication*, p.78; Ellwood Parry, *The Image of the Indian and the Black Man in American Art 1500-1900*, New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1974 p.82 considers this issue.

⁸See Robert Langbaum, "The Art of Victorian Literature," *The Mind and Art of Victorian England*, J.L. Altholz (ed), Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1976, p.26f.; Buckley, *Triumph of Time*, p.145; Richard D. Altick, *Victorian People and Ideas*, New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1973, p.272ff.; Eric de Mare, *Victorian Woodblock Illustrators*, London: Gordon Fraser, 1980, p.11ff.; Mario Praz, *The Hero in Eclipse in Victorian Fiction*, London: Oxford University Press, 1956, p.28; Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific 1768-1850*, London: Oxford University Press, 1960, p.245.

⁹Altick, *Victorian People and Ideas*, London: J.M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1973, p.275.

¹⁰Hogarth, *The Artist as Reporter*, p.12; Houfe, *Dictionary of British Illustrators*, p.159; de Mare, *Victorian Woodblock Illustrators*, p.18; Guy Macdonald, *Camera: Victorian Witness*, New York: Viking Press, 1979, p.145; John P. Harthan, *The History of the Illustrated Book: the Western Tradition*, London: Thames & Hudson, 1981, p.172.

stimuli became inescapable; the world was saturated with pictures."¹¹ One scholar estimates that "the number of printed pictures produced between 1800 and 1901 was probably considerably greater than the total number of printed pictures that had been produced before 1801."¹²

To fully appreciate the *Illustrated*'s role, we shall look briefly at the artistic traditions which it incorporated into its pictures of India, show how captions and descriptions directed readers' attention to specific visual interpretations, and consider the importance of photography as a technique for documenting India.

The Panorama

Panoramas were large pictures of static scenes, often showing natural sites, battles, processions, and places of exploration.¹³ The *Illustrated* was regarded as a miniature panorama,¹⁴ continuing the perspective of the large public shows. London's public panoramas presented the battle of Seringapatam, and the city of Madras and the overland route to India. The 1857 Mutiny was the last major event in India shown in this manner.¹⁵ Pictures for public panoramas were done by proprietors or artist-travellers "moved by the romantic passion for the remote, the sublime, the picturesque, and the antique... while

¹¹Michael R. Booth, *Victorian Spectacular Theatre*, Boston, Mass.: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981, p.8.

¹²William M. Ivins, Jr., *Prints and Visual Communication*, New York: De Capo Press, 1969, p.93.

¹³Booth, *Victorian Spectacular Theatre*, p.6f.; Richard D. Altick, *The Shows of London*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978, p.136f.,176.

¹⁴For the 1851 Exhibition, the *Illustrated* provided a 22 foot strip panorama as one of its usual fold-outs; See Booth, *Victorian Spectacular Theatre*, p.6f.

¹⁵Altick, *Shows*, p.135-138,177,460-462,481; Booth, *Victorian Spectacular Theatre*, p.6f.

other sketches were provided by men who were abroad for other reasons: soldiers, naval officers, government officials on foreign station."¹⁶

Following these subjects and sources for visual information, the *Illustrated* featured views of India's cities, battle locations and forts, and architecture¹⁷ as miniature panoramas for its individual reader. Later, topographical sketches of campaigns on the north-west frontier were fully labeled with locations of troops and noteworthy geographical features.¹⁸ Just as large panoramas provided a particular vantage point for the spectator, the *Illustrated*'s captions included directions from where the sketch was made -- "Calcutta from the Plassey Gate,"¹⁹ "Fort Allahabad from the River Jumna,"²⁰ "Fort William, Calcutta - sketched from the River."²¹

Panoramas exhibited "the arrested moment... Everyone coming to view the panorama could- and had to - be expected to visualise the situation and supplement or complement it backwards or forwards in time."²² In the same manner, by offering its own pictorial interpretation of the event, the *Illustrated London News*'s readers shared a

¹⁶Altick, *Shows*, p.138.

¹⁷*Illustrated* 26 Sept 1857 p.321; 17 Sept 1858 p.282; 5 March 1870 p.244; 22 August 1857 p.237; 5 Sept 1857 p.240; 17 April 1858 p.384; 28 Nov 1863 p.544; 7 Nov 1868 p.441; 1 June 1867 p.544; 20 April 1889 p.506.

¹⁸*Illustrated* 20 Nov 1897 p.726; 5 Feb 1898 p.185; Smith, *European Vision*, p.211f. discusses this labeling as a feature of topographical drafting in unknown locations.

¹⁹*Illustrated* 5 March 1870 p.244.

²⁰*Illustrated* 19 Sept 1858 p.281.

²¹*Illustrated* 17 Oct 1857 p.396.

²²Dolf Sternberger, *Panorama oder Ansichten vom 19. Jahrhundert*, Joachim Neugroschel (trans), Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1977, p.53.

common understanding of foreign news through its panoramic sketches and captions which helped to create a homogeneous readership.²³

Picturesque Views

While panorama describes a particular communication medium and a particular way to depict scenes,²⁴ a related artistic genre focused on "picturesque" renditions of Indian subjects. Initially, the word "picturesque" was an artistic term²⁵ but overuse through the century transformed it into a cliché expression (with little specific meaning) for depicting India's landscape, architecture and people.²⁶

As an artistic term "picturesque" describes the depiction of landscape, associated with the Romantic Movement, in which the ground is divided into three areas of foreground, middle ground and background which may be sharply defined through use of chiaroscuro, or blended imperceptibly. The *Illustrated* presented this genre when it illustrated various topics, particularly from areas of India in which mountains are a

²³Beck, *Victorian Engravings*, p.9 considers how wood-engravings reinforced the text to help form public opinion.

²⁴For descriptions of India see Russell, *My Diary in India*, vol.II, 189; Flora Annie Steel, *The Garden of Fidelity*, London: Macmillan & Co., 1929, p.44.

²⁵Mildred Archer and Ronald Lightbown, *India Observed*, London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1982, p.104; Carl P. Barbier, *William Gilpin: His Drawings, Teachings and Theory of the Picturesque*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963, p.1f.,21; Clark Worswick and Ainslie Embree, *The Last Empire: Photography in British India 1855-1911*, New York: Aperture, Inc., 1976, p.2; Jeremy Maas, *Victorian Painters*, London: Barried and Rockliff, 1969, p.49; Bernard S. Cohn, "The People of India: From the Picturesque to the Museum of Mankind," (private circulation), April 1984; Partha Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters: History of European Reactions to Indian Art*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977, p.121ff.

²⁶*Illustrated* 5 Sept 1863 p.238 describes the "Tour of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjaub Through Cashmere" and includes, "Islamabad, a picturesque town," "the picturesque city of Srinnuggur," "picturesque houses," and "The palace of the Maharajah, with its golden dome, is a picturesque object in the scene, but nothing can rival the natural beauty of the spot. The grove of plane-trees, the splendid avenues of poplars, all combine to render Srinnuggur a most picturesque city."

dominant feature.²⁷ Indian architecture was also featured in this picturesque style: a temple or palace fills the middle ground and figures are placed in the foreground for scale. Contemporary European interest in Indian antiquities and archaeology helped to give architecture a strong pictorial focus, and as British institutions were built and news shifted to the central government, administrative structures were also depicted in this manner.²⁸

Picturesque is also applied to genre paintings of places and people depicting "the native." It was primarily a French tradition whose popularity has been traced to associations with romance, conquest, sensualism and mystery.²⁹ With the advent of photography, the genre became "picturesque ethnography"³⁰ and mistakenly accepted as a source for documenting history.³¹ The *Illustrated* reproduced sketches and paintings of Indian bazaars, women, and animals in this way.

Battle Paintings

When special correspondents started to draw world events, there was no historical tradition for them to easily follow in their illustrations.³² Picturesque scenes were often unsuitable for the portrayal of movement and since warfare was a dominant theme, some

²⁷Examples are *Illustrated* 17 Jan 1857 p.47; 7 Nov 1863 p.480; 17 Oct 1863 p.401; 30 Sept 1865 p.313; 4 Feb 1868 p.109.

²⁸*Illustrated* 10 Oct 1857 p.357; 8 Dec 1877 p.556; 27 Nov 1869 p.529; 12 March 1870 p.265.

²⁹Phillippe Jullian, *The Orientalists: European Painters of Eastern Scenes*, Oxford: Phaidon Press, Ltd., 1977, p.77, and Chapter VI for specific examples from India; see also Said, *Orientalism*, p.118.

³⁰Jullian, *Orientalists*, p.171.

³¹Aaron Scharf, *Art and Photography*, London: Allen Lane, 1968, p.57; Jullian, *Orientalists*, p.56.

³²Jussim, *Visual Communication*, p.81 clarifies the role of the artist-correspondent when she defines illustration as "... purposefully created visual communications destined specifically for reproduction, usually in a direct connection with a printed verbal fiction or nonfiction."

printed pictures followed earlier battle compositions.³³ Army officers were taught drawing as part of their training³⁴ and they contributed amateur sketches to the *Illustrated*. Unfortunately, this continuity is not always evident because it is difficult to distinguish between correspondents' original sketches and reworking by artists in London. Studio artists such as R. Caton Woodville, Jr. excelled at dramatising battle scenes without concern for placement accuracy.

A survey of battle paintings as a documentary source has not been located, nor has there been much study of how battle painting compositions and their placement of figures have been used to depict other subjects.³⁵ One helpful study delineates four primary motifs for battle depiction while acknowledging the possibility of interfusion.³⁶ Each can be found in the *Illustrated's* coverage of India:

1. Glorifying pictures, primarily intended to extol the Commander-in-Chief in his warlike environment.
2. Narrative pictures, attempting to render a more or less factual account, without trace of a personal cult.
3. Analytical pictures, intended to give a professional, lucid presentation of the strategical and tactical operations.
4. Ornamental pictures, that is to say, military genre pictures, intended especially as wall decoration.³⁷

³³Houfe, *Dictionary of British Book Illustrators*, p.139.

³⁴Archer and Lightbown, *India Observed*, p.12; Arlan R. Skelley, "The Tragedy of British Military Education: The Cardwell Reforms 1868-1874," *Journal of Education Administrative History*, 3(2), 1971, p.15-23.

³⁵Parry, *Image of the Indian*, p.140ff. shows how confrontation as a military subject is pictorially translated into a domestic scene while retaining the "conquered-conqueror" context.

³⁶Olle Cederlof, "The Battle Painting as a Historical Source," *Revue Internationale d'Histoire Militaire*, 26, 1967, p.119-144.

³⁷*Ibid*, p.120. 1. *Illustrated* 4 August 1860 p.99; 12 Jan 1861 p.25; 31 March 1894 p.391; 2. *Illustrated* 10 Oct 1857 p.372; 21 Jan 1858 p.5; 29 April 1865 p.409; 4 May 1895 p.551; 3. *Illustrated* 5 Sept 1857 p.241; 6 Feb 1864 p.120; 24 June 1865 p.600; 15 Dec 1877 p.565; 4. *Illustrated* 28 Nov 1857 p.552; 20 March 1858 p.301; 5 March 1859 p.228; 13 March 1858 p.280.

The author suggests that photography and artillery³⁸ lessened the category of personal glorification in the nineteenth century while the narrative style reached its zenith during the latter half of the century.³⁹ This is suggested by the *Illustrated* itself when it criticised a painter's conception of battle: "[His] idea of military campaign is hardly that of which the special correspondents nowadays give such graphic accounts... from the point of view of actual history his picture leaves much to be filled in by the spectator."⁴⁰ The Journal preferred the bloodied garments, toil and strife which accords with its new view of realism.

Portraits and Poses

While panoramas, picturesque views and battle scenes depict people, they are not necessarily the central feature. The influence of the European academic desire to classify particular people and groups has been acknowledged elsewhere.⁴¹ Its significance for the *Illustrated* lies in visual reinforcement through news coverage and the use of captions to emphasise particular interpretations⁴² of the *Illustrated*'s presentation of India's people.

³⁸Cederlof in *Revue Internationale*, p.125.

³⁹*Ibid*, p.135; also Scharf, *Art and Photography*, p.58.

⁴⁰*Illustrated* 16 July 1898 p.98.

⁴¹Said, *Orientalism*, p.40 suggests that the "Oriental is *contained* and *represented* by dominating frameworks" of the West [original italics]. Edmund Carpenter in his forward to Julian Blackburn, *The White Men*, London: Orbis Publishing Ltd., 1979 p.8 suggests, "... to incorporate someone into Western society, you need optical likeness. Then you classify and conquer." Stuart Hall, "The Determination of News Photographs," *Working Papers in Cultural Studies*, University of Birmingham, Centre for Cultural Studies, 3,1973, p.68 addresses this issue.

⁴²See John Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, London: British Broadcasting Corporation and Penguin Books, Ltd., 1972, p.28; David Novitz, *Pictures and Their Communication*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1977, p.31,97f.; Nicolas Peterson, "The Popular Image of the First Australians: Early Twentieth Century Picture Post-Cards of Aborigines, (private circulation) 1984 p.7; Hall in *Working Papers*, p.71.

Individuals are portrayed in a manner similar to documentary reportage.⁴³ One picture is captioned "Hindu Thugs and Poisoners - From a Drawing by Mr. W. Carpenter, Jun." which shows several men lined up facing the viewer with a label underneath each person:

"Poisoner Nujeeb in Poisoner Thug Poisoner Thug Nujeeb
 Disguise Policeman"⁴⁴

In the description, Carpenter writes that he had "the opportunity ... to sketch some specimens of this choice variety of the mild Hindoo."⁴⁵ The use of the terms "specimens" and "choice variety" suggests collection and classification. Individuals are also labeled according to military ranks.⁴⁶ Another scene is labeled "Types of Manipuries,"⁴⁷ while anatomical references reinforce typology as in the case of "Head of a Naga Chief..."⁴⁸

Labeling according to occupation is another ordering mechanism for sketches of people: "Mehtahs, Street-Sweepers in Calcutta,"⁴⁹ "Catamaran Postman,"⁵⁰ "A Bidree

⁴³See Celina Fox, "The Development of Social Reportage in English Periodical Illustration During the 1840s and Early 1850s," *Past and Present*, 74, 1977, p.111; L. Perry Curtis, *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricatures*, Devon: David & Charles, Ltd., 1971, p.83f.; Houfe, *Dictionary of British Book Illustrators*, p.149.

⁴⁴*Illustrated* 14 Nov 1857 p.474.

⁴⁵*Ibid*, p.475.

⁴⁶*Illustrated* 25 April 1857 p.382; 24 April 1858 p.412.

⁴⁷*Illustrated* 11 April 1891 p.461.

⁴⁸*Ibid*, p.466.

⁴⁹*Illustrated* 17 March 1860 p.253. this classification according to labour had its equivalent in the nineteenth century British music hall. See Martha Vicinus, *The Industrial Muse: A Study of Nineteenth Century British Working-Class Literature*, London: Croom Helm, 1974, p.257; P.J. Keating, *The Working Classes in Victorian Fiction*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971, p.153; Stedman, *Shadows of the Indian: Stereotypes in American culture*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982, p.247-251 shows North American Indians in this manner.

⁵⁰*Illustrated* 20 Nov 1858 p.475.

Worker of Lucknow,"⁵¹ "A Boatman on the Indus."⁵² These sketches show men engaged in activity in a suggestive position with appropriate tools. Women are featured in a lay-out devoid of setting, entitled "Costumes of West India,"⁵³ in which nine figures of women are frozen in frontal, profile and posterior positions. Each is labeled fishwoman, Moslem woman, Mahratta woman, etc. Posed groups also show military or political personnel.⁵⁴ Some may be *cartes de viste* ⁵⁵ in which arranged people are labeled "Bombay Police" or "Native Servants."⁵⁶

Context is also determined by the manner in which people are presented. The *Illustrated* printed portraits in which Indian rulers were attended by ministers⁵⁷ and bust portraits show leaders in ceremonial attire.⁵⁸ Other Indian individuals brought to readers' attention are shown in the style of European portraiture in which the subject is seated in a

⁵¹*Illustrated* 21 Oct 1876 p.380.

⁵²*Illustrated* 26 Oct 1878 p.397.

⁵³*Illustrated* 25 March 1876 p.300f.

⁵⁴*Illustrated* 31 Oct 1857 p.432; 27 June 1863 p.697; 23 May 1885 p.526; 2 Jan 1864 p.3.

⁵⁵Macdonald, *Camera*, p.52: "*Cartes de visite* were small portraits on cards 2 1/4 x 3 1/2 inches, developed by the French photographer, Andre Disderi, in 1854." They soon included foreign views and scenery, in addition to people.

⁵⁶*Illustrated* 9 Jan 1897 p.58.

⁵⁷*Illustrated* 16 May 1863 p.528; 1 August 1857 p.118; 11 Dec 1875 p.572.

⁵⁸*Illustrated* 20 Nov 1875 supplement p.513,516; 4 Dec 1875 p.548,568; 18 Dec 1875 p.612.

chair, often beside a table with a number of props (usually books) on top of it.⁵⁹ This soon became the standard pose for rulers as well.⁶⁰

In addition to accoutrements and surroundings, the subject's own physical features were examined as a key to character and personality through attention to physiognomy: "the attribution of physical and mental traits to any given type of man..."⁶¹ This practice did not start in the nineteenth century but it received strong and systematised support during this period from those interested in ethnology and anthropology.⁶² Engravings could be used to reflect various racial theories through their portrayal of specific physiognomical features,⁶³ while the text could direct attention to desired conclusions.

In the *Illustrated*, such references were incorporated in the descriptions of admirable abilities. An engraving of "Kundy Ras, the Guicowar of Goojerat..." is directly beside the description which includes:

Kundey Ras, has a pleasing and intelligent expression of stature. He appears to possess great muscular strength... He also rides and

⁵⁹Gisele Freund, *Photography and Society*, London: Gordon Fraser, 1980, p.6-63 discusses use of props which "tended to distract the viewer from the subject in order to suggest a type rather than an individual. The sitter himself seems nothing more than a prop in the studio." W.G.L. De Haas, "Technology as a Subject of Comparative Studies: the Case of Photography," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 21, 1979, p.369 states "For a long time, the photographic portrait continued to betray its bourgeois origin by its traditional background and stereotyped attributes, which sustained its function as a status symbol. Carpets and drapes, armchairs and pedestal tables, rustic bamboo and appropriate decor suggested the setting of the painted state portrait; dress and pose completed the image of people conscious of their dignity."

⁶⁰*Illustrated* 24 June 1893 p.763; 21 May 1881 p.501; 15 March 1890 p.328; 9 April 1892 p.457.

⁶¹Curtis, *Apes and Angels*, p.3.

⁶²*Ibid*, p.5-13.

⁶³Ronald Rainger, "Race, Politics and Science: The Anthropological Society of London in the 1860s," *Victorian Studies*, 22(1), 1978, p.54.

hunts beautifully, using a European saddle and boots, and is a perfect Nimrod.⁶⁴

In a posed military engraving, Inspector Harry Mullick is introduced as:

... a pure Bengalee. He is a shrewd, intelligent, and active man. He reads and writes English fluently, and has a good knowledge of Persian and Hindoo. He is a good rider, a capital shot, and is, altogether an excellent specimen of 'young Bengal.'⁶⁵

Thus readers were directed to "read" certain personal characteristics into the portraits.

Photography

Through its weekly publication of pictures, the *Illustrated London News* reinforced the position of the spectator by continuously providing visual stimuli based on the convention of perspective.⁶⁶ This central projection regards the picture as a window "opening on a view of perspective space as seen from one central point -⁶⁷ the spectator's eye. In the second half of the century, photography furthered this convention through "camera vision"⁶⁸ which became accepted as reality. The *Illustrated* included "From a

⁶⁴*Illustrated* 11 April 1857 p.346.

⁶⁵*Illustrated* 2 Jan 1864 p.4.

⁶⁶Berger, *Ways of Seeing*, p.16 describes perspective as "a beam from a lighthouse - only instead of light travelling outwards, appearances travel in. The conventions called those appearances *reality*. Perspective makes the single eye the centre of the visible world. Everything converges on to the eye as to the vanishing point of infinity. The visible world is arranged for the spectator as the universe was once thought to be arranged for God.

According to this convention of perspective there is no visual reciprocity. There is no need for God to situate himself in relation to others: he is himself the situation. The inherent contradiction in perspective was that it structured all images of reality to address a single spectator who, unlike God, could only be in one place at one time" [original italics].

⁶⁷De Haas in *Comparative Studies*, p.367.

⁶⁸Ivins, *Prints*, p.94,138; Norvitz, *Pictures*, p.110f.

photograph"⁶⁹ in captions for engravings to emphasise authenticity just as readers were assured of the validity of eye-witness sketches.⁷⁰

It has been suggested that the most important photographs of the nineteenth century are "those first views of remote peoples and places brought back to the Western world."⁷¹ India was a source for much of this documentary interest whereby architecture, people and events were photographed and could be "possessed" (on eight by ten inch plates)⁷² - "photographs make the entire world available as an object of appraisal."⁷³

Photography provided pictures of India for *cartes de visite*, stereoscopy and views.⁷⁴ Architecture was a primary focus because of government interest in archaeology⁷⁵ and because long exposure times required complete stillness by the subjects. In addition to landscape views, subjects could be divided into pastoral, agricultural and industrial interests.⁷⁶ Professional photographers travelled to India to

⁶⁹*Illustrated* 18 July 1857 p.56f.; 16 Jan 1858 p.53; 5 Sept 1857 p.236; 31 Oct 1857 p.432.

⁷⁰*Illustrated* 19 Sept 1857 p.300 caption includes, "They were made on the spot" and *Illustrated* 20 April 1861 p.376 says "sketched by an eye-witness of the scenes he depicts."

⁷¹Alan Thomas, *The Expanding Eye*, London: Croom Helm, 1978, p.23; also Macdonald, *Camera*, p.39; Robert Hershkowitz, *The British Photographer Abroad*, London: Robert Hershkowitz, 1980, p.6f.; Edward Lucie-Smith, *The Invented Eye*, New York: Paddington Press, Ltd., 1975, p.39; Timothy J. Curry and Alfred C. Clarke, "The Documentary Image," *Images of Information: Still Photography in the Social Sciences*, Jon Wager (ed), Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1979, p.178.

⁷²Thomas, *Expanding Eye*, p.24.

⁷³Susan Sontag, *On Photography*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977, p.110f.

⁷⁴Thomas, *Expanding Eye*, p.19; Ray Desmond, "Photography in India During the Nineteenth Century," *Report 1974*. London: India Office Library and Records, 1974, p.25f.

⁷⁵*Ibid*, p.9,17ff.,25; Worswick and Embree, *Last Empire*, p.5ff.; Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters*, p.260.

⁷⁶*Photographic News* 18 April 1879 p.183f.

record warfare⁷⁷ but their pictures were no match for the quick sketches of special correspondents who could dramatise battle scenes on the spot and who were not limited to static images taken after the event. On occasion, special correspondents carried cameras⁷⁸ but the majority of campaign photographs⁷⁹ (and other subjects) were recorded in India by soldiers with photographic training.⁸⁰

Photographic News notes the incorporation of photography into the curriculum for the Royal Engineers.⁸¹ They used it for reproducing maps, surveying and illustrating military reports. Just as with the telegraph, military photography began as a British practice since complete photographic equipment was maintained "only in the British army."⁸² Military photographers participated in photographic societies in India and contributed to local publications.⁸³

⁷⁷Felice Beato is perhaps the best known for photographing the aftermath of the 1857 Mutiny. See Worswick and Embree, *Last Empire*, p.7f.; Wilkinson-Latham, *From Our Special*, p.63-71; Ray Desmond, *Victorian India in Focus*, London: Her Majesty's Stationery office, 1982, plate 52; Jorge Lewinski, *The Camera at War: A History of War Photography from 1848 to the Present Day*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1978, p.41ff.; Russell, *My Diary in India*, vol.II, p.274.

⁷⁸Hodgson, *Artist as Reporter*, p.184.

⁷⁹J. Burke worked in the Punjab during the 1860s and 1870s. See Brian Coe, *Birth of Photography*, Melbourne: Hutchinson Publishing Group Ltd., 1977, p.80; Gail Buckland, *Reality Recorded: Early Documentary Photography*, Newton Abbott: David & Charles, 1974, p.68;; Wilkinson-Latham, *From Our Special*, p.139; Worswick and Embree, *Last Empire*, p.8; Lewinski, *Camera at War*, p.51.

⁸⁰Dibner in *Technology in Western Civilization*, p.463; Macdonald, *Camera*, p.92,98; Desmond in *Report 1974*, p.25f.

⁸¹*Photographic News* 17 Jan 1879 p.25.

⁸²*Photographic News* 15 March 1878 p.121; also *Photographic News* 12 Sept 1879 p.443.

⁸³Worswick and Embree, *Last Empire*, p.4f.; Desmond in *Report 1974*, p.6,11; see A.D. King, *Colonial Urban Development*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976, p.201 for the introduction of photography in India.

Lord Canning sponsored one of the first major ethnographical projects to which these photographers contributed, as he wanted a pictorial record of India to take back to England. *The People of India: a series of photographic illustrations with descriptive letter press of the races and tribes of Hindustan*, edited by J. Forbes Watson and J.K. Kaye consisted of more than four hundred and sixty-four photographs by more than fifteen photographers in eight volumes published between 1868 and 1875.⁸⁴ Sayed Ahmed Khan mentions the work in a letter from London:

In the India Office is a book in which the races of India are depicted both in pictures and in letterpress, giving the manners and customs of each race. Their photographs show that the pictures of the different manners and customs were taken on the spot, and the sight of them shows how savage they are - the equals of animals. The young Englishmen who, after passing the preliminary Civil Service examination, have to pass examinations on special subjects for two years afterwards, come to the India Office preparatory to starting for India, and desirous of knowing something of the land to which they are going, also look over this work. What can they think, after perusing this book and looking at these pictures, of the power or honour of the natives of India?⁸⁵

By 1899 there were twenty-four commercial photographic firms in Bombay, six in Madras and ten in Calcutta. Bourne and Shepherd,⁸⁶ the most prominent, offered more than 1500 photographs of India in their company catalogue for 1866.⁸⁷ *The Illustrated* used their photographs of architecture and portraits,⁸⁸ Johnston and Hoffman's

⁸⁴Macdonald, *Camera*, p.96; Desmond in *Report 1974*, p.11; Worswick and Embree, *Last Empire*, p.7.

⁸⁵Letter from London, 15 October 1869 in George F.I. Graham, *The Life and Work of Syed Ahmed Khan*, Edinburgh: W. Blackwood and Sons, (1885) reprint 1974, p.188f.

⁸⁶Bourne became an important landscape photographer, known primarily for his Himalayan expeditions which he presented in the *British Journal of Photography*. He is mentioned in Lucie-Smith, *Invented Eye*, p.74; Buckland, *Reality Recorded*, p.37ff.; See *British Journal of Photography*, 23 Nov 1866, p.560; 28 Dec 1866 p.618; 18 Feb 1870 p.75; 26 Nov 1869 p.570; 3 Dec 1869 p.579.

⁸⁷Hershkowitz, *British Photographers Abroad*, p.84f.

⁸⁸*Illustrated* 14 May 1864 p.472; 21 May 1864 p.496; 4 March 1865 p.213; 11 May 1867 p.456; 5 March 1870 p.241; 2 April 1870 p.364; 18 Dec 1875 p.612.

archaeological photographs and studies of plantation industries,⁸⁹ and photographs from Exclusive News Agency.⁹⁰

In the Journal's coverage of the Prince of Wales's visit to India in 1875, a writer praised "the admirable photographs of Mr. Frith"⁹¹ for bringing India to the British public's notice. Frith is known for his photographs of archaeological sites and one biographer concludes that circa 1865 "Francis Frith and Co. built up into the largest photographic publishers in the world,"⁹² having established a network of photographers and printers across Europe from his location in Surrey. He expressed a theme which underlined much of the visual stimuli of the century when he wrote, "There is no effectual substitute for actual travel, but it is my ambition to provide for those to whom circumstances forbid that luxury, faithful representations of the scenes I have witnessed, and I shall endeavour to make the simple truthfulness of the camera a guide for my Pen."⁹³

Commentators question the camera's simple truthfulness and the values associated with its use. The position that the extensive reproduction of visual images has encouraged an acquisitive approach to the world which promotes emotional detachment and insensitivity⁹⁴ is relevant in the nineteenth century context. The accuracy accorded to photography because of its mechanical and scientific basis is also an important

⁸⁹Worswick and Embree, *Last Empire*, p.9.

⁹⁰*Illustrated* 18 Nov 1905 p.735; 25 Nov 1905 p.771; 9 Dec 1905 p.860. 16 Dec 1905 p.901; 6 Jan 1905 p.11.

⁹¹*Illustrated* 25 Dec 1875 supplement p.3.

⁹²Bill Jay, *Victorian Cameraman: Francis Frith*, Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1973, p.110.

⁹³Quoted in *Ibid*, p.26 no source cited. The *Illustrated* printed his photographs of Indian architecture 2 Dec 1905 p.816; 16 Dec 1905 p.901; 6 Jan 1906 p.11; 3 Feb 1906 p.149.

⁹⁴Different positions are expressed in Lewis Mumford, *Art and Technics*, p.96-109; Sontag, *On Photography*, p.111; Scharf, *Art and Photography*, p.252ff., Van Deren Coke, *The Painter and the Photograph, from Delacroix to Warhol*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1972, p.301.

consideration as is the historical acceptance of its perspective as one of universality, beyond cultural indicators.⁹⁵ Similarities between photography and aggression include confrontation and it may be difficult for us to understand the fear and violence which characterised some of these early photographic expeditions of conquest.⁹⁶ Whichever motif is adopted - the photographer as explorer, as soldier, as hunter - a motivating feature was often the desire to capture India for people in Britain.

⁹⁵See Jussim, *Visual Communication*, p.191; Scharf, *Art and Photography*, p.5,54; Sontag, *On Photography*, p.5; Ivins, *Prints*, p.116; Hershkowitz, *British Photographers Abroad*, p.7.

⁹⁶For examples of initial fear towards the camera in different cultural areas see A. Bensusa, *Silver Images: History of Photography in Africa*, Cape Town: H. Timmins, 1966, p.25,28; Michael F. Braive, *The Era of the Photograph*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1966, p.75; *Illustrated* 3 Sept 1887 p.275; 7 March 1891 p.311.

CHAPTER III

TRAVEL

Although scholars have recognised travel literature as a valuable source for understanding European impressions of India,¹ there are, unfortunately, no studies which look specifically at nineteenth century guidebooks of India.² Such research would help us to explore the idea that "Souvenirs are collected by *individuals*, by tourists, while *sights* are 'collected' by entire societies."³ Dean MacCannell suggests further that attractions are not collected randomly but are socially determined to provide order and stability. Travel itineraries⁴ can be seen as a type of classification⁴ which may strengthen a particular world-view.

Through its engravings of favoured sights, the *Illustrated London News* served as a guide for "stay-at-home" travellers, which may have extended and reinforced through its engraving of popular sights, a "tourist topology" of India, even to those not actually visiting the area. Such vicarious travel is the theme of numerous descriptions including an illustrated lecture issued by the Journal during the Prince of Wales's Indian visit. The commentator hoped that the tour would stimulate "an increase of interest and curiosity in all things Indian among the Christian subjects of a monarch whose mild and beneficent

¹See Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters*, Chapter I; Bearce, *British Attitudes*, p.250-263; Rudolf Wittkower, "Marvels of the East: A Study in the History of Monsters" *London University Warburg and Courthauld Institutes Journal*, 5,1942, p.159-197; H.K. Kaul (ed), *Travellers' India: An Anthology*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1979.

²One study acknowledges their importance in the discussion of Taiwan: Harold M. Otness, "Taiwan in Pre-World War II Guidebooks" *Asia Culture Quarterly*, 1982, 10(2), p.70-79.

³Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist*, London: Macmillan Press, 1976, p.59.

⁴*Ibid*, p.45f.,131f.

sceptre rules more than one hundred and eighty millions of Mohammedans and Hindoos."⁵

He proposed that those to benefit most by the Prince's trip were the people of Britain:

The graphic and animated description of the Prince's tour which will be published in the newspapers, Anglo-Indian as well as English, and the multitude of private letters which will be written home by all and sundry connected with the expedition... should awake in the minds at large a lively and lasting interest in India and all appertaining to it.⁶

In addition to such vicarious travel, the *Illustrated* encouraged readers to go to India and hoped that its pictures and travelogues would motivate such a response:

It would be a matter for congratulation, both to India and to the United Kingdom, if excursions to Hindustan for the sake of political investigation should become fashionable. Continental tours have lost their freshness. Even Egypt and Palestine have become somewhat threadbare. India is our own. It offers sufficient scope for novelty and adventure. But the chief attraction it should present to cultivated Englishmen is that the responsibilities it imposed upon them demand something more than hearsay information...⁷

This passage identifies fashionability, novelty and adventure as some of the cultural needs which motivated British travellers.⁸ The *Illustrated* included political duties as a

⁵*Illustrated* 1875 Supplement p.7.

⁶*Ibid.*

⁷*Illustrated* 17 July 1875 p.20.

⁸Two centuries earlier, in "A Letter from the East Indies" *Philosophical Transactions*, XXII, 1702 p.737 quoted in R.W. Frantz, *The English Traveller and the Movement of ideas 1600-1732*, New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1968 p.74 it was reported: "... ignorant of all Parts of the World but their own; they wonder much at us, that will take so much Care and Pains, and run thro so many Dangers both by Sea and Land, only, as they say, to uphold and nourish Pride and Luxury. For, they say, every country in the whole World is sufficiently endow'd by Nature with everything that is necessary for the Life of Man, and that therefore it is madness to seek for, or desire, that which is needless and unnecessary." Francois Bedaria, *Social History of England 1851-1975*, London: Methuen & Co., 1979, p.16 describes travel in the nineteenth century as "the symbol of a society of movement, adventure and expansion." See also Sternberger, *Panorama*, p.40; Headrick, *Tools of Empire*, p.138f. MacCannell, *The Tourist*, p.59. *Illustrated* 6 Jan 1906 p.4 reported "The Ubiquity of the Tourist: Visitors in a Soudanese Village": "The Nile steamers are now making even Central Africa accessible to the ubiquitous tourist, and the Soudanese villagers are becoming accustomed to the wonderful apparition of pleasure-seeking travellers, with their inevitable camera and their aggressively patronising interest in everything unfamiliar..."

reason for greater familiarity with India⁹ and these themes governed its travel descriptions. In 1876, the *Journal* congratulated readers for taking a greater interest in Indian affairs, tracing this change to a belief that "The improved means of communication and the great convenience of travel have established a considerable personal intercourse between all the different parts of the British empire. The fashionable grand tour of the present day is a tour through the greater Britain, which almost encircles the globe."¹⁰

The *Illustrated* assumed that many of its readers had relatives or friends in India and that personal descriptions through letters and trips back to Britain conveyed first impressions of the sub-continent. It reported that as the British traveller neared India, thoughts of England were replaced by "the hopes, anticipations, and curious conjectures respecting the country he is proceeding to..."¹¹ Confusion and strangeness are the first impressions of arrival, whether at Madras or Calcutta:

The Indian voyager has by this time become almost bewildered by the many novel objects which, in rapid succession, present themselves for a share of his attention.¹²

The aspect of Calcutta can scarcely fail to strike in the most forcible manner the mind of the tourist from Europe. He finds his eye relieved from the wearisome contemplations of the low, marshy flats which have skirted the perspective as he ascended the Hooghly. 'Columns, domes, steeples, huge ship quays, palanquins, soldiers, horses, dark-skinned and white-robed natives are mingled on the field of vision in picturesque tumult. In penetrating within the city, the effect becomes even more imposing.'¹³

⁹Bearce, *British Attitudes*, p.251 concludes that travel experiences justified more than criticised prevailing policies. The issue is discussed in H.V. Brasted and G. Douds, "Passage to India: Peripatetic MPs on the Grand Indian Tour" *South Asia*, 2(1-2),1979, p.91-111. Said, *Orientalism*, p.169, p.213-216 comments on geography and political possession.

¹⁰*Illustrated* 21 June 1876 p.619.

¹¹*Illustrated* 20 Nov 1858 p.474.

¹²*Ibid*, p.474.

¹³*Illustrated* 1875 Supplement p.26

The arrival of the Prince of Wales was vividly recorded by the *Standard's* correspondent and reprinted in the *Illustrated*. He emphasised "the gorgeous variety of the spectacle which greeted his Royal Highness's eyes."¹⁴

Means of Travel

In the *Illustrated*, transportation facilities are used to judge technological sophistication.¹⁵ Although readers see bullock carts, ekas and tongas¹⁶ (for processions, elephants play a prominent role),¹⁷ there is the impression that indigenous methods will be overtaken by mechanical means. A tableau entitled "Modes of Travelling in India"¹⁸ depicts ten different conveyances. Read from top to bottom, the panels show a group of pedestrians "together with all the intermediate contrivances of getting over the hot, dusty roads of India..."¹⁹ The bottom picture shows the East India Railway. Readers are told that the groupings represent the "principal modes of travelling in that country, which existing from time immemorial, will have to give way before the great modern invention which has affected such important changes in Europe."²⁰

The conveyance of individuals highlights ingenuity, novelty and danger. Ingenuity and novelty are featured in coverage of "A Party of Wuzurees Crossing the Indus on

¹⁴*Illustrated* 13 Nov 1875 p.490.

¹⁵See Chapter VII for coverage of this topic..

¹⁶*Illustrated* 1 Jan 1876 p.13; 30 Nov 1872 p.513; 2 Jan 1886 p.20; 16 Dec 1905 p.687.

¹⁷*Illustrated* 10 Oct 1857 p.372; 13 Jan 1906 p.52f.; 24 March 1906 p.419; 5 Sept 1863 p.237.

¹⁸*Illustrated* 19 Sept 1863 p.284.

¹⁹*Ibid*, p.283

²⁰*Ibid*.

Water Jars,"²¹ Lord Elgin's party crossing the Beas River on mussocks (inflated buffalo skins),²² the "jhoola" (rope bridge),²³ and the camel-carriage used by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab.²⁴

Danger and adventure also underlay travel methods. For "Perils of Dawk Travelling in India"²⁵ the *Illustrated* reprinted narratives by the artist J.A. Benwell and his sketches "Appearance of a Tiger and Flight of the Palkee-Bearers" and "The Traveller in his Palanquin Beset by Wolves, Hyenas, and Jackals."²⁶ The massulah boats and catamarans of Madras are favourite topics,²⁷ especially with the threat of sharks, should boats overturn while carrying travellers through the difficult surf.²⁸

The *Illustrated's* presentation of carrying mail shares similarities with the movement of people. A sketch of the "Dawk Walas (Postmen) of Bengal"²⁹ accompanies a description of the relay method and activities of the runners, including the threat of tigers. According to the text, the "Catamaran Postman" is noticed when "it soon becomes

²¹*Illustrated* 13 Feb 1864 p.167. A fisherman is also shown floating on a water jar in *Illustrated* 19 Feb 1876 p.188.

²²*Illustrated* 12 Dec 1863 p.597. The *Illustrated* directed its readers to *Travels in Tartary, Ladak, and Cashmere* by Lieutenant-Colonel Torrens for a more detailed account of this method. It was also the subject of a photograph by Samuel Bourne. He reported in the *British Journal of Photography* 3 Dec 1869 p.579, "... to those unacquainted with this mode of crossing rivers it looks a most mysterious picture..."

²³*Illustrated* 18 August 1894 p.195, 212. A description is given in Kaul, *Travellers' India*, p.453.

²⁴*Illustrated* 21 May 1864 p.497.

²⁵*Illustrated* 25 Dec 1858 p.625.

²⁶*Ibid*, p.626.

²⁷*Illustrated* 20 Nov 1858 p.475; 3 Feb 1906 p.149; 8 Jan 1876 p.35; 1875 Supplement p.44; A description is given in Kaul, *Travellers' India*, p.419f.

²⁸*Illustrated* 1875 Supplement p.23; 20 Nov 1858 p.475.

²⁹*Illustrated* 20 Feb 1858 p.196.

evident that the novel object is a specimen of the natives of the land ahead"³⁰ carrying letters in his conical head-piece. Readers are shown "Slinging letter-bags across a nullah in the rainy season,"³¹ and the mail cart.³² Even in areas under Indian rule, the mail is a focal point and a page of sketches of Rajputana includes "two sketches of the primitive methods of travelling and carrying the mails for the British Resident and the European officials..."³³ The mail was an important feature of British administration which the *Illustrated* praised for efficient and economical organisation,³⁴ and in addition to its political importance, the unfamiliar methods and attendant dangers made it worthy of pictorial coverage.

Exploring India's Cities

Descriptions of towns and cities generally include statistics (location, size, population); history; physical condition and lay-out; British importance; buildings of interest. As we shall see in our discussion of development and technology, the Journal had a fascination with numbers and it used them to locate cities, town, and stations, either through reference to degrees of latitude and longitude, by comparing distance in mileage to other places, with compass co-ordinates or even reference to geometrical figures.³⁵

³⁰*Illustrated* 20 Nov 1858 p.474.

³¹*Ibid*, p.475.

³²*Illustrated* 2 Nov 1867 p.472.

³³*Illustrated* 12 Oct 1889 p.474.

³⁴*Illustrated* 2 Nov 1867 p.472.

³⁵*Illustrated* 5 Sept 1857 p.236: Agra is "situated halfway between Cawnpore and Delhi and lies 130 miles SE of the latter place. It forms the apex of an equilateral triangle, the sides of which are 800 miles long, and its base extending east and west from Bombay to Calcutta."

Historical notes refer to a place's origin or emphasise British associations.³⁶ The Journal suggests that "The early history of the Singh-i-dulan, like all Hindoo histories is very confused, and tinctured with mythological fable."³⁷ Ideas of mystery and strangeness are attached to India's "native cities" with a growing stress on accessibility and penetration. Physical appearance is evaluated according to buildings and the ability of wheeled vehicles to move easily down the streets.

In his study *Orientalism*, Said concludes that "the Orient is *watched*"³⁸ ... "the European, whose sensibility tours the Orient, is a watcher, never involved, always detached..."³⁹ and this is evident in the Journal's presentation. For the Princess of Wales's visit, an illustration is titled "At the heart of India: The Princess in the Native City, Lucknow"⁴⁰ and the caption reads:

The Native City is about a mile and a half from the centre of the 'civil lines' or European part. The Princess drove there, and then walked through the 'Chawk' or bazaar, no doubt to be able to see the people at closer quarters than is possible from a carriage.⁴¹

This pedestrian view-point is generally critical as it centres on hygiene and disease: Lahore's streets are narrow and its houses lofty;⁴² Benares is "very badly built; the streets

³⁶*Illustrated* 18 April 1857 p.362; 28 Nov 1857 p.547; 8 June 1889 p.731; 27 August 1864 p.209.

³⁷*Illustrated* 18 April 1857 p.362.

³⁸Said, *Orientalism*, p.103. A similar point is made by John W. Hollenbach, "The Image of the Arab in Nineteenth Century English and American Literature" *Muslim World*, 62(3) 1972, p.205-207.

³⁹Said, *Orientalism*, p.103.

⁴⁰*Illustrated* 31 March 1906 p.454.

⁴¹*Ibid.*

⁴²*Illustrated* 23 Oct 1858 p.377.

being extremely narrow, and the whole town remarkably dirty;"⁴³ Hyderabad is crowded with unhealthy and narrow streets.⁴⁴

In contrast to this focus, the Journal praised cities which were closer to British standards of regularity and space.⁴⁵ Bhopal is "very clean and well kept, and the streets are lighted with oil-lamps after dark, and in this respect Bhopal contrasts very favourably with most native towns, which are generally filthily dirty and never lighted."⁴⁶ Regarding Jaipur: "Nothing can be conceived more completely differing from the narrow tortuous streets and lanes of an Oriental city than does this regularly-planned, broad-streeted town."⁴⁷ The *Illustrated* noted that Indians lived in the European area of Calcutta,⁴⁸ but reported the planned eradication of such residents:

The Calcutta Municipality has commenced clearing the European quarter of the town from its native inmates... Two years ago the identical locality known by the name of the Dunkin Bustee... was covered with a cluster of native huts, which was the emporium of filth and dirt... Thus the locality has been cleared of its dirty inmates.⁴⁹

As attention shifts more to the British presence in India, readers learned about esplanades and maidans, the importance of gardens and the location of British institutions. A picture of the fort at Saugor is accompanied by a description of the town which was the "principal place of the British district"⁵⁰ with military cantonments, parade grounds, burial

⁴³*Illustrated* 28 Nov 1857 p.547.

⁴⁴*Illustrated* 1875 Supplement p.26. Also descriptions of Indore and Peshawar, *Illustrated* 3 Oct 1857 p.329 and *Illustrated* 27 Feb 1858 p.202, respectively.

⁴⁵See King, *Colonial Urban Development* for extensive analysis of this approach.

⁴⁶*Illustrated* 16 May 1863 p.528.

⁴⁷*Illustrated* 18 March 1876 p.282.

⁴⁸*Illustrated* 1875 Supplement; 17 Sept 1859 p.282.

⁴⁹*Illustrated* 29 Sept 1860 p.301; also 5 March 1870 p.244.

⁵⁰*Illustrated* 17 April 1858 p.384.

grounds, mint, collegiate school and church. A similar description is used for Mhow which has "pretty much the appearance of a European town, having a church, with a steeple, a spacious lecture-room and library well furnished with books, and a theatre."⁵¹ British significance is stressed in most descriptions thus orienting Indian cities according to Western features.

Architectural Excursions

A prominent feature of nineteenth century travel literature is "ruins" or architectural remains. Visitors travelled to particular sites to see buildings regarded by society to be of special interest. The *Illustrated* often associated Indian architecture with a sense of lost or former power:

Agra

This city, once the capital of India, is now much decayed, and consists of little more than this one street, running parallel to the Jumna, the rest being mere mud hovels. From the river it must formerly have presented a very striking appearance, being lined with palaces of the nobles, built during the reign of the great Acbar. Their ruins are still massive and imposing; both in construction and material...⁵²

Delhi

The approach from the south-east, or the direction of Agra is very striking from the innumerable ruinous monuments of former prosperity and grandeur. Everywhere throughout the plain rise shapeless, ruined obelisks...⁵³

Beejapoor

The ruined city of Beejapoor, in Sattara, near the frontier of the Hyderabad Nizam's province, contains some of the grandest architectural remains in India. This once mighty and opulent Mussulman State, Beejapoor, was founded nearly four centuries ago... The Illustrations now given represent the Tomb and Mosque of Ibrahim, with its majestic dome, and the remains of a magnificent

⁵¹*Illustrated* 28 Nov 1863 p.550.

⁵²*Illustrated* 27 Nov 1858 p.501.

⁵³*Illustrated* 10 April 1858 p.359. The same description appears almost verbatim in 1875 Supplement p.30.

Royal palace. The city is estimated to have contained a million of people within the walls. It is now entirely deserted.⁵⁴

Previous writers have linked this interest in ruins to the pictorial portrayal of nature as a "view"⁵⁵ imbued with feelings of the picturesque and the sublime:⁵⁶ "Crumbling ruins and mighty monuments moved the viewer to a sense of the transience of time and the mystery of the past, while the elemental forces of nature roused pleasing sensations of terror."⁵⁷ In the *Illustrated*, reference to Indian architecture contrasts grandeur with shabbiness while encouraging readers to look for signs of decay:

The juxtaposition of architectural splendour and the charms of external nature with the misery and meanness of popular life is quite characteristic of the East. With all this show of superb architecture we see the domes blistered or peeled off...⁵⁸

These great buildings have a splendid appearance of the first view, but are soon perceived to be of tawdry style and unsubstantial materials, fronted with plaster or stucco, and profusely decorated in a tasteless fashion.⁵⁹

At the same time, certain complexes such as the Imambara in Lucknow are praised because they maintain a sense of grandeur in their resemblance to mountains: "vast ranges of lofty

⁵⁴*Illustrated* 22 July 1871 p.67. This location is also described 12 August 1871 p.145: "Although the city is left to moulder and decay in silence... the aspect of the mighty walls, the palaces, the temples and regal sepulchres is still very imposing."

⁵⁵This is discussed in Archer, *Natural History Drawings*, p.2; Archer & Lighbown, *India Observed*, p.79f.; Smith, *European Vision*, p.156; John Steegman, *The Rule of Taste*, London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1968, p.72-75.

⁵⁶The picturesque initially referred to scenes of ruggedness, disorder and irregularity. The sublime had connotations of greatness, magnitude, and fear.

⁵⁷Archer & Lighbown, *India Observed*, p.80. Also Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters*, p.121-130; Houfe, *Dictionary of British Book Illustrators*, p.16-21; Francis D. Klingender, *Art and the Industrial Revolution*, edited and revised by Arthur Elton, London: Granada Publication Ltd., 1972 p.72-90.

⁵⁸*Illustrated* 2 Jan 1858 p.4. Mildred Archer, *Indian Architecture and the British*, Middlesex: Hamlyn Publishing Group, Ltd., 1968, p.33,61 discusses the British change in attitude: "The old romantic descriptions which sadly recorded the shabbiness of the palace and its inmates give way to shrill and jibing caricature."

⁵⁹*Illustrated* 20 April 1889 p.506.

arcades, rising successively above and beyond each other, and the numerous domes, turrets, and pinnacles of this superb group of buildings, with the cloistered courts, gardens and raised terraces, have a magnificent effect."⁶⁰ As visitors travelled from India's cities into outlying areas, many retained this focus on immensity and magnificence.

Hill Stations

Hill stations were a regular destination for visitors from England and for the British stationed in India, particularly those in government administration who moved to them during the hot season. In the *Illustrated*, hill stations are associated with scenery and health.⁶¹ Termed "sanitarium" in a number of descriptions,⁶² they offered the military and civilian British population the illusion of retreat from India⁶³ in a culturally desirable

⁶⁰*Ibid.*

⁶¹See Archer & Lighdown, *India Observed*, p.108; King, *Colonial Urban Development*, p.57.

⁶²*Illustrated* 7 Nov 1863 p.480; 31 Oct 1863 p.445; 15 August 1857 p.168; 22 June 1889 p.797; 6 Jan 1906 p.11; 29 August 1863 p.225.

⁶³*Illustrated* 10 April 1858 p.380 reprinted a description of Ootacamund which included: "If one were taken blind-folded up to Ootacamund, one might easily believe oneself in some charming tract of Welsh scenery when the bandage was removed... the lake, around which English ladies are driving in English pony-carriage; the English-looking cottages and villas dotted about; the trees, fruits, and flowers; seem to complete the illusion. You can see what you seldom see on the plains: English children running and laughing merrily, playing at English games, with something like English colour in their cheeks..." Michael Edwards, *High Noon of Empire: India Under Curzon*, London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1965, p.73 notes that Simla appeared as if the British "had consciously decided to cut India out of their lives." This is also expressed in Mudford, *Birds of a Different Plumage*, p.143.

environment associated with nature.⁶⁴ This often accorded with the British division of time into regulated units, one of which was "holidays."⁶⁵

For example, illustrations of Simla show the summer residences of the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief and the text describes views *of* the buildings and views *from* them. Simla is a "refuge from the perils of an Indian summer at Calcutta."⁶⁶ Also, the hill and lake of Taragurh over-looking Ajmere is described with reference to disease and scenery:

The lake or tal as it is called in this country, lies to the north, and the whole, shaded in by precipitous and picturesque hills, forms one of the prettiest views of India. The tower from which it is taken is a favourite resting-place of the poor fever-stricken officer or soldier from Nusseerabad, who is sent to the Hill (which is used as a Sanitarium) to be as far elevated as possible above the malaria of the plains, and exchange the steamy heat below for the fresher cooler breeze which seeps over the mountain.⁶⁷

⁶⁴Lewis, Mumford, *Technics and Civilisation*, New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1934 p.295 discusses the attitude toward nature as a consequence of urbanisation: "So long as the country was uppermost, the cult of nature could have no meaning: being a part of life, there was no need to make it a special object of thought. It was only when the townsman found himself closed in by his methodically urban routine and deprived in his new urban environment of the sight of sky and grass and trees, that the value of the country manifested itself clearly to him." This attitude of the metropolitan centre was transferred to the colonial milieu where, as Steegman, *Rule of Taste*, p.182f. suggests, the neutrality of nature is given cultural meaning.

⁶⁵See King, *Urban Colonial Development*, p.57, 166, 265 for elaboration of this theme. *Illustrated* 18 August 1883 p.158 inbues two pictures of "A Day in the Country" and "A Day in the City" with desirable character-building qualities: "... the Artist, in drawing these imaginery scenes and figures, has evidently been drawing a moral; he wished to make it plain that poor folk who always stay in town are likely to be wretched, and perhaps more likely to be wicked, than people of the same class who are permitted to enjoy themselves, now and then, in the fields and woods, as we all like to do." Also *Illustrated* 23 Sept 1882 p.330; 7 June 1884 p.542.

⁶⁶*Illustrated* 25 April 1863 p.462; Also 10 March 1906 p.1 Supplement.

⁶⁷*Illustrated* 29 August 1863 p.225.

Geographical formations such as hills and mountains, especially the Himalayas, are a focus for travel descriptions,⁶⁸ and imbued with religious significance. An excursion to the source of the Ganges from Mussorie is described in the *Illustrated* with reverence and awe: "The rushing of the torrent and the mournful sighing of the wind formed a wild melody appropriate to the sombre grandeur of the scene."⁶⁹ This focus on immensity extends to natural arches and waterfalls in pictures meant to show the "wild and sublime effects of the tremendous cataract"⁷⁰ and scenery "extremely wild and grand."⁷¹

The presentation of "Jummo and Cashmire"⁷² suggests an extension of this interest in hill stations, since most illustrations of this region show the Himalayan ranges. Descriptions emphasise penetration of areas not readily known or familiar to British travellers and readers:

The territory of Cashmire, to the north of the British province of the Punjab, is almost quite shut in by lofty mountains...⁷³

The route traversed by the party is not open to European travellers, except those who might be going on duty or by special invitation of the Maharajah.⁷⁴

⁶⁸For example, Russell, *My Diary in India*, vol.II p.154f.,189; Steel, *Garden of Fidelity*, p.44; Rev. Urwick, *Indian Pictures Drawn with Pen and Pencil*, London: Religious Tract Society, 188?, p.181f.

⁶⁹*Illustrated* 24 Feb 1866 p.90.

⁷⁰*Illustrated* 18 August 1894 p.195. Parry, *Image of the Indian and Black Man*, p.53 found the same treatment of Niagara Falls by American artists: "... a few Indians conspicuously placed in the foreground, were obligatory if an artist wanted to create a truly affective view of this natural wonder." See *Illustrated* 25 Oct 1890 p.533; 18 August 1894 p.212.

⁷¹*Illustrated* 23 May 1863 p.577.

⁷²Other considerations are hunting opportunities and the impression of travelling in area beyond British control.

⁷³*Illustrated* 4 Feb 1865 p.110.

⁷⁴*Illustrated* 5 Sept 1863 p.238.

Travellers visited the area for geographical, ethnological and scientific information⁷⁵ and the *Illustrated's* coverage includes scenery,⁷⁶ architecture,⁷⁷ tours by British dignitaries,⁷⁸ and frontier defence.⁷⁹

A previous study concludes that following the 1820s, Protestant morality was inseparable from mountain scenery⁸⁰ while another author suggests that "during the last century only the more spectacular achievements of Nature have remained untouched by man, and man has become so conscious of his power that recognition of a power greater than his own reminds him automatically of God."⁸¹ This sentiment has been surpassed in a more recent analysis of Kipling's use of geography in which the author states that geography in general became a symbol for imperialism-- "every mountain and river evokes the excitement of conquest and possession."⁸² We have seen how the *Illustrated's* coverage helped to promote this attitude.

Mutiny Sites

When James Routledge described his trip to India, he wrote that locations associated with

⁷⁵*Illustrated* 13 Jan 1866 p.43.

⁷⁶*Illustrated* 4 Feb 1865 p.110; 13 Jan 1866 p.44.

⁷⁷*Illustrated* 9 Dec 1905 p.860.

⁷⁸*Illustrated* 5 Sept 1863 p.238; 5 Dec 1868 p.439; 29 Jan 1876 p.102; 26 Feb 1876 p.210. The descriptions for the Prince of Wales are repeated almost verbatim in the 15 April 1876 Supplement.

⁷⁹*Illustrated* 9 Dec 1905 p.860.

⁸⁰Louis Turner and John Ash, *The Golden Hordes*, London: Constable & Co., Ltd., 1975 p.42f.

⁸¹Steedman, *Rule of Taste*, p.73.

⁸²Martin Green, *Dreams of Adventure and Deeds of Empire*, New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1979, p.269f.,390.

the 1857 Mutiny were what "one visits first, and visits last."⁸³ Mutiny sites helped to determine the British traveller's itinerary in India while pictures of the sites in the *Illustrated* reminded readers of British heroism and valour. Just as significant as monuments, were changes made to the sites such as formal gardens, open spaces and removal of Indian homes from the areas⁸⁴ which emphasised British control.

Visitors' detailed interest in Mutiny sites is shown by the Prince of Wales's request to see where Sir William Peel received his wound, where Outram crossed the Goomti River, where the charge of the Bays took place, where Major Smith died, the country of Lord Clyde's advance, the Secunderbagh, Aitken's post, the Residency, the cemetery and grave of Lawrence, the iron bridge crossed by Lawrence, the Alumbagh and Havelock's monument.⁸⁵ Accompanied by Dr. Fayerer, the Prince "drove quietly to the ruins of the Residency, descended at Dr. Fayerer's house, and went over every room with the occupant and defender of the post during the siege..."⁸⁶ Another description in the *Illustrated* states "The Relief of Lucknow' will be brought closely to the traveller's mind by the spectacle of the ruins of the British Residency... Beyond the ruins of the Residency- not to be rebuilt,

⁸³James Routledge, *English Rule and Native Opinion in India*, London: Trubner, 1878, p.241.

⁸⁴*Illustrated* 15 Jan 1876 p.53. King, *Urban Colonial Development*, p.142f. discusses the cultural significance of gardening.

⁸⁵*Illustrated*, 15 April 1876, p.

⁸⁶*Illustrated* 15 Jan 1876 p.52. The same description was used in 12 Feb 1876 p.162. Pat Barr, *The Memsahibs: The Women of Victorian India*, London: Sacker and Warburg, 1976, p.192 describes a similar scene circa 1887 with Lady Dufferin: "At Lucknow the bullet-pocked ruins of the Residency and its adjacent buildings had been left standing and had acquired, over the years, a patina of picturesque, half-legendary fame. Lady Dufferin was taken on a guided tour by General Wilson, a siege survivor who had helped to hold the Bailey Gate..."

but destined to be left alone in its shattered glory, a monument of heroic endurance and of timely mercy of Providence - is the Oudian citadel of Matchi-Bhowan..."⁸⁷

Immediately following the Mutiny, the *Illustrated* showed the Gate of the Kaiserbagh,⁸⁸ the Kaiserbagh itself,⁸⁹ and the iron bridge over the Goomti.⁹⁰ In 1887 it printed sketches of the "Dilkoosha Palace, Lucknow, Where Havelock Died in 1857" and the General's tomb.⁹¹ In addition to these sites, commentary describes the Mosque Picket monument and the Charbagh Bridge. It recommends the narrative by the special correspondent, Archibald Forbes which "helps the visitor find it out."⁹² The Journal reproduced photographs of the Residency, Dilkusha Palace, Dr. Fayer's house and the Secunderbagh as relics of the mutiny for the royal visit in 1905.⁹³ It supported maintenance of these monuments and expressed regret and indignation when "Neill's Arch" was planned for demolition:

In the East we succeed more by prestige than is generally believed. Anything tending to lessen that prestige is detrimental to our rule in India, and we consider that such monuments as are to be seen in Lucknow should be preserved as long as possible. They indicate the ground where Englishmen, civilians as well as soldiers, died in the defence of their families, and for the honour and glory of their country, and indirectly for the welfare of all.⁹⁴

The Governor-General apparently countermanded the order to dismantle the structure.

⁸⁷*Illustrated* 25 Dec 1875 Supplement p.30.

⁸⁸*Illustrated* 19 March 1859 p.273.

⁸⁹*Illustrated* 16 April 1859 p.385.

⁹⁰*Illustrated* 19 March 1859 p.273.

⁹¹*Illustrated* 4 June 1887 p.634. Also 12 Feb 1876 p.162 and 15 April 1876 Supplement.

⁹²*Illustrated* 4 June 1887 p.636.

⁹³*Illustrated* 30 Dec 1905 p.973.

⁹⁴*Illustrated* 4 Dec 1886 p.608,610.

In Kanpur, the Prince of Wales visited the Memorial Church and gardens, and monuments at the well.⁹⁵ When Routledge visited the site he said there was no need to be told to speak quietly or drive slowly for the ambiance of the place demanded solemnity.⁹⁶ Another visitor considered the site to be "the most melancholy and pathetic of all spots in India."⁹⁷

Ten years after the Mutiny, the *Journal*, reminded readers that "The Suttee Chowrah Ghaut, or wharf at Cawnpore, is a place of hideous memory; for there it was that the officers and soldiers of the British garrison, with many others of our countrymen were cruelly and treacherously massacred..."⁹⁸ The picture is accompanied by an excerpt from Russell's diary in which he describes the waters flowing with blood, and when he "left the spot with my blood boiling in every vein, ...it was long ere I could still the beatings of my heart."⁹⁹ Simpson's sketches of the ghat and well from 1860 and the Baron of Marochetti's sculpture were reproduced in 1874 with a more recent description from the correspondent of the *Daily News* reporting another surrender or capture of Nana Sahib.¹⁰⁰ The reader is given a guided tour of the grounds, including the Memorial Church, various graves, the ghat and the well. The *Journal* also printed Simpson's description of the various monuments' dedications and Biblical inscriptions. The Church

⁹⁵*Illustrated* 15 April 1876 Supplement.

⁹⁶Routledge, *English Rule*, p.252ff.

⁹⁷Francis E. Clark, *Our Journey Around the World*, Hartford Conn.: A.D. Worthington & Co., 1897, p.362f.

⁹⁸*Illustrated* 11 Jan 1868 p.41.

⁹⁹*Ibid.* The scene was initially written a year after the events.

¹⁰⁰*Illustrated* 31 Oct 1874 p.421.

received separate notice and a half-page engraving featured the "sacred edifice" by itself.¹⁰¹

Locations in Delhi did not receive the same attention as those in Lucknow and Kanpur, however the *Illustrated* reported the Prince of Wales's interest "in passing the memorial sites, surrounded by many who shared in the siege"¹⁰² As late as 1905, readers saw a small photograph entitled "The Scene of a Great Struggle During the Mutiny: The Cashmir Gate, Delhi. (Note the shot-marks),"¹⁰³ to commemorate a royal visit.

The Journal featured Mutiny sites at the time of the Mutiny, ten years after, in 1874, during the royal visit of 1875, thirty years after, and during the royal visit of 1905. Routledge concludes, "The keys to the action of the Mutiny, and indeed to much of English history in India, are the Ganges and Jumna Rivers, both sacred."¹⁰⁴ The *Illustrated's* descriptions of Mutiny sites suggest that specific locations were consecrated for travellers and visits akin to pilgrimage.

¹⁰¹*Illustrated* 26 Sept 1868 p.297.

¹⁰²*Illustrated* 15 Jan 1876 p.52. Also 15 April 1876 Supplement.

¹⁰³*Illustrated* 16 Dec 1905 p.901; Also 15 April 1876 Supplement; 23 Dec 1905 p.932.

¹⁰⁴Routledge, *English Rule*, p.241.

Tourist Attractions

In addition to places, the *Illustrated* included sights and activities in India considered novel by European travellers: animal performances, conjuring acts and dances which were often presented for specific European audiences. At local celebrations, the European is shown as a spectator, rarely as a participator. The Journal described a wooden ferris wheel, upon which Indians were "cramped into attitudes which seem to European eyes exceedingly uncomfortable. But this seems to afford much amusement and gratification to the natives... There are temporary kitchens, whence proceed most uninviting odours, and where enormous quantities of somewhat greasy-looking sweetmeats are bought and eaten."¹⁰⁵ S. Begg contributed "Picturesque India as Seen During the Recent Royal Tour" in which he painted silhouetted shadows of faces and topis in the lower right corner.¹⁰⁶ In this manner, the reader was drawn into the picture to join the spectators.

Sketches include performing goats,¹⁰⁷ dancing bears,¹⁰⁸ and snake charmers.¹⁰⁹ A dramatic scene shows a man and assistant¹¹⁰ "thronged with lounging spectators of a performance still dear to the wonder-loving Oriental mind... If you should take pains, as an enlightened European friend, to convince the Hindoo crowd that this is no miracle at all, the snake-charmer would then console himself with a professional proverb: 'Plenty fool man come next

¹⁰⁵*Illustrated* 12 Nov 1881 p.478.

¹⁰⁶*Illustrated* 14 April 1906 p.534; also 2 Dec 1906 p.815.

¹⁰⁷*Illustrated* 11 July 1885 p.44; 1 Oct 1864 p.328.

¹⁰⁸*Illustrated* 1 Jan 1859 p.12; 11 July 1885 p.44.

¹⁰⁹*Illustrated* 2 Dec 1905 p.815; 11 July 1885 p.44; 23 April 1892 p.509; 4 Dec 1875 p.564.

¹¹⁰*Illustrated* 23 April 1892 p.509.

time."¹¹¹ In 1861, the *Illustrated* printed an article about Indian jugglers¹¹² entitled "Relics of the Past" in which it praised magical feats performed in India. The author states that "whether in the way of ingenuity or physical activity, the performances are absolutely marvellous."¹¹³ However, by the end of the century, presentations such as the "sword-and-basket trick" were described as "played with tedious deliberation,"¹¹⁴ and illustrations show Indians brought into British houses to perform for small select audiences.¹¹⁵

Royal visitors were entertained with dances and as we shall see, the nautch continued to be a focus of "native entertainment" but illustrations also show dances associated with war and military dominance. Some sketches suggest artificiality and contrivance but political motives may have surpassed their entertainment function:

Sir Richard Temple for the entertainment of his Royal guest, had brought down from the confines of the north-eastern frontier of India a bevy of representatives of the wild Naga tribes, who are at present giving us some trouble... They exhibited a curious native dance, something like our country dance, but the music was fantastic and the step was grotesque. The two Naga warriors, stuck all over with tasselled porcupine quills, and each carrying a leathern buckler and a formidable hatchet like a chopper, sprang into the arena, and went through the pantomime of a single combat. To these succeeded Naga javelin-men, carrying long cruel spears with shields of wicker-work topped by feathers; and the fury and agility with which, to the exiting

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, p.507.

¹¹²*Illustrated* 27 April 1861 p.401

¹¹³*Ibid*.

¹¹⁴*Illustrated* 2 Dec 1905 p.815.

¹¹⁵*Illustrated* 5 Sept 1891 p.312f.; also 25 Dec 1875 Supplement p.19.

strains of martial music, they dispatched hordes of imaginary enemies, constituted a spectacle not to be described.¹¹⁶

We give an Illustration of... the body of about a hundred swordsmen, who, dancing, brandishing their long swords, cutting and slashing, preceded the cortege to the wild music of tomtoms, of pipes, and of long-serpent-shaped horns. This was the performance of the Nagas, inside the Sanganeer Gate, by which the Prince entered Jeypore; it was meant to imitate the fighting when a town is entered and taken by a conqueror...¹¹⁷

In these examples, warfare was incorporated into entertainment for a primarily European audience.

The Indian nautch is perhaps the best known entertainment described in travel literature about India. The *Illustrated* regarded it as an example of Hindu passivity and apathy whereby the host payed another to dance for him rather than "undergo the fatigue of waltzing himself."¹¹⁸ More commonly, description of the nautch allowed the Journal to touch on sensualism, luxury and mystery¹¹⁹ while maintaining a tone of propriety and decorum. Movements were "soothing and undulating... in a graceful arrangement of flimsy draperies... in a series of voluptuous attitudes."¹²⁰

Such descriptions also criticised Hinduism's erotic nature for "if any one characteristic more than another marks the immense elevation of Christianity over these other superstitions, it is the complete absence of whatever may produce

¹¹⁶*Illustrated* 29 Jan 1876 p.102. The illustration is a double-spread following p.116 and is repeated in the 15 April 1876 Supplement.

¹¹⁷*Illustrated* 18 March 1876 p.272. See 24 Feb 1906 p.269 for a description of the Khonds in Madras.

¹¹⁸*Illustrated* 23 Oct 1858 p.373.

¹¹⁹*Illustrated* 26 March 1859 p.313; 29 June 1889 p.810; 23 Oct 1858 p.373; 14 April 1906 p.534.

¹²⁰*Illustrated* 23 Oct 1858 p.373.

sensual images in the mind of the believer. The nautch-girls of India are selected for their beauty and the ease and gracefulness of their movements..."¹²¹ Towards the end of the century, descriptions became more critical and the dancers' "languishing glances would not seem particularly seductive to men of a Western race."¹²² The dance "has generally been regarded by European visitors as a rather dull and tedious spectacle."¹²³ As indigenous forms of entertainment lost favour, readers were shown more pictures of British clubs and race courses in Indian cities,¹²⁴ and imported amusements. An increasing interest in spectacle and excitement meant that leisurely performances dependent upon subtle suggestion or a relaxed atmosphere were no longer appealing. Though they were entertainments which could be enjoyed by both Indians and the English, imported amusements were generally restricted to the British.

We have seen that the *Illustrated* encouraged readers to visit different countries in the world and it invited them to travel vicariously through its pages of pictures. However the "tour through greater Britain, which almost encircles the globe" led to the depiction of locations largely determined by metropolitan interests. Correspondents reported contemporary events against a backdrop of historical significance often associated with British rule, while illustrations of cantonments, hill stations and Mutiny sites helped to create a view of India oriented to British locations and concerns. The inclusion of "tourist sights" with their monuments, inscriptions and plaques reinforced Britain's prestige for the

¹²¹*Illustrated* 19 Dec 1857 p.602.

¹²²*Illustrated* 4 April 1891 p.445.

¹²³*Ibid.*

¹²⁴*Illustrated* 24 March 1906 p.417; 3 Feb 1906 p.149; 17 March 1906 p.383; 27 Jan 1906 p.122.

Journal's readers as it stated, "Anything tending to lessen that prestige is detrimental to our rule in India."

Travel topics also stressed themes of accessibility and penetration: India's cities were criticised for their narrow streets and poor lighting; reports of unknown geographical regions and natural features such as mountains, rivers and waterfalls included the goals of exploration and conquest. This approach contrasted with the depiction of India's own structures as "ruins"; reminiscent of a lost strength. In addition to this contrast between conquest and decay, travel descriptions associated strangeness and danger (including wild animals and disease) with indignant features while reporting the reassuring extension of English patterns, places and past-times which helped determine the visitor's itinerary.

CHAPTER IV

RELIGION

Religion was a regular feature in travel descriptions of India, especially those written by Christian missionaries active in evangelical movements.¹ It was also considered a "predominant obsession"² of the nascent social sciences, particularly anthropology. With such interests attracting its readers, the *Illustrated* stated, "The religious element is born in man, and is inseparable from his nature..."³ and "A knowledge of the religion of a people is always useful in assisting us to form an estimate of their civilisation."⁴ While fully upholding the superiority of Christianity, the Journal suggested that familiarity with India's traditions would benefit social and political relations between Britain and the sub-continent.⁵ Its presentation of India's religions may help us to understand more fully the popular view of India during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Although the Journal stated that it wished to lessen the confusion and

¹James S. Dennis, *Christian Missions and Social Progress*, Edinburgh: Oliphant Anderson and Ferrier, 1897; Max Warren, *The Missionary Movement from Britain in Modern History*, London: SCM Press Ltd., 1965; Louis B. Wright, *Religion and Empire*, New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1965; Delavan L. Leonard, *A Hundred Years of Missions*, London: Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1895, p.142-186; Bearce, *British Attitudes*, p.78-88; Francis G. Hutchins, *The Illusion of Permanence*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967, p.9f.

²G. Jones, *Social Darwinism and English Thought*, Sussex: Harvest Press, 1980, p.26.

³*Illustrated* 26 Sept 1857 p.326.

⁴*Illustrated* 17 July 1858 p.68.

⁵*Illustrated* 26 Sept 1874 p.307.

misunderstanding associated with Indian's religions,⁶ it repeatedly provided visual reinforcement of earlier stereotypes.⁷

Religious Practices, Places and People

The *Illustrated* offered "...some of the most striking observations of the native population... through picturesque scenes of their festivals and holidays."⁸

This emphasis on "striking observations" reinforced a view expressed by George Trevelyan:

As a general rule, the religion of a people is ceremonial in inverse proportion to their advance in knowledge and civilisation. Among rude and degraded nations the outward and visible sign is regarded far more than the inward and spiritual grace.⁹

⁶For the view of India as incomprehensible or inscrutable see Islam, *Chronicles of the Raj*, p.7; Singh, *Anglo-Indian Fiction*, p.99,284; Greenberger, *British Image*, p.77. *Illustrated* 4 June 1864 p.534: "... every step we take is fraught with mischief of some kind, and brings us right athwart ancient and inveterate prejudices which we cannot understand. Our most disinterested efforts provoke suspicion. We seldom or never move towards even a philanthropic end but we are sure to put one foot on some latent superstition, and sting into irritation bordering on frenzy the people whom it was our honest intention to befriend and elevate."

⁷Smith, *European Vision*, p.243ff. states that few missionaries were artists or draughtsmen and that they had little interest in the graphic representations of the people they encountered since some traditions were not only considered repulsive but diabolical. Still, images suggested by missionary descriptions were not restricted to religious tracts. They spread through illustrated books and adventure magazines in the second half of the century. With a new stress on realism in the visual arts, features which did not accord with the current sense of accuracy were held up for special ridicule and scorn. See Douglas A. Lorimer, *Colour, Class and the Victorians*, Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1978, p.85-89 for parallels regarding visual presentations of the Negro.

⁸*Illustrated* 3 April 1858 p.33. For this focus on festivals and holidays, see also: Parry, *Delusions and Discoveries*, p.60; Bearce, *British Attitudes*, p.81f.; Archer, *Company Drawings*, p.2,61; Archer and Lightbown, *India Observed*, p.104ff.

⁹George Trevelyan, *The Competition Wallah*, London: Macmillan & Co., 1907, Letter X p.292.

In the *Illustrated*, India is often shown as rude and degraded with practices deemed barbarous,¹⁰ sordid,¹¹ and heathenish.¹² Engravings depict hook-swinging,¹³ weddings,¹⁴ funerals,¹⁵ Holi,¹⁶ and Mohurram¹⁷ when men beat their breasts "in agonies of woe, until the blood streams down..."¹⁸

Sacrifice and pilgrimage were prominent themes of religious coverage. Descriptions of sacrifice include the worship of Kali,¹⁹ sacrificing images of the

¹⁰*Illustrated* 28 Nov 1857 p.541. See also *Illustrated* 20 June 1857 p.617; 13 Jan 1866 p.47.

¹¹*Illustrated* 20 August 1904 p.260.

¹²*Illustrated* 18 Sept 1886 p.309. See Harold Isaacs, *Scratches on Our Mind*, New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., (1958)1980, p.259-290 for the American view of these practices.

¹³*Illustrated* 28 Nov 1867 p.541,550; 20 August 1904 p.260. Sati and infanticide are mentioned in *Illustrated* 17 June 1871 p.66; 20 June 1857 p.617; 14 August 1858 p.142; 13 Jan 1866 p.47.

¹⁴*Illustrated* 15 May 1858 p.477f.; 6 Dec 1873 p.531f. shows a ceremony of a man marrying a dead tiger.

¹⁵*Illustrated* 16 Jan 1897 p.71; 2 Jan 1858 p.17f.

¹⁶*Illustrated* 3 April 1858 p.336.

¹⁷*Illustrated* 31 Oct 1857 p.441; 17 Oct 1857 p.397; 2 Jan 1858 p.11f., 24 April 1858 p.406; 17 Oct 1857 p.398; 7 Nov 1885 p.486.

¹⁸*Illustrated* 7 Nov 1885 p.485.

¹⁹Greenberger, *British Image*, p.133, from his study of fiction, concludes, "There is a common identification of a large part of Hinduism with the Worship of Kali. It is this blood-thirsty side of the religion which is most often used as a short-hand way of describing Hinduism." See Perry, *Delusions and Discoveries*, p.55,62,94,109f. *Illustrated* 1875 Supplement p.26; 22 Oct 1887 p.498; 27 March 1875 p.287.

deities,²⁰ and human sacrifice.²¹ Sacrifice and pilgrimage were understood to incorporate elements of cruelty, blood and death. Pilgrimage²² coverage showed the "Rutt Jathra" at Puri,²³ the Kumbha Mela at Allahabad,²⁴ particular locations in Kashmir,²⁵ on Mount Abu,²⁶ and along India's major rivers.²⁷ Reporting about pilgrimage to Puri, the *Illustrated* described the individual pilgrim who "crawls" more than a thousand miles to die on the threshold of the "polluted fane"²⁸ and a procession in which "people utter the most discordant yells, and perform the most

²⁰*Illustrated* 28 Nov 1857 p.550: "...The idols appear to be brought out for execution rather than homage..."

²¹*Illustrated* 18 Sept 1886 p.309; 31 Jan 1866 p.47; 24 Feb 1906 p.269. *Illustrated* 16 Nov 1872 p.467: "The tomb is surrounded by posts, upon each of which is stuck the head of some animal - an elephant, a tiger, a wild boar, an antelope, a buffalo, or a horse. No human heads are to be seen, but a certain number of these are always buried with the chief. Raids have been made to procure the heads of sepoys or coolies, or other captives, for this purpose." The *Illustrated* reported that the last human sacrifice performed in India was in 1864 but a reference to the practice in *Illustrated* 30 April 1904 p.644 would seem to contradict this statement. Dennis, *Christian Missions*, p.157f. cites stories of human sacrifice in India "in some cases as a daily event."

²²Shyam Parmar, *Traditional Folk Media in India*, New Delhi: Geta Books, 1975, p.88-91 discusses the importance of fairs and festivals for renewing social contacts and the exchange of information.

²³*Illustrated* 5 Sept 1857 p.233; 28 Nov 1857 p.540.

²⁴*Illustrated* 17 Feb 1894 p.203.

²⁵*Illustrated* 18 Dec 1858 p.582; 17 July 1858 p.63 describes the inhabitants as "much addicted to making pilgrimages."

²⁶*Illustrated* 21 Nov 1857 p.233.

²⁷*Illustrated* 22 Oct 1887 p.498f.; 2 Jan 1858 p.18; 24 Feb 1866 p.190.

²⁸*Illustrated* 5 Sept 1857 p.233; 19 Sept 1863 p.284. See Parry, *Delusions and Discoveries*, p.62.

ridiculous and indecent gesticulations..."²⁹ Just as Kali was portrayed to typify popular worship, Puri represented the archetypal procession.

Indian religious practices are described using words strongly influenced by Christianity. Pilgrims are "sinners... coming to be purged of their stains... for the purificatory ceremonial of Mahamakam."³⁰ The Journal states that "shradd" is performed at the Kumbha Mela for fathers in "purgatory"; when the Brahmin says "benedictions", the "baptismal rite of purification or absolution is thus completed."³¹ Similar vocabulary is used in descriptions of the Ganges River.³²

The river front at Benares epitomised much that was associated with India. According to the *Illustrated*, Benares was "a sort of Rome" to Hindus;³³ a city of the "most curious types of such civilisation as is indigenous to Hindustan. In aspect all travellers consider the river front the finest thing in India."³⁴ Lady Canning wrote, "The greatest sight of all was Benares. I now feel I have seen *India*

²⁹*Illustrated* 28 Nov 1857 p.550; 20 March 1897 p.382 shows a procession in Kombakonum.

³⁰*Illustrated* 20 March 1897 p.382.

³¹*Illustrated* 17 Feb 1894 p.203; Also 22 Oct 1887 p.498f.

³²*Illustrated* 21 Jan 1875 p.9; 5 Feb 1876 p.141f.; 31 Jan 1864 p.96; 21 Feb 1874 p.167; 20 June 1857 p.617. The evangelical desire to convert Roman Catholics in England may account for these phrases. F.K. Prochaska, "Little Vessels: Children in the Nineteenth-Century English Missionary Movement" *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 6(20), 1978, p.113 found evidence of anti-Catholicism in children's missionary magazines and Lorimer, *Colour, Class and the Victorians*, p.79 identifies them as a target group for home missions. The association of Hindu ceremonies with Roman Catholic rites may have increased their unacceptability.

³³*Illustrated* 28 Nov 1857 p.550.

³⁴*Ibid.*

. Not a trace or touch of anything European exists there."³⁵ In addition to the many pilgrims, the river's attractions included decorated pleasure boats³⁶ and the *Illustrated* invited readers to take an imaginary tour of the ghats,³⁷ including those used for cremation.³⁸ Funeral rites held special fascination as readers learn of abandoned people starving to death at the water's edge, whose bodies were consumed by jackals, and of lepers occasionally burned alive.³⁹ For the Prince of Wales, illuminations at night made the ghats "wild and Oriental" while "Myriads of people, whose figures were set in blackness against the vivid sheets of flame,

³⁵V. Surtees, *Charlotte Canning: Lady-in-waiting to Queen Victoria and Wife of the First Viceroy of India 1817-1861*, London: J. Murray, 1975, p.263 [Original italics]. Needless to say, the impression of escaping European control was incorrect; see Bernard S. Cohn, "The British in Benares: A Nineteenth Century Colonial Society" *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 4, 1961-62, p.169-199.

³⁶*Illustrated* 5 Feb 1876 p.140; 12 Feb 1876 p.162; 25 March 1906 p.415. See S.C. Welch, *Room for Wonder*, New York: American Federation of Arts, 1978, p.35, plates 5a and 5b for pictures of the boats earlier in the century and description by Fanny Parks. Bernard S. Cohn, "The Peoples of India" p.8 advances that "Travel by river seems to symbolically capture what was for many of the British the ideal relationship they should have with India. It should appear colourful, varied, picturesque, and was best experienced at a distance, without the smells, din and constant presence of Indians all about them."

³⁷*Illustrated* 1875 Supplement p.20; 21 Nov 1857 p.504; 28 Nov 1857 Supplement; 29 Jan 1876 p.113. See James Ricalton, *India Through the Stereoscope*, London: Underwood & Underwood, 1900, positions 55-58 for another type of imaginary tour of the ghats at Benares. The *Illustrated* featured Calcutta's ghats to a lesser extent: *Illustrated* 15 April 1876 Supplement; 22 Oct 1887 p.498f.

³⁸*Illustrated* 24 March 1906 p.418; 29 Jan 1876 p.102; 24 Feb 1906 p.273; 20 June 1857 p.617. Worswick & Embree, *The Last Empire*, p.69 show a contemporary photograph.

³⁹*Illustrated* 20 June 1857 p.617.

presented almost a demonical aspect."⁴⁰ The ghats at Benares are also the setting for India's "jogni wallahs".⁴¹

The *Illustrated* suggested that Indian ascetics might be found at all places of pilgrimage: At Allahabad the "fakirs, yogis, and other professional religious mendicants, friars and hermits, display their apparent poverty and piety..."⁴² Delhi "...swarms with religious devotees of every denomination, whether Hindoo or Mohammedans, Fakirs, Jogeas, Goshna-Sheens, vagabonds of every kind."⁴³ In Poona, the "streets are full of sanctified beggars, unclothed to the waist, and with their features begrimed with dust and ashes."⁴⁴ And of course, at Puri, "...the pious beggars wallow more deeply in the mud and filth, and beastify themselves with more unclean substances than ever."⁴⁵

These examples show a pre-occupation with poverty, clothing and personal hygiene which often measured character and worth in British society. It was

⁴⁰*Illustrated* 15 April 1876 Supplement p.19;also 5 Feb 1875 p.140ff.

⁴¹*Illustrated* 5 Feb 1876 p.124.

⁴²*Illustrated* 17 Feb 1894 p.203.

⁴³*Illustrated* 29 August 1857 p.210.

⁴⁴*Illustrated* 1875 Supplement p.18.

⁴⁵*Illustrated* 10 July 1858 p.38. Ricalton, *India Through the Stereoscope*, p.52 suggests, "Our tramps in their peripatetic laziness are slightly akin to the fakir mendicants."

difficult for a community which imbued labour⁴⁶ and cleanliness⁴⁷ with religious significance to accept an Indian's vow of asceticism.⁴⁸ Sadhus are shown as tramps and beggars.⁴⁹ One book review admits that ascetics help maintain political homogeneity and religious idealism⁵⁰ but stories of trailing hair,⁵¹ intoxicants,⁵² and cannibalism⁵³ perpetuated the view that these people were bizarre and vile. In addition to criticising ascetics, the *Illustrated* condemned India's Brahmin priests

⁴⁶See Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind*, New Haven: Yale university Press, 1957, p.126, 184-190, 242-262 for discussion of this issue and the various sources for its acceptance.

⁴⁷We have already seen that hygiene guided many descriptions of India's cities, See Peter R. Mountjoy "The Working-Class Press and the Working Class Conservatism" *Newspaper History from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day*, George Boyce *et.al.* (ed) London: Constable & Co., 1978, p.275-278 for the cultural importance of cleanliness.

⁴⁸*Illustrated* 5 Dec 1863 p.577: "A country where mendicancy is a religious rite is the natural home of beggary, and in India the evil may be witnessed in the most diversified forms. The profession there, as here, is a popular one for, although it has some drawback, it possesses the advantages of being easily learnt and easily practised, and is, upon the whole, a profitable one. What further inducements to practise can laziness require? There are in India beggars riding, walking, and crawling; beggars on one leg and beggars with an arm uplifted; crying, laughing, praying, cursing, and dancing beggars... The thin legs and attenuated arms proclaim the lazy vagabond who would rather starve than work. *Illustrated* 8 April 1865 p.322 carried an editorial condemning beggary in London and reported "The simple act of demanding relief, or of assuming an appearance of distress, is to be a policeman's warrant for taking the person so offending into custody..."

⁴⁹*Illustrated* 28 Nov 1857 p.550.

⁵⁰*Illustrated* 26 Sept 1903 p.454.

⁵¹*Illustrated* 31 Dec 1864 p.664.

⁵²*Illustrated* 28 Nov 1857 p.550; 5 Sept 1857 p.233; 26 Sept 1903 p.454; 24 Dec 1864 p.624f.

⁵³*Illustrated* 21 Nov 1857 p.504.

whom it called sleek and simpering⁵⁴ and readers were told of a "domineering Brahmanical priesthood" tyrannising the people "still rigidly divided into castes."⁵⁵

The Journal compared religious features with earlier times and cultures. It likened the caste system to social divisions in medieval Europe⁵⁶ and compared India's early literature and deities with Greek texts and mythologies showing Ganesa as Janus, Saraswati as Minerva, and Balaram and Krishna as Castor and Pollox.⁵⁷ These associations supported the charge of idolatry which carried many contemporary connotations:

It is a compound of ignorance, fear, carnality... It involves a curious mixture of fearful imagining, brooding, terror, puerile coaxing, anxious propitiation, inordinate feasting, and riotous indulgence. It is absolutely certain that idolatry and immorality go hand in hand.⁵⁸

The Journal refused to consider Edwin Arnold's interpretation of Indian "idolatry" as an "aid to faith" and the forms as "symbols",⁵⁹ for such "would then serve as a defence of all Pagan religions, of all the vice and cruelty with which those religions

⁵⁴*Illustrated* 1875 Supplement p.18.

⁵⁵*Illustrated* 28 Nov 1857 p.521; 26 Sept 1857 p.326.

⁵⁶*Illustrated* 2 Jan 1875 p.9.

⁵⁷*Illustrated* 19 June 1858 p.620; 17 July 1858 p.68; 18 April 1857 p.362; 23 Oct 1869 p.401; 22 Dec 1888 p.747.

⁵⁸Dennis, *Christian Missions*, p.310.

⁵⁹*Illustrated* 19 June 1886 p.672.

are associated."⁶⁰ According to the Journal, India's gods and goddesses were hideous,⁶¹ awful,⁶² and ugly.⁶³

Engravings of sculptures which may have reinforced this association with idolatry include the Trimurti, Saraswati, Ganesa and Nandi.⁶⁴ Nandi was a favourite image as Siva's vehicle during famine⁶⁵ and he is mentioned in relation to sacred bulls. Other animals were accorded religious favour.⁶⁶ While discussing the Jain animal hospital in Bombay, a writer concludes, "A peculiar people, these Jainas, and like most 'peculiar people' mainly illogical and irrational in their practice."⁶⁷

Although the *Illustrated* acknowledged that a worthy philosophy underlay the worship of some deities as presented in *The Web of Indian Life*, it insisted the web is more aptly comprised of "degraded rites" and "sordid superstitions."⁶⁸ It couched descriptions of the gods in language of sublimity and terror:

⁶⁰*Ibid.*

⁶¹*Illustrated* 15 Jan 1859 p.56; 19 June 1886 p.672.

⁶²*Illustrated* 22 Oct 1887 p.498.

⁶³*Illustrated* 28 Nov 1857 p.550.

⁶⁴*Illustrated* 17 July 1858 p.68; 19 June 1858 p.620; 30 Jan 1897 p.140; 21 Feb 1874 p.165; other forms of deities are mentioned 15 Jan 1859 p.56; 28 Nov 1857 p.550; 27 March 1875 p.287; 15 May 1881 p.483; 22 Oct 1887 p.498.

⁶⁵Illustrations appeared in 1874 and 1897.

⁶⁶*Illustrated* 23 Oct 1869 p.409; 7 Feb 1891 p.185f.; 21 August 1858 p.180; 1875 Supplement p.27.

⁶⁷*Illustrated* 1875 Supplement p.18; Evan Maconochie, *Life in the Indian Civil Service*, London: Chapman & Hall, Ltd., 1926 p.128 relates that during a famine in 1900-1901 in Gujerat, cows and bulls in the pinjrapols (places supported for crippled or superannuated animals) survived, which helped to increase livestock. He considered the institution to be useful as well as pious.

⁶⁸*Illustrated* 20 August 1904 p.260.

Stealthy glances at a horrific group of diabolical idols, the strange noises, and the unequal and lurid flashes of light, when all around is darkness, made it much more like what imagination might picture as the entrance of the infernal regions.⁶⁹

A walk through the environs of Calcutta about midnight reveals to the European stranger many curious sights and sounds... Here and there he meets with a Hindoo temple, with its hideous idols frowning upon him in the moonlight with something of unearthly effect.⁷⁰

Previous authors have linked themes concerning irrationality, animals and idols with sexual excesses.⁷¹ The *Illustrated*'s vow to uphold public morality and purity⁷² provided wide scope for attacking India's "Oriental indecency,"⁷³ "obscene sculptures,"⁷⁴ "immoral customs,"⁷⁵ and "licentious rites,"⁷⁶ without jeopardising its position as a family paper. Readers could imagine the worst.

The *Illustrated* concluded that, under the influence of India's religions, corruption and cruelty were features of the Indian character. The Journal stated that oblations to Saraswati made a Hindu blameless when "he lies or commits perjury (two very common occurrences)" and, "In the sacred books of the Hindoos, telling

⁶⁹*Illustrated* 19 Dec 1857 p.602.

⁷⁰*Illustrated* 23 Jan 1864 p.90.

⁷¹See Perry, *Delusions and Discoveries*, p.3f.,60; Isaacs, *Scratches on Our Minds*, p.262ff., Said, *Orientalism*, p.118.

⁷²*Illustrated* 14 May 1842 p.1. See Houghton, *Victorian Frame of Mind*, p.353-372 for contemporary attitudes towards sex in Britain and Kenneth Ballhatchet, *Race, Sex and Class Under the Raj*, London: Wiedenfeld & Nicolson, 1980 for their effect in India.

⁷³*Illustrated* 24 May 1873 p.483; 28 Nov 1857 p.550.

⁷⁴*Illustrated* 5 Sept 1857 p.334; 28 Nov 1857 p.550.

⁷⁵*Illustrated* 19 Dec 1857 p.602.

⁷⁶*Illustrated* 28 Nov 1857 p.550.

falsehoods and the bearing of false evidence are recommended as virtues. The very gods of the Hindoos are represented as liars."⁷⁷ In an article about common images of India, it suggests a land peopled by those who are "base, false, cruel and cowardly."⁷⁸ The 1857 Mutiny apparently demonstrated the "treacherous side of the Hindoo character"⁷⁹ and showed that Muslims could be "villains more crafty and more savage"⁸⁰ than Hindus. The Journal spotlighted endemic religious fanaticism among Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs.⁸¹ As we have stressed previously, the *Illustrated* was motivated by a sincere desire to report accurate and current news about India without holding a propagandistic role for any particular cause, but the above reveals a distorted fixation on negative and bizarre topics.

It may be argued that features most unlike contemporary Christian thought and practices captivated British attention. Yet, some of these themes permeated religious discussions in England where Christians attended sermons and read religious tracts incorporating themes of evil, corruption, death, sin and licentiousness. Evangelical missions attempted to instil a purer religious attitude in all their followers.⁸² It seems that India played a significant role in this effort, for

⁷⁷*Illustrated* 17 July 1858 p.68.

⁷⁸*Illustrated* 28 Nov 1857 p.521; Also 18 April 1857 p.362.

⁷⁹*Illustrated* 16 Sept 1865 p.274: The view was so prevalent that the book reviewer called the characterisation of natives as faithful servants an unusual relief. Also *Illustrated* 4 July 1857 p.19.

⁸⁰*Illustrated* 5 Sept 1857 p.233; Also 6 Oct 1858 p.367 which shows the "Mohammedan religion is not exempt from corruption."

⁸¹*Illustrated* 5 Sept 1857 p.233; 25 July 1857 p.92; 28 Nov 1857 p.525; 29 August 1857 p.210; 17 July 1858 p.52; Also 18 April 1857 p.362; 17 Oct 1857 p.397f.; 1875 Supplement p.23; 20 Nov 1858 p.471. The Christian equivalent is referred to by the more acceptable "zeal" or "fervour." See Russell, *My Diary in India*, vol.I p.356; Mudford, *Birds of a Different Plumage*, p.150f., John Bowle, *The Imperial Achievement*, London: Secker & Warburg, Ltd., 1974, p.206.

⁸²Prochaska in *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, p.113.

no matter how distressing religious conditions in England, people in India were always much worse. The Journal's position on government policies about missionaries and evangelicalism in India was based on this unbalanced assessment of the area's religious traditions.

The Christianising Mission

During the controversy over the role of evangelicalism in the 1857 Mutiny, an *Illustrated* editorial proposes, "Let our zealous missionaries go by hundreds or by thousands and preach the Gospel in the highways and byways of India. Let them go without impediment or restraint..." This enthusiasm did not however extend to official government involvement and identification. The editorial continues, "...but let the Government beware of identifying itself with them, either by payment or by direction. Christianity is not a matter which a conquering Government can force upon a conquered people. The yet unended rebellion, if it teaches us anything, teaches us that, and it will be a bad day for the Imperial Government if ever it forgets the lesson."⁸³ The Journal's position was "If Christianity is to pervade India, as we fervently believe it will in the fulness of the appointed time, it must not be introduced at the bayonet's point... Let England teach the true religion by her example to the world,"⁸⁴ so that "the light of the true religion may flow."⁸⁵ The *Illustrated* strongly disapproved of forced conversion and suggested more effective ways to assert British supremacy, for "although we

⁸³*Illustrated* 4 Sept 1858 p.216. The influence of religion in the Mutiny is discussed in Hutchins, *Illusion of Permanence*, p.82ff.; Thomas R. Metcalf, *Aftermath of Revolt: India 1857-1870*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964, p.89-91,98-110.

⁸⁴*Illustrated* 22 August 1857 p.186.

⁸⁵*Illustrated* 18 Dec 1858 p.569.

are not sanguine enough to say that India can be Christianised, it undoubtedly may and must be more Europeanised, and politically more centralised."⁸⁶

These desires guided legislation necessary to exercise moral dominion over India,⁸⁷ for "Most of us hope that we shall yet succeed in making our rule a lasting blessing to India. Most of us feel that Divine Providence has laid upon us a responsibility in connection with that dependency, the faithful discharge of which we may look upon as our mission... We have accepted our "mission" and we are intent upon fulfilling it..."⁸⁸ The Journal fully accepted this responsibility to India "to perform to the best of our ability the duties to our fellow-subjects which we have declared ourselves willing, and even anxious, to undertake."⁸⁹

This goal of Europeanisation is shown in engravings which juxtapose Christianity (technical and moral superiority) to India's indigenous traditions. It is symbolised visually by a railway bridge over the Ganges representing the triumph of a steam locomotive of "English design and construction" over the "sacred river of the Hindoos."⁹⁰ It is shown in a picture of Indians invoking Nandi, Siva's bull, during famine: "The Bull Nandi may be deaf to them, but not the English John

⁸⁶*Illustrated* 2 Jan 1858 p.3.

⁸⁷*Illustrated* 13 Jan 1866 p.47: "How obstinately the natives of India have clung to their barbarous rites is known to all men; and how our authorities have despaired to ever being able to entirely abolish the horrible practices which make the native creed and the native solemnities abominable, it is unnecessary to point out. Twenty years later, on 19 June 1886 p.672 it reported, "Happily the most horrible rites practiced under the name of religion have been stamped out by British rule..."

⁸⁸*Illustrated* 4 June 1864 p.534.

⁸⁹*Illustrated* 11 August 1877 p.122. The value of "duty" is addressed in Greenberger, *British Image*, p.19ff.,40; Hutchins, *The Illusion of Permanence*, p.21ff.; Hyam, *Britain's Imperial Century*, p.50f., Warren, *Missionary Movements*, p.59f.

⁹⁰*Illustrated* 21 Jan 1875 p.9.

Bull..."⁹¹ A full page illustration shows an eclipse expedition at the moment "when the terrified people in their alarm at the mysterious affliction which had befallen the sun, were preparing to kindle a fire of brushwood for a propitiatory sacrifice." but because the smoke might have ruined the astronomical observation, they obey orders to stop.⁹²

This symbolism of European superiority is also expressed in the treatment of religious sites. The rock at Trichinopoly "is crowned by a great temple, and above it, upon a high knob of the rock, is another temple, or rather the most sacred place of the temple, into which unbelievers are forbidden to enter. Upon the highest point floats the British flag."⁹³ Readers learn that until 1857 "no Christian under any circumstances whatsoever, was permitted to enter this fane [Jumma Musjid] but the 'Burra Sahib' does what he likes now in Delhi, and mosques and Hindoo temples are alike liable to be profaned (as the heathens think) by his domineering footsteps."⁹⁴ This sense of occupation is best shown by the transformation of a cave temple into a banqueting hall.

The *Illustrated* reported the dinner held in the Elephanta Caves in honour of the Prince of Wales's visit in 1875. Readers are shown the cave's religious sculptures and a double-spread sketch of guests seated and being served at long

⁹¹*Illustrated* 21 Feb 1874 p.167.

⁹²*Illustrated* 27 Jan 1872 p.77f., Daniel Sheridan, "Late Victorian Ghosts: Supernatural Fiction and Social Attitude 1870-1900" PhD Thesis, Northwestern University, Illinois, 1974, p.136 in discussion of "Belief as Superstition" refers to *King Solomon's Mines* (1885) when an almanac is used to predict an eclipse which to the natives is magic. Sheridan concludes from the passage quoted that "The racism is clear enough, but what is most significant is the suggestion that scientific knowledge makes religious awe ridiculous." The same conclusion can be drawn from the front page illustration of *Illustrated* 17 Jan 1872.

⁹³*Illustrated* 15 April 1876 Supplement p.12. Other examples of architectural symbolism are *Illustrated* 17 June 1871 p.600; 24 Feb 1866 p.184.

⁹⁴*Illustrated* 1875 Supplement p.30.

tables.⁹⁵ The description accompanying the picture shows how religious significance is heightened, only to be surmounted by British control:

...the caverns to their remotest recesses were illuminated with red, green, and blue fire, and the weird beauty of the spectacle was extremely impressive. It was a novel sensation for the company seated at the tables spread for their repast in that strange place of ancient heathen worship, which was illuminated for the occasion and where huge and fantastic shapes of monstrous idols appeared more preternatural in the glare of red and blue lights burning at each side. Their raised table, occupied by the Governor, the Prince, and about twenty other guests of rank and dignity, was placed immediately before and below the great sculptured group of the Trimurti... The company of English ladies and gentlemen, nevertheless, contrived to enjoy their banquet without too much dread of those grim conceptions of Hindoo fancy.⁹⁶

Weirdness, novelty, sensation, strangeness and dread are inextricably linked with religion in India. Here they provide an attractive meal setting for British dignitaries who received royal salutes and heard strains of the anthem "God Save the Prince of Wales" while returning to the mainland.⁹⁷

In addition to general efforts to Christianise India, the *Illustrated* extended best wishes for success to individual appeals for public assistance.⁹⁸ Establishments which sponsored Bible classes and hymn singing offered the *Illustrated London News* to their members⁹⁹ which suggests the Journal maintained a viewpoint acceptable to evangelical societies. To aid in his task to interest and amuse as well as inform audiences of overseas efforts, the returning missionary often showed "maps and globes, idols used in pagan rites, and

⁹⁵*Illustrated* 11 Dec 1875 p.588-589; 20 Nov 1875 p. 514,516,520.

⁹⁶*Illustrated* 15 April 1876 Supplement; 11 Dec 1875 p.586.

⁹⁷*Illustrated* 15 April 1876 Supplement.

⁹⁸*Illustrated* 27 March 1875 p.287.

⁹⁹Olive Anderson, "The Growth of Christian Militarism in mid-Victorian Britain" *English Historical Review*, 86,1971, p.59.

sometimes even a regenerated heathen."¹⁰⁰ Religious objects isolated from their cultural context were viewed as concrete and transportable examples of "Indian degradation" and their real meaning could be easily distorted when publicly displayed. More importantly, racial and cultural attitudes were shaped at such meetings and reinforced through periodicals sponsored by these missions.¹⁰¹

A review of mission activities in India concluded that the majority of Indians converted to Christianity were from the lower castes, outcastes and aboriginal tribes.¹⁰² But comfort was found in the belief that "It is always, and everywhere, from the lower strata upwards, that the gospel leaven works."¹⁰³ According to an article in the *Illustrated*, Englishmen taught not only religion but also simple humanity and Hindus "amongst the lower classes, are getting to appreciate the real soul of Western civilisation."¹⁰⁴ Another writer countered that even the orthodoxy of Christians in Madras "does not go much beyond placing a few Christian symbols amongst the idols of their temples."¹⁰⁵ This view of Indian religions resulting from acquaintance with the lowest strata of society and coloured by missionary zeal

¹⁰⁰Prochaska in *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, p.111. *Illustrated* 19 Jan 1867 p.65 shows "a queer seated figure of a Hindu deity" and *Illustrated* 20 April 1889 p.491 shows, for the Church Missionary Bazaar and Exhibition, "some of the... specimens of heathen idols, or objects of worship... One of the most striking is the model of the horrible apparatus formerly used in India by the 'Yogees' or fanatical devotees of the goddess Kali, for their public display of cruel self-torture in the 'Churak Poojah'" [hook-swinging]. There is also a picture of a sandle with spikes sticking upwards labeled "Torture Shoe."

¹⁰¹Lorimer, *Colour, Class and the Victorians*, p.75,82.

¹⁰²Leonard, *A Hundred Years of Missions*, p.185.

¹⁰³*Ibid*, p.186.

¹⁰⁴*Illustrated* 25 Dec 1875 p.34.

¹⁰⁵*Illustrated* 1875 Supplement p.23.

was transmitted to Britain as representative of the sub-continent and formed the basis of popular understanding.¹⁰⁶

Indians who showed no inclination to accept Christianity were "hardened to resistance"¹⁰⁷ or typified by "jealousies and fears... for the safety of the faith to which they adhere."¹⁰⁸ The *Illustrated* acknowledged that religious reformers had risen under the influence of British rule, and it hoped that they would provide a "more enlightened and rational interpretation of their dogmas and mysteries, as well as the inculcation of a purer morality."¹⁰⁹ Investigations of India's religious history which stimulated some reformers¹¹⁰ were brought to readers' attention through book reviews and architectural engravings.

Religious Architecture

Correspondents expressed wonder at India's architectural accomplishments: at the "brilliancy of its decoration admirably contrasting with the massive squareness of its form;"¹¹¹ and "the richness and variety, as well as the proportions and general good taste of its principle features;"¹¹² William Carpenter

¹⁰⁶Missionaries were educated at the same public schools as government officials (Warren, *Missionary Movements*, p.72) and the complaint in 1872 that fewer university graduates were becoming missionaries (Lorimer, *Colour, Class and the Victorians*, p.119) suggests that at least until this time, those in the field were more highly educated than later followers. This may have widened the gulf of misunderstanding between missionaries and the Indians they attracted.

¹⁰⁷*Illustrated* 30 Oct 1858 p.395.

¹⁰⁸*Illustrated* 4 Sept 1858 p.216.

¹⁰⁹*Illustrated* 24 Feb 1866 p.184.

¹¹⁰The extent to which Britain recreated India's past has been addressed. See S. B. Mookerji, *India Since 1858*, p.48-53; Metcalf, *Aftermath of Revolt*, p.114f.; Said, *Orientalism*, p.92,176.

¹¹¹*Illustrated* 22 May 1858 p.519.

¹¹²*Illustrated* 24 April 1858 p.405.

submitted drawings to support his claim that "for wild invention, profuse ornament and delicate workmanship" the Jain temples on Mount Abu were perhaps unrivalled.¹¹³

Victorian architectural drawings stressed magnitude and greatness with strong vertical lines,¹¹⁴ while the Gothic revival emphasised a dream-like atmosphere of vast dimensions.¹¹⁵ Based on such interests, India's caves and monoliths attracted artistic notice as the "haunts and habitations of the Gods."¹¹⁶ Correspondents enjoyed contrasting darkness with light and associating Indian architecture with death:

How exquisite are the proportions of yon swelling dome, graced by its sister spires! What wondrous architecture massed in the miles of tombs that stretched beyond it - a 'cavern gloom' of fretwork and tracery, and of dark interiors, lighted up by the richly-coloured mosaics.¹¹⁷

Concealed behind a sombre curtain of tall trees, the tower rises gaunt, solitary, and terrible. Its rampart is fringed by vultures, sitting each alone, gorged, and brooding. Reticence is about the best course to adopt in glancing at this dreadful place..." when all else "tells brightness and cheerfulness and Life..."¹¹⁸

¹¹³*Illustrated* 21 Nov 1857 p.505.

¹¹⁴Peter Conrad, *The Victorian Treasure House*, London: William Collins Sons & Co., Ltd., 1973, p.136. See Klingender, *Art and the Industrial Revolution*, Plates 30,99-102,104.

¹¹⁵Stephen Prickett, *Victorian Fantasy*, Hassocks, Sussex: The Harvester Press, Ltd., 1979, p.12. Altick, *Victorian People and Ideas*, p.102-105. *Illustrated* 23 Oct 1896 p.401,409: "The ground plan of the chief temple is cruciform, like that of a Gothic church in Europe; its wall and pillars are decorated with sculptures, and from its vaulted roof hang rows of idols carved in wood."

¹¹⁶William Hodges quoted in Archer, *Early Views of India*, no.166 about the Ellora complex. See Sten Nilsson, *European Architecture in India 1750-1850*, Faber & Faber, 1968, p.28f.; Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters*, p.126-130.

¹¹⁷*Illustrated* 19 Sept 1857 p.301.

¹¹⁸*Illustrated* 1875 Supplement p.18.

The Journal featured Ajanta, Ellora and Elephanta,¹¹⁹ and urged readers to familiarise themselves with prints by Thomas and William Daniell and the writings of James Fergusson.¹²⁰ These sites were explored and classified by British army officers and officials on tour who could survey and record monuments with equipment generally found in camp.¹²¹ During the Mutiny, a writer for the Madras Athenaeum stated that army inefficiency was exacerbated by officers doing "photographic fiddle-faddle" and "picturings of caves of Ellora and Ajunta."¹²² Many who engaged in photographic studies of mosques, mausoleums and temples published them in popular books and the pictorial periodicals. The *Illustrated* reproduced six examples from a booklet issued by the Science and Art Department for use in the Schools of Art throughout Britain.¹²³

The text accompanying these pictures laments the government's apathy toward India's architectural monuments and expresses hope that public interest would "spare this country the disgrace of neglecting the arts of a country it rules."¹²⁴ The government assumed responsibility for architectural preservation with the appointment of Alexander Cunningham as Director-General of the

¹¹⁹*Illustrated* 1 April 1876 p.324; 23 May 1863 p.576f.; 1875 Supplement p.28; 18 March 1870 p.240.

¹²⁰*Illustrated* 18 March 1876 p.276; 5 March 1870 p.240.

¹²¹Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters*, p.149.

¹²²*Illustrated* 25 April 1857 p.381.

¹²³*Illustrated* 5 March 1870 p.240; 2 April 1870 p.364.

¹²⁴*Illustrated* 5 March 1870 p.240; Wars, railways, and road-making were listed as causes of spoilation but there was no suggestion to curb them.

Archaeological Survey in 1862 and the *Illustrated* occasionally mentions its activities at Indian sites.¹²⁵

Architectural preservation of religious structures became a concern while deliberate efforts were made to undermine the belief systems which created these monuments. The *Illustrated* isolated architecture from its historical roots and predicted, "the beginning of the extinction of the mere barbaric magnificence of Old India," advocating, "Let the barbarism go, but let the picturesque architecture remain, may be extended and revived..."¹²⁶ In a sense, preservation was appropriation. Religious architecture, particularly that of the Mughals, became a symbol for imperial prestige.

Monuments in Delhi and Agra are described in the *Illustrated* as representing British control:¹²⁷ Delhi was "built by foreign invaders of India; and, by a curious interpretation of international law, our countrymen maintain that Delhi, having always been held by conquest, they became not only *de facto* but *de jure* its masters as soon as the British standard floated on its besieged ramparts."¹²⁸ Subsequently, engravings of the Jumma Masjid¹²⁹ and Kutub Minar¹³⁰ appealed to British sensibilities. Honoria Lawrence described the Kutub as standing "in the

¹²⁵*Illustrated* 12 Dec 1885 p.600; 27 March 1875 p.289.

¹²⁶*Illustrated* 2 Jan 1858 p.4.

¹²⁷See Patrick Connor, *Oriental Architecture in the West*, London: Thames & Hudson, 1979, p.168 for architectural associations with colonial glory in Britain.

¹²⁸*Illustrated* 1875 Supplement p.30. Talal Asad, "Two European Images of Non-European Rule" *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*, London: Ithaca Press, 1973, p.117 elaborates this position concerning Egypt and other parts of Africa.

¹²⁹*Illustrated* 20 Jan 1877 p.51; 18 July 1857 p.57; 1875 Supplement p.30; 12 Feb 1876 p.162ff.

¹³⁰*Illustrated* 15 April 1876 Supplement; 19 Feb 1876 p.174; 8 August 1857 p.137; 16 Dec 1905 p.901; 1875 Supplement p.40.

midst of a chaos of ruins, evidently of very different dates and styles. The dilapidation of all around makes it the most marvellous that this one pillar remains absolutely perfect, not a scratch or crack or crumble."¹³¹ Russell called it "a pharos to guide one over this sea of desolation..."¹³² Illustrations recommended it as an appropriate symbol for British rule.¹³³

Engravings of churches and cathedrals in India¹³⁴ reminded readers of the British presence but they could not compare with the Taj Mahal¹³⁵ or Golden Temple.¹³⁶ Russell described the Jumma Musjid's richness, elegance and grandeur in "painful contrast" to the architecture of Christian churches and concluded, "Assuredly, if our rule in India were to be judged by the edifices which have arisen under its inspiration, it would take the lowest rank in the order of Indian governments..."¹³⁷ Therefore, identification *with* Indian edifices conveyed strength and endurance.

¹³¹John Lawrence and Audrey Woodwiss, *The Journals of Honoria Lawrence: India Observed 1837-1854*, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1980 p.126. Also Archer, *Early Views of India* for Emily Eden's description in a letter dated 23 Feb 1838.

¹³²Russell, *My Diary in India*, vol.2, p.75.

¹³³Urwick, *Indian Pictures in Pen and Pencil*, p.47 provides a parallel description: "Nothing can be more strange and pleasant to the eye of a Christian than to see the spire of a Christian church, with the surroundings of a missionary compound, rising amid the emblems of decaying heathendom in that far-off land.

¹³⁴*Illustrated* 22 August 1857 p.201f.; 27 August 1864 p.209.

¹³⁵Archer, *Company Drawings*, p.2; Archer, *Early Views of India*, plates 27 & 29 present British reaction to the Taj Mahal. *Illustrated* 1875 Supplement p.36; 19 Feb 1876 p.189; 23 Dec 1905 p.952; 28 Nov 1857 p.550; 15 April 1876 Supplement.

¹³⁶*Illustrated* 1875 Supplement p.24; 16 Dec 1905 p.901; 6 Jan 1906 p.13; 6 Nov 1858 p.438.

¹³⁷Russell, *My Diary in India*, vol.2, p.73.

Coverage of religious architecture included classification and measurement which were features of growing archaeological interest. Sometimes interior features are described and the Journal was pleased to expose and present aspects previously inaccessible.¹³⁸ An engraving from Allahabad invites readers to explore the "subterranean Hindoo temple beneath the fort, entered by a long passage sloping downwards, which is greatly revered by worshippers of the antique Indian superstition. It is adorned with huge figures of their mythological deities..."¹³⁹ Trichinopoly Rock offered "spacious staircases, which give easy access to the summit, where there is a *vimera* held in deep reverence by Brahminists..."¹⁴⁰ Sketches of the Ram Chandra Temple in Benares show the temple, an inner view and the "inner shrine itself, containing the three idols"¹⁴¹ while at a temple in Poona was a small gate, the courtyard and the god "placed far back in the gloom..."¹⁴² Readers participated vicariously in the penetration of religious structures.

The complexity, diversity and size of India's religious architecture appealed visually to the Victorians who appreciated the sense of stability and

¹³⁸*Illustrated* 20 Nov 1858 p.474: "It is seldom that Europeans have an opportunity of witnessing the Mohammedan worship on any days of particular sanctity; but in Cashmere, where the ruler is a Hindoo, they dare not resent the intrusions of Christians, and advantage was taken of it to sketch this interesting scene." *Illustrated* 8 July 1883 p.47: "As none but followers of the Zoroastrian faith are admitted into the Parsee temples, representations of the interior of these places of worship are scarce. The Illustrations here given - from photographs- are the first which I have had the chance of seeing, and a special value ought to attach to them on this account. For the same reason descriptions of the ceremonies within these temples are rare, and in the present instance we have to trust to a leaflet, written by a Parsee, and issued in Bombay with the photographs.

¹³⁹*Illustrated* 14 May 1881 p.483.

¹⁴⁰*Illustrated* 21 August 1858 p.180.

¹⁴¹*Illustrated* 20 June 1891 p.807.

¹⁴²*Illustrated* 18 Dec 1875 p.614.

longevity offered in engravings. In addition to these external characteristics, the *Illustrated* emphasised the scrutiny and disclosure of internal features.

Mystery and Sensationalism

While India as "land of mystery" is an image at least as old as Herodotus,¹⁴³ its presentation achieved new meaning in the second half of the nineteenth century through associations with the Romantic Movement,¹⁴⁴ the Gothic Revival¹⁴⁵ and contemporary religious concerns.¹⁴⁶ An artistic review in the *Illustrated* refers to some of these associations:

There has been a return to the primitive and the medieval among men and women in general - in religion, in poetry, in the ideals of life. The unrest of the age could not, perhaps, be caught on the stationary canvas otherwise than by that fixed and monotonous expression of discontent which these sketches and studies betray.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³Wittkower in *London University Warburg and Courtauld Institutes Journal*, p.159f.

¹⁴⁴Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters*, p.208-217; R. Berman, "Suspending Disbelief: The Development of Fantasy as a Literary Genre in Nineteenth-Century British Fiction as Represented by Four Leading Periodicals" PhD thesis, University of Minnesota, 1979, p.69f.; Prickett, *Victorian Fantasy*, p.9; Steegman, *The Rule of Taste*, p.49ff.; L.R. Furst, *The Contours of European Romanticism*, London: Macmillan Press, 1979, p.4-10.

¹⁴⁵Leo Henkin, *Darwinism in the English Novel*, New York: Corporate Press, Inc., 1940, p.265; Prickett, *Victorian Fantasy*, p.12,212; William Watt, *Shilling Shockers of the Gothic School*, New York: Russell & Russell, 1967, p.41; Berman, "Suspending Disbelief" p.115ff., W. Hughes, *The Maniac in the Cellar: Sensation Novels of the 1860s*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980, p.7; Altick, *Victorian People and Ideas*, p.102ff.

¹⁴⁶Berman, "Suspending Disbelief" p.184 mentions the Church's uncertainty about reconciling miracles and scientific doctrines; Brian Inglis, *Natural and Supernatural*, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1977, p.194-211 talks about Church reaction to mesmerism, hypnotism and spiritualism. See his section "Church and State", p.304ff.

¹⁴⁷*Illustrated* 30 April 1904 p.658 which is a review of Sir Edward Burne-Jones's work at Leicester Galleries.

Such unrest and discontent¹⁴⁸ could lead to selective interest in another time period or another location associated with remoteness, mystery and elements of the supernatural.

At the level of scholarship, translations from Sanskrit literature and religious texts offered English audiences new historical information about India and the *Illustrated* acknowledged the role of scientific enquiry: "The earlier history of India is extremely obscure, and science has proved the fabulous character of its ancient chronology... Europe is indebted to the Greek writers for much fragmentary knowledge of ancient India, but it wants fulness and precision, and it is to modern times that we must look for solid instruction."¹⁴⁹ This instruction was based, to a great extent, on interest shown in Indian philosophy and literature by earlier German writers,¹⁵⁰ and readers of the *Journal* were cursorily told of the Vedas, Laws of Manu, the Mahabharata, the Ramayana, and other translations¹⁵¹ from Indian sources.

On the popular level however, interest in India developed in conjunction with Gothic fiction where, as a previous study concludes, "...supernatural elements [were] chosen for their symbolic aptness without regard to whether they were, could be, or even had been believed in real life..."¹⁵² Another writer suggests that at this time the Gothic setting was transferred to the colonial environment "which is

¹⁴⁸See Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters*, p.274; Booth, *Victorian Spectacular Theatre*, p.37; Altick, *Victorian People and Ideas*, p.105.

¹⁴⁹*Illustrated* 19 June 1858 p.618.

¹⁵⁰D.P. Singhal, *India and World Civilisations, East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1969*, vol.2, p.229-233; Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters*, p.208-217.

¹⁵¹*Illustrated* 23 Oct 1869 p.409; 21 August 1858 p.180; 27 March 1875 p.287; 20 June 1891 p.807; 20 Jan 1872 p.60; 27 Feb 1869 p.207.

¹⁵²Berman, "Suspending Disbelief" p.96,251.

both sufficiently removed to suggest the unexpected and 'barbaric' enough to suggest the violent and the irrational."¹⁵³ India's romantic associations with *The Arabian Nights* and *Lallah Rooke*¹⁵⁴ supported belief that supernatural events were more likely to occur in an "uncivilised" or "superstitious" country. The image of India as "land of mystery" was not always corrected through reliable information in the latter half of the century but infused literary and anthropological studies in which India could be used for the projection of thoughts considered inappropriate in the Victorian setting¹⁵⁵ and as a repository of superstition,¹⁵⁶ fantasy and violence.

¹⁵³Sheridan, *Late Victorian Ghosts*, p.206n.; Julia Briggs, *Night Visitors: The Rise and Fall of the English Ghost Story*, London: Faber Ltd., 1977, p.18f.

¹⁵⁴*Illustrated* 28 Nov 1858 p.521; 1875 Supplement p.26 associates *The Arabian Nights* with images of India. *Illustrated* 6 Dec 1879 p.526 reviews a revised edition of Moore's *Lalla Rooke*; *Illustrated* 20 June 1857 p.617 refers to Southey's and Scott's works about India; also *Illustrated* 29 June 1889 p.810. Bearce, *British Attitudes*, p.103-110 talks of romantic images which continued in the nineteenth century; Berman, "Suspending Disbelief" p.52-60 examines the Oriental genre in English writing.

¹⁵⁵Sheridan, *Late Victorian Ghosts*, p.205f; Briggs, *Night Visitors*, p.18f.; Berman, "Suspending Disbelief" p.129,184.

¹⁵⁶We have seen above that Indian religious practices were labeled "superstition." *Spectator* 14 July 1866 p.771 describes the Hindu mind as a "strange pit full of jewels, rags, and filth, of gleaming thoughts and morbid fears, and horrid instincts..."

Kipling seemed to have a genuine interest in spiritualism¹⁵⁹ and the working of the mind.¹⁶⁰ He addressed, through fiction, concerns shared with the struggling disciplines of anthropology and psychology concerning the role of spiritualism within the Victorian milieu.¹⁶¹ The current scientific attitude maintained that eventually mysteries and miracles would be explained by reason or found to obey natural law. This strengthened a distinction between "natural phenomena, which were real, and the supernatural, which were compounded by myths, legends, mysticism (henceforth regarded as anti-rational), delusion, hallucination and fraud."¹⁶² In the second half of the nineteenth century, some occult movements turned to India in their desire "to combat materialist, reductive accounts of life and the universe."¹⁶³ Others developed an inquiring interest in practices such as mesmerism, hypnotism and telepathy¹⁶⁴ which were acceptable on the popular level as parlour games¹⁶⁵ but not to be accorded any legitimate or serious

¹⁵⁹Prickett,, *Victorian Fantasy*, p.206f.; Inglis, *Natural and Supernatural*, p.416 mentions that Kipling's sister was a medium who used a pseudonym since her husband and family disapproved of her activities.

¹⁶⁰Briggs, *Night Visitors*, p.148f.

¹⁶¹Inglis, *Natural and Supernatural*, p.339,p.236f. provides a list of contemporary publications about the topic; Sheridan, *Late Victorian Ghosts*, p.41.

¹⁶²Inglis, *Natural and Supernatural*, p.138.

¹⁶³J.A.V. Chapple, *Documentary and Imaginative Literature 1880-1920* , London: Blanford Press, Ltd., 1970, p.237; Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters*, p.274. Madame Blavatsky started Theosophy in 1875.

¹⁶⁴Inglis, *Natural and Supernatural*, p.141-151, 194f., Briggs, *Night Visitors*, p.52-75.

¹⁶⁵*Illustrated* 2 Jan 1886 p.20 shows mesmerism and table-turning as amusements at an Indian hill station.

regard.¹⁶⁶ The *Illustrated* strongly criticised British and American spiritualists in England:

We need not go into an analysis of the human mind to account for the success of such persons; everybody knows that a love of the marvellous is inherent in most people; that a very little imposing demonstration goes a very long way; that few lovers of excitement can reason, or care to do so; and that the number of silly people is very great..¹⁶⁷

The number of persons who believe, or try to believe, in the spirit humbug is very considerable, and it is distressing to think that in an age that boasts, not unreasonably, of the intellectual power that is manifested among us, there should be so large a number of helpless and foolish people.¹⁶⁸

With such reaction in England, India became a popular setting in domestic novels to help satisfy the metropolitan craving for excitement and sensation.¹⁶⁹ The *Illustrated* brought this connection to notice primarily through its book reviews.

Reviews of fiction included stories of the sensational genre which incorporated themes from anthropology and religion. The Journal states its objections to sensational novels "which cater for a morbid appetite to pry into supernatural mysteries by the lurid light of a hideous crime, glaring upward from the nether region, and raising phantoms of superstition in some form of so-called spiritualism, where simple moral and religious consciousness ought alone to be invoked."¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁶Inglis, *Natural and Supernatural*, p.440-444.

¹⁶⁷*Illustrated* 29 Oct 1864 p.435.

¹⁶⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹Hughes, *Maniac in the Cellar*, p.7, 164ff. discusses Wilkie Collins's *The Moonstone*. See Mario Praz, *The Hero in Eclipse in Victorian Fiction*, London: Oxford University Press, 1956, p.139,155 for a description of Charles Dickens's unfinished novel *The Mystery of Edwin Drood* in which a seemingly respectable choir master of a cathedral in England is really a satanic follower of Kali.

¹⁷⁰*Illustrated* 10 Nov 1888 p.558. Hughes, *The Maniac in the Cellar* p.100 suggests the genre offered "the opportunity to explore the less mundane areas of human concern - the intense passions, the daring actions, the extreme situations" and provided an innovative approach to the fiction of crime and adventure.

Still, it selected certain publications for review. One "highly imaginative" story "with an infusion of the transcendental or mystical element"¹⁷¹ showed the transmigraton of a deceased rajah's spirit into a young man living in England who was actually the rajah's son by his mother's clandestine first marriage in India. Another novelist based a doctor's plans to kill his wife on the savagery of his great-great-grandmother who was a Begum. According to the story, the Begum buried alive a slave girl in a vault under her bed and listened to the girl's cries as she died of starvation.¹⁷² A third example also included murder and "a modification of the very ancient creed of metempsychosis, taught by Asiatic philosophers..."¹⁷³ Towards the end of the century as this genre degenerated, Indian motifs became props for increasing a story's sensational appeal.

When we turn from fiction to news coverage, we see that the *Illustrated* incorporated sensational themes into its realistic reportage. Readers learned that Nadir Shah massacred Delhi's inhabitants;¹⁷⁴ that akalis jumped to their death from an elegant tower;¹⁷⁵ and that the Peishwa flung himself from his balcony where his "brains were dashed out on the terrace beneath."¹⁷⁶ They were told of his "dismal and dilapidated" palace which has "huge silent courtyards, vast silent salons, but very little that is remarkable in the way of proportions or decorations. As a slight compensation for this, every room and well nigh every corridor has its

¹⁷¹*Illustrated* 28 June 1890 p.819.

¹⁷²*Illustrated* 16 June 1888 p.667.

¹⁷³*Illustrated* 10 Nov 1888 p.558.

¹⁷⁴*Illustrated* 11 July 1857 p.37 reported 10,000 slain. *Illustrated* 8 August 1857 p.137 reported 100,000 slain. The event is again mentioned in the 1875 Supplement p.31.

¹⁷⁵*Illustrated* 20 Nov 1858 p.471.

¹⁷⁶*Illustrated* 1875 Supplement p.18.

individual history of rapine, treachery or murder."¹⁷⁷ Investigations at the Agra fort revealed a sealed chamber with skeletons of people who died of starvation which showed "a miserable tale of guilt, despair and fiendish cruelty."¹⁷⁸ According to reports, jackals carried off and devoured children,¹⁷⁹ wolves carried off and nurtured human babies,¹⁸⁰ and alligators dragged off bathers.¹⁸¹ The Journal recounted a story of buried treasure on Mount Abu¹⁸² and "deeds of blood and intrigue" at the hill station of Purandhur where a king slaughtered people and buried gold under his fortifications.¹⁸³ We can see the close similarity between sensational themes used in fiction and in news reporting.

By citing such actions, dangers, and legends, the *Illustrated* could undermine the seriousness of Indian beliefs.¹⁸⁴ Readers could dismiss some of the more

¹⁷⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁷⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁷⁹*Illustrated* 23 Jan 1864 p.90.

¹⁸⁰*Illustrated* 21 Nov 1857 p.499.

¹⁸¹*Illustrated* 22 Jan 1876 p.90: "Many lives are annually lost in India from the alligators carrying off the people as they come daily to perform in the sacred Gunga the necessary ceremonies commanded by their religion."

¹⁸²*Illustrated* 21 Nov 1857 p.504.

¹⁸³*Illustrated* 22 June 1889 p.797.

¹⁸⁴See Street, *The Savage in Literature*, p.157 for labeling a belief system as "superstition" which helped weaken its authority. Parry, *Image of the Indian and Black Man*, p.124f. touches on the visual appeal of ethnological study: "Fortunately, for those American painters and illustrators who wanted to picture dramatic Indian subjects suitable for family enjoyment and edification, there was a ready alternative to the bloody realities of Indian Wars in the West. For artists and audiences alike, it was invitingly easy to escape from present actuality into the welcome otherworld of Indian folklore and mythology. Street, *The Savage in Literature*, p.141 concludes that "primitive" political life was seen to be dominated by these two forces of war and religion.

disruptive and harsh effects of British control¹⁸⁵ and their inability to understand Indian opposition to particular schemes could reinforce the image of India as a place of mystery.

The treatment of Indian religions in the *Illustrated* was diverse and wide-ranging. It included reports of religious events and practices, descriptions of places of pilgrimage, architecture and sculpture, notices of missionary efforts, reviews of serious works and of novels which included Indian motifs. The coverage was guided by some basic ideas and attitudes, expressed not only in editorials and descriptive text, but also in the choice of topics and in the orchestration of illustrations. Two themes seem dominant.

The first is the theme of barbarism: the treatment abounds with various aspects of this idea which can be expressed in a series of related adjectives: weird (bizarre); hideous (filthy, awful); degraded (obscene, diabolical); cruel (bloody, wild); irrational (illogical, incomprehensible). India's philosophies and individual characters were used in novels and reports to emphasise sensationalistic features. India became the setting for exploring issues of the occult and spiritualism in their more fantastic forms.

The second theme is that of dominance. The *Illustrated* strongly supported the Christianising mission and efforts to extend "the light of true religion". It also emphasised dominance through attempts to weaken and "de-mystify" India's religions by stressing greater accessibility and documentation of religious activity, architecture and artifacts. Everything was to be available for close examination.

¹⁸⁵*Illustrated* 20 June 1891 p.807 attributes Indian opposition to sanitation and waterworks to religion.

CHAPTER V

GOVERNMENT

The *Illustrated* accepted the view that government policies and programmes could help to implement social change associated with the value of progress.¹ This idea had prevailed since the late eighteenth century when Joseph Priestley pronounced, "The great instrument in the hand of divine providence, of this progress of the species towards perfection, is society, and consequently government."² More specifically, it accepted that legislation was a powerful means for moulding India in accord with British ideals,³ and although the 1857 Mutiny caused some self-examination, belief in British political superiority continued throughout the century. This idea of perfection through government reinforced the concept of progress as a linear and directional process, a deliberate change⁴ (or reform) from an old to a new state. The *Illustrated London News* based much of its coverage of India's government on this understanding.

¹Hyam, *Britain's Imperial Century*, p.54f.; Williams, *The Long Revolution*, p.111f.; A.P. Thornton, *The Habit of Authority: Paternalism in British History*, London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1966; Eric Stokes, *The English Utilitarians and India*, London: Oxford University Press, 1959.

²Quoted in Lois Whitney, *Primitivism and the Idea of Progress in English Popular Literature of the Eighteenth Century*, New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1965, p.183.

³Hyam, *Britain's Imperial Century*, p.253: "Following the opening of the Suez Canal, Gladstone told Parliament that India was now linked with "the centre of power - the centre of moral, social and political power of the world." See Mudford, *Birds of a Different Plumage*, p.129,183; Percival Spear, *India: A Modern History*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961, p.254f.; Archie Mafeje, "The Problem of Anthropology in Historical Perspective: An Inquiry into the Growth of the Social Sciences" *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 10(2), 1976, p.310.

⁴Vincent Brome, *The Problem of Progress*, London: Cassell & Co., Ltd., 1963, p.7.

The 1857 Mutiny forced the *Illustrated* to consider the type of government Britain should re-establish in India once it secured military control. Military control itself was a feature of government: "India was won by the Sword; by the Sword it must be retained."⁵ The Journal supported "the title of Might rather than of Right... the strong arm and inflexible will which are alone fitted for Orientals."⁶ It argued that India was "a dependency, to be held by the right of conquest"⁷ and "as a conquest, we must treat it, if we hope to retain it or to give its people the benefit of a strong, a stable and a just Government."⁸ The Journal regarded British control of India as an accident, caused by "Fate and force of circumstances, rather than our own intention..."⁹ but one which must be maintained and guarded.¹⁰ The outward and visible signs of power were some of the *Illustrated*'s strongest political foci which reinforced British control: "The spectacle of power is that which we should exhibit;"¹¹

Political Pageantry

One of the *Illustrated*'s greatest contributions to the popular understanding of government is its visual depiction of political power through coverage of spectacles, processions and celebrations. Between 1859 when it showed illuminations

⁵*Illustrated* 22 August 1857 p.186

⁶*Illustrated* 12 Sept 1857 p.257.

⁷*Illustrated* 3 July 1858 p.10.

⁸*Illustrated* 12 Sept 1857 p.258.

⁹*Illustrated* 3 July 1858; also 4 June 1864 p.534; 31 July 1858 p.96; 16 March 1872 p.254.

¹⁰*Illustrated* 3 July 1858 p.10.

¹¹*Illustrated* 22 August 1875 p.186.

honouring the Queen's proclamation¹² and 1906 when the Prince of Wales visited India,¹³ readers were provided with sketches, drawings, photographs and descriptions of public displays: Canning's durbars at Lahore,¹⁴ Peshawur,¹⁵ and Sealkote;¹⁶ Lawrence's durbars at Lahore,¹⁷ Agra,¹⁸ and Lucknow;¹⁹ Mayo's durbars at Ambala,²⁰ and Peshawur,²¹ and procession in Jaipur;²² Lytton's commemoration of the Queen as Empress in Delhi;²³ Ripon's procession in Jaipur;²⁴ Dufferin's durbar in Rawalpindi²⁵ and celebrations of the Queen's jubilee;²⁶ Curzon's durbar in Delhi;²⁷ and various royal tours and investitures.

¹²*Illustrated* 1 Jan 1859 p.17.

¹³*Illustrated* 24 March 1906 p.419.

¹⁴*Illustrated* 7 April 1860 p.329.

¹⁵*Illustrated* 16 June 1860 p.573.

¹⁶*Illustrated* 14 July 1860 p.36.

¹⁷*Illustrated* 24 Dec 1864 p.625.

¹⁸*Illustrated* 29 Dec 1866 p.631.

¹⁹*Illustrated* 7 March 1868 p.238.

²⁰*Illustrated* 1 May 1869 p.429.

²¹*Illustrated* 11 June 1870 p.601.

²²*Illustrated* 14 Jan 1871 p.31.

²³*Illustrated* 27 Jan 1877 p.90.

²⁴*Illustrated* 4 Feb 1882 p.109.

²⁵*Illustrated* 2 May 1885 p.470.

²⁶*Illustrated* 19 March 1887 p.308.

²⁷*Illustrated* 3 Jan 1903 p.1.

These were occasions to show British control through imitation of indigenous methods of rule which the *Illustrated* understood to be based on ostentation and public display.

This approach incorporated the idea attributed to Disraeli,²⁸ of ruling India through Indian leaders and the *Illustrated* states in a lead article, "There is now some ground for believing that it will gradually become a main feature of our Indian policy... Let them but know, as we trust they will know soon, that our fixed purpose is to rule the numerous provinces of that vast peninsula by means of native agency..."²⁹ In an article about the Duke of Edinburgh's visit to India, the

Illustrated presented its political understanding of public displays:

Pageantry had its birth and still finds its home in the East... The nobler races of humanity, amongst which we must class our countrymen, find it difficult to appreciate the full power controlled over the mind of an Oriental by colour and vesture and the sparkle of jewelry and the pomp of processions. We regard ostentation in dress as savouring of barbarism. Our public solemnities are what the word imports... We attach chief importance to that in them which makes its appeal to, and gets its response from, the intellect and the moral sense. But in the land of the sun - in India, for example - where Nature herself is extravagant in ornamentation, where the blood is hot, and sensuous delights constitute the principal happiness of the people, pageantry is revelled in for its own sake. There, to a certain extent, what we call 'vain pomp' is actual power, and title to assume superiority over others is inseparably associated with external splendour...³⁰

The ceremony to install the Duke of Edinburgh as a member of the Order of the Star of India was to combine "political advantage with the gratification of the

²⁸*Illustrated* 29 Dec 1866 p.630; 1 Jan 1867 p.534; 5 Feb 1870 p.133.

²⁹*Illustrated* 1 Jan 1867 p.534. The policy is discussed in Metcalf, *Aftermath of Revolt*, Chapter IV; Sudhansu Bimal Mookerji, *India Since 1857*, Gwalior: Kitab Ghar, 1968, p.101-106; Hutchins, *Illusion of Permanence*, p.171ff.; Spear, *A History of India*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, vol.2, 1977, p.149f.

³⁰*Illustrated* 5 Feb 1870 p.133.

native passion for display."³¹ The article advises, "A legitimate field for ostentation is craved by all semi-barbaric minds, and the statesmen who aspire to rule such a dominion as India does wisely and well in providing the means of satisfying this desire of the native chiefs to be recognised among the foremost of the land."³² One means instituted for satisfying this attributed desire was the creation of the Order of the Star of India in 1861 which the *Illustrated* describes with reserved approval.³³ In August of that year, it provided a list of individuals initially appointed and presented the insignia to its readers.³⁴ With the proclamation of the Queen as Empress of India, the Journal reported an increase in members for the Order and announced the new Order of the Indian Empire.³⁵ At the proclamation in Delhi, "Each chief got a commemorative medal - gold for the great princes, silver for those of inferior rank... Each of the great chiefs also received a heavy and beautifully-worked banner, emblazoned with the arms of the House, and carried on a gilt pole..."³⁶ Ceremonies of investiture in India

³¹*Ibid*, p.134.

³²*Ibid*.

³³*Illustrated* 29 June 1861 p.604.

³⁴*Illustrated* 17 August 1861 p.171; Also 16 Nov 1861 p.506; 8 Jan 1876 p.48.

³⁵*Illustrated* 6 Jan 1877 p.18.

³⁶*Ibid*. See Dennis Kincaid, *British Social Life in India, 1608-1937*, London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1939 p.211f. for Lytton's other schemes to attract Indian rulers. Sarvepalli Gopal, *British Policy in India 1858-1905*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965, p.113f. quotes Lytton's letter to Queen Victoria 4 May 1876 in which he suggests that appeal to indigenous leaders would "strengthen very materially the power, and increase the eclat of your Majesty's Indian Empire.: See also V.C.P. Chaudhary, *Imperial Policy of British India*, Calcutta: Punthi Pustak, 1968, p.46f.,88f.

provided many opportunities for readers to see Indian rulers pay homage to England.³⁷

Three strong visual foci for political spectacles are processions,³⁸ triumphal arches,³⁹ and British dignitaries in durbar.⁴⁰ The accompanying texts try to capture the excitement and festivity of the occasions, including military accompaniments, artillery salutes and music. One feature which received elaborate attention and which deserves closer examination is clothing.

Correspondents attempted to convey colours, accoutrements and designs of liveries and ceremonial garb as well as the clothing of spectators. Large groups of Indians were described as bouquets of flowers⁴¹ or in "picturesque white costumes of the East. Here and there in the white mass was the dark robe of some Parsee..." or "...a sea of red turbans of many shapes... broken only by the white, close-wrapped turbans of some groups of Mohammedans, or the peculiar and unshapely topee of the Parsee. In the native town the police...[wore]...their dark blue dresses, massive belts, and yellow turbans...

³⁷*Illustrated* 16 June 1860 p.573: "... to do homage to the representative of Queen Victoria"; *Illustrated* 7 April 1860 p.333: "... to manifest its homage to the power of England."

³⁸Each event is described as more lavish and elaborate than the last. *Illustrated* 5 Feb 1876 p.142; 11 March 1876 p.262; 15 April 1876 p.27; 20 Jan 1877 p.51; 10 Feb 1877 p.138. For the illustrations see *Illustrated* 16 June 1860 p.573; 7 April 1860 p.329; 27 Jan 1877 p.92; 10 Jan 1903 p.46; 26 August 1905 p.302; 6 Jan 1906 p.419; 5 Sept 1863 p.237; 11 June 1870 p.601; 14 Jan 1871 p.45.

³⁹*Illustrated* 23 April 1859 p.405; 4 Feb 1882 p.109 (3 arches); 2 March 1889 p.263 (3 arches); 21 Dec 1889 p.788; 14 Jan 1871 p.45; 19 March 1887 p.308.

⁴⁰Durbars and investitures are repeatedly illustrated from the same perspective - as if the artist or correspondent is seated on the left side of the dias, with the centre aisle across the horizontal middle of the page. The person showing respect stands in front of the British dignitary slightly bowed. *Illustrated* 23 June 1860 p.604; 2 Dec 1905 p.814; 7 April 1906 p.487; 31 Jan 1903 p.163.

⁴¹*Illustrated* 7 April 1860 p.333; 27 Jan 1877 p.90.

Native ladies... and their brilliant gold and silver embroidered garments added to the gorgeous variety of the spectacle..."⁴² Following lengthy descriptions of apparel, the correspondent generally concluded on a note similar to "The gorgeous costumes of the native princes and chiefs and their attendants formed a splendid and brilliant pageant"⁴³ or "a gorgeous show."⁴⁴ One observed that such scenes were particularly identified with India: "... European flags and European dresses at the windows somewhat marred the Oriental appearance of the scene..."⁴⁵

This focus on clothing heightened separation between European and Indian features whereby clothing became a technique for classification.⁴⁶ Clothing, particularly head gear, was used to distinguish India's indigenous groups⁴⁷ from Europeans⁴⁸ and generally it helped readers to identify royalty. For people who did not conform to expected behaviour, clothing could also reflect undesirable attributes:

⁴²*Illustrated* 13 Nov 1875 p.490; Also 4 Dec 1875 p.562; 18 Dec 1875 p.614.

⁴³*Illustrated* 8 Jan 1876 p.34.

⁴⁴*Illustrated* 5 Feb 1876 p.123.

⁴⁵*Illustrated* 4 Dec 1876 p.562.

⁴⁶Street, *Savage in Literature*, p.116 discusses the role of clothing in the fiction of the period whereby it serves "as a major symbol of differences between cultures." Michael Irvin, *Picturing: Description and Illusion in the Nineteenth Century Novel*, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1979, p.87-91 shows how clothing can be a factor of creating distance between people. He concludes, "The more we relish clothes, the less we respond to the people inside them." A. Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes*, New York: Viking Press, 1978 p.262 discusses the meaning of "costume" which both idealises and depersonalises the wearer.

⁴⁷*Illustrated* 13 Nov 1875 p.496 shows a "Mahratta Brahmin" and "Parsee" and *Illustrated* 20 Nov 1875 p.520 shows a "Cutch Brahmin." The distinguishing feature of the profiles are the head pieces.

⁴⁸See Hyam, *Britain's Imperial Century*, p.158 for a theory about the role of the British pith topi and brain size.

At the grand reception of native Indian Princes by His Royal Highness, at Government House, Bombay, there was one, the Maharajah of Oudeypore, remarkable, among so many rich costumes, for plainness of attire; all was white cotton, a gold belt hung over his left shoulder, by which, Rajpoot-like, his shield was suspended, and thus, with his tulwar in hand, he met his future Emperor. He is a young man, rather dark for a native of India, very slightly pock-marked, and with a small moustache; the expression of the face was rather heavy and unintellectual. He seemed of a backward turn, and had a tendency to hang in the rear of his own followers, who were gorgeously attired.⁴⁹

Readers learned if British dignitaries appear in military uniform, Freemason robes or regalia for investitures.

This focus on clothing also reinforced theatrical associations which readers already identified with India through popular stage performances in England.⁵⁰ As early as 1857, in an article about India, the *Illustrated* reminded readers of the performance at Ashley's which featured an "Indian prince" on horseback.⁵¹ These associations provided visual cues for imagining Indian government, such as Lord

⁴⁹*Illustrated* 18 Dec 1875 p.616. The illustration was printed *Illustrated* 18 Dec 1875 p.612 and 15 April 1876 Supplement.

⁵⁰Booth, *Victorian Spectacular Theatre*, p.62, 87, 165-171 details the "Oriental spectacle" popular on London stages; See Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes*, p.286f. for development of the "Oriental" stage costume and p.291 for the audience's training "to think of the whole past as spectacular and of all spectacle as authentic." *Illustrated* 28 Sept 1895 p.389 reviewed "India" at the Empress Theatre: "... as is shown in this imposing and beautiful spectacular drama, is in truth an object-lesson, vivid, convincing, entrancing in the wonder and glory of our empire in the East. The clever creator of the vast show has condensed the whole story of India: its ancient glories its ancient barbarism, its ancient rites and customs, its conquest and sequential development under the influence of Western civilisation, into three hours' epitome of one of the strangest, most romantic, most thrilling narratives of the conquest of a great people by a greater, which can be found in the history of the world... It is impressive, beautiful, fascinating, instructive, and therefore appeals to every taste..." *Illustrated* 7 June 1902 p.846 reviewed "Our Crown" at the Empire Theatre and *Illustrated* 14 June 1902 p.898 reviewed "Britannia's Realm" at the Alambra Theatre.

⁵¹*Illustrated* 18 Nov 1857 p.547.

Lytton who went to India "to develop those Asiatic schemes of glory which had been conceived by the romantic fancy of Mr. Disraeli long ago."⁵²

Through the latter half of the century, processions and celebrations increased in elaboration and size until the British central government became identified with these characteristics, originally meant to appeal to Indians:

The Viceroy made his state entry into Delhi on Dec. 29 amid a scene of the most extraordinary pomp and splendour... from telegraphic reports received it is evident that the occasion was of a magnificence the like of which even India, that land of pageantry, had never beheld... The great dignitaries rode on elephants caparisoned with the utmost Oriental splendour... They were followed by the ruling chiefs of India, similarly mounted, and the appearance of this part of the procession, which included 150 huge elephants, was avowed to have been of barbaric grandeur.⁵³

Even before this policy was articulated, the *Illustrated* offered pictures of Indian rulers, but descriptions increasingly stressed allegiance to British rule: the Maharajah of Jaipur ranks "amongst our most faithful and loyal allies in India, having throughout the insurrection displayed the most devoted attachment to the British Government..."⁵⁴ The Begum of Bhopal is "firmly attached to the English,"⁵⁵ and the Maharaja of Patiala "is devoted to furthering the interests of our Indian Empire."⁵⁶ Installations of the Maharajah of Burdwan,⁵⁷ the Maharajah of

⁵²*Illustrated* 27 March 1880 p.310.

⁵³*Illustrated* 3 Jan 1903 p.6. See Philip Mason, *The Men Who Ruled India*, London: Cape, vol.2, 1957, p.199 and Michael Edwardes, *High Noon of Empire: India Under Curzon*, London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1965, p.93f.

⁵⁴*Illustrated* 29 Jan 1859 p.108.

⁵⁵*Illustrated* 16 May 1863 p.528 and *Illustrated* 9 April 1892 p.457 for her successor.

⁵⁶*Illustrated* 27 Oct 1894 p.527; Also 17 Dec 1864 p.613; 15 March 1890 p.327; 20 Feb 1892 p.242; 17 March 1866 p.276; 3 Dec 1887 p.650.

⁵⁷*Illustrated* 21 Jan 1882 p.60.

Mysore,⁵⁸ and the Maharajah of Hyderabad⁵⁹ encouraged readers to feel generous about sharing government with Indian rulers.

While illustrations strongly project political spectacles, articles and editorials question the effectiveness of this approach:

The Government of India - which as we all know, is paternal in this relation to its millions of subjects - would greatly mistake its functions if it should consent to sacrifice the making of new roads, or the irrigation of arid lands, or the education of benighted races, for the purpose of tickling the vanity of aspiring Potentates...⁶⁰

The Oriental may be fond of shows, but then they regard them as shows. They may be slow to appreciate the higher political and moral benefits of Western civilisation; but give them continuously security of property and of personal liberty; give them a free scope for the exercise of such abilities as they can command; protect their native rights from intrusion; and watch over, as far as may be possible, the external calamities to which they may be exposed; - and experience have proved that, after a time, such a government will commend itself to them by its results.⁶¹

The *Illustrated* showed its faith in a political model of paternal despotism for India. Injunctions to provide, to "protect," and to "watch over" parallel the Victorian father figure and if Government was the father, Indians were the children.

Paternal Despotism

The *Illustrated* advocated that British Government in India be a despotism: "It may be a despotism as enlightened as can be imagined by the wit of man, but a despotism it must be..."⁶² It tempered this by adding that it should be "kindly: a

⁵⁸*Illustrated* 21 May 1881 p.501.

⁵⁹*Illustrated* 15 March 1884 p.253.

⁶⁰*Illustrated* 1 June 1867 p.533.

⁶¹*Illustrated* 5 Feb 1870 p.134.

⁶²*Illustrated* 3 July 1858 p.10.

fatherly despotism controlled only by fatherly justice and wisdom..."⁶³ When the Journal printed "Her Majesty's Indian Proclamation"⁶⁴ it emphasised that "a great constitutional Monarch was inaugurating a despotism, and the more certain and direct the terms in which the announcement was made, the better."⁶⁵

Previous writers have addressed this stereotype of non-Europeans as children⁶⁶ and changes in the second half of the century which intensified the British sense of superiority.⁶⁷ One helpful study suggests that this fusion of family images with government reconciled "the fact of subordination with a system which theoretically rejected it."⁶⁸ One could talk "in terms of dependency, of development, of benevolent and paternal supervision of the 'child' or the childlike qualities of the 'primitive' peoples. This allowed a theory of the inherent dependence and inferiority of certain groups to be combined with the assumptions that an underlying identity of common interest existed in spite of it."⁶⁹

The *Illustrated* refers to inherent differences of particular groups while advocating shared goals. It states, "The treacherous Asiatic and the truth-loving

⁶³*Illustrated* 22 August 1887 p.186.

⁶⁴*Illustrated* 11 Dec 1858 p.556.

⁶⁵*Ibid*, p.539.

⁶⁶Islam, *Chronicles of the Raj*, p.5f.; Hutchins, *Illusion of Permanence*, p.73; Mudford, *Birds of a Different Plumage*, p.213. See David Grylls, *Guardians and Angels*, London: Faber & Faber, 1978 for attitudes toward children in Victorian England. Anthony N B. Garvan, "Effects of Technology on Domestic Life 1830-1880" *Technology in Western Civilisation*, Melvin Kranzberg *et.al.* (ed) p.557 suggests that changes in nineteenth century technology sharpened distinctions between child and adult.

⁶⁷Lorimer, *Colour, Class and the Victorians*, p.148f.; Hyam, *Britain's Imperial Century*, p.83f.; Metcalf, *Aftermath of Revolt*, p.314-319.

⁶⁸Jones, *Social Darwinism*, p.144.

⁶⁹*Ibid*.

Englishman, the stolid but affectionate Negro and the savage Indian of Kansas and Nebraska, are all specimens of human nature, to which no statesman or economist would think of applying one invariable and universal principle of government or treatment."⁷⁰ It suggests that the 1857 Mutiny showed the folly of "our attempt to govern the slavish, superstitious, treacherous, and ungrateful tribes and nations of Asia upon the same principles which we apply to the government of England and to that of the colonies peopled by our own children..."⁷¹ The Journal however did accept the universalisation of Western goals.⁷² It mentions reforms in the army, public works and finance,⁷³ and concludes, "Eastern peoples, it has been shown, are as readily ruled by just governments as the more civilised populations of the West. Human nature is everywhere substantially the same..."⁷⁴ The paternalistic model enabled the *Illustrated* to encourage common concerns while maintaining an hierarchical relationship: "... may Indian interests be regarded and dealt with as identified with British interests, and may the conquered races of that magnificent dependency derive nothing but good from their subjection to the British Crown."⁷⁵

The Journal regarded the transfer of control from the Company to the Crown as initiating a better period in British-Indian relations,⁷⁶ reflecting the value

⁷⁰*Illustrated* 8 Oct 1859 p.336. also 12 Sept 1857 p.258; 22 August 1857 p.186; 16 March 1872 p.254.

⁷¹*Illustrated* 12 Sept 1857 p.257.

⁷²*Illustrated* 1 May 1869 p.429: "The form of government adopted to the people of the West, may differ *toto caelo* from that best suited to the people of the East. But the general objects of government in both cases should be the same."

⁷³*Illustrated* 26 April 1862 p.408.

⁷⁴*Illustrated* 5 Dec 1862 p.558.

⁷⁵*Illustrated* 28 Sept 1861 p.312; Also 16 March 1872 p.254; 26 April 1862 p.408; 18 Dec 1858 p.569.

⁷⁶*Illustrated* 31 July 1858 p.95; 18 Dec 1858 p.569; 15 Dec 1860 p.552.

of progress - linear change in a predetermined direction toward a specific goal. The

specific goal it describes is the education of Indians to assume self-government:

...to train up India that when our hold upon her vast population shall cease or be withdrawn she may be able to stand alone upon that more elevated stage of civilisation to which we have raised her. Events have devolved on us the obligation not only of promoting the material and moral interests of her teeming millions while we bear sway over them, but of so moulding her institutions and educating her chiefs that whenever, and by what means soever, British supremacy in India shall come to an end, she shall be competent and disposed to continue in the path of improvement into which we have led her. At present we cannot, even if we would, lay down the charge which we have taken upon ourselves without surrendering the country as a prey to the fiercest anarchy; and it seems not unlikely that such will be the case for generations to come. Sound policy therefore dictates that our administration should be shaped with a marked reference to a perhaps distant future, and that the interests we create, the tastes we inspire, the maxims we inculcate, and the principles we exemplify, should possess a self-sustaining vitality which will avail to perpetuate them when India, by her own determination or by external accident, shall become mistress of her own destiny.

Thus only shall we fitly accomplish our evident mission.⁷⁷

Self-government was identified as a goal for the distant future and the Journal suggests that changes in the Legislative Council, judiciary and civil service showed if "representation be still far off it is no longer lost in such a distance and impossibility."⁷⁸

Prominent Indians who participated in this task are depicted: "Sir Cursetjee Jamsetjee, Bart." of Bombay is justice of the peace, member of British juries and philanthropist.⁷⁹ The "Hon. Juggonath Sunkersett" holds various positions on

⁷⁷*Illustrated* 1 June 1867 p.534. See Street, *Savage in Literature*, p.129ff. where he discusses the distortion of "native" political systems whereby "savages inherited a tendency to anarchy, or despotism, lack of restraint and inability to adhere to democratic principles."

⁷⁸*Illustrated* 15 June 1861 p.544.

⁷⁹*Illustrated* 20 August 1859 p.191.

committees⁸⁰ and "David Sassoon, Esq." is said to have a "prominent and prevailing feeling of sympathy... with the British Government and British people..."⁸¹ The philanthropy of such individuals which financed schools, hospitals, halls, etc. reaffirmed Indian's progress according to British models.

Always sensitive to economic issues, the Journal maintained that India must pay for itself.⁸² One approved method for increasing government revenues was an influx of British people to develop the sub-continent's resources⁸³ and to increase security, although it states that India was not, nor could it ever be, a colony:

We cannot make a colony out of it, for a colony grows out of wilderness, and India is occupied by a hundred and fifty millions of people, ingenious, laborious, and of an ancient civilisation. If not a colony, it must be a dependency, to be held by the right of conquest. We cannot exterminate the Black Indians of the East as the men of our blood have exterminated the Red Indians of the West. The Black Indians are too multitudinous for that process, even if humanity and Christianity did not object to the monstrous guilt of such murder.⁸⁴

It promoted emigration to the "healthy mountain districts... With the hill countries partially settled with British, our tenure of the low country would be all the more secure."⁸⁵ It criticised Mr. Laing's reluctance to dispose of "waste lands"⁸⁶ and once sales are allowed, it happily reported, "European settlers and European capital, in place of being discouraged and repelled, are invited and secured by requisite

⁸⁰*Illustrated* 3 Jan 1863 p.12.

⁸¹*Illustrated* 5 Dec 1863 p.569.

⁸²*Illustrated* 6 August 1859 p.120; 8 Oct 1859 p.336.

⁸³See Chapter VII for coverage of this topic.

⁸⁴*Illustrated* 3 July 1858 p.10.

⁸⁵*Illustrated* 2 Jan 1858 p.3.

⁸⁶*Illustrated* 28 Sept 1861 p.312.

protection."⁸⁷ Climatic influences, though "exhausting" and "insalubrious"⁸⁸ were no longer to be sufficient deterrents to "the adventurous seeker after new fields of labour and rewards..."⁸⁹ Such a policy was lauded as a direct method for increasing British influence and capital in India and the *Illustrated* supported government measures which encouraged these aims.

Emigration however was not concomitant with closer relations between the British and Indians: "We cannot amalgamate with them, for amalgamation with a different race is alien to the spirit and instincts of men of Anglo-Scandinavian blood;..."⁹⁰ and "The climate of India is hostile to the growth in the peninsula of the dominant race, and hence there can be no amalgamation of the conquering with the conquered people... We are strangers in the land, and strangers we are destined to stay."⁹¹ Pictures emphasise separation between government officials and the people they were to govern.⁹² This separation is also evident in the portrayal of the physical environment associated with government.

Government Buildings

Through its engravings of government buildings, the *Illustrated* provided concrete evidence of the transfer of Western political ideas to India's urban centres: a topographical panorama of Calcutta's Supreme Court, Town Hall, Treasury,

⁸⁷*Illustrated* 26 April 1862 p.408.

⁸⁸*Illustrated* 5 Dec 1863 p.557f.

⁸⁹*Illustrated* 15 June 1861 p.544.

⁹⁰*Illustrated* 3 July 1858 p.10; Also 15 June 1861 p.544.

⁹¹*Illustrated* 1 June 1867 p.534. See Mudford, *Birds of a Different Plumage*, p.246 for Kipling's use of this motif.

⁹²*Illustrated* 25 Dec 1858 p.587 suggests the ritualisation of "chota haziree;" 10 Oct 1868 p.362 and 26 Sept 1891 p.412 refer to "Anglo-Indian Life: The Morning Ride;" 5 Sept 1896 p.309 illustrates "Dolce Far Niente: Life in an Indian Bungalow."

Government House, Military Club, and commercial establishments,⁹³ "The New Post Office, Bombay,"⁹⁴ "The New Mint, Bombay,"⁹⁵ and the "New Government House at Gunesh Khind, Poonah."⁹⁶ Emphasis on "new" was a feature of the value of progress whereby British rule was presented as an entirely distinct period of Indian administration in which the "before" was criticised and dismissed by the "after" period:

The British Government, which was established in March, 1849, at the conclusion of the Sikh war, has already effected diverse great improvements in the condition of Lahore, and of the Punjab altogether. No province of India has derived more substantial benefits from a just and enlightened administration and from the civilising arts of Europe. This consideration imparts much additional interest to a view of the new Government House, the residence of the Chief Commissioner, who presides over that portion of our Indian Empire.⁹⁷

Buildings also served as tribute to individuals who participated in this administration. Readers saw Frere Hall at Karachi,⁹⁸ Lawrence Hall at Lahore,⁹⁹

⁹³*Illustrated* 17 1859 p.282; Also 26 Feb 1870 p.224; 1 Jan 1876 p.13. See King, *Colonial Urban Development*, p.281; S.J. Lewandowski, "Changing Form and Function in the Ceremonial and Colonial Port City in India: An Historical Analysis of Madurai and Madras" *Modern Asian Studies*, 1977(11), p.183-212. Public statues also played an important role in colonial cities.; see Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, New York: Grove Press, 1961, p.84. For segregation of living areas, see Russell, *My Diary in India*, vol.1, p.180 and King, *Colonial Urban Development*, p.39.

⁹⁴*Illustrated* 13 Oct 1877 p.357.

⁹⁵*Illustrated* 2 Feb 1867 p.117.

⁹⁶*Illustrated* 12 March 1870 p.265.

⁹⁷*Illustrated* 27 Nov 1869 p.542.

⁹⁸*Illustrated* 24 March 1866 p.280; 24 March 1906 p.417.

⁹⁹*Illustrated* 21 Dec 1864 p.673.

and the Montgomery Memorial Building at Lahore¹⁰⁰ which "will be a lasting monument of British rule."¹⁰¹

Engravings of these establishments helped to perpetuate a view of India in which British institutions replaced indigenous administration. A picture of the Madras Supreme Court in session¹⁰² would look reassuringly familiar (especially to readers who had never been in a courtroom.) The *Illustrated* shows the Victorian Clock Tower¹⁰³ which not only represented urban government, but also a new orientation to time.¹⁰⁴ By the turn of the century, the Journal was including photographs of clubs¹⁰⁵ in political coverage. In 1905 it printed a full page sketch of a statue of a winged lion holding the Union Jack. It was on the corner of a railing, surrounded by people waiting for the Prince of Wales's procession. The caption reads:

British Residents on the Balcony of the Municipal Buildings, Bombay, During the Prince of Wales's Visit. The British occupation of India was symbolised in microcosm in the fashionable assemblage of the ruling race that thronged the Municipal Buildings. To make the image complete, there rose amid the crowd the heraldic symbol of the winged lion.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁰*Illustrated* 17 March 1866 p.249.

¹⁰¹*Ibid*, p.248.

¹⁰²*Illustrated* 22 Dec 1860 p.585,587. The description contrasts the procedure in England and India.

¹⁰³*Illustrated* 27 Jan 1877 p.92. Bombay's clock tower is shown 11 Nov 1905 p.687.

¹⁰⁴King, *Colonial Urban Development*, p.219 makes this point.

¹⁰⁵*Illustrated* 9 Dec 1905 p.860; 3 Feb 1906 p.149; 17 March 1906 p.383; 24 March 1906 p.417.

¹⁰⁶*Illustrated* 2 Dec 1905 p.817. See King, *Colonial Urban Development*, p.55,87f.

With this promotion of British domination, it was difficult for the reading audience to assess India's response to government measures.

Reporting Discontent

The *Illustrated* was frustrated with British "statesmen who do not and cannot thoroughly understand the people whom they are called upon to govern, and therefore do not and cannot enlist native sympathy in favour of their rule."¹⁰⁷ It drew attention to the loyalty of Parsis in Bombay¹⁰⁸ and Muslims in Calcutta¹⁰⁹ while searching for the "pass-key to the sympathies and affections of the Hindoos."¹¹⁰ It was concerned that the government "with the best intentions in the world, may unsuspectingly touch a nerve which will throw the whole framework of society in that Empire into violent convulsions."¹¹¹ These ideas reinforced the view that there was a distinct "Indian mind" which needed to be deciphered and placated.¹¹²

Regional discontent was rarely addressed, although the Journal does allude to particular cases such as resistance to an income tax scheme,¹¹³ troubled labour

¹⁰⁷*Illustrated* 1 June 1867 p.534.

¹⁰⁸*Illustrated* 11 Dec 1875 p.586; 17 Jan 1885 p.59.

¹⁰⁹*Illustrated* 24 Feb 1866 p.184.

¹¹⁰*Illustrated* 1 May 1875 p.406.

¹¹¹*Ibid.* Also 4 June 1864 p.534; 1 June 1867 p.534; 30 Jan 1875 p.109f.; 3 April 1875 p.309.

¹¹²Metcalf, *Aftermath of Revolt*, p.123,145,280 addresses the image of the irrationality of the Asiatic mind. Christine Bolt, *Victorian Attitudes to Race*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971 p.197 mentions the need to "disguise" principles to make them acceptable.

¹¹³*Illustrated* 8 Dec 1860 p.532; 15 Dec 1860 p.551f.

contracts over cotton,¹¹⁴ and disputes about indigo.¹¹⁵ These are isolated examples of disaffection which did not receive extended coverage. Following the Vernacular Press Act, the *Illustrated* registered surprise at the suddenness and severity of the legislation:

They who are responsible to the Parliament at home for a correct exposition of affairs in the East have hitherto represented the condition of Her Majesty's Indian subjects as, politically at least, highly commendatory of the Viceroy's rule. No doubt was permitted to prevail in the mind of the English people as to the loyalty of the people at large.¹¹⁶

In spite of periodic difficulties, "... it was always assumed that the political temper and disposition of the people were in suitable response to the wise and disinterested rule to which... they have been subjected."¹¹⁷

Belief in satisfaction with British rule prevailed in coverage of the National Congress. The Journal indirectly comments through the Raja of Bhinga who maintained "... the proposals of the National Congress, where at all new, are for the most part crude and impracticable and unlikely to afford political results of any value."¹¹⁸ The *Illustrated* regarded his "masterly pamphlet, 'Democracy not suited to India' as "certainly one of the best contributions to the discussion of the

¹¹⁴*Illustrated* 28 Sept 1861 p.312.

¹¹⁵*Illustrated* 16 Oct 1869 p.396: "During the last three years, the planters in the districts of Tirhoot and Chumparun have experienced much inconvenience, and often great loss, as well as trouble, from the disaffection of the 'ryots' or native peasantry. There are frequent disputes about the terms of the agreements made between these people and the capitalists who advance the money for the sowing of indigo... The life of the resident indigo planter or manager is full of toil and anxiety, and he is frequently obliged to appeal to the magistrates to enforce the due performance of the ryots' contracts."

¹¹⁶*Illustrated* 23 March 1878 p.258.

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*

¹¹⁸*Illustrated* 15 March 1890 p.327.

Congress question"¹¹⁹without specifically addressing the question. It printed two photographs for the 1898 Congress¹²⁰ and mentions "the great nation into whose hands Providence had entrusted the destinies of India."¹²¹ A book reviewer notes a transition "to the new India of centralised government, a free Press and the National Congress - the India which is more and more claiming to be articulate,"¹²² but he also criticises the "Congress-wallahs" political approaches.

Through its illustrations, descriptions, and commentary, the *Illustrated* emphasised Britain's political control of India. Its illustrations clearly show the underlying political significance of spectacles and pageantry as India offered homage to government officials and visiting dignitaries. The Journal hoped that legislative reform would inculcate India with the value of progress and establish particular precepts of government which underlined the obligation of "moulding her institutions and educating her chiefs." Portraits show Indian rulers and philanthropists who participated in this approach, while other engravings oriented readers to an understanding of the urban environment dominated by government buildings, clock towers and statues which emphasised "British occupation of India."

Political coverage also established a firm separation between English and indigenous inhabitants. The *Illustrated* showed the English as conquerors, India as conquered; government representatives as father figures and Indians as children; the "truth-loving Englishman" and the "treacherous Asiatic." It suggested that the English would always be strangers in India while administering despotic policies

¹¹⁹*Ibid.*

¹²⁰*Illustrated* 4 Feb 1898 p.148.

¹²¹*Ibid*, p.150.

¹²²*Illustrated* 4 July 1903 p.12.

"alone fitted for Orientals" through spectacles which controlled "the mind of an Oriental" and offered an "Oriental appearance." The many illustrations of political importance provided visual evidence for this understanding of separation.

Popular identification with the Empire minimised coverage of negative consequences associated with British rule and the *Illustrated* adopted the political position: "There are some decisions which even when bad, it would be worse to revoke."¹²³ The value of progress itself focused on desired results¹²⁴ and the *Illustrated* played a prominent role in a popular literary tradition which emphasised supportive coverage.¹²⁵ As the celebration and encouragement of government control did not greatly allow for the expression of Indian discontent, reports provided readers with only muted responses to this political approach.

¹²³*Illustrated* 23 March 1878 p.358; for the Ilbert Bill 11 August 1883 p.154; for the partition of Bengal 12 August 1905 p.222; 14 Oct 1905 p.523; 18 Nov 1905 p.727.

¹²⁴Houghton, *Victorian Frame of Mind*, p.413ff. discusses the habit of deliberately ignoring the unpleasant and exhibiting a "shallow and insistent optimism." Mumford, *Pentagon of Power*, p.201 states, "Since the idea of progress had no way of accounting for new evils or regressions, it tended to sweep away the voluminous evidence, both historic and contemporary of their existence. To count only the benefits, and to take no notice of the losses provided the standard method of retaining the millennial assumptions on which the doctrine of progress had originally been built."

¹²⁵Eldridge, *Victorian Imperialism*, p.191f.; Cynthia F. Behrman, "The Creation of Social Myth: Journalism and the Empire" *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter*, 1971(11), p.9-13; Richard Faber, *The Vision and the Need*, London: Faber & Faber, 1966, p.51f.; K.K. Dyson, *A Various Universe: A Study of the Journals and Memoirs of British Men and Women in the Indian Subcontinent*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1978, p.274; Mumford, *Birds of a Different Plumage*, p.220.

CHAPTER VI
MILITARY CONTROL

Warfare is a pervasive cultural motif of the nineteenth century which influenced the adoption of military themes in different areas of British society, including relations with India and the development of illustrated journalism. Mumford traces the diffusion of military values in his historical investigations of mechanisation,¹ and military organisation and vocabulary have been detected in commerce, science, industry and religion.² In India, military control determined features of Anglo-Indian life not generally related to warfare,³ and King has analysed the semantics of India's urban administration within the military context⁴.

Colonial warfare attracted little historical interest before World War I⁵ and some writers may still consider the period between Waterloo and the Boer War

¹Mumford, *Technics and Civilization; Art and Technics; Pentagon of Power*.

²B. Semmel, *Imperialism and Social Reform: English Social-Imperial Thought 1895-1914*, London: 1960, p.153 presents the war-like phrases of markets invaded, supplies captured, competition killed; David E. Allen, *The Naturalist in Britain*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1978, p.182 discusses the military structure of science departments in English universities adapted from Germany; Christopher Harvey, "The Sons of Martha: Technology, Transport and Rudyard Kipling," *Victorian Studies*, 20(3), 1977, p.276 mentions labour forces in factories and mines based on "quasi-military organisation." See Anderson in *English Historical Review* for religious adaptations and additional references.

³Lawrence, *Journals*, letter dated Agra, December 9, 1843 comments that time and distance were calculated according to military references by the civilian population.

⁴King, *Colonial Urban Development*, p.75-78.

⁵Headrick, *Tools of Empire*, p.122; Donald Gordon, "Colonial Warfare 1815-1970," *A Guide to the Source of British Military History*, Robin Higham (ed), Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972, p.298.

as "the long peace"⁶of Pax Britannica. In every year of Victoria's reign however, British soldiers were fighting someplace in the world.⁷ Newspaper editors soon realised that "a good war would sell more copies of a picture paper than any other kind of event..."⁸ and the *Illustrated*'s own art editor reported, "... since the first illustrated newspaper was founded, there has never been any long interval of peace. War of some kind, big or little, has broken out, like a volcano on some part of the earth's surface, and kept the Argus-eyed newspaper editor on the alert... so that the food on which picture newspapers thrive best has been abundantly supplied..."⁹

Journalists did not have a strong historical tradition of popular military reportage and they transformed the genres of sensationalism and crime reporting into descriptions of military exploits¹⁰ in which the enemy became identified as an outsider. Greater military awareness contributed to growing admiration of physical strength and force,¹¹ as so strongly depicted in juvenile publications of the period which emphasised violence, manliness, racism and nationalism.¹² In the newspapers, correspondents' narratives detail personal reactions to military events

⁶Byron Farwell, *Queen Victoria's Little Wars*, London: Allen Lane, 1973, p.339. See Appendix II in Farwell for a partial list of conflicts 1837-1901.

⁷Brisson D. Gooch, "Queen Victoria's Little Wars," *Victorian Studies*, 17(2), 1973, p.217.

⁸Hogarth, *Artist as Reporter*, p.24.

⁹Jackson, *Pictorial Press*, p.304.

¹⁰Andrew Rutherford, *The Literature of War*, New York: Barnes & Noble, 1978, p.6,16; Patrick Dunae, "Penny Dreadfuls: Late Nineteenth-Century Boys' Literature and Crime," *Victorian Studies*, 22(2), 1979, p.149f.; Green, *Dreams of Adventure*, p.220; Hodgson, *War Illustrators*, p.186f.

¹¹See Houghton, *Victorian Frame of Mind*, "The Worship of Force" p.196-216 and "Hero Worship" p.305-340.

¹²These themes are identified in Patricia M. Barnett, "English Boys' Weeklies, 1866-1899" University of Minnesota, PhD thesis, 1974 p.168.

which increased the readers' sense of vicarious participation.¹³ Although correspondents may have diminished warfare's romantic associations¹⁴ through a new sense of realistic reportage, they contributed to the acceptance and encouragement of conflict in foreign areas.¹⁵ Violence was already a strong feature of British society¹⁶ and correspondents' reports made it even more familiar to newspaper readers¹⁷ by describing conflict abroad.

¹³See *Illustrated* 19 Feb 1876 p.174; 25 Dec 1897 p.913; Mathews, *Reporting the Wars*, p.72.

¹⁴Jullian, *Orientalists*, p.90.

¹⁵Genre painters depicted themes of separation, heroism and death associated with warfare. See Maas, *Victorian Painters*, p.116; Beck, *Victorian Engravings*, p.36, Plates 29, 30, 31 show engravings specifically associated with India, including Henry O'Neil's "Eastward Ho, August 1857" which the *Illustrated* printed 22 May 1858 p.521: "No wonder it is so popular - that such eager crowds assemble around it, scanning every feature of the various actors, till at last they begin to imagine themselves present at, and participators in, the scene. Colonisation, distant conquest - this has been the mission of England during the last two centuries, and not a week, or scarcely a day, has passed during the long period but the silent Thames has been witness to many a sad parting such as that depicted in this canvas... The composition is so admirably grouped, so full of emotion and varied sentiment, brings the subject at once home to every heart, enthral the attention, producing sentiments of mingled sadness and pride; sadness at the bereavement of individuals, pride at the great enduring courage of the nation which makes individual sacrifices a matter of duty, a point of honour. The scene is suppose to take place on board of one of the numerous transport-ships which, in August, last, carried our brave troops away to retrieve our disasters in India..."

¹⁶W.L. Burn, *The Age of Equipoise*, London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1964, p.82f.; Barnett, "English Boys' Weeklies," Chapter V "Myths of Violence," p.203-218; Pratz, *The Hero in Eclipse*, p.303,309 touches on masochism of Trollope's characters and p.137ff. discusses sadistic elements in Dicken's fiction.

¹⁷Knightley, *The First Casualty*, p44; Wilkinson-Latham, *From Our Special Correspondent*, p.136f.

The soldier frequently filled the important role of Victorian hero¹⁸ and Kipling has been credited with "inventing" the British soldier in India¹⁹ which led to a fresh focus on the ordinary soldier as well as the high-ranking officer. Russell comments on this change whereby the names and deeds of lower ranks were included in despatches,²⁰ and the *Illustrated*, while praising a correspondent's depiction of "the corporate life of battles," also wants to know "...what the individual thinks of it all; how he fares, how defeat affects him, and the stages by which his nerves harden under the cataclysm of war."²¹ A more recent writer observes, "It is one of the paradoxes of war-news development that as the progressive mechanization of warfare reduced the relative importance of the individual soldier, the news became centred increasingly on him."²²

The *Illustrated* featured "Battles of the British Army" which included full page and double-spread illustrations of Indian scenes by R. Caton Woodville who

¹⁸V.E. Chancellor, *History for Their Masters: Opinion in the English History Textbook 1800-1914*, Bath, Somerset: Adams & Dart, 1970, p.70-73. The *Illustrated* drew attention to prominent soldier-heroes such as Lawrence, Wheeler, Neill, Nicholson and Havelock in its coverage. *Illustrated* 28 Nov 1857 p.532-533 features "Our Indian Generals." Houghton, *Victorian Frame of Mind*, p.210 reports that Creasey's *Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World* went through thirty-one editions between 1852 and 1882; Green, *Dreams of Adventure*, p.208 mentions Samuel Smiles's selection of officers from the 1857 Mutiny for *Self-Help and Duty*.

¹⁹Quoted in P.J. Keating, *The Working Classes in Victorian Fiction*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971, p.142.

²⁰Mathews, *Reporting the Wars*, p.77.

²¹*Illustrated* 31 March 1900 p.444.

²²Mathews, *Reporting the Wars*, p.194.

emphasised British prestige and superiority²³ and it devoted extensive coverage to military affairs in India through an approach lively expressed by a book reviewer: "... we have more descriptions by an eye-witness and participator, of battle, murder and sudden death, so terrible and so fraught with atrocity, that it is easy to agree with those who maintain that for sheer peril, and destructiveness, and for disagreeable work our 'little wars' are considerably more noteworthy - due comparison being made - than our greatest campaigns."²⁴

1857 Mutiny

The Mutiny was one of the first military encounters in the world in which people far from battle were aware of events concurrently with those most involved. Newspaper information was eagerly gleaned from official despatches, letters, diaries and journals of residents, and personal reminiscences of civil and military officers.²⁵ Many weeks through 1857 and 1858, the *Illustrated* tightly packed its folio pages with excerpts from Indian newspapers, private letters, telegrams and correspondents' reports. It summarised activities geographically and at times listed places of conflict alphabetically for easier perusal. It also printed lists of mutinied regiments and obituaries of British officers and residents.²⁶

²³*Illustrated* 23 Sept 1893 p.383-387: "Battles of the British Army, No.IV - Plassey;" 31 March 1894 p.390-394: "Battles of the British Army, No.VI - Seringapatam;" 6 April 1895 p.415-417: "Battles of the British Army, No.XI - Conjevaram;" 25 Sept 1897 p.418-420: "Battles of the British Army, No.XX - Cuddalore."

²⁴*Illustrated* 4 Nov 1876 p.435; also 19 June 1897 p.815.

²⁵Sen, "Writings on the Mutiny," *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, C.H. Philips (ed), London: Oxford university Press, 1961, p.374; Worswich & Embree, *Last Empire*, p.138 draw attention to the Mutiny and new communication networks.

²⁶*Illustrated* 18 July 1857 p.75; 21 Nov 1857 p.515; 2 Jan 1858 p.18.

Initially, the *Illustrated* dismissed reports of greased cartridges as an excuse for demands of higher pay²⁷ but as the issue came to dominate the Journal, articles and editorials pointed to a shortage of British officers who were familiar with their men, removal of extra pay for basic duty, abolition of flogging, and promotion only by seniority as military errors contributing to the rebellion.²⁸ It maintained that Russia actively promoted disaffection²⁹ but that the disturbance was primarily a military concern and not a general uprising.³⁰ Commentary includes adventures, escapes, and atrocities³¹ as well as descriptions of fighting. The Journal offered military maps and plans,³² and sketches submitted by military

²⁷*Illustrated* 23 May 1857 p.508.

²⁸*Illustrated* 22 August 1857 p.185.

²⁹*Illustrated* 1 August 1857 p.122; 8 August 1857 p.130; 4 July 1857 p.1; 12 Sept 1857 p.258; 26 Sept 1857 p.322. See Michael Adas, "Twentieth-Century Approaches to the Indian Mutiny of 1857-1858," *Journal of Asian History*, 5, 1971, p.2.

³⁰*Illustrated* 8 August 1857 p.129; 15 August 1857 p.158; 22 August 1857 p.185; 10 Oct 1857 p.359; 26 Dec 1857 p.639. *Illustrated* 31 Oct 1857 p.427 suggests possible support among Indians employed by the East India Company. *Illustrated* 10 Oct 1857 p.359 and 28 Nov 1857 p.550 blame Muslims more than Hindus.

³¹*Illustrated* 16 July 1857 p.57; 17 Oct 1857 p.355,398; 22 August 1857 p.201; 24 Oct 1857 p.402; 12 July 1857 p.275; 5 Sept 1857 p.237; 8 August 1857 p.135; 19 Sept 1857 p.301; 4 July 1857 p.19; 16 Jan 1858 p.84.

³²*Illustrated* 10 Oct 1857 p.376; 24 Oct 1857 p.404; 5 Sept 1857 p.251; 16 Jan 1858 p.65,85; 20 March 1858 p.302.

personnel and correspondents include sites outside Delhi,³³ places at Kanpur,³⁴ camp scenes,³⁵ animal batteries,³⁶ entrenchments,³⁷ and stylised battle scenes.³⁸

The *Illustrated* satisfied a growing need for pictures of India with engravings of buildings and people only tenuously connected with this particular event. When it knowingly falsified the portrait of a prosperous Indian banker as Nana Sahib - "villain of the Kanpur massacre,"³⁹ it dismissed criticism by saying that the artist "did not care for the people of India, he required the picture for the people of England."⁴⁰ Public anxiety created a receptive mood for such abuses and for the acceptance of rumour as fact.⁴¹ The *Journal* maintained interest through its weekly excerpts in a manner similar to the adventure fiction of the time:

The accounts for the East by the last mail left us very much in the condition of feeling which the termination of the monthly pages of the serial works of our best modern novelists leave their readers... every actual event incident which the mails bring to us stimulates the desire for a better

³³*Illustrated* 26 Sept 1857 p.321; 31 Oct 1857 p.432f.; 10 Oct 1857 p.356,396.

³⁴*Illustrated* 24 Oct 1857 p.404; 5 Sept 1857 p.237; 16 Jan 1858 p.84

³⁵*Illustrated* 6 March 1858 p.248.

³⁶*Illustrated* 31 Jan 1857 p.87; 26 Sept 1857 p.312; 8 May 1858 p.453; 14 August 1858 p.158; 9 April 1859 p.348.

³⁷*Illustrated* 22 August 1857 p.192; 5 Sept 1857 p.241.

³⁸*Illustrated* 20 March 1858 p.301; 28 Nov 1858 p.552; 5 Sept 1857 p.241.

³⁹*Illustrated* 26 Sept 1857 p.326.

⁴⁰Quoted in Salahuddin Malik, "Nineteenth Century Approaches to the Indian 'Mutiny,'" *Journal of Asian History*, 7, 1973, p.105.

⁴¹Printing correspondence contributed to this acceptance. *Illustrated* 29 August 1857 p.210: "Private letters received from the disaffected districts, while disclosing a state of things most painful to contemplate, as regards the wholesale butcheries of Englishmen and women, and the foul indignities previously perpetrated upon the latter, and as respects also the unhappy conditions of those who survive, afford at the same time gratifying proofs of indomitable spirit on the part of our countrymen, and not infrequently on the part of our fair countrywomen also."

knowledge of the localities and the history of the land in which the hopes and fears of so many English hearts are now bound up.⁴²

This regular and frequent communication between Britain and India removed the limiting boundaries of war and transformed the Mutiny into an event affecting every English person regardless of actual involvement or location.

Consequently, the *Illustrated*'s coverage identified readers as direct participants. In an editorial it states not only that "it is cheering, amid such scenes of blood, disaster, and misery as the mutiny has occasioned, to see and feel that the Europeans in India are equal to their work;" but also that "the British public at home are as fully sensible of the greatness of the struggle, and as fully determined to conquer, whatever it may cost them."⁴³ It reports that British reinforcements would prove that "the British at home are as strong of purpose as the British abroad, and that the mutineers, without plans or leaders, have no chance in a conflict with the whole force of Britain which will most assuredly be brought against them if needed."⁴⁴ In this manner, the *Illustrated* extended the Mutiny's significance beyond India, and beyond the British-Indian relationship to exemplify an international position of power:

The war in India, with all its unutterable horrors, has already had one good effect - it has... restored the vanishing prestige of our name, and proved that England still is, and still deserves to be, the paramount empire of the globe. In this war we have no allies but our own right arms and our mighty cause, our own spirit and our own energy, which severally and conjointly are indicating our supremacy, and placing our glory on a higher pedestal than it ever occupied.⁴⁵

⁴²*Illustrated* 28 Nov 1857 p.521.

⁴³*Illustrated* 29 August 1857 p.214.

⁴⁴*Illustrated* 8 August 1857 p.129.

⁴⁵*Illustrated* 26 Sept 1857 p.305.

Readers were shown prisoners and executions, and directly addressed by the

Journal's correspondents:

Whatever may be thought in England in regard to this mode of punishment [blowing men away from guns], it is known by those well acquainted with the Asiatic character to be quite necessary in a crisis like the present in India. Horrible this punishment certainly is; but let us not forget the horror of the occasions that have made it a duty to administer it; and let us not forget also, what is certainly true, that the administration of this punishment is controlled by humane and just men - not the less humane, be it remembered, because sternness must now be mingled with their justice.⁴⁶

The correspondent appealed to readers' shared sense of humanity and justice for approval of such behaviour which intensified their sense of actual involvement.

Throughout the latter half of the century, the *Illustrated* reviewed memoirs and novels about the Mutiny stating, "A hundred times we have read the record, yet we turn to it again with unflagging interest. There is a horrible fascination about the story and we cannot choose but listen whilst the tale is once more unfolded..."⁴⁷ Graphically, readers were reminded of events by engravings of Mutiny sites and commemorative statues, and ceremonies paying tribute to loyal Indian survivors. Although many military reminiscences were published, Singh finds that the decade following the Mutiny was "strangely silent" regarding novels about the event⁴⁸ but from the 1870s to the end of the century, it acquired a didactic role emphasising

⁴⁶*Illustrated* 28 Nov 1857 p.526. Also 19 Sept 1857 p.282; for prisoners see *Illustrated* 6 Dec 1862 p.592; 27 June 1863 p.697; 12 Dec 1857 p.580; 26 Sept 1857 p.313; 31 Oct 1857 p.432; 15 Jan 1859 p.56; for executions see *Illustrated* 28 Nov 1857 p.525; 31 Oct 1857 p.435; 3 Oct 1857 p.333,336; 18 July 1857 p.75.

⁴⁷*Illustrated* 29 Sept 1866 p.314. Reviews of books about the Mutiny appear in *Illustrated* 13 March 1858 p.270; 7 May 1859 p.436; 20 August 1859 p.178; 14 Jan 1860 p.28; 20 April 1861 p.380; 26 Nov 1864 p.542; 29 April 1865 p.414; 1 August 1868 p.115; 20 August 1870 p.191; 23 June 1883 p.641; 2 June 1890 p.783, 4 July 1891 p.14; 2 May 1903 p.676; 24 Oct 1903 p.616.

⁴⁸Singh, *Anglo-Indian Fiction*, p.57.

British superiority, leadership and sense of purpose.⁴⁹ Throughout the ordeal, the *Illustrated* urged the government to re-evaluate and strengthen military control over India.

The Indian Army

During the Mutiny, the *Illustrated*'s coverage of the Indian army focused on composition and appearance. Previous studies of army reform note the deliberate replacement of Bengali Brahmins with other Indians while developing the concept of "martial races" whereby British control would be maintained through classification and balance of India's diverse population.⁵⁰ The *Illustrated* advocated this strategy suggesting that each regiment be composed of a separate cultural group, "mutinous combinations would then be prevented, which it is impossible to do when the army contains 50,000 of the same caste."⁵¹ It promoted recruitment from lower social groups, believing that such would result in fewer religious problems: "We consented to waive military discipline in the case of the Brahmins of Bengal, and pandered to the stupid, irrational, unmilitary prejudices of their caste, instead of raising our armies from a lower stratum of the population who had no such prejudices..."⁵²

⁴⁹Shailendra Dhari Singh, *Novels of the Indian Mutiny*, New Delhi: Arnold-Heinmann India, 1973, p.48ff.,138f.; Hyam, *Britain's Imperial Century*, p73. mentions that 500 books about the Mutiny were published between 1857 and 1862.

⁵⁰Mookerji, *India Since 1857*, p.43; Metcalf, *Aftermath of Revolt*, p.297; Chamberlain, *Britain and India*, p.160; Hutchins, *Illusion of Permanence*, p.180ff.; Spear, *India*, p.278.

⁵¹*Illustrated* 8 August 1857 p.137. It re-printed an opposing view from the *Morning Post* 10 Oct 1857 p.357. See also *Illustrated* 11 July 1857 p.27.

⁵²*Illustrated* 12 Sept 1857 p.258.

Indian recruits were described primarily according to physique, loyalty and military uniforms. Particular groups under British control are shown to exhibit desirable military characteristics:

[The Bombay sepoy] is patient, faithful, and brave; cheerful under privation and difficulties; and there are no men more attached to their colours. It would be easy to produce numerous extraordinary examples of attachment to the Government they serve and to their officers..⁵³

The Rajput was, and no doubt is, a born soldier, and he looks forward, even in the midst of rustic labour, to military life. His frame was always improved by martial exercise, and he was from habit temperate in his diet; and although he sometimes wanted energy he was seldom deficient in courage..⁵⁴

GOORKAHS OF THE 66th REGIMENT, IN THEIR NATIONAL COSTUME. Our readers are doubtless sufficiently well acquainted with the characteristics of these gallant little soldiers, their sturdy limbs, and Tartar physiognomies. They are armed with their formidable national weapon, the kookri..⁵⁵

Illustrations feature uniforms of the Madras infantry, uniforms of northern soldiers, and engravings from C. Grant's *Oriental Heads*.⁵⁶ The Journal even portrays sepoys *out* of uniform, otherwise only "an imperfect impression of his personal

⁵³*Illustrated* 30 Oct 1858 p.413. Frederick J. Shore, *Notes on Indian Affairs*, London: John W. Parker, 1837, vol.2, p.414ff. suggests that such descriptions are indirect praise for the British: "Much of the praise which is bestowed on the sepoy is, indirectly, flattery to ourselves. They are so faithful to *us* ; they will endure so much in *our* services; and other expressions of a similar nature are made use of, thereby intimating that *we* had so treated them as to produce the feeling of gratitude..." He concludes, "there are very few of any description who would not rather stay at home if they could..."[original italics]

⁵⁴*Illustrated* 30 Oct 1858 p.413.

⁵⁵*Illustrated* 6 March 1858 p.241.

⁵⁶*Illustrated* 25 Nov 1857 p.382; 24 April 1858 p.412; 22 August 1857 p.185; 3 Oct 1857 p.333.

appearance and characteristics can be obtained."⁵⁷ These examples reinforced the significance of clothing in a military setting.

The *Illustrated* supported army reforms recommended by Sir Charles Napier and Colonel Hodgson,⁵⁸ agreeing that officers needed to maintain closer relations with their regiments. During the Mutiny, however a correspondent highlighted the difficulty of this approach: "The war has become one of colour and creed against civilisation and Christianity; a united revolt of the Eastern against Anglo-Saxon power, in which all will either actively join, or stand by passively awaiting their time to strike."⁵⁹ When Britain did reassert control, we have seen that the *Illustrated* portrayed India as a conquered dependency,⁶⁰ ruled by the strength of arms.⁶¹ With this emphasis on domination and physical force, coverage of the army began to include related themes such as health, sports and hunting.

Coupled with specific health problems associated with India was the worry that England's population was degenerating physically. The *Illustrated*'s excerpt from a publication stating that an Indian officer was useless by the time he was fifty years old, drew attention to the major fears which plagued British officers stationed in the sub-continent:

The blood in his veins and the marrow in his bones have been dried up or wasted by constant exposure to the trying climate of India; his energies are relaxed, his memory

⁵⁷*Illustrated* 6 March 1858 p.232; 1875 Supplement p.25. See *Illustrated* 31 Jan 1903 p.167 for eleven photographs of Indian soldiers in uniform at the Imperial Durbar.

⁵⁸*Illustrated* 1 August 1857 p.105,122; 22 August 1857 p.185.

⁵⁹*Illustrated* 5 Sept 1857 p.251.

⁶⁰Isaacs, *Scratches on Our Minds*, p.274 identifies "The Conquered Indian" as an American stereotype of India which includes features of physical weakness.

⁶¹*Illustrated* 22 August 1857 p.186; 12 Sept 1857 p.257. Bowle, *Imperial Achievement*, p.41,201; Hutchins, *Illusion of Permanence*, p.115; Mudford, *Birds of a Different Plumage*, p.200.

impaired, and in governing and controlling the men who are especially under his surveillance in the lines, he can be of very little use to his European superior.⁶²

Physical strength was equated with moral superiority: "... health is an ethical state of constitutional well-being, equivalent to righteousness..."⁶³ Force and physical strength were stressed in the writings of Carlyle, Kingsley, Kipling and other popular writers⁶⁴ even as Britain's military supremacy could be traced more to technological changes than individual prowess.

The *Illustrated* featured "Calisthenic Exercises in India"⁶⁵ to encourage young Englishmen to develop their muscles and it stressed improvements in Indian army barracks as attention turned to the effects of climate, water and ventilation on soldiers' physical well-being.⁶⁶ The Journal devotes an entire editorial to Florence Nightingale's views of army reform in India:

The main causes of the morality among our Indian soldiers are, undeniably, want of cleanliness in their barracks, want of occupation of their lives. Bad water, bad drainage, imperfect ventilation, and overcrowding are found enough to breed a pestilence in the most favourable climate, but when to the above predisposing causes of disease are added high living and indolence, the result in India is fatal.⁶⁷

⁶²*Illustrated* 5 Sept 1857 p.250.

⁶³Bruce Haley, *The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978, p.113. See *Illustrated* 29 August 1903 p.314.

⁶⁴Houghton, *Victorian Frame of Mind*, p.197; Green, *Dreams of Adventure*, p.288; Haley, *Healthy Body*, p.113ff.; Greenberger, *British Image*, p.94ff.

⁶⁵*Illustrated* 18 Feb 1860 p.149.

⁶⁶*Illustrated* 10 Oct 1857 p.376.

⁶⁷*Illustrated* 10 Oct 1857 p.376.

This editorial strongly supports accommodation improvements and "rational, recreative occupation"⁶⁸ for soldiers. A pervasive association with military recreation was physical exercise.

It has been suggested that team sports acted as a substitute for more overt types of violence⁶⁹ and that their seeming sophistication indicated racial and cultural superiority.⁷⁰ Some authors have traced them to the British public schools where "life as a game" included the idea that the empire was an expanded playing field.⁷¹ The *Illustrated*'s coverage of sports in India reinforces military values and skills such as competition, mobility, precision and measurement. The Journal printed sketches of polo matches, lime-cutting competitions, tent-pegging, and bamboo cutting.⁷² It also featured the army's elaborate camps of exercise for practising military manoeuvres⁷³ which emphasise a soldier's endurance and abilities. Some pictures of these manoeuvres depict Indians as "camp followers" - leading transport animals, providing water, and grinding grain⁷⁴ which suggests differences between "martial" and "non-martial" participants.

⁶⁸*Illustrated* 17 Oct 1863 p.401.

⁶⁹Bowle, *Imperial Achievement*, p.432.

⁷⁰Patrick A. Dunne, "Boys' Literature and the Idea of Race 1870-1900," *Wascana Review*, 12(1), 1977, p.97. See *Boys' Own Paper*, 6 Nov 1897 p.95.

⁷¹Bedarida, *Social History*, p.31-35; Houghton, *Victorian Frame of Mind*, p.120,202f.

⁷²*Illustrated* 29 April 1882 p.400; 17 June 1893 p.729; 15 June 1889 p.766; 31 Oct 1885 p.456; 7 April 1906 p.487; 8 Feb 1890 p.165.

⁷³*Illustrated* 20 March 1886 p.292; 27 Feb 1886 p.204,219-221; 17 Oct 1891 p.527; 27 Oct 1891 p.536-537; 15 Feb 1873 p.143f.; 26 Feb 1876 p.212; 5 July 1890 p.11f.; 19 July 1890 p.80ff.

⁷⁴*Illustrated* 20 March 1886 p.290; 12 July 1890 p.52; 17 Oct 1891 p.506.

A series of comical sketches shows a cricket match between an Indian team from an educational institution and British officers of a cavalry regiment.⁷⁵ The *Illustrated* acknowledged that the figures are caricatures and hoped if members of the Indian team see the paper, "they will take the joke in a good-humoured spirit, as it is meant," but the distinction between martial and non-martial attributes is clear:

... the average Baboo of Bengal, though a clever fellow in book-learning, writing, and the work of the desk and counting-house, is seldom particularly endowed with aptitude for outdoor exercise and sports... The queer figures delineated in these amusing sketches will be recognised as belonging to a peculiar type of the middle-class town Hindoo, extremely different from the more active and energetic races of other provinces in India.⁷⁶

Activity and energy are equated with physical pursuits often associated with the military.⁷⁷

Discipline was another military value associated with health and sports, and promoted in the *Illustrated*. In an article entitled "Our National Degeneration" Andrew Wilson lamented that three of five army recruits were rejected and suggested that health was governed by "natural laws" and is not "a matter of chance."⁷⁸ Based on this assumption he urged that "we should soon be converted to the value of attending to the laws of hygiene, and thus arrest our national decay."⁷⁹ His attitude suggested a view of the human body as a machine with systems acting together, "under laws with apparatus particular to each, and equally marvellous in all, for the purpose of rearing up and maintaining a complication of organised machinery pervaded and preserved by one life, and actuated by one

⁷⁵*Illustrated* 25 Oct 1890 p.527

⁷⁶*Ibid.*

⁷⁷See Green, *Dreams of Adventure*, p.289-293.

⁷⁸*Illustrated* 29 August 1903 p.314.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*

soul."⁸⁰ Proper maintenance of individual bodies would contribute to the army's own *esprit de corps* and sports were a means to that end.

In addition to organised sport, the army encouraged hunting as an acceptable form of military recreation. Lord Roberts stated, "Officers should possess all the qualities of good sportsmen. They should be fine riders, have a keen eye for country, and be thoroughly well-educated."⁸¹ It has been suggested that the specialisation of England's professional officers precluded interest in the "world of letters"⁸² and a streak of anti-intellectualism characterised nineteenth century Britain.⁸³ Hunting in India was not reserved for the aristocracy, and soldiers could imagine participating in a noble tradition whereby slain animals and mounted heads were proof of prowess and courage.⁸⁴ The *Illustrated* reproduced photographs and sketches of the "white hunter" standing over a dead animal flanked by "native beaters" which was a powerful symbol of British domination in India.⁸⁵

Coverage of hunting included a variety of animals, methods and locations. Descriptions detail preparations for the hunt, the role of beaters, meal breaks, and various positions for shooting prey. The Journal particularly stressed hunting in

⁸⁰Quoted in Haley, *Healthy Body*, p.20 from George Moore, *The Use of the Body in Relation to the Mind*, London: Longman, Brown, Green Ltd., 1846, p.255.

⁸¹Frederick Roberts, *Letters Written During the Indian Mutiny*, p.34 n.1 from the introduction to Erskine Childers, *War and the Arme Blanche*, 1910 n.p.

⁸²Rutherford, *Literature of War*, p.21.

⁸³Houghton, *Victorian Frame of Mind*, p.201-206.

⁸⁴E.R.H. Watson, "The Shikar's Book," *The Army Quarterly and Defence Journal*, 111(3), July 1981, p. 327-335; David B. Epsey, "Imperialism and the Image of the White Hunter," *Research Studies*, 46(1), 1978, p.12; Whittock, *Symbols, Signs and Their Meaning*, p.341f.

⁸⁵*Illustrated* 3 Sept 1892 p.309; 20 Jan 1906 p.87 and the adoption of this pose by Indian rulers, 22 June 1895 p.714. See Epsey in *Research Studies*, p.12ff.

India during visits of British dignitaries when it magnified the prestige of killing.

For such occasions, the text may allude to techniques to ensure a successful kill.⁸⁶

Illustrations show partridge-hawking,⁸⁷ antelope hunting,⁸⁸ leopard hunting,⁸⁹ otter shooting,⁹⁰ bear hunting,⁹¹ alligator hunting,⁹² ibex shooting,⁹³ goat shooting,⁹⁴ gaour hunting,⁹⁵ buffalo hunting,⁹⁶ snipe and duck shooting,⁹⁷ elephant hunting,⁹⁸ and tiger hunting.⁹⁹ Accompanying descriptions refer to additional animals and their various species. Pig-sticking¹⁰⁰ is particularly

⁸⁶*Illustrated* 15 April 1876 Supplement p.34 provides a good example whereby tigers were watched closely for days and kept within a particular area .

⁸⁷*Illustrated* 13 June 1875 p.575.

⁸⁸*Illustrated* 16 Oct p.358f.; 13 June 1857 p.575; 20 Oct 1888 p.467; 10 August 1889 p.183; 25 Dec 1875 p.637.

⁸⁹*Illustrated* 9 Oct 1869 p.353.

⁹⁰*Illustrated* 8 Jan 1875 p.48.

⁹¹*Illustrated* 25 March 1876 p.296; 20 July 1889 p.74f.

⁹²*Illustrated* 3 April 1886 p.354.

⁹³*Illustrated* 22 June 1889 p.798f.; 31 May 1890 p.690f.

⁹⁴*Illustrated* 2 August 1890 p.142f.

⁹⁵*Illustrated* 26 Feb 1887 p.232; 21 Feb 1891 p.237.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*

⁹⁷*Illustrated* 15 April 1893 p.468; 15 April 1893 p.451.

⁹⁸*Illustrated* 1875 Supplement; 1 April 1876 p.329; 4 Jan 1890 p.1.

⁹⁹*Illustrated* 2 April 1870 p.352; 3 Sept 1892 p.309; 17 March 1906 p.379; 1875 Supplement p.13,32; 25 March 1876 p.308ff.; 1 April 1876 p.332; 15 April 1876 Supplement; 11 March 1876 p.241,244; 1 April 1876 p.313; 19 March 1892 p.364f.

¹⁰⁰*Illustrated* 17 May 1884 p.469; 1875 Supplement p.32.

associated with India and pursuing wild boar is considered a "legitimate indulgence in the 'pleasure of killing something'"¹⁰¹ and for men "who find insipidity in those amusements which do not result in bloodshed."¹⁰² A reviewer states that good weather impelled an Englishman "out of sheer gratitude to 'go and kill something...'"¹⁰³ Irrespective of features associated with hunting which enabled the Englishman to imagine that he had left official duties to enjoy "nature"¹⁰⁴ and masculine bonding with his cohorts, there is an overwhelming celebration of killing and death in the Journal's reports.¹⁰⁵

Aggression towards India's animals is shown in an engraving of an Indian bather beating a snake. The writer praises the man's "peculiar fearlessness and recklessness of danger" and says that it is common for a man to swim *after* a snake to fight it: "... the scene is very animating and exciting, for the snake, when hard pressed, will turn and show fight..."¹⁰⁶ Such deliberate aggression is found in the memoirs of the *Illustrated*'s own artist, R. Caton Woodville who wrote of his uncontrollable urge to kill a snake disappearing into an ant heap:

¹⁰¹*Illustrated* 17 May 1884 p.470.

¹⁰²*Illustrated* 12 Oct 1867 p.410.

¹⁰³*Illustrated* 4 Nov 1876 p.435; Also 25 June 1864 p.623; 26 Oct 1867 p.446.

¹⁰⁴Trevelyan, *Competition Wallah*, p.153f.; *Illustrated* 15 April 1876 Supplement p.30.

¹⁰⁵*Illustrated* 19 March 1892 p.351: "She proved to be a fine and very large tigress, and with young; in a few more days she would have given birth to five cubs. After being galloped she was placed upon an elephant, and we all remounted our ponies for our homeward journey. Many a jolly song and story made a short road..." *Illustrated* 20 Oct 1888 p.467: "Riding down a wounded buck is considered by some to be excellent sport... When the indigo-plant is about 2 ft. high, the antelope will often allow persons to approach very near them before they move; then you have to shoot them running, or rather jumping, which is very pretty."

¹⁰⁶*Illustrated* 5 March 1864 p.240.

When all except two feet of the serpent had wriggled in, I could not resist it any longer, but jumped off my pony and laid hold of its tail, and did my very best to pull it out. But Mr. Snake slowly disappeared, until one of the sowars of the escort came to my assistance, when with a click something gave way in the snake, and out it came. But what an angry snake it was! It made first for one, then for another, until knocked on the head with the butt of the trooper's lance.¹⁰⁷

In some cases, the *Illustrated* showed how the Indian value of *ahimsa* worked to a hunter's advantage: bullock carts on the road do not disturb some antelope¹⁰⁸ and hunters use them for cover; fishing boats are so non-threatening to ducks "...you manage to shoot as many as you wish before you quit the 'gheel'..."¹⁰⁹ But combat and domination are primarily stressed.

The *Illustrated* strongly identified hunting with British control in India. Hunters represented "the superiority of civilisation, armed with long spear, over savage nature in the shape of a wild boar,"¹¹⁰ and he who kills a man-eating tiger "has done his part to uphold the British empire in Asia, as if he had helped in actual fighting "against Sikhs or Sepoys."¹¹¹ This direct relationship between hunting and soldiering is expressed by an author who "does not hold that hunting and shooting in India are to be considered as mere amusements, but are in the nature of training, both as regards the body and the intellect, for the peculiar warfare of the country"

¹⁰⁷Woodville, *Random Recollections*, p.116f. He notes that the snake was non-poisonous.

¹⁰⁸*Illustrated* 20 Oct 1888 p.467; 16 Oct 1858 p.358.

¹⁰⁹*Illustrated* 15 April 1893 p.451.

¹¹⁰*Illustrated* 12 Oct 1867 p.410.

¹¹¹*Illustrated* 26 Oct 1867 p.466.

since India is "our great military school."¹¹² In this regard, human enemies in India were often considered animals¹¹³ and the goal of warfare, death.

Weapons and Engineering

Changes in technology during the second half of the century widened the gap between British and Indian firepower. With an increase in technical effectiveness grew the sense of individual superiority,¹¹⁴ in spite of the fact that personal aspects of warfare were decreasing.¹¹⁵ Both the Minie and Enfield rifles were tested in colonies because of a lull in European conflict¹¹⁶ which, in the case of the Enfield in India, led to even greater conflagration. The Enfield was six times more accurate than its precursor and water-proof cartridges lessened the weather's capricious effects.¹¹⁷ The *Illustrated* reported experiments in India such as when General Jacob "...succeeded at last in perfecting a description of rifle and rifle bullet

¹¹²*Illustrated* 26 May 1860 p.492; also 14 Sept 1889 p.330.

¹¹³Animal analogies are explicit in some reports: *Illustrated* 16 Jan 1858 p.49, 53; 23 Oct 1858 p.376; 1 Jan 1859 p.18.

¹¹⁴*Illustrated* 18 June 1870 p.633: "THE HILL TRIBES NEAR PESHAWUR... They employed themselves in shooting at a mark to exhibit their skill, and some of the officers of the viceregal suite entered into competition with them, beating them easily, as might be expected, with more scientific practice in the use of a superior weapon." See G.D. Ness and W. Stahl, "Western Imperialist Armies in Asia," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 19, 1977, p.2-29; Daniel R. Headrick, "The Tools of Imperialism: Technology and the Expansion of European Colonial Empires in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Modern History*, 51(2), 1979, p.249; Hyam, *Britain's Imperial Century*, p.107; Mumford, *Technics and Civilization*, p.85.

¹¹⁵For example, D. Graham, "The British Expeditionary Force in 1914 and the Machine Gun," *Military Affairs*, XLVII(4), 1982 p.190 discusses changes at the turn of the century which suggested that equipment and tactics had to be simple and soldier-proof.

¹¹⁶Headrick, *Tools of Empire*, p.88.

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*

as much superior to the Minie in range and efficiency as that weapon is to the old musket: his 'percussion rifle shells' form a new feature in modern warfare..."¹¹⁸

Two significant changes in gun manufacturing altered colonial warfare. First, the Enfield rifle was based on the mass production of interchangeable parts.¹¹⁹ Secondly, changes in steel production after 1875 prevented repair or duplication of new guns by local blacksmiths in Asia and Africa,¹²⁰ forcing these areas to become more dependent on European manufacture and obsolete weapons discarded by these countries. Major changes were complete by the late 1890s with the patenting of the Dum Dum bullet which exploded on impact like ammunition already used for large game hunting.¹²¹

The Dum Dum bullet was so vicious in tearing great holes in flesh that the British refused to use it against European enemies and reserved it for colonial wars against non-Europeans such as the Afridis in north-western India during the Tirah Expedition.¹²² The Ordinance Department opposed a recommendation to keep two complete stocks of ammunition - one for use against Europeans and the Dum Dum bullet for Britain's "little wars" although Sir John Ardegh opined that the "demands of small colonial warfare warranted this deviation from the standards of

¹¹⁸*Illustrated* 4 Sept 1858 p.227; Also 18 May 1895 p.618.

¹¹⁹ Alexander Fleck, "Technology and Its Social Consequences," *History of Technology*, Singer *et.al.* (ed), vol.5, 1958, p.818.

¹²⁰*Illustrated* 20 Oct 1888 p.447 reports that the Hunza were apparently independent of arms from British territory and still dependent on only swords and matchlocks for their defence. *Illustrated* 18 July 1857 p.71 mentions weapons in Oudh: "The native manufactures are scanty, and in course of extinction from their antiquated character. Matchlocks, and bows and arrows for the use of the people in the back country, are manufactured in these days of revolvers and Minie rifles, just as they were in those of the Great Mughul." Headrick, *Tools of Empire*, p.99.

¹²¹Edward M. Spiers, "The Use of the Dum Dum Bullet in Colonial Warfare," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 4(1), 1975 p.4.

¹²²*Ibid*, p.4,12; Headrick, *Tools of Empire*, p.102f.

European armaments."¹²³ Instead the Mark IV bullet, lighter than the Dum Dum and achieving less penetration but greater shock was issued as the standard service bullet.¹²⁴

Metalurgy and mechanisation historically stimulated military developments and refined the devastation associated with warfare.¹²⁵ The *Illustrated* shows large artillery guns and arrangements for their transport.¹²⁶ Artillery was identified as the "white man's art" since neither Indian nor African soldiers had extensive access to large guns.¹²⁷ By 1899 the *Illustrated* reported that "much interest is being excited by the new armaments" which had proven valuable in India and it described the Maxim-Norfeld quick-firing mountain gun, able to fire a 9 1/2 pound projectile at the rate of 20 per minute as a "terrible little weapon."¹²⁸

In addition to weapons, the *Illustrated* focused on engineering skills necessary for India's military organisation. Engineering achieved high status in the nineteenth century as it represented values associated with science, progress and

¹²³Spiers in *Imperial and Commonwealth History*, p.4.

¹²⁴*Ibid.*

¹²⁵The relationship between mining and warfare can be traced to the fifteenth century when the machine began to dominate European technology and forged alliances among the soldier, miner, technician and scientist. See Mumford, *Technics and Civilization*, p.87ff.; Charles L. Sanford, "Technology and Culture at the End of the Nineteenth Century: The Will to Power," *Technology in Western Civilization*, Kranzberg *et.al.* (ed), vol.1, p.726-739; Green, *Dreams of Adventure*, p.12, 345 n.5.

¹²⁶*Illustrated* 31 Jan 1857 p.87: "The gun - a 9 pounder, or 24 pounder howitzer - is carried on one elephant, the carriage on the second, and a third carries the ammunitions... The second sketch represents the Peshawur Madras Force on the line of march. A gun or howitzer, and its carriage are carried on three mules, exclusive of the mules of ammunition."

¹²⁷Green, *Dreams of Adventure*, p.13.

¹²⁸*Illustrated* 23 Sept 1899 p.418

specialisation.¹²⁹ Samuel Smiles expresses this attitude in his *Lives of the Engineers* in which manliness is identified with machinery and its improvements in turn, raised the engineer's authority.¹³⁰ Large projects involving mechanisation and mobility were given high popular status and these were the strategic concerns of the *Illustrated*.

It regarded extension of transportation systems as one of the most important means for securing British control in India and advocated "soldiers and railroads"¹³¹ for restoring order after the Mutiny and maintaining border areas. Coverage suggests that the ability to transport troops speedily and cheaply to strategic areas determined, to a great extent, where tracks were laid.¹³² For water transport, the Journal shows troop steamers and steam trains¹³³ which could carry one thousand soldiers plus accoutrements, stores and ammunitions: "Such vessels widely spread over India would... constitute a sort of river police, and would aid in tranquilising the country..."¹³⁴ Road building was also presented as bullock carts carried troops and certain roads were maintained in better condition than those in

¹²⁹See Lucile H. Brockway, *Science and Colonial Expansion: The Role of the British Royal Botanic Gardens*, New York: Academic Press, 1979, p.70.

¹³⁰Harvey in *Victorian Studies*, p.276.

¹³¹*Illustrated* 4 July 1857 p.2; 19 Feb 1859 p.170.

¹³²*Illustrated* 29 April 1865 p.407: "The main consideration which influenced the Indian Government to lend its credit to the railway companies were motives of strategy and motives of economy in the transportation of troops and military stores." Also *Illustrated* 14 Nov 1891 p.623f.; 29 August 1885 p.207; 29 Dec 1888 p.782. See Spear, *India*, p.282; Chamberlain, *Britain and India*, p.121; Arthur Swinson, *North West Frontier 1837-1947*, London: Hutchinson & Co., 1967 p.205f.

¹³³*Illustrated* 2 Feb 1861 p.91; 19 Feb 1859 p.170; 10 May 1879 p.450; 7 April 1860 p.338; 2 Feb 1861 p.91.

¹³⁴*Illustrated* 10 Oct 1857 p.356.

England.¹³⁵ Readers learned that the road between Muri and Abbotabad was designed primarily "for the convenience of military operations" and it was appropriate that soldiers make it "more accessible to artillery and troops..."¹³⁶ Bridges were illustrated, including military bridges improved by the Royal Engineers: "The improvement consisted in the substitution of iron for wooden stakes, and wrought-iron bands or hoops in place of willow-work; and with these newly introduced materials he [Sergeant-Major Jones] now proposes an important and ingenious plan for throwing temporary bridges across rivers and streams for military purposes."¹³⁷

These references show the physical installation of strategic transportation networks such as railways, steamers, roads and bridges. The Journal also reports the moral significance of such engineering projects whereby engineering itself was a means of subjugation and control. It says that when the Begum of Bhopal crossed the iron suspension bridge over the Beas River, she apparently asked, "Of what use is it to fight against people who can build a bridge like this?"¹³⁸ while a book review states, "In another half-century, the Afridis and the Orakzais will have forgotten that throat-cutting had ever been considered by them to be the chief end of man's existence. Roads and railways are doing this... A road through the Khaiber Pass has already converted the Khaiber Afridis into a kind of police, who are already the agents of law and order."¹³⁹ In this regard, projects were believed

¹³⁵*Illustrated* 12 Sept 1857 p.264.

¹³⁶*Illustrated* 17 Oct 1863 p.402. also 25 Jan 1879 p.74.

¹³⁷*Illustrated* 12 Sept 1857 p.264.

¹³⁸*Illustrated* 16 May 1863 p.528.

¹³⁹*Illustrated* 30 August 1882 p.270; 17 Oct 1863 p.402; 29 April 1865 p.407: The Indian railway worker is considered "a better and more loyal subject" because of such exposure.

to have a positive influence on groups which the British were trying to subdue and permanently govern.

In addition to transportation networks, fortifications were a strong engineering focus submitted to the *Illustrated* by military correspondents. Drawings show forts in a variety of artistic styles¹⁴⁰ with descriptions of architectural features and measurements. Their military associations with Moghul rule may have attracted British visual interest, for Lannoy states, "In the early centuries, much of the work bears the imprint of grim and forbidding tyrant conquerors. The forts, mausoleums and towers of victory testify to ruthless military prowess."¹⁴¹ Another historian writes, "It is clear that important factors in their [forts'] design, quite apart from the question of defence, is that they should impress the observer, or the enemy, with their imposing and formidable aspect, as well as express the power and affluence of the ruler."¹⁴² Through a military analogy of conquering "environmental" enemies, the *Illustrated* presented the ability to maintain such structures as tribute to British engineering skill and expertise.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰*Illustrated* 4 Feb 1865 p.109: Fort of Kartsabrusha; 28 Nov 1863 p.544: Fort of Mhow; 17 April 1858 p.384: Fort of Saugor; 19 Sept 1857 p.281: Fort of Allahabad; 17 Oct 1857 p.396: Fort William; 7 Nov 1868 p.441: Fort of Attock; 9 July 1870 p.37: Oghi Outpost Fort; 20 April 1895 p.467: Fort of Mastuj; 11 Sept 1897 p.352: Fort Abasie, Sartop Fort, Lockhart Fort, Fort Kohat.

¹⁴¹Richard Lannoy, *The Speaking Tree*, London: Oxford University Press, 1971, p.71.

¹⁴²Sidney Toy, *The Strongholds of India*, London: William Heinmann Ltd., 1957 p.1.

¹⁴³*Illustrated* 22 April 1899 p.568: "The work of reconstructing fortifications, magazines, and storehouses and barracks in such a wild and rugged country, where transport is very difficult, cannot be so expeditious as might be wished, and in the winter season it may involve as many hardships as an active field campaign; but it has to be done, and our Royal Engineers take care that it is done well."

Transportation methods and fortifications are concrete examples of military engineering featured in pictorial military coverage. The *Illustrated* also acknowledges organisational skills of engineering in surveying and medical services. Surveying has been called a euphemism for spying and other intelligence operations of the army brought to readers' attention through popular stories such as *Kim*. The hero is "trained for surveying, which brings together the activities of climbing, observing, native disguise, etc. under the aegis of imperialism."¹⁴⁴ The *Illustrated* approvingly reports about mapping unknown areas¹⁴⁵ and troops which acted as "spies, surveyors, intelligencers..."¹⁴⁶ In this context, it is understandable that Indian leaders on the north-west frontier did not want their territories "surveyed."¹⁴⁷

Information collected from such expeditions did not only contribute to general knowledge;¹⁴⁸ it reinforced the systematic order and functional efficiency of military operations. Communication networks helped the military cope with the growing operational complexity of warfare and demands of co-ordinating campaigns.¹⁴⁹ Visually, these needs are expressed in the *Illustrated* by scenes of a camel convoy carrying telegraphic apparatus, a field post office, and soldiers sent

¹⁴⁴Green, *Dreams of Adventure*, p.270

¹⁴⁵*Illustrated* 8 August 1857 p.137; Exploratory expeditions also contributed to such activities. They included army personnel, artists, photographers, guides and were supported by the Royal Society and Royal Geographical Society. See *Illustrated* 27 Feb 1892 p.260; 5 March 1892 p.304; 9 June 1894 p.718.

¹⁴⁶*Illustrated* 8 August 1857 p.137.

¹⁴⁷*Illustrated* 29 Dec 1894 p.821. See 14 Feb 1880 p.166; 6 Feb 1875 p.123.

¹⁴⁸*Illustrated* 5 March 1892 p.287; also 6 June 1874 p.527; 22 Jan 1898 p.118.

¹⁴⁹Thomas A. Palmer, "Military Technology," *Technology in Western Civilization*, Kranzberg *et.al.* (ed), vol.1, p.496; Mumford, *Technics and Civilization*, p.89.

out with semaphors, heliographs and telescopes.¹⁵⁰ The same precision of military engineering was increasingly demanded by the medical service.

Medical arrangements were an integral feature of the army as Britain attempted to extend and strengthen its territory in India. Links between medicine and the army were especially prevalent in the sub-continent where military medical practice entailed "ranks, uniforms and codes of discipline"¹⁵¹ similar to fighting forces. The Indian Medical Service was organised to cope with "mass" medical provisions¹⁵² as colonial wars in areas remote from Britain demanded particular medical attention.¹⁵³

The Journal printed pictures of hospital dhoolies fashioned after palanquins¹⁵⁴ and later showed the modified dhoolie stretcher used in the Chitral Expedition.¹⁵⁵ Scenes include views from the field hospital,¹⁵⁶ the wounded and sick arriving in Rawalpindi from the front,¹⁵⁷ and "Frontier Amenities: A Ghilzai

¹⁵⁰*Illustrated* 25 Nov 1897 Supplement; 30 Oct 1897 p.615; 25 Jan 1890 p.117.

¹⁵¹Terence Johnson and Marjorie Caygill, "The British Medical Association and its overseas Branches: A Short History," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 1, 1972-1973, p.305.

¹⁵²*Ibid*, p.306.

¹⁵³Gordon in *British Military History*, p.313 suggests more study is needed of the stimulus colonial wars in remote areas had on British medical research. The different attitude towards colonial warfare is suggested in *Illustrated* 4 March 1899 p.293: "The subject of the transport of the wounded men under fire is one that has been brought very much to notice during the experiences gained in the recent Tirah Campaign, and is one that commands itself to all military men. Engaged as our troops were against a relentless and barbarous enemy, it was impossible to leave wounded men to their mercy, as could be done if fighting a civilised foe"

¹⁵⁴*Illustrated* 26 Sept 1857 p.313; 14 Nov 1857 p.476; 24 Jan 1880 p.92.

¹⁵⁵*Illustrated* 18 May 1895 p.618.

¹⁵⁶*Ibid*.

¹⁵⁷*Illustrated* 22 Jan 1898 p.113.

shot at Karappa attended by the Staff of a Native Field Hospital."¹⁵⁸ Experiments with cichona in the Nilgiri Hills for "British army hospitals in India and other tropical stations"¹⁵⁹ is one example of botanical engineering which combined medical and military concerns. Expeditions demanded the ability to survive in India's diverse geographical areas.

With the growing awareness and implementation of strategic military networks following the 1857 Mutiny and with the benefits of improved engineering technology and organisation, the British could direct military campaigns with greater confidence against inhabitants of India's more inaccessible areas and the *Illustrated* was keen to report such action to its readers.

Campaigns in the North-East

Readers learned of confrontations with the Bhutanese, Lushais, Manipuris, Chins and Dufflas in India's north-eastern jungles and mountains. The Journal reports that expeditions were sent to maintain access to adjoining territory¹⁶⁰ and that the tribes threatened British plantations, abducted children and killed residents.¹⁶¹ Firepower was uneven and pictures of captured "arms" show the disparity between tribal weapons and British forces: "Bhooteas were very strongly posted, and fought well, being heavy powerful men; but their arms, matchlocks, bows and arrows, and swords were no match for our Enfields, or even the musket

¹⁵⁸*Illustrated* 22 April 1899 p.574.

¹⁵⁹*Illustrated* 10 Feb 1872 p.134.

¹⁶⁰*Illustrated* 28 April 1888 p.451; 10 Nov 1888 p.546. For example *Illustrated* 10 Feb 1872 p.134: "Our worst trouble appears to be the loss of coolies by cholera, for which the Bengal Government is held responsible, 800 having been embarked, without medical oversight, on two river flats, unsuited for the accommodation of more than half the number."

¹⁶¹*Illustrated* 10 Feb 1872 p.134; 7 Nov 1872 p.438; 18 March 1882 p.266.

and bayonet of our native troops."¹⁶² Terrain was as much an enemy as the tribes¹⁶³ and the *Illustrated* often states that offending areas must be held permanently under British control.¹⁶⁴

This desire to establish permanent control underlies descriptions through the 1870s to 1890s: "The object is to overawe the wild tribes which inhabit the mountainous borderland."¹⁶⁵ After a set-back, one officer reported, "As such insolence could not possibly be brooked, a small but very efficient force has been organised to bring these wild mountaineers to their senses."¹⁶⁶ Due to the inability to subdue these tribes, they were depicted as an irritation and annoyance.¹⁶⁷ Lushais were called the "most obnoxious" while the Chins are "quite as troublesome."¹⁶⁸

As they assumed the role of paternal authority, military expeditions were described as punitive: extracting fines and blocking supply routes¹⁶⁹ in retaliation

¹⁶²*Illustrated* 24 June 1865 p.615. *Illustrated* 24 June 1865 p.615; 16 Nov 1889 p.630; 16 Jan 1875 p.62: "Being armed only with the most primitive weapons, they will naturally endeavour to engage the force on ground where the long range of arms of precision will have as little chance as possible against them..."

¹⁶³*Illustrated* 30 Sept 1865 p.313; 18 March 1882 p.266; 1 Feb 1890 p.134; 8 Feb 1890 p.166.

¹⁶⁴*Illustrated* 30 Sept 1865 p.313; 11 April 1891 p.431.

¹⁶⁵*Illustrated* 16 Nov 1889 p.630.

¹⁶⁶*Illustrated* 16 Jan 1875 p.62.

¹⁶⁷*Illustrated* 3 Feb 1866 p.119: "The more insignificant, they say, anything with the power of annoyance is, the more annoying it is..." The book under review is "a very interesting account of one of those petty Powers, little wars with whom are wont to cost England, by driblets, more good blood, good money and prestige than a nation situated as we are in Indian can well afford."

¹⁶⁸*Illustrated* 16 Nov 1889 p.630.

¹⁶⁹*Illustrated* 4 March 1893 p.264; 27 March 1875 p.287; *Illustrated* 16 Jan 1875 p.62.

against the tribes' unacceptable behaviour. Descriptions of survey parties, political agents, and road-building teams and pictures of policemen, supply routes and transport boats¹⁷⁰ indicate attempts to exert permanent influence in these areas.¹⁷¹ The transfer of information to readers in England extended this sense of cultural penetration.¹⁷²

The army's unsuccessful attempt to restore order in Manipur after the ruler's deposition appears in the *Illustrated* as a "military disaster" against "half-savage tribes."¹⁷³ Pictures of "native groups", the residency, palace and cantonments¹⁷⁴ satisfied visual interest as readers learn of "THE MASSACRE AND CONFLICT

¹⁷⁰*Illustrated* 25 Jan 1890 p.117; 15 March 1890 p.324; 10 Feb 1872 p.129; 17 Feb 1872 p.156; 25 Jan 1890 p.117; 8 March 1890 p.293; 6 Dec 1890 p.723f.

¹⁷¹*Illustrated* 18 March 1882 p.266: "...our troops retained their position at Kohima, as a garrison in an enemy's country, and a large military transport had to be kept up to supply them with food... we are daily gaining influence over our conquered subjects, and the authority of the Political Agent is steadily increasing in the country..." *Illustrated* 26 April 1890 p.517; 16 Jan 1875 p.62; 8 March 1890 p.294.

¹⁷²*Illustrated* 16 Jan 1875 p.62: Assam's "more easterly districts border on the wild regions of hill and forest, inhabited by savage tribes whose very names were till lately unknown. Who had ever heard of the Lushais or Dufflas, twenty years ago?... Their country has never been visited before, except hurriedly, and nothing at all is know of it. A surveying party, under Major Goodwin-Austin and Lieutenant Harmen, R.E. accompanies this force, for the purpose of mapping to as great an extent as practicable." *Illustrated* 3 Feb 1866 p.119: *Bhotan and the Story of the Dooar War* deprives "the reading world of any further excuse for ignorance touching the whereabouts of Bhotan, the nature of the country, the character of the inhabitants, the relation in which they stand to Thibet, our intercourse with them since 1772, the peculiarities - making negotiation a matter of great difficulty- of their government, and the missions sent from time to time to the Bhotanese by the Government of India" *Illustrated* 1 Oct 1870 p.359 reviews *Wild Races of South-Eastern India*; *Illustrated* 8 Feb 1873 p.127 reviews *The Lushai Expedition 1871-72*; *Illustrated* 17 Jan 1880 p.58 reviews *Jungle Life in India*.

¹⁷³*Illustrated* 4 April 1891 p.429,431.

¹⁷⁴*Illustrated* 28 Nov 1891 p.708: "Of the Manipur tribesmen there is not much to be said, though, as our illustration shows they have some pretensions to variety of ugliness." Also 11 Nov 1891 p.461; 2 May 1891 p.581; 18 April 1891 p.493; 11 April 1891 p.466,476; 13 June 1891 p.765; 8 August 1891 p.163.

IN MANIPUR."¹⁷⁵ The *Illustrated* includes many features associated with popular military reporting - danger, fighting, atrocities and escape. One report says that the Manipur leader ordered his captives to be killed and a witness confirmed seeing "the mutilated bodies of British officers, with their heads, hands and feet cut off," while another version stated "the officers were killed in action, and there was room to hope that they were not murdered in cold blood, but were killed while resisting their seizure, and that mutilations were effected after death."¹⁷⁶ According to the *Journal*, the Indian government accepted this alternative view. Mrs. Grimwood, widow of the Political Agent, escaped with others from the Residency and at the end of 1891, the *Illustrated* reviewed her book *Three Years in Manipur*.
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It is primarily through military coverage that readers learned any information of anthropological interest about these people. Various groups are called "wild tribes," "savages," "uncivilised mankind," and "barbarous and ferocious."¹⁷⁸ Reports include linguistic relationships,¹⁷⁹ dress and appearance,¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁵*Illustrated* 18 April 1891 p.497.

¹⁷⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁷⁷*Ibid* : "The fugitives made their way across the hills, and finally met Captain Cowley's detachment, with which they proceeded to Lakhipur. They suffered great hardships, walking the whole way, 120 miles; they were obliged to avoid the roads and keep to the jungle paths and to live on roots... all, including Mrs. Grimwood arrived in good health." The review is *Illustrated* 28 Nov 1891 p.708.

¹⁷⁸*Illustrated* 10 Feb 1872 p.134; 7 Nov 1872 p.436; 16 March 1889 p.338.

¹⁷⁹*Illustrated* 10 Feb 1872 p.134.

¹⁸⁰*Illustrated* 18 April 1891 p.497; 4 March 1893 p.264; 10 Feb 1872 p.134.

customs,¹⁸¹ and living conditions which incorporate a number of stereotypes associated with "primitive people:"

The Lushai village consists of thatched huts built of matting, raised on poles above the ground; it is a picture of filth and misery, swarming with pigs, dogs and rats. The people are lazy and dirty, fond of drink, cunning and treacherous, but very childish and easily amused. They are armed with spears, dhars, and a few guns, are skilful shikarries or hunters, and preserve human heads as trophies.¹⁸²

Other illustrations of "tribal villages" probably brought such characteristics readily to mind. Because military coverage of the north-west frontier provided the *Illustrated*'s most comprehensive view of India's "primitive tribes,"¹⁸³ they were primarily characterised as quarrelsome and pugnacious.

Campaigns on the North-West Frontier

Previous studies have evaluated novels set in this area of India and reasons for its literary and historical popularity.¹⁸⁴ A.S. Ahmed touches briefly on racial, geographical, psychological and social reasons for its attraction¹⁸⁵ and Greenberger points out, "This is certainly not the most typical area of India, but in the literature of the period it is made to appear as the whole country. In this area the

¹⁸¹*Illustrated* 16 Nov 1872 p.469 shows funerary practices; 26 April 1890 p.517 depicts a friendship ceremony in which the tribal chief and British agent smear pig's blood on each other's forehead.

¹⁸²*Illustrated* 4 March 1893 p.264; 16 Nov 1889 p.630: The Lushais are called "well-made", muscular, active, intelligent, quick-tempered, loose in allegiance, thieves and drunks; 11 April 1891 p.466: The Nagas are an "athletic and war-like race of mountaineers, but now peacefully behaved since the garrison was established there in 1878."

¹⁸³These pictorial attempts at realistic reportage may have inspired later novelists. Greenberger, *British Image*, p.188: "Only in the jungles can these last British writers [1935-1960] find an India in which they have a place. Settings such as this will either have no Indian population or be populated by very primitive people."

¹⁸⁴Singh, *Anglo-Indian Fiction*, p.136-142; Greenberger, *British Image*, p.35ff.; S.S. Husain, *Kipling and India*, Dacca: University of Dacca, 1964 p.82-86.

¹⁸⁵Akbar S. Ahmed, "An Aspect of the Colonial Encounter in the North-West Frontier Province," *Asian Affairs*, 9(3), 1978, p.323.

solutions to problems were largely those in which the army could play the major role."¹⁸⁶ With the *Illustrated*'s strong focus on military confrontations, the north-west frontier received extensive coverage. In the 1860s, the Journal reported military expeditions on the Punjab frontier; in the 1870s and 1880s, it featured relations with the hill tribes, war in Afghanistan, and the Black Mountain Expedition; in the 1890s, it illustrated the Chitral Expedition, and frontier risings through the Tirah and Mohmand Field Forces; at the the turn of the century, it reported disturbances in Waziristan and expeditions into Tibet.

Special artists sent specifically to the area supplied many illustrations of military campaigns. R. Caton Woodville provided dramatic scenes redrawn from field sketches while William Simpson and Melton Prior had facsimile sketches of original artwork reproduced in the Journal. Prior devoted Chapter XIII of his *Campaigns of a War Correspondent* to the Afridi campaign of 1897¹⁸⁷ in which he describes the dangers of camping with Sir William Lockhart's forces. Military correspondents included General Sir Michael A. Biddulph K.C.B. and Lieutenant-Colonel C. Pulley who supplied pictures to the *Illustrated* regularly. It also received photographs from various members of the forces stationed along the frontier.

Coverage generally focused on attempts to bring law and order to wild tribes which live by plunder.¹⁸⁸ Waziris were typified as the wildest and most war-like and Oraksis, Waziris and Afridis were said to have been addicted to "predatory

¹⁸⁶Greenberger, *British Image*, p.36.

¹⁸⁷Melton Prior, *Campaigns of a War Correspondent*, London: Edward Arnold, 1912, p.267-275.

¹⁸⁸*Illustrated* 2 Feb 1870 p.188; 18 June 1870 p.633; 9 July 1870 p.37; 11 Sept 1897 p.353; 11 Dec 1897 p.835; 5 March 1864 p.240. Street, *Savage in Literature*, p.134 discusses this presentation in novels and Akbar S. Ahmed, *Millenium and Charisma among Pathans: A Critical Essay in Social Anthropology*, London: Roulledge & Kegan Paul, 1976, p.6, 143 n.8 notes this portrayal.

incursions"¹⁸⁹ before being checked by the government which specifically organised the Punjab Frontier Force to enforce British control.¹⁹⁰

Weekly reports use a "game" analogy to some extent¹⁹¹ and naming "teams" could provide a sense of involvement for readers interested in following Khyberis, Waziris, Afridis, Akhalzais, Yuzufzais, Hussas, Bonerwals and Nagars.¹⁹² According to the Journal, popular strategies included combined forces, such that "We have nothing to fear from the Mohmands or the Yuzufzais, but if the Bonerwals rise and the Afridi tribes also, it will mean a big business."¹⁹³ The description of Kotal Fort captured by Afridis suggests specific rules for "the game," since the Afridi victory is considered, "... not in fair fight, for the Serai gates were opened by traitors within the camp..."¹⁹⁴ In contrast to this depiction, Lady Wilson wrote from Rawalpindi, "Heaven grant we may never be so near the seat of war and its horrors again. It is one thing to read about battles in newspapers, translated into the sporting phraseology of the war correspondent, quite another to be at the base of operations."¹⁹⁵ This approach could not accurately convey the disruption caused by British intervention in the area.

¹⁸⁹*Illustrated* 4 Sept 1897 p.311; 19 June 1897 p.845; 13 Feb 1864 p.167; 29 Dec 1894 p.821

¹⁹⁰*Illustrated* 19 June 1897 p.845.

¹⁹¹See Robert Huttenback, "The 'Great Game' in the Pamirs and the Hindu-Kush: The British Conquest of Hunza and Nagar," *Modern Asian Studies*, 9, 1975, p.1-29; Ahmed in *Asian Affairs*.

¹⁹²*Illustrated* 5 March 1864 p.240; 13 Feb 1864 p.167; 7 Nov 1868 p.439; 18 June 1870 p.632; 13 Oct 1888 p.422; 27 April 1895 p.499; 10 Oct 1868 p.358.

¹⁹³*Illustrated* 21 August 1897 p.256.

¹⁹⁴*Illustrated* 4 Sept 1897 p.313.

¹⁹⁵Wilson, *Letters from India*, p.105.

The *Illustrated*'s military framework included the entire population of the frontier, not just fighting forces. It depicts British civilisation battling tribal barbarism as expressed by Sir Neville Chamberlain:

To have to carry destruction, if not desolation into the homes of some hundreds of families is the great drawback to border warfare; but with savage tribes to whom there is no might but right, and no law to govern them in their intercourse with the rest of mankind, save that which appeals to their own interests, the only course, as regards humanity as well as policy, is to make all suffer, and thereby, for their own interests, enlist the great majority on the side of peace and safety.¹⁹⁶

Reuter's correspondent reported how the army exacerbated problems in the Maiden valley when food shortages were affecting the sub-continent: It "unearthed and consumed the grain and fodder supply of the country, uprooted and ringed the walnut groves, prevented the autumn tillage of the soil..." and "caused the inhabitants to live the life of fugitives upon the exposed, bleak and bitterly cold hill tops..."¹⁹⁷

The *Illustrated* did not criticise such deprivations and may have considered them necessary against the strength of the frontier's indigenous leaders: "Local disasters may sometimes be inevitable, and should not be too hastily ascribed to want of precaution on the part of the Government in dealing with various tribes of half-savage mountaineers, amenable to fierce and wild fits of fanatical fury at the bidding of their mullahs or religious preachers of a perverted Mohammedanism..."¹⁹⁸ Leaders were dismissed as "fanatic Moslem," "mad

¹⁹⁶ Quoted in Farwell, *Queen Victoria's Little Wars*, p.325. See *Illustrated* 7 Nov 1868 p.439; 24 Nov 1888 p.611; 14 Dec 1880 p.166; 17 July 1880 p.68 for burning villages and blowing up towers.

¹⁹⁷ Lionel James quoted in Farwell, *Queen Victoria's Little Wars*, p.326. See Ahmed, *Millenium and Charisma*, p.104.

¹⁹⁸ *Illustrated* 28 August 1897 p.273; *Illustrated* 19 Feb 1898 p.255 shows S. Begg's dramatic rendition of a sketch by Lieutenant-Colonel C. Pulley, entitled "Cursing the Infidel."

Mullah," or "Mohammedan fanatic"¹⁹⁹ which reinforced the view that the frontier's indigenous political systems needed external control.²⁰⁰

The Journal attempted to convey such control through its depiction of military campaigns and durbars. In 1905, it featured S. Begg's full page illustration, "First Royal Visit to the Indian Frontier,"²⁰¹ showing the Prince and Princess of Wales accepting an Afridi offering of sheep and honey: "These represented in primitive form the nazars of gold coins which are presented by Indian chiefs at durbars."²⁰² In this manner, readers saw through graphic symbolism the area's submission to British rule.

The attraction of the north-west frontier was so strong that its images did not fade in the twentieth century. Scenes of the frontier fuelled battle dramas which continued to attract large audiences, even in times of peace, through the innovative medium of film.²⁰³ They joined other images in the "subspecies of war films [which] have been almost identical in substance and format,"²⁰⁴ and provided many clichéd plots for depicting THE ENEMY initially popularised in visual poses through journals such as the *Illustrated*.

Military control was one of the *Illustrated*'s strongest foci for reporting about India. Since its own correspondents were primarily war artists, their attention was overwhelmingly directed at British attempts to secure military control

¹⁹⁹*Illustrated* 11 Sept 1897 p.353; 22 Jan 1898 p.103; 10 Dec 1898 p.868.

²⁰⁰Street, *Savage in Literature*, p.135 considers Kipling's portrayal of this image. *Illustrated* 21 May 1904 p.756 took the same position regarding Tibet.

²⁰¹*Illustrated* 30 Dec 1905 p.971.

²⁰²*Ibid*, p.972.

²⁰³Raymond William Stedman, *Shadows of the Indian: Stereotypes in American Culture*, Norman: Oklahoma Press, 1982, p.161.

²⁰⁴*Ibid*.

of the sub-continent. Military personnel stationed in India practised their drafting talents and photographic techniques by also supplying pictures of military activities.

Through its weekly reports, the *Illustrated* stressed physical force and military domination. These goals were not confined to armies in India but were shared with the Journal's readers as descriptions and illustrations provided a sense of immediacy and involvement. Coverage helped to identify India's people as "the enemy" and though attention shifted to different geographical areas within the sub-continent, readers could consistently look at news of India for the vicarious expression of aggression and hostility. Even recreational pursuits such as sports and hunting had strong military connections associated with conflict and control. This underlay India's portrayal as a nation to be conquered: its terrain, its animals, its people.

.Pictures show the individual soldier testing his endurance and strength and the *Illustrated* supported the values of sacrifice and honour. But one of the Journal's most significant contributions to popular understanding was its coverage of machine technology. It monitored the extension of military engineering in India's transportation, medicine and communication, through language and illustrations appropriate for wide circulation. This consistently positive attitude helped to make mechanised warfare more acceptable to British communities and to harden concern about the impact of such destruction on India's people and environment.

CHAPTER VII
DEVELOPMENT AND TECHNOLOGY

The *Illustrated*'s pictorial coverage of world affairs attempted to reaffirm readers' belief in man's increasing ability to change and control the natural environment.¹ This ability included "speeding up... natural process[es], hastening growth, quickening the pace of transportation, and breaking down communication distances."² It is measured by faster speeds, bigger sizes, farther distances and increased quantities.³ Through analogies with natural history and biological sciences, this process was popularly known as "development,"⁴ a concept which shared many features with the idea of progress, including a sense of struggle against natural limitations.⁵

¹Mumford, *Pentagon of Power*; p.172; Houghton, *Victorian Frame of Mind*, p.28,40; Altick, *Victorian People and Ideas*, p.107,259.

²Mumford, *Pentagon of Power*, p.172; also Houghton, *Victorian Frame of Mind*, p.7.

³Mumford, *Pentagon of Power*, p.173.

⁴*Illustrated* 21 Sept 1889 p.380 comments on "the progress of what gentle and simple alike today know under the name of 'evolution' and under that of the 'development theory' likewise." The concept is discussed in Altick, *Victorian People and Ideas*, p.223-232; Jones, *Social Darwinism and English Thought*, p.164f.; Biological references can be found in Peter J. Bowler, "The Changing Meaning of 'Evolution,'" *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 30(1), 1975, p.95-114.

⁵References can be found in Peter J. Bowler, "Malthus, Darwin, and the Concept of Struggle," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 34(4), 1976, p.631-650.

Concerns about India's development focused on what Britain could do *to and for* the area, primarily through technological and economic changes,⁶ which the *Illustrated* hoped would lessen the need and expenditure for military control.⁷ Lead articles show an economic approach suggesting that India must "support itself" or else it would be "a bad bargain."⁸ Emphasis on economics and taxation led to the depiction of India as a poor country,⁹ while coverage stressed India's economic *potential*. This followed the classic English tenet that "... a considerable

⁶Rhoads Murphey, *The Outsiders: the Western experience in India and China*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1977, p.28-33 discusses this approach whereby development reinforces the image of India as a dependent and passive country. The *Illustrated* often refers to Britain's "Eastern dependency: and informs readers 31 July 1869 p.102: "The economic maxims which apply at home do not, as a matter of course, apply there. Many things have to be done for the people which in this country are best left to be done by them: *Illustrated* 9 May 1874 p.459 printed a Reuters telegram during famine: "Severe distress, however, occasionally breaks out, requiring constant vigilance on the part of the authorities upon whom the natives generally depend to remedy all deficiencies."

⁷*Illustrated* 4 July 1857 p.2; 1 June 1867 p.534; 31 July 1869 p.101; 10 April 1858 p.358.

⁸*Illustrated* 19 Feb 1859 p.169f. *Illustrated* 23 Oct 1858 p.381 assures readers, "... it may without exaggeration be affirmed that a grander field for the application of capital and enterprise was never available in this country than that which is now opened up to her in her Indian possessions." Richard Shannon, *The Crisis of Imperialism 1865-1915*, London: Granada Publishing, Ltd., 1974, p.251 shows this as a contemporary concern "... was India worth keeping? Did the expense of defending it outweigh its economic value?"

⁹*Illustrated* 8 Oct 1859 p.343: "The poor Indian villager's bill of fare never varies, circumstances admit of no choice in the matter; it is the extreme point of economy at which existence can be sustained in any degree of health; Although these remarks refer to the poorest classes, it should be borne in mind that they form the great bulk of the population, and such facts assist us in forming some notion of the difficulty of dealing with the question of taxing a people so poor and driven to the last shift of economy." Also *Illustrated* 19 Feb 1859 p.170; 10 Jan 1874 p.27.

pool of potential capital... can be tapped by simple increased exertion or greater intensity of effort."¹⁰

Transition to a money economy was brought to readers' notice through pictures of village money changers¹¹ and the introduction of a uniform currency which the Journal illustrated:

When we regard the extent and the daily changing circumstances of our Indian possessions, it is clear that scientific talent, speculative industry, and mechanical skill will be incessantly opening up there new fields of commerce, and it is the duty of the Government to provide every facility for carrying on the enormous traffic which a few years more will certainly develop. Not the least important of these facilities will be the supplying a hundred and odd millions of the inhabitants with a convenient, reliable, and not easily-imitated metallic currency, and the inaugurative step in this great work is the new rupee.¹²

In addition to convenience and reliability, cash was easily transferable for taxation and reinvestment. The *Illustrated* wanted to "turn the immense natural resources of the country to account...,"¹³ supporting the view: "... when a cultivator becomes impoverished, and, by his inability to cultivate his land properly, deprives the

¹⁰Erskine McKinley, "The Problem of 'Underdevelopment' in the English Classical School," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 69, 1955, p.241. This attitude increased the value of work which became virtuous in itself. See Houghton, *Victorian Frame of Mind*, p.242-248.

¹¹*Illustrated* 8 Oct 1859 p.342; 21 Sept 1895 p.369.

¹²*Illustrated* 19 Jan 1861 p.64.

¹³*Illustrated* 13 June 1857 p.564. Headrick, *Tools of Empire*, p.177 concludes that the new technologies of the nineteenth century "turned isolated subsistence economies with limited trade contacts into parts of a single world market in basic commodities. They shattered traditional trade, technology, and political relationships, and in their place they laid the foundations for a new global civilization based on Western technology."

community of wealth it is capable of producing, the land can get into the hands of someone better able to turn it to advantage."¹⁴

Resources

During the second half of the century, science and natural history in Britain were popularised to appeal to an expanding reading public¹⁵ which associated the exacting standards of scientific enquiry with progress.¹⁶ Since the first of the century when travellers and East India Company officials extended the European passion for "collecting,"¹⁷ India's botanical and zoological specimens had attracted interest. Whereas botany had been primarily an aid to medicine, agriculture became associated with economics and commercial gain:¹⁸

We have occupied India, we have ruled it, well or ill, as the case may be, but we have never thoroughly endeavoured to

¹⁴G. Wingate to Revenue Commissioner, Souther Division, no.239 (23 December 1848) reprinted in *Papers Connected with the Bombay Revenue and Settlement System*, Calcutta 1883 p.xli quoted in Clive Dewey, "Images of the Village Community: A Study in Anglo-Indian Ideology," *Modern Asian Studies*, VI 1972, p.299.

¹⁵Leo Henkin, *Darwinsim in the English Novel*, New York: Corporate Press, Inc., 1940, p.172f.; Leonard G. Wilson, "Science by Candlelight," *The Mind and Art of Victorian England*, Altolz (ed), p.100; Sheridan, *Late Victorian Ghosts*, p.159ff., D. C. Somervell, *English Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, David McKay Co., Inc., 1929, (1969 reprint), p.124.

¹⁶Routledge, *English Rule*, p.119f. reports that the Survey Department in Calcutta was "engaged in the scientific conquest of all India" through its trigonometrical, topographical and revenue surveys. See Houghton, *Victorian Frame of Mind*, p.37.

¹⁷David E. Allen, *The Naturalist in Britain*, p.79f. relates collecting to the cultural values of work and structured recreation. As in other areas, size (of specimens and collections) came to be important with particular stress on numbers. For early scientific interest in India see Mildred Archer, *Natural History Drawings in the India Office Library*, London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1962; Franz, *The English Traveller*, p.15.

¹⁸H.J.C, Larwood, "Western Science in India Before 1850," *Royal Asiatic Society Journal*, 1962, p.69; Brockway, *Science and Colonial Expansion*, p.102; Roy M. MacLeod, "Scientific Advice for British India," *Modern Asian Studies*, 9, 1975, p.344-346.

inoculate it with our commercial spirit... It is not European labour that is wanted in Hindustan in order to develop its vast resources, but it is European and, above all, the English mind that is required for that purpose. It is knowledge, capability of teaching the native cultivator of the soil how best to avail himself of its productiveness; it is the application of European science and skill to the art of production that is needed to bring the growth of cotton, indigo, sugar and tea of India into relative proportion with its acres and its capabilities... why for every Englishman in the service of the Government should there not be three or four representatives of the English agriculturalists and commercial agents...?¹⁹

The *Illustrated* discusses lack of cultivation as "waste" which in turn could justify expansion of commercial agriculture in the desire to control nature:²⁰

"There still seems to be some unaccountable objection in the view of the Government in India to the disposing of free holds, even in lands now waste, and it is said that not less than a third of the peninsula is given up to the jungle... Vegetation is so encroaching a power in India that unless man cultivates the soil the jungle soon ejects him from it."²¹ The Journal supports clearance of "unoccupied

¹⁹*Illustrated* 10 April 1858 p.358. Brockway, *Science and Colonial Expansion*, p.99ff. traces agricultural development to economic botany when closer connections were established between Kew Gardens and the Colonial and India Offices. Palmer in *Technology in Western Civilization*, p.498f. discusses expansion of science after mid-century in terms of military needs and food supplies.

²⁰Barnett, *The Ignoble Savage*, p.30f. illustrates this point regarding North American Indians and quotes M.C. Hodges's *The Mesitco*: "Much of the fertile land that was wasting under their miserable tillage, now blooms under the industry of the whites." Brockway, *Science and Colonial Expansion*, p.135f. characterises the "waste" land concept as an European "illegal fiction" that land not under continuous cultivation was "unoccupied." Philip Loh Fook Seng, *The Malay States 1877-1895*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1969, p.112 gives an example from tin mining with the 1879 regulation: "... no land should be allowed to lie idle if anyone is willing to work it, and the owners of metalliferous land must submit to its being worked." Hyam, *Britain's Imperial Century*, p.106 quotes Charles Kingsley's view that "each people should either develop the capabilities of their own country, or make room for those who will develop them..."

²¹*Illustrated* 28 Sept 1861 p.312; 18 Oct 1862 p.426.

land, at present overrun with primeval forest..."²² Tea, coffee, indigo, and cinchona are some products cited for commercial cultivation.²³ Efforts towards environmental change are not limited to the earth's surface but also extend below. A book review states, "The fact of most urgent practical importance however, is that the country is worthy of 'exploitation' as well as exploration, for the sake of its mineral wealth..."²⁴

... English masters also made large inroads upon the forest by building boats and carts, in hewing out beams and rafters for their houses, and by using the wood in every kind of manner for every kind of work, until not a tree, not a stick, nor a bush of the forest remained; and in this state may Raneegunge at this day be seen. Utterly denuded of trees, the country presents a bare, barren, undulating surface, but abounding below with hidden wealth of coal.²⁵

The *Illustrated*'s attitude to India's resources centred on accessibility and extraction: "No village in India should be difficult of access... No land in India should be dependent for its fertility upon capricious skies; railways, internal roads, storage of water, and well planned irrigation may be to India trustworthy sources of incalculable wealth."²⁶

Economic ties between India and Britain were increasingly used as a reason for India's development. The *Illustrated* waged a strong campaign to increase India's cotton production. Since cotton was an indigenous plant, the Journal viewed increased production as natural, and major changes in transportation

²²*Illustrated* 13 Dec 1862 p.638.

²³*Illustrated* 15 August 1857 p.168; 17 Feb 1866 p.166; 16 Oct 1869 p.392,396; 6 Dec 1862 p.592f. Hearick, *Tools of Empire*, p.72f. discusses scientific cinchona production as "an imperial technology par excellence" and mentions the combined "scientific expertise of several botanical gardens." See Brockway, *Science and Colonial Expansion*, p.60,120.

²⁴*Illustrated* 15 Feb 1873 p.151.

²⁵*Illustrated* 1 May 1858 p.448.

²⁶*Illustrated* 27 June 1874 p.599.

as an extension of this process²⁷- routes from growing areas to shipping ports were examined for immediate improvement.²⁸ Readers were urged to associate cotton in India with Manchester's needs,²⁹ while illustrations show "Cotton bales lying at the Bombay Terminus of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway ready for shipment to England,"³⁰ "Weighing cotton at Bombay for the English markets,"³¹ and "Cotton fleet descending the Ganges."³² Transporting cotton and other products for shipment to England attracted visual coverage especially when engineering programmes to facilitate such movement were described.

Transportation

This visual focus on transportation in the nineteenth century was a predominant feature of the desire to control nature.³³ The Institute of Civil Engineers' charter definition for civil engineering was "the art of directing the great sources of power in Nature for the use and convenience of man - The most important object of Civil Engineering is to improve the means of production and

²⁷*Illustrated* 20 April 1861 p.376; 28 Sept 1861 p.312.

²⁸*Illustrated* 20 April 1861 p.376; 16 April 1870 p.406.

²⁹*Illustrated* 9 Oct 1858 p.341; 23 Oct 1858 p.381.

³⁰*Illustrated* 23 August 1862 p.197.

³¹*Illustrated* 11 Oct 1862 p.385.

³²*Illustrated* 13 Dec 1862 p.621, 624.

³³*Illustrated* 14 May 1892 p.600: Mason Jackson, "Thirty Years of Pictorial Journalism": "In looking down the long vista, I see the triumphs of science in the girdle that has been put around the earth by the electric telegraph... I see the marvels of engineering skill in the mountains that have been tunnelled and in the rivers that have been spanned by stupendous bridges. I see the earth yielding up new and unsuspected treasures of gold and diamonds and fountains of oil for the use and enrichment of man."

traffic in states, both for external and internal trade."³⁴ The *Illustrated* adopted this approach for India:

We believe that a network of road and canal communication throughout the length and breadth of the land will be absolutely necessary in India, so soon as the resources of her soil are developed by means of irrigation, and that the increased commercial operations so established will demand the co-operation of an efficient railway system on the main lines of transit; in a word, that canal and railway schemes, being both established, will mutually assist and supply one another.³⁵

According to the *Journal*, steam trains offered "the best possible mode of conveyance for the cotton, sugar, flax, wool and other valuable productions of the interior to the coast..."³⁶ while a branch railway should "carry the cotton, iron, timber, coal and other valuable products of the district."³⁷

Transportation provided more than functional importance. For the *Illustrated* engineering construction symbolised "what can be accomplished by men and money in the age in which we live - of the power and capabilities of machines - of the skilled labour"³⁸ in Britain. Just as mechanical transportation represented

³⁴John B. Rae, "The Invention of Invention," *Technology in Western Civilization*, Kranzberg *et. al.*(ed) p.329; Green, *Dreams of Adventure*, p.207 contends that Samuel Smiles's *Lives of the Engineers* supports the view that England was not naturally fertile but *made* fertile by industry, canals and other engineering works [original italics].

³⁵*Illustrated* 9 Oct 1858 p.341.

³⁶*Illustrated* 10 Oct 1857 p.355.

³⁷*Illustrated* 16 April 1870 p.392.

³⁸*Illustrated* 18 Sept 1858 p.254. *Illustrated* 19 Nov 1859 p.485: "Almost every one of our increasing population is the master of some exquisite and powerful machinery. He shares in the knowledge and the skill of the age, and carries in his head and his hand, as the part owner of steam, the power of several horses. Our increase of numbers gives us, in a compound ratio, an increase of strength. While we increase the fastest we have the greatest command of machinery, and make the greatest use of the powers of nature of any people of Europe."

transformations within Britain during the century,³⁹ its transfer to India showed the extension of technological values.⁴⁰ Pictures commemorate completion of the Alexandra bridge, the first locomotive into Indore, and the opening of the South Indian Railway.⁴¹

Transportation received religious sanction when coverage contrasted

Indian ideas with Western technology:

It is very striking to see many of our Western inventions now in working order in India. The railway, the telegraph, and the steam-boat are all doing duty there; but there is something strange in their appearance amongst a primitive Asiatic people. When the India of this day is contrasted with what it was only a quarter of a century ago, it is as if a new generation of gods had come into the land. These great wonder-working powers of science and mechanism might, according to Hindoo ideas, be easily converted into deities... the old gods have seen their day - they are used up, and must give place to another birth; and here is the new race of powers, beginning their rule, one may truly say, with an iron hand.⁴²

³⁹King, *Colonial Urban Development*, p.128; Burn, *The Age of Equipoise*, p.81; Booth, *Victorian Spectacular Theatre*, p.3; Nikolaus Pevsner, *Pioneers of the Modern Movement from William Morris to Walter Gropius*, London: Faber & Faber, 1937, Chapter V; Brockway, *Science and Colonial Expansion*, p.70 regards contemporary engineering projects as the most concrete expression of increased specialisation and professionalisation of scientific inquiry. *Illustrated* 19 Sept 1863 p.283.

⁴⁰Woodville, *Random Recollections*, p.99; Mudford, *Birds of a Different Plumage*, p.153; Spear, *India*, p.282 concludes that public work especially for administrators in the Punjab came a religion: "... the building of a bridge or completion of a road was a sacramental administrative act." Frederick W.F.S. Birkenhead, *Rudyard Kipling*, London: Weindenfeld & Nicolson, 1978, p.312 describes "The Bridge Builders" in which the bridge "is the emblem of the stabilising effect of European civilisation on India." Sanford in *Technology in Western Civilization*, p.728 includes causal sequence, order, functional efficiency, impersonality, uniformity, number, utility, power and motion as important to technology.

⁴¹*Illustrated* 26 Feb 1876 p.210; 11 March 1876 p.262; 14 August 1875 p.149; 15 Jan 1876 p.72.

⁴²*Illustrated* 27 Jan 1877 p.85.

Accompanying this description, is a sketch of Indian spectators and a steam-powered road-roller which is compared to "Juggernaut." Readers were told "it would not be a very difficult matter to get them to do 'poojah' to such an object..."⁴³

Descriptions accompanying schematic diagrams and illustrations detailed mechanical merits of engineering techniques⁴⁴ and dazzled readers with numbers referring to dimensions, schedules, scale, and pace.⁴⁵ The *Illustrated* encouraged this approach, by suggesting, for example that a book's second edition include "information concerning the movements of traffic along these lines of railway... in particular, in a tabulated form, the inward and outward items of freight to and from each station... with descriptions, quantity, rates for freight per ton to the seaboard, and whatever else may prove of use to the merchantile community to enable the

⁴³*Ibid.*

⁴⁴*Illustrated* 2 Feb 1861 p.91; 18 Sept 1858 p.254; 28 Feb 1863 p.230; 7 April 1860 p.358.

⁴⁵*Illustrated* 21 March 1891 p.379; 7 April 1860 p.338; 23 Oct 1858 p.381; 24 July 1858 p.80; 9 Oct 1858 p.341; 13 July 1861 p.26; 18 Sept 1858 p.253: After discussing irrigation expansion and return, the article concludes, "The brain of the most sanguine speculator will almost grow dizzy at the immensity of such a prospect, but we believe it to be rational and perfectly feasible."

resources of the country to be developed..."⁴⁶ Quantification itself became significant; its meaningfulness unquestioned.⁴⁷

Reports about transportation in India generally include problems and the engineers' ability to overcome them. Readers learned about difficulties of shifting sand,⁴⁸ risks of rolling surf,⁴⁹ impediments of river courses and shallow water,⁵⁰ and obstacles to rail construction.⁵¹ Engineering skills triumph in each case and the *Illustrated* suggested that such struggles are necessary for control: "... nothing has occurred to warrant discouragement of ultimate success, indeed nothing beyond those difficulties and trials which human skill can surmount, and which are therefore themselves valuable as giving an impetus to superior intelligence and

⁴⁶*Illustrated* 3 Nov 1883 p.427.

⁴⁷*Illustrated* 12 Oct 1889 p.456 uses figures to promote national rivalry: "As the Eiffel Tower is now so well known and so much talked about, a slight comparison of it with the Forth Bridge may be interesting. The tower is 1000 ft. high; if the Forth Bridge were put up on end it would be 5280 ft. in height. The tower has in its construction 7500 tons of iron; the bridge has 53,000 tons of the best steel. The tower was made in about six months; the bridge has required seven years. These figures tell their own tale of comparative size and work. The Eiffel Tower is a wonderful thing; but then, how much more wonderful is the Forth Bridge!" Recently writers have looked at the use of precise information for aesthetic effect. M. Morris, "Sydney Tower," *Island*, 9-19, 1982, p.55 suggests, "The accuracy or otherwise of those facts and figures is as beside the point as the question of the purpose that possessing them might serve. Their function is to signify modernity, and as such they are part of a myth of information..." See also Conrad, *Victorian Treasure House*, London: William Collins Sons & Co., Ltd., p.98.

⁴⁸*Illustrated* 3 March 1860 p.211; 12 Dec 1857 p.580.

⁴⁹*Illustrated* 28 Feb 1863 p.230.

⁵⁰*Illustrated* 29 Nov 1862 p.583; 7 April 1860 p.338.

⁵¹*Illustrated* 14 Nov 1891 p.623.

keeping it at a premium."⁵² With this approach, India became a land of difficulties and trials to be overcome.⁵³

Disasters and Crises

This "problem perspective" toward India includes mechanical failures, natural mishaps and policy mistakes. After Parliament assumed political control of India, the Journal anticipated errors:

... few of us can fail to have become aware that the experiment is anything but closed. There may issue from it, for aught we can confidently predict, a crisis, or a series of crises, which will severely test our national resources.⁵⁴

Wars, mutinies, famines, and countless lesser disasters may be, as they have been consequent upon political mistakes which ordinary attention, common-sense, and a good feeling on the part of the Imperial Parliament might prevent. India presents one of the finest fields in the world for good statesmanship, and we owe it to her that she shall not suffer from our neglect.⁵⁵

As an "experiment" and "fine field" India became a laboratory for scientific approaches and administrative solutions.⁵⁶ A partial list of crises (non-military) in

the Journal shows events which readers associate with Indian news:

April	1861	Famine
February	1863	Railway Accident
November	1864	Hurricane and Cyclone at Calcutta
March	1866	Railway Accident
September	1866	Famine
September	1867	Broken Viaduct

⁵²*Illustrated* 23 Oct 1858 p.381.

⁵³Rutherford, *Literature of War*, p.159 n.31 suggests an activist ethic depends for its appeal on a sense of difficulties to be overcome just as Kipling used emergencies and crises to test men's characters. Murphy, *The Outsiders*, p.31 suggests that conflict associated with development was "accepted or even sought as necessary and desirable."

⁵⁴*Illustrated* 4 June 1864 p.534.

⁵⁵*Illustrated* 15 Sept 1866 p.246.

⁵⁶See McLeod in *Modern Asian Studies*, p.344ff.

October	1868	Floods at Bombay
March	1869	Railway Accident
January	1872	Gunpowder Explosion at Agra Fort
June	1872	Hurricane at Madras
	1873-1874	Famine
December	1876	Cyclone and Floods at Bengal
	1877-1879	Famine
October	1880	Landslide at Naini Tal
March	1887	Fire at Madras
May	1889	Fire at Surat
April	1896	Fire at Bombay
	1897	Famine
	1897	Bubonic Plague at Bombay
September	1899	Earthquake at Darjeeling
May	1905	Earthquake at Lahore

Reasons for the *Illustrated*'s focus on calamities and disasters may be traced to different sources. One may be historical links with the Romantic Movement which showed with "daemonic vengeance, nature turning on man with lightning and earthquakes"⁵⁷ despite his attempts to control it. Theatrical melodrama⁵⁸ and performances of spectacle at the time depended on mechanical props to recreate disasters on stage while the *Illustrated* transformed drama and tragedy into pictorial news.

News selection itself was guided somewhat by the sensational and extraordinary. Sketches and photographs by correspondents helped to transform such criteria into the norm, particularly when they showed areas such as India which were generally beyond readers' personal experience. Photography especially may have contributed to this perspective: "For more than a century, photographers

⁵⁷Beck, *Victorian Engravings*, p.28 referring to John Martin's engravings.

⁵⁸For the importance of melodrama in novels of the period, see Michael Irvin, "Readings of Melodrama," *Reading the Victorian Novel*, Ian Gregor (ed), London; Vision Press, Ltd., 1980, p.15 "An author who has seemed to concern himself specifically with the patterns and pressures of everyday living will suddenly resort to extravagance. There may be scenes of storm, fire, flood, murder, last-minute rescue. In episodes of emotional intensity psychological and descriptive realism may be abandoned. Speech and gesture become rhetorical; landscape and weather fall prey to the pathetic fallacy."

have been hovering about the oppressed, in attendance at scenes of violence - with a spectacularly good conscience. Social misery has inspired the comfortably-off with the urge to take pictures, the gentlest of predations, in order to document a hidden reality, that is a reality hidden from them."⁵⁹ The *Illustrated*'s sketches and photographs of accidents and calamities helped to narrow this view of India's "reality" to tragedy and suffering which showed a need for scientific solutions and government assistance.

Another reason may be related, not only to concerns about loss of life, but also about loss of property and possessions. Security in possession of property⁶⁰ is a feature of development which the *Illustrated* strongly supported: "... with property people acquire habits of independence, and a desire for knowledge and for the extension of useful schemes of every description."⁶¹ Lord Grenville's judgement is quoted approvingly: "By commerce commerce will increase, and industry by industry. So it has ever happened, and the Great Creator of the world has not exempted India from this common law of nature. The supply, first following the demand, will soon extend it. By new facilities, new wants and new

⁵⁹Sontag, *On Photography*, p.55. She continues, "Gazing on other people's reality with curiosity, with detachment, with professionalism, the ubiquitous photographer operates as if that activity transcends class interests, as if its perspective is universal. See Macdonald, *Camera*, p.99, plate 77 "W.W. Hooper. Victims of Madras famine posed in studio style, 1877."

⁶⁰Mentioned by McKinley in *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, p.244.

⁶¹*Illustrated* 13 July 1861 p.261; Petrus H.M. Van den Dungen, *The Punjab Tradition: Influence and Authority in Nineteenth-Century India*, London: Allen & Unwin, 1972, p.71 reports the Financial Commissioner's belief that material property encouraged frugality, thrift and foresight. Ravinder Kumar, "The Rise of the Rich Peasants in Western India," *Soundings in Modern South Asian History*, D.A. Low (ed), London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1968, p.32f. reports the Bombay administrator's hope to erode the collective quality of rural life and substitute desire for acquisition to stimulate economic growth.

desired will be produced."⁶² With this view, disasters which impeded supply and damaged facilities were commercially and economically important.

More significant perhaps is the idea that reaction to misfortunes helped to promote British institutions and erode traditional responses to calamity. During famine in 1874, the *Journal* reported:

Custom is a tyrant everywhere but in India it holds a sort of imperial way. In fact, famines, and many evils, are to a certain extent owing to this evil power. The natives are helplessly under its sway and its influence on them has a tendency to paralyse the good intentions of the Government. It requires a mutiny or terrible famine in India to get quit of some ridiculous habit or caste usage. One may often hear the English Government officials, after a calamity of this kind, congratulating themselves that some wretched 'dustoor' or custom which had long stood in the way, has been at length got rid of.⁶³

The *Illustrated* described new techniques for Indian irrigation, sanitation, agriculture, and urban reconstruction⁶⁴ following various disasters.

In this regard, a major focus was famine, which the *Journal* states "should be listened to as Nature's stern protest against the negligence of man..." and blame belongs to " ...careless administration of public affairs."⁶⁵ In 1866 the *Journal* criticised Sir Cecil Beadon's decisions to allow private trading and to ignore relief measure, while it applauded the Governor-General's alarm and actions; albeit too

⁶²*Illustrated* 24 July 1858 p.80.

⁶³*Illustrated* 21 March 1874 p.282; also 10 Nov 1877 p.443; 30 April 1898 p.624. *Illustrated* 27 June 1874 p.598: "We shall be none the less fitted to wrestle with the evils that are yet to come for having passed in review the compensatory good which may accompany or follow them. In the first place, we think, we may calculate to some extent upon the moral effect which the energetic effort of the Indian Government in this matter should have upon the minds of the native population..."

⁶⁴*Illustrated* 24 May 1879 p.495; 31 May 1879 p.522; 24 Jan 1874 p.74; 21 May 1898 p.751; i June 1901 p.791; 15 April 1905 p.539; 24 April 1905 p.607; 9 Nov 1864 p.502; 25 May 1889 p.652.

⁶⁵*Illustrated* 15 Sept 1866 p.245.

late to be effective.⁶⁶ In 1873, it again lamented the decision not to prohibit grain export, and eradicating famine became a divine test for British skill and ability.⁶⁷

The *Illustrated* used military metaphors for this particular struggle against nature: "In war we have always maintained our superiority over the softer and more effeminate people of India; we have now to grapple with a more formidable foe than any which has been hitherto mastered by the sword of empire. In many respects, the same organisation, the same discipline, the same promptitude and fertility of resource, the same coolness and courage, and the same cheerful acceptance of moral responsibility, are called for which have made us the dominant power in the Peninsula."⁶⁸ Relief efforts use a military model as famine sufferers are formed into "regimental dispositions with great precision. No hurry, no noise, no confusion...[to be] ... mustered and inspected."⁶⁹ Towards the end of the century regimentation and discipline underlay criticism of Indians' independent response to famine:

This drifting migration of the ignorant and helpless people of course throws into confusion the local arrangements of food stores, camps of shelter, public works for employment, kitchens, hospitals provided by the the Government; and the official task of administering relief would be almost

⁶⁶*Ibid.*

⁶⁷*Illustrated* 29 Nov 1873 p.499; also 14 Feb 1874 p.142.

⁶⁸*Illustrated* 29 Nov 1873 p.499; also 18 April 1874 p.358; 27 June 1874 p.598; 15 Sept 1866 p.249.

⁶⁹*Illustrated* 13 April 1861 p.356.

impossible were it not for the extension of roads, canals, and railways effected within thirty years past.⁷⁰

Coverage of famine revealed contemporary attitudes toward work⁷¹ and international assistance. The *Illustrated* suggested that receiving food was directly tied to one's ability to work, often as a day labourer on government projects extending canals and roads.⁷² Even the *Illustrated* which generally supported government action and couched criticism in the most conciliatory phrases, questioned "testing the reality of want by the extraction of labour"⁷³ during famine.

It affirmed that directed labour may be acceptable but:

... it is a rule which cannot be enforced without extreme cruelty in the case of a famine-stricken nation. The Government of India must make up its mind to become a victim in some degree to imposture. It need not relax its vigilance, nor resign itself to the encroachments of idleness and vice, without some inquiry. But where so large a population is known to be suffering for lack of the simple means of subsistence, no sufficient motive can exist for driving half-famished people to relief work...⁷⁴

⁷⁰*Illustrated* 30 Jan 1897 p.139. The passage continues, "The mass of the people of India are simple-minded, and remain yet in a very primitive condition. They will worship almost anything, particularly if its *purana*, or old, as a god. In their misery in the midst of dire hunger and pestilence they naturally turn to all their objects of worship to seek relief." *Illustrated* 9 Oct 1858 p.341 makes a more economic criticism about such migration, stating that it causes a "deficiency of labour, which is not supplied for many years afterwards."

⁷¹Williams, *Long Road*, p.60ff. discusses the value of work and attitudes toward poor people mid-century. Woodruff, *Guardians*, p.101 shows that against the English backdrop of discouragement and disgrace associated with poor relief, periods of famine relief in India were to be as short as possible and offered in exchange for work.

⁷²*Illustrated* 13 April 1861 p.356; 24 May 1879 p.495; 31 Jan 1874 p.103; 22 Sept 1866 p.290. Mookerji, *India Since 1857*, p.81 highlights the Strachey Commission's stress on "providing work for the victims of famines before starvation undermined their physical efficiency."

⁷³*Illustrated* 14 Feb 1874 p.142.

⁷⁴*Ibid*; also 29 Sept 1877 p.302; 22 Sept 1866 p.290; 13 Feb 1897 p.220f.

This passage suggests that laziness and crime are related to poverty and that people unable to care for themselves should work before receiving assistance.⁷⁵ As projects are to bring lasting benefit to famine areas, periods of stress can be used to strengthen the technological base of development.⁷⁶

The Journal encouraged readers to contribute to relief funds, stating that such action improved the British national character, deepened Britain's sense of responsibility to India, showed the world justification for British rule in India, and proved Britain's sympathy and interest:⁷⁷ "... it is undoubtedly well that the native races of our Eastern Dependency should have proof of the good will at least of the Conquering Race...⁷⁸ The Journal also suggested that assistance may weaken Indian preference for self-rule.⁷⁹

⁷⁵See Altick, *Victorian People and Ideas*, p.123f., 168ff., Samuel Hudson, Jr., "Victims or Parasites? Attitudes about the Poor in the Early Victorian Novel" PhD thesis, Wayne State University, 1972, p.22ff.

⁷⁶*Illustrated* 15 Sept 1877 p.242: "A large temporary addition to the rolling stock of the railway has already, we believe, been made, and amongst the unremunerative public works to be undertaken with a view to the employment of the destitute population, tramways branching from it in various directions will pierce many an outlet in the impediments now existing to the conveyance of food to where it is most wanted..."

⁷⁷*Illustrated* 18 April 1874 p.359; 10 Nov 1877 p.443; 27 June 1874 p.598; 20 Oct 1877 p.382; 29 Nov 1873 p.499.

⁷⁸*Illustrated* 10 Nov 1877 p.443; also 30 March 1861 p.284; 11 August 1877 p.122.

⁷⁹*Illustrated* 10 Nov 1877 p.443.

Famine was associated with India through sketches of emaciated victims⁸⁰ and through views of the country unrelated to the actual condition of famine.

Illustrations of rural life and daily scenes identify famine through captions:

The Impending Famine in India: A Bengali Beniah or Grain Seller⁸¹

The Famine in India: Indian Mode of Irrigation⁸²

The Famine in India: A Bengal Village⁸³

The Famine in Bengal: Bullock Hackeries for Carrying Grain⁸⁴

The Famine in India: Women Grinding Corn⁸⁵

The Famine in India: Mode of Pumping up Water in the Punjab⁸⁶

The Indian Famine: The Hill Station of Kasauli...⁸⁷

Not one of these pictures can be specifically identified with famine except by caption and accompanying description.

Another theme of disaster coverage was disease which the *Illustrated* also portrays through military images. Its most extensive coverage focused on an

⁸⁰*Illustrated* 20 Oct 1877 p.381; 30 Jan 1897 p.137; 13 Feb 1897 p.203; 20 Feb 1897 p.252f. These pictures appear to be studio renditions and the out-stretched hands for food may be early images for the stereotype of "Begging India" - the notion that not only individuals suffer distress but the entire country is identified as ineffectual and dependent on outside aid.

⁸¹*Illustrated* 10 Jan 1874 p.25.

⁸²*Illustrated* 24 Jan 1874 p.73.

⁸³*Illustrated* 31 Jan 1874 p.104.

⁸⁴*Illustrated* 4 April 1874 p.316.

⁸⁵*Illustrated* 2 May 1874 p.405.

⁸⁶*Illustrated* 29 Sept 1877 p.300.

⁸⁷*Illustrated* 12 Dec 1896 p.803.

outbreak of plague in Bombay.⁸⁸ Lack of cultural sensitivity about quarantine and family separation⁸⁹ led to depicting victims as enemies: "Information is obtained from paid spies as to where sufferers from the plague or the dead bodies of the victims are concealed..."⁹⁰ Reports of disease indicated concern about infection, living arrangements and economic status,⁹¹ while engravings of hospitals and medical colleges indicated the introduction of Western medical practices.⁹²

Coverage of Indian disasters and crises helped to justify changes introduced as development and showed British rule ushering in a "new" period of Indian history, completely separate from earlier traditions:

... the despotism, want of moral principle, and all those evils which, nearly since the Deluge, have peopled Asia with a race of beings degraded by superstition, subject to inflictions of famine and pestilence, and both in their minds and bodies kept in the lowest state of degradation. Now, whoever looks at India previously to the civilisation introduced there by Great Britain, must at once perceive a great contrast between its former and present state;...we have done our best, amidst enormous difficulties and obstructions, to give the people education and a wholesome administration of justice; we have constructed road and

⁸⁸*Illustrated* 5 Feb 1898 p.173; 21 May 1898 p.751; .

⁸⁹*Illustrated* 21 May 1898 p.751; 5 Feb 1898 p.173; 2 May 1898 p.478f.

⁹⁰*Illustrated* 5 Feb 1898 p.173. Prior, *Campaigns* , p.275: "...I entered a loft, and with the aid of a candle I saw in a distant corner a huddled heap of rags, which turned out to be a plague-stricken native, just on the point of dying. This was my first individual find, and it was not long before he was brought down, and he actually died in the street. It was quite evident that the people in the house knew of his being there, but refused to give any information about it. I was so pleased at having found this man off my own bat that I continued my individual searching with zest, and in the end found no less than three very bad cases..."

⁹¹*Illustrated* 9 Jan 1867 p.39; 3 April 1858 p.334.

⁹²*Illustrated* 8 Oct 1859 p.342; 29 Feb 1868 p.217; 16 April 1892 p.483.

canals, built bridges, introduced steam navigation, and improved agriculture; and much more has to be done.⁹³

This contrast between British rule and earlier traditions highlighted negative features of India's indigenous culture. Overcoming difficulties, including famine and disease, was associated with development which heightened a sense of India's technological progress.

Education

Authorities regarded education as one of the surest ways to inculcate people with habits associated with machine technology,⁹⁴ in addition to training Indians for government administration.⁹⁵ The *Illustrated* supported efforts to increase schools in India and it engraved pictures of new institutions; some in the Gothic style,⁹⁶ with features such as a prominent clock tower.⁹⁷

During the Mutiny, the Journal interpreted damage to schools as attempts to stop their positive influence: "...the hand of barbarism and superstition is hard at work endeavouring to eradicate the seeds of enlightenment and truth which are beginning to take deep root..."⁹⁸ It maintained this contrast between British and indigenous education when it reported: "A spirit of commercial enterprise is taking the place of the sluggish inactivity or the ferocious love of war characteristic of barbarism... the luxuries and vicious influences of the Zenanas and native courts

⁹³*Illustrated*

⁹⁴McKinley in *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, p.249; Richard Johnson, "Educational Policy and Social Control in Early Victorian England," *Past and Present*, 49, 1970, 96-119.

⁹⁶*Illustrated* 20 March 1886 p.292; 14 Nov 1883 p.502; see 29 Feb 1868 p.217 for the same fetue on a new hospital.

⁹⁷*Illustrated* 14 Nov 1883 p.502.

⁹⁸*Illustrated* 19 Sept 1857 p.300.

are destructive of good morals and intelligence."⁹⁹ A full-page illustration reinforces this difference showing that a "Hindoo school, [is] held, not in a formal room, with desks and benches, but in the airy portico of a large house, and with all the appearance of Oriental ease."¹⁰⁰ This may be compared with engravings of "Thomason Civil Engineering College" and "Roorkee: The Workshops"¹⁰¹ which offered instruction in civil engineering and experience with machinery and engine construction.

Emphasis on commercial enterprise guided the Journal's coverage of Indian reformatories and prisons which trained inmates for specific occupations on the basis that "useful employment" minimised leisure and prevented crime:¹⁰²

We all are busy, all confess
That sin begins with idleness,
That those who work with all their might,
At least in that, are doing right.

Thus when our sojourn here is o'er,
And we, reformed, are free once more,
In after life we always mean
To be good boys, and bless the Queen.¹⁰³

People were trained to be carpenters, turners, smiths, tailors and carpet weavers which placed stress on productivity and service skills.

⁹⁹*Illustrated* 17 June 1871 p.600; also 18 March 1876 p.282. *Illustrated* 24 Nov 1883 p.501: This association of morals and intelligence with commercial enterprise did not go unnoticed by at least one educator who countered that Government schools "appear to be wholly unsuited to the agricultural population, and it is only the trading classes in the towns who seek instruction conveyed in the Urdu language, which is not spoken in the rural districts."

¹⁰⁰*Illustrated* 9 April 1859 p.348

¹⁰¹*Illustrated* 10 Oct 1857 p.357.

¹⁰²*Illustrated* 10 Sept 1859 p.251; 21 May 1870 p.537; 11 April 1885 p.374.

¹⁰³J.D. Rees, *Narrative of a Tour in India Made by His Excellency Lord Connemara*, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1892, p.244f.

Exhibitions

In addition to formal educational settings, promotion of mechanical equipment, manufacturing skills and agricultural methods were shown at local exhibitions displaying imported and indigenous products and livestock.¹⁰⁴ These exhibitions were smaller versions of national and international expositions which followed the Great Exhibition at the Crystal Palace in 1851. The European shows have been described as "vast inventories of material achievements and power through which millions of admission-paying sightseers strolled in mingled awe and confusion, lingering longest before the wonders of science and technology..."¹⁰⁵

Though smaller, Indian exhibitions had similar objectives. The *Illustrated* reports that an Industrial Exhibition in Madras was "well calculated to develop the resources of the country"¹⁰⁶ while the Punjab Exhibition in Lahore was "well calculated to advance the industrial prosperity of the province."¹⁰⁷ Rurki's exhibition of machinery contained "chaff-cutting machines, seed-crushers, and cotton-gins, a large hydraulic cotton-press, and several machines for raising water, fixed beside the canal adjoining the show yard."¹⁰⁸ At an exhibition in Lucknow, spectators saw steam pumps for irrigation, circular saws, cotton gins, corn thrashing, winnowing, and grinding machines and oil presses.¹⁰⁹ Smaller displays included vases, glass chandeliers, gold and silversmithing, watches,

¹⁰⁴*Illustrated* 24 Sept 1864 p.324; 2 July 1864 p.5; 1875 Supplement p.16; 4 March 1865 p.213.

¹⁰⁵Sanford in *Technology in Western Civilization*, p.730f.

¹⁰⁶*Illustrated* 28 Feb 1857 p.190.

¹⁰⁷*Illustrated* 14 May 1864 p.471.

¹⁰⁸*Illustrated* 24 Sept 1864 p.324.

¹⁰⁹*Illustrated* 4 March 1865 p.213.

clocks, silk, gold ornamented cloths and specimens of Indian antiquities, geology and natural history.¹¹⁰

The *Illustrated* engraved indigenous crafts and noted "an air of skillful mastery and dexterity, which one could not refuse to admire."¹¹¹ A review of *Indian Arts* includes Dr. Birdwood's protest against "the corruption of the beautiful ancient native art by the introduction of European models in architecture, ornamental and decorative productions, and the substitution of English machinery for the artistic cunning of the handicraftsman,"¹¹² and the Journal advises against forcing Indian craftsmen "to copy the mechanical arts of Europe, or to apply the principles of our mechanical arts to their own strictly manual productions."¹¹³ But the predominant view sacrificed personal artistry for national and international economic gain.

An article entitled "The New Forces in India" reports "the happy revolution in trade, which by changing its character had so vastly increased its volume. India was no longer a mere maker of nicknacks and a retailer in luxuries. It had become a great wholesale merchant and manufacturer, working with steam-mills and exporting agricultural products on an enormous scale."¹¹⁴ Exhibitions were

¹¹⁰*Ibid*; *Illustrated* 22 Dec 1883 p.613.

¹¹¹*Illustrated* 21 Oct 1876 p.379; also 23 Sept 1871 p.287f.

¹¹²*Illustrated* 26 Nov 1881 p.527. Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters*, p.236 outlines Dr. Birdwood's philosophy. His handbooks and catalogues accompanied Indian displays in South Kensington Museum and the Paris International Exhibition of 1878.

¹¹³*Illustrated* 12 August 1876 p.158. This article includes the view that "The natives of India themselves have no knowledge of art or any feeling whatever for art. No sooner do they stray from the light of tradition than they fall into all kinds of depravity and debasement." See Mahrukh Tarapor, "John Lockwood Kipling and British Art Education in India," *Victorian Studies*, 24(10), 1980, p.53-81.

¹¹⁴*Illustrated* 29 Dec 1888 p.788.

sponsored to stimulate such activity, to increase India's economic productiveness and to maintain stronger political ties with Britain. After the North-West Provinces' Exhibition, the *Illustrated* concluded, "... it is hoped that the opportunities thus afforded to natives of comparing their own manufactures with those of other countries will prove not only beneficial in an educational point of view, but will help to cement the friendship of minor states and provinces with the British Government of India."¹¹⁵

Without elaboration, the Journal admitted, "Plausible arguments may be found which, to say the least, may cast a doubt upon the safety of allowing India to be permeated by English ideas and freely turned to account for European objects,"¹¹⁶ but it identified Indian issues more closely with British needs and concluded the "closer and more intimate the association between Great Britain and India has become, the greater, on the whole, have been the benefits resulting to both."¹¹⁷ It suggested that economic and technological change may endear Indians more closely to British rule even though "...no great array of evidence is forthcoming in support of the supposition... [and] ... until we have the true key to their hearts, we cannot confer upon them half the benefits that we would..."¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵*Illustrated* 11 May 1867 p.455f.; also 14 Jan 1882 p.34.

¹¹⁶*Illustrated* 28 Sept 1861 p.311.

¹¹⁷Illustrations reinforce images of India's dependence on Western expertise. *Illustrated* 10 April 1858 p.380 shows a building project with two Europeans standing at the site while Indian workers sit on construction planks; *Illustrated* 10 Sept 1859 p.251 shows a tailoring class where the British instructress is seated on a chair in the foreground and most Indian students stand near the far wall or sit on the floor; *Illustrated* 10 May 1888 p.542 shows logging operations with a European as the central character flanked by Indians. The description, p.540, states, "Large numbers of the hillmen are employed as coolies, under English direction..." *Illustrated* 1 June 1901 p.791 commemorates Lady Northcote's visit to a Bombay health-camp. She sits on a chair in the centre of the photograph while Indians stand around her or sit on the mat in front of her.

¹¹⁸*Illustrated* 1 June 1867 p.534

Benefits remained a focus into the twentieth century as the Journal attempted to show "firm consolidation of Pax Britannica"¹¹⁹ through an extension of Western technology.¹²⁰

Coverage strongly associated technology with progress and development: ...the ocean has been underrun by telegraph wires and bridged over by steam-boats. The stupendous works of Stephenson and Brunel, of Wheatstone and Brett, are evidences of power and of knowledge such as never till now were acquired by man. The whole of the human race has been brought into close contiguity, and photography has given us the means of conveying a visible knowledge of every part of the whole.¹²¹

The *Illustrated* performed a major role by reproducing such "visual knowledge" in its engravings and sketches.

Through its pictures and descriptions, the *Illustrated* stressed application of British technology and enterprise in India. It divided Indian history into periods "before" and "after" British rule whereby the "after" period, characterised by the "great wonder-working powers of science and mechanism" was preferable, more beneficial and the basis for India's continuing development in areas such as agriculture, education and religion.

Coverage stressed that India should be completely accessible and its resources available for extraction. Regulated planning such as irrigation, sanitation and other engineering projects contributed to these goals. The Journal promoted values such as effort, discipline, and work. It denied acceptance of "waste" lands, sanctioned enforced labour, and applied military analogies stressing regimentation

¹¹⁹*Illustrated* 9 Dec 1905 p.860.

¹²⁰*Illustrated* 9 April 1892 p.457 praises Bhopal for its hospital; 18 Nov 1905 p.735 praises Indore for its lighting and drainage; 24 March 1906 p.417 praises changes in Lahore brought by British rule.

¹²¹*Illustrated* 19 Nov 1859 p.485.

and efficiency during crises. It interpreted natural boundaries as obstacles to be overcome and as tests of man's ability to control the natural environment.

India's development was also evaluated according to economic sectors such as transportation, resource investment and services. These were topics of interest to the *Illustrated*'s readers responsible for similar activity in England whom it wanted to recognise India's investment potential for commercial gain which would contribute to Britain's own prosperity. Celebrating England's achievements, the *Illustrated* saw itself as a permanent visual record of its country's accomplishments and abilities. India provided opportunities to reinforce this sense of cultural superiority, especially in the application of machine technology and its apparent limitless ability to improve the Indian environment. Sketches and photographs depict these goals through their focus on large engineering and architectural projects, compositional placement of Europeans in positions of authority, and the thematic portrayal of Indians suffering crises and disasters.

CONCLUSION

The *Illustrated* was to be a permanent feature of the Victorian milieu. Subscribers bought reading cases to protect the paper while perusing it; they ordered portfolios specially made for the Journal's storage; they bound the issues twice yearly and purchased covers for these newly acquired volumes. If we judge by the number of sets of the *Illustrated London News* preserved today, it fulfilled a significant role in nineteenth century Britain - a visual testament to the concerns and interests of the time and a source of ready reference which militated against neglect and destruction.¹

The Journal attempted to provide the most immediate news through correspondents, telegraphic despatches, artists, books and articles in visual form, suggesting that "None can over-estimate the teaching of the eye..."² It chronicled changes in wood engraving and photo-mechanical reproduction, and showed the steady incorporation of photography in its pictorial presentations. One of its goals was the accurate portrayal of areas beyond the personal experience of many of its readers. In this regard, India was a significant focus for news coverage.

Wanting to counter general disinterest in Indian affairs, the *Illustrated* encouraged readers to visit the area while acting as a guide-book for vicarious travellers at home. It associated India with novelty, strangeness and adventure. Descriptions and pictures referred to places of contemporary interest such as hill stations, Mutiny sites and activities which appealed to British visitors. "Ruins" had special significance as readers came to associate India with collapse and decay. Repeated references to particular sites helped the reader imagine a map of India

¹See Grogg, "The *Illustrated*," p.327 and King, *Colonial Urban Development*, p.19f. for references which consider the *Illustrated* as an "artifact" of the period.

²*Illustrated* May 14 1892 p.579.

primarily based on a tourist typology, determined largely by metropolitan interests and attractions.

Travel coverage included India's religions which were also of interest to missionaries and social scientists. We have seen that the Journal reinforced popular stereotypes by stressing barbaric and unusual religious practices in its illustrations and descriptions. Images associated with dirty sadhus, idolatry, sexual licentiousness, sacrifice and festivals were contrasted with benefits of Christianity and contemporary evangelicalism. Pictures of India's religious structures broadly suggested archaeological interests of the time and references attempted to identify British rule with edifices which conveyed strength and endurance.

Coverage of British rule focused on two major themes. Political pageantry was an overwhelming presentation through depiction of processions, triumphal arches, durbars and their theatrical associations. Physiognomy and clothing received particular attention. Paternal despotism was also an underlying image which the *Illustrated* fully supported in its discussion of Indian rulers and emphasised in its focus on India's political and social progress. Progress itself was a guiding concept of the Journal's political reportage. Readers were given little opportunity to learn of Indian discontent at local, regional or national levels and the Journal seemed unaware of (or unwilling to acknowledge) growing unrest under British control.

It firmly advocated "the title of Might rather than of Right..."³ and reported extensively on Britain's military involvement in the sub-continent. The Mutiny remained a focus throughout the latter half of the century and correspondents covered campaigns along the northern borders. In addition to warfare, news reports informed readers of growing organisational and engineering skills

³*Illustrated* 12 Sept 1857 p.257.

associated with technical expertise. Military motifs were also linked to contemporary attitudes towards health, sport, hunting and responses to disasters such as famine and disease.

The ability to eradicate these disasters and utilise India's natural resources guided the presentation of Indian development and technological change. The *Illustrated* promoted the introduction of machine labour through coverage of resources, transportation, education and exhibitions. It urged investment in India's commercial agriculture, irrigation and mining while illustrating the proliferation of steam boats, railways, canals and shipping lanes for moving Indian goods for export to coastal cities. The Journal used these activities as criteria for dividing India's history into "before" and "after" periods based on British rule. Such considerations helped the reader to dismiss India's historical continuity and indigenous strengths. Pictures showed concerns which led to labeling India as "underdeveloped" or "backward" based on technological interests and the reorientation of time according to mechanical needs.

Our analysis has shown that the *Illustrated* perpetuated a view of India as if it were owned by Britain. Government legislation reflected parental responsibility, military control protected and secured Indian property while development schemes emphasised practical use of resources. It encouraged travel to the country because "India is our own."⁴ This approach showed India belonging to the Journal's readership whom it saw as the British people in general.

India was also shown as a backdrop for European activity. Whether we adopt theatrical terms: India as a stage for showing engineering skills - or scientific motifs: India as an experimental living laboratory, the Journal showed the

⁴*Illustrated* 17 July 1875 p.20.

country stimulating British expertise, and its people as passive and lacking dynamism unless directed by British energies.

Another pervasive theme was aggression, coupled with a strong sense of penetration and exposure. Coverage of military campaigns was only the most overt example of this approach. The *Illustrated* also disclosed unknown religious practices, depicted India's "native bazaars," and revealed recessed interiors of temples. Expeditions penetrated unexplored geographical areas and communities in India's remote jungles and mountains were described and shown during attempts to gain permanent control. Natural limits were challenges to be overcome and the Journal urged access to India's villages and agricultural areas. It often denied mystery, except as a motif for sensational fiction.

The *Illustrated's* major contribution as a popular source of information about India was to stress these ideas in pictorial form. Illustrations of a railway bridge over the Ganges River, the British flag above the rock at Trichinopoly and processions before prominent clock towers reinforced domination in a symbolic manner. Pictures showed the increasing presence of British institutions and spatial design. Adoption of Western poses for Indian portraits, visual reinforcement of perspective and the selection of photographic topics were guided by British interests even as the camera was accorded scientific objectivity. The depiction and placement of people in illustrations and the direction provided in captions and descriptions emphasised particular features. The re-drawing and dramatisation of selected subjects showed how coverage could be guided by particular needs.

Although the *Illustrated* attempted to provide a realistic and accurate record of Indian events and to satisfy a desire that Britain become more familiar with India, news sources often predetermined the type of information transmitted. The professionalism of the correspondent, training of military personnel and merchantile interests contributed to narrowing the focus on India even as people felt they were

receiving wider coverage of the area. No doubt sketches and photographs reinforced readers' confidence in the Journal's realistic portrayal (just as film footage is used today), but they also helped to establish stereotypical presentations and to weaken consideration of alternative views and interpretations.

This study was based on one popular pictorial news source. As such, its analysis has been limited primarily to the pages of the *Illustrated* and discussion of its readership within Victorian Britain. The *Illustrated's* popular view of India differed from those found in diplomatic and literary sources. Illustrations of Elephanta Cave transformed into a banquet hall, transport animals, and the outstretched hand are graphic indicators that individual features of the British understanding of India need fresh examination, in addition to the analysis of written documents.

Continuing investigation could include the Journal's influence on Anglo-Indian readers⁵ and on Indians who saw its sketches and illustrations⁶ of India. Comparison could be made between the *Illustrated's* coverage and that of other British pictorial journals, or journals of other countries. The *Illustrated* may also show links with the development of illustrated journalism in India, directed at Indian audiences during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Other popular pictorial sources of the nineteenth century which deserve study include advertisements, political cartoons, caricatures, postcards, stereoscopic

⁵The Journal boasted that it could be found throughout the world and that its pictures attracted viewers in all nations. For its presence in India, see *Illustrated* 14 June 1879 p.551; Jawaharlal Nehru, *An Autobiography*, London: John Lane, 1936, p.28f.; Rudyard Kipling, *Something of Myself*, p.67; Birkenhead, *Rudyard Kipling*, p.72f.; Wilson, *Letters from India*, p.217f.; King, *Colonial Urban Development*, p.65; Trevelyan, *Competition Wallah*, p.35; Michael Alexander and Sushila Anand, *Queen Victoria's Maharajah: Duleep Singh 1838-1893*, New York: Taplinger Publishing Co., 1980, p.40.

⁶Erich Reigrotski and Nels Anderson, "National Stereotypes and Foreign Contacts," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 23(4), 1959, p.528 mention need for greater investigation of stereotypes' effects on people's self-image.

views and magic lantern slides. We have touched briefly on photography but its uses for documenting India merit much greater consideration. With a growing interest in determining how photography recorded the "reality" of nineteenth century India, it is necessary to investigate who was responsible for these views, what were their purposes, how did they use the photographs, what topics were not subject to "camera vision," how did the camera affect the interpretation of India for people not only there, but also in other countries? These sources undoubtedly have fed current visual presentation of India for television, cinema, travel brochures, educational audio-visual materials and resources used for developmental projects. They continue to affect our understanding of the sub-continent and it is through historical analysis of their development and transformation that we shall appreciate their power and future direction.

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